Research Report

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Πρόγραμμα ΝΑ Ευρώπης

What's in a name? Greek Public Attitudes towards the "Name Dispute" and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 2018

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What's in a name?

Greek Public Attitudes towards the 'Name Dispute' and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 2018

RESEARCH REPORT

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Introduction

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) commissioned the University of Macedonia's Public Opinion Research Unit (PORU) to implement the survey on public attitudes towards the name dispute and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (hereafter fYROM). This is a re-run a research project (and an opinion poll) first implemented in 2016.[3] This project is one of the very first research studies explicitly focusing on the name dispute and exploring beliefs and attitudes about Greece's relations with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The poll analysed in the present report was fielded on 23-25 January 2018. This was right after the Thessaloniki rally, which took place on Sunday 21 January 2018, and before the Athens rally of 4 February 2018.

The political context of the previous ELIAMEP-PORU poll was quite different from the present one. The name dispute was not on the daily political agenda and was not considered as a political priority of the government of the time. In 2016, Greece was recovering from the political upheaval of 2015, during which two elections (January 2015 and September 2015) and one referendum (July 2015) took place. In 2016 the government of PM Alexis Tsipras –leading a coalition of left-wing SYRIZA with right wing ANEL- had just completed his first –and very turbulent- year in office, having been re-elected after snap elections.

In contrast, our 2018 poll was run in a period when the name issue was among the top governmental priorities in the two countries. For that reason the name issue and all the relevant developments enjoyed wide media coverage in Greece. Also, as a result of the developments in the name dispute, this is a period of new political alignments and de-alignments. The governing coalition has to deal with a serious internal disagreement, based largely on the name dispute, with junior partner ANEL fiercely opposing the plans of its coalition leading partner SYRIZA to reach a compromise solution on the name dispute majority by agreeing on a composite name. The main opposition party (ND), although reluctant at the beginning, also seems to be distancing itself from the plans for a compromise solution and calls for postponing the settlement for the future. The rest of the Greek parties seem to be –hesitantly or confidently- aligning with the pro- and anti-compromise camps.

The 2016 political landscape was also radically different in fYROM. Two years ago, the government under PM Gruevski continued to pursue its nationalistic agenda, implementing the policy of so-called *antiquization*, while having to weather serious challenges such as political scandals, massive anti-government mobilisation by opposition SDSM and the civil society and the lack of serious international support. In 2018, the political environment is radically different. After the serious political turmoil that brought the downfall of the Gruevski government, the country has a new leadership under PM Zaev who from the outset pursued a fiercely pro-Western policy and a confident rapprochement with neighbouring Bulgaria and Greece.

[3] The poll was fielded between 29 February and 3 March 2016. The research report of the poll was published in September 2016. For more details see: "Greek public opinion and attitudes towards the 'name dispute' and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Research Report, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, Athens, September 2016.

Methodology and questionnaire design

The poll was fielded between Tuesday 23 January 2018 and Thursday 25 January 2018, on a sample of 1071 respondents, with nationwide coverage and multi-stage stratified sampling. Respondents were interviewed by CATI more (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews) and the data were weighted to match population characteristics according to gender and age (post-survey adjustments). The margin of error is 3% on a confidence interval of 95%.

The questionnaire was designed jointly by PORU and ELIAMEP and included questions about attitudes and beliefs, knowledge questions and electoral behavior questions. Part of the questionnaire reproduced the February-March 2016 poll. This provided the opportunity to compare and contrast the two polls and draw conclusions about significant differences between the two.

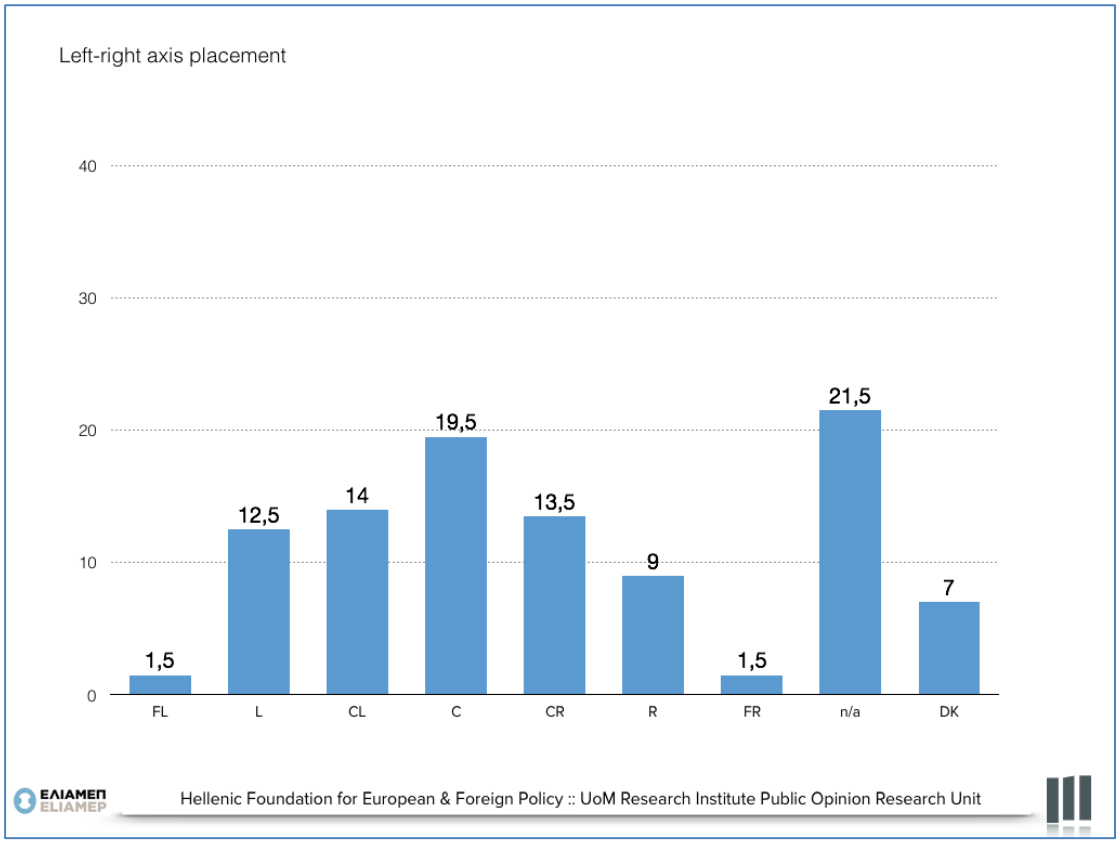
The questionnaire is composed by the following parts;

- **Part A** attempts to examine general attitudes towards foreign policy, Greece's position in the international system and foreign threat perceptions.
- **Part B** focused on the bilateral relations between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It examines the salience of the name issue, the perceived importance of an imminent settlement of the dispute, and preferences as to potential solutions. Part B also measures the extent to which Greek public opinion perceive the use of the name "Macedonia" by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as a source of a potential future territorial threat or as a falsification of Greek history. Moreover, this part of the poll evaluates the role and the perceived stance of foreign governments and organizations in the efforts towards a settlement of the dispute. It also focuses on electoral behavior in order to evaluate whether the name issue could influence a future electoral choice.
- **Part C** includes evaluation questions on the current state of bilateral relations, the state of economic relations and asks respondents to offer a prediction for the future development of bilateral relations,
- **Part D,** apart from demographics and electoral behavior questions, attempts to explore the degree in which Greek public opinion is well informed about Greece's official position on the name dispute and the demographics of fYROM, and also explores attitudes towards 'Macedonia rallies' that were organized both in the 1990s and in recent months.

This report presents the survey's findings, both as an overall picture and also, when data are available, in comparative perspective to the 2016 poll. The main analytical subgroups are defined demographically –e.g. gender, age group, education level, area of residence - but also according to electoral behavior or left-right self-placement. Regarding the latter, respondents were asked to identify/place themselves in one of the following options: Far-right, Right, Centre-Right, Center, Center-Left, Left, Far-Left; while a Don't Know (DK) answer and a non-applicable option were also offered as a possibility for those not identifying with any of the axis positions. As is usually the case, a significant portion of the respondents posit themselves into the center (19.5%), which is slightly lower than those that claim that they do not fit into any of these categories (21.5%). The axis seems balanced though; the left side (cumulative FL, L and CL) collected 28%, while the cumulative for the right was 24%.

The sample is also balanced on the population residential density. Results are presented in the NUTS I configuration, comprising Attica (35.5% of the sample), Northern Greece (32.5% of the sample), Central Greece (22%) and Aegean Islands and Crete (10%). It was expected

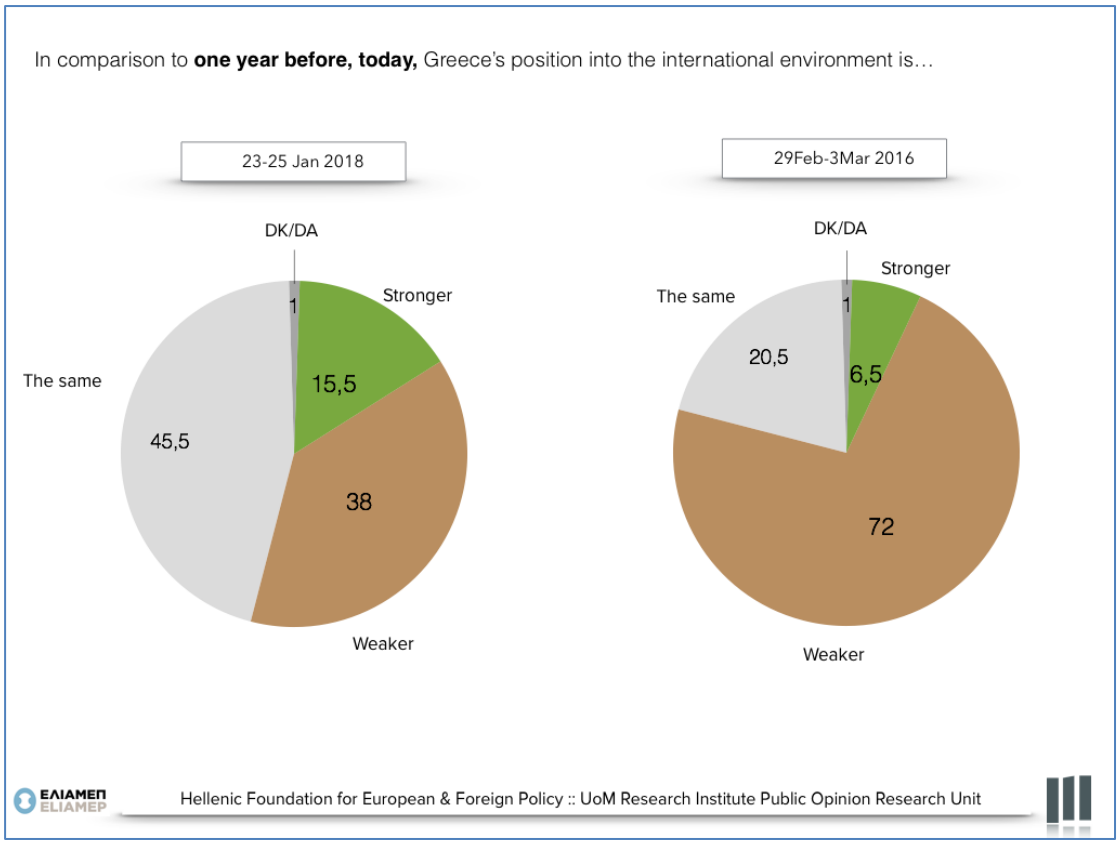
that the regional variation would hold important divergence, as the issue is predominantly present and likely more emotionally charged in Northern Greece.



Graph 1 – Left-right axis placement

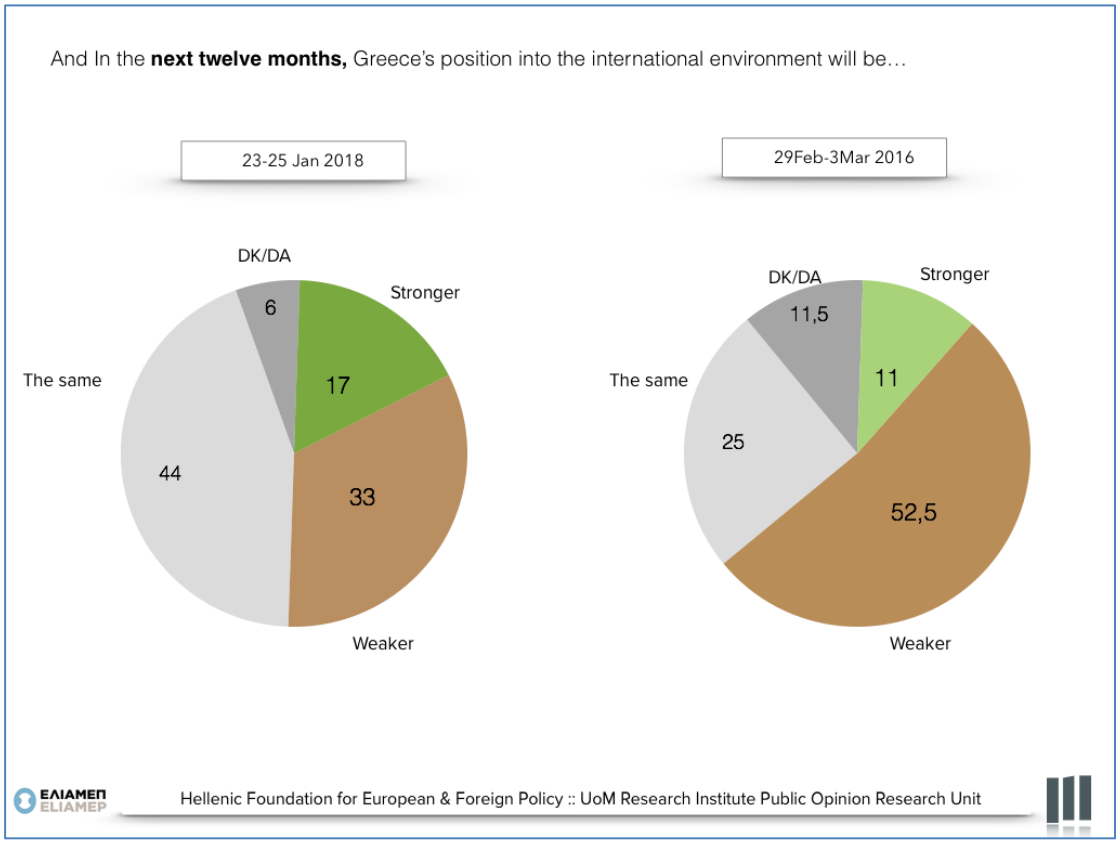
Greece's international standing

How is Greece's current international status perceived by the public opinion? We posed three relevant questions, which were the same as in the 2016 poll. The first question, asked the respondents to identify whether Greece's current position is stronger, the same or weaker than the one a year before. The majority of the respondents (45.5%) consider that the country's position is the same as it was one year before, where 38% believe that is weaker, and a mere 15.5% believes that it is stronger. Although these findings present the public opinion as rather disappointed with Greece's standing in the international environment, the figures are still better than those from two years ago. In the 2016 poll, 72% of respondents considered the country's position as worse than that of the preceding year. It is important to remind here that 2015 was in Greece a year of significant political turmoil, with two elections and a referendum taking place in less than twelve months and several months of uncertainty over the economic and political future of the country.



Graph 2 – In comparison to one year before, Greece's position into the international environment is…

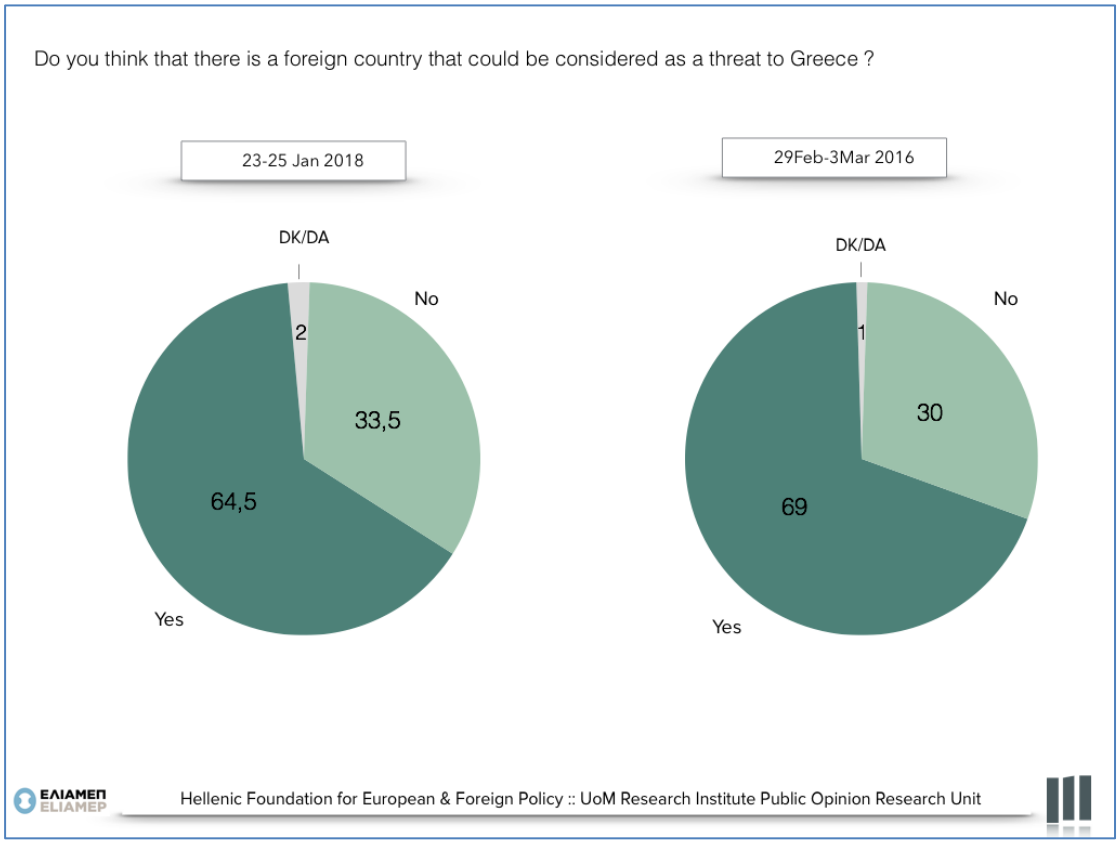
Further in examining attitudes about Greece's international standing, the poll asked respondents to predict the country's position in the following 12 months. The majority of the respondents (44%) believe that Greece's position will remain the same, while 33% believes that it will weaken and 17% that it will become stronger. In comparison to the 2016 poll, this year's respondents were much less pessimistic. Back in 2016, the majority of respondents (52.5%) expected that Greece's international position would weaken, while only 25% predicted that things would remain the same.



Graph 3 – In the next twelve months, Greece's position into the international environment will be…

Subsequently, respondents were asked to express their opinion about whether there is a foreign country that could be considered as a "threat" to Greece. About 6 out of 10 (64.5%), responded positively, i.e. that they do consider that there is a foreign country that is a threat to Greece, while 1 out of 3 (33.5%) don't consider another country as a threat. This consists merely the same depiction as two years before. Compared to 2016, the share of those respondents who believed there is a foreign threat has slightly dropped (69% in 2016 vs 64.5% in 2018). This confirms the broader picture that in the 2018 poll respondents are more positive and less pessimistic about Greece's international position.

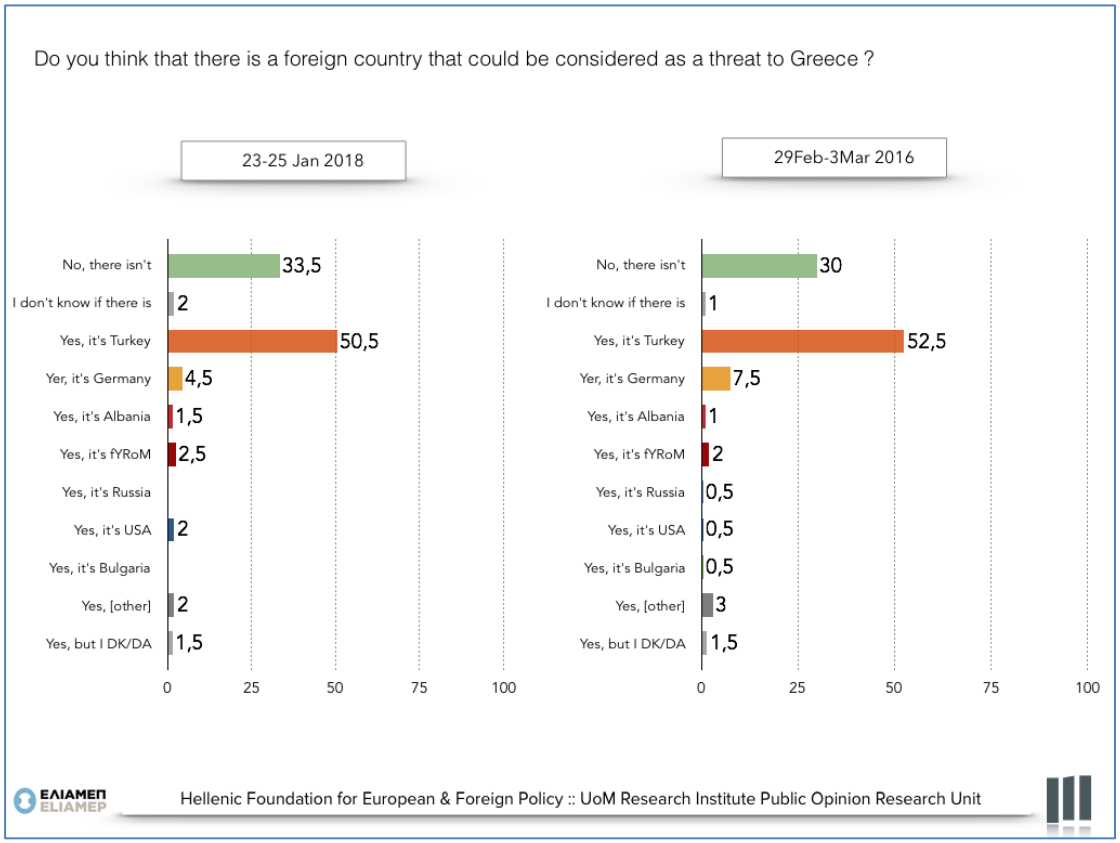
Among those who believe that there is foreign country that may be perceived as a threat, a follow-up question was set, on an open-ended format, asking them to indicate the country they regard as a threat. Among the 64.5% that perceive the existence of a foreign threat, Turkey is by far the most popular choice (78%) and Germany comes a distant second with 7.5%. In 2016 Turkey received pretty the same share (76.5%), while Germany has now an important decrease (11% in 2016).



Graph 4 – Do you think there is a foreign country that could be considered as a threat to Greece?

If we include all possible answers, including the 'no threat' and all the perceived threats, in the same question, we find that one in three (33.5%) respondents do not believe that there is a foreign threat to Greece; half of the respondents (50.5%) consider Turkey as a threat; 4.5% consider Germany –compared to 7.5% in the 2016 wave- and 2.5% regard fYROM as a threat, which is very close to the 2% perceived threat that we found in the 2016 poll. Thus, even though the "name dispute" dominated the political discourse both before and during the 2018 poll was fielded, the spontaneous identification of a foreign threat by respondents returned very few responses identifying fYROM as a threat.

Overall, perceived foreign threat remained largely similar between 2016 and 2018, with Turkey receiving the 'lion's share' of respondents threat perceptions, the rest of the countries receiving the same ranking in both polls, Germany presenting in both polls very low levels of threat, neighbouring FYROM and Albania even lower levels, and countries like the US, Russia and Bulgaria having threat perception levels close to zero.



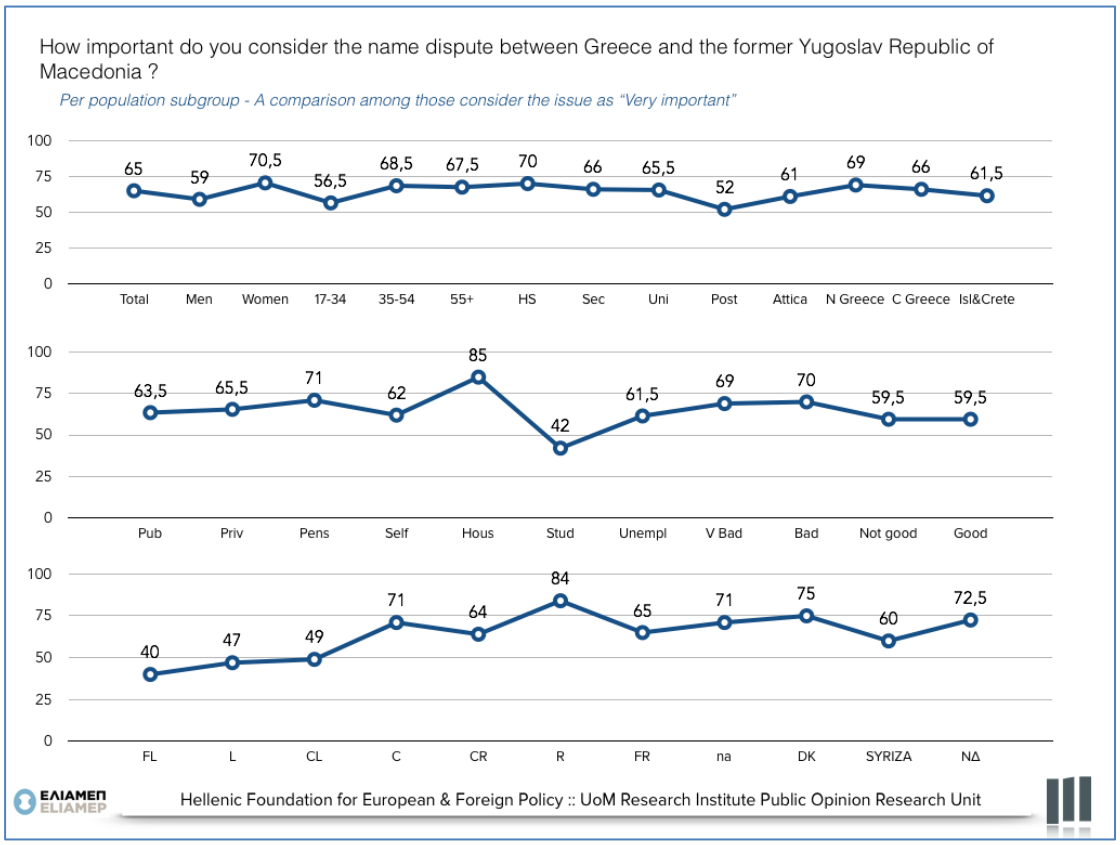
Graph 5 – Do you think that there is a foreign country that could be considered as a threat to Greece?

Greek public opinion and the name dispute

In order to capture public opinion's beliefs on the name issue, we've conceptualized three groups of questions: (a) the **perceived importance** of the dispute, (b) the **core attitudes** on a potential solution for settlement, and (c) future **implications** that could explain both the importance and the core stance towards the solution efforts.

The salience of the name dispute

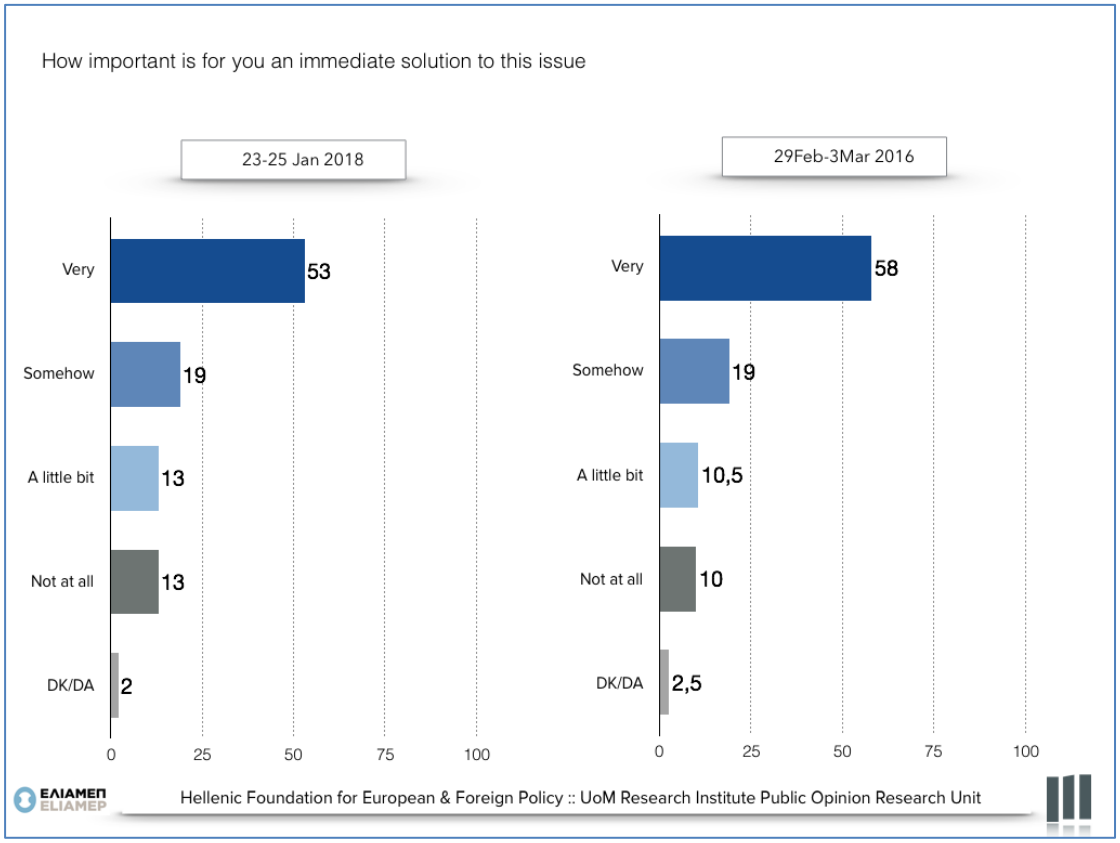
The salience of the name dispute is measured by two questions. The first evaluates the perceived importance as respondents provide a reply to the question "How important do you personally consider the name dispute ", choosing from a range (scale) of response items that include "Very", "Somehow", "A little bit" and "Not at all". The second question asks about the negotiation process, and more specifically if an immediate solution is of importance to the respondent.



Graph 6 – How important do you consider the name dispute between Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia?

With regards to the perceived importance of the name dispute, two thirds of the respondents (65%) consider the issue of great importance, while on the contrary the issue is considered as not important by only 9.5% of respondents. Higher than the average is the perceived importance for women (70.5%), age groups 35-54 and 55, and people located in the Northern Greece (69%). Also, it is higher for people that place themselves on the center

and right of the left-right spectrum, as well for New Democracy (ND) voters. In contrast, the perceived importance is lower than average among men (59%), holders of postgraduate degree (52%). Also, SYRIZA voters (60%) and people that place themselves on the left side of the LR continuum show lower than the average rates.



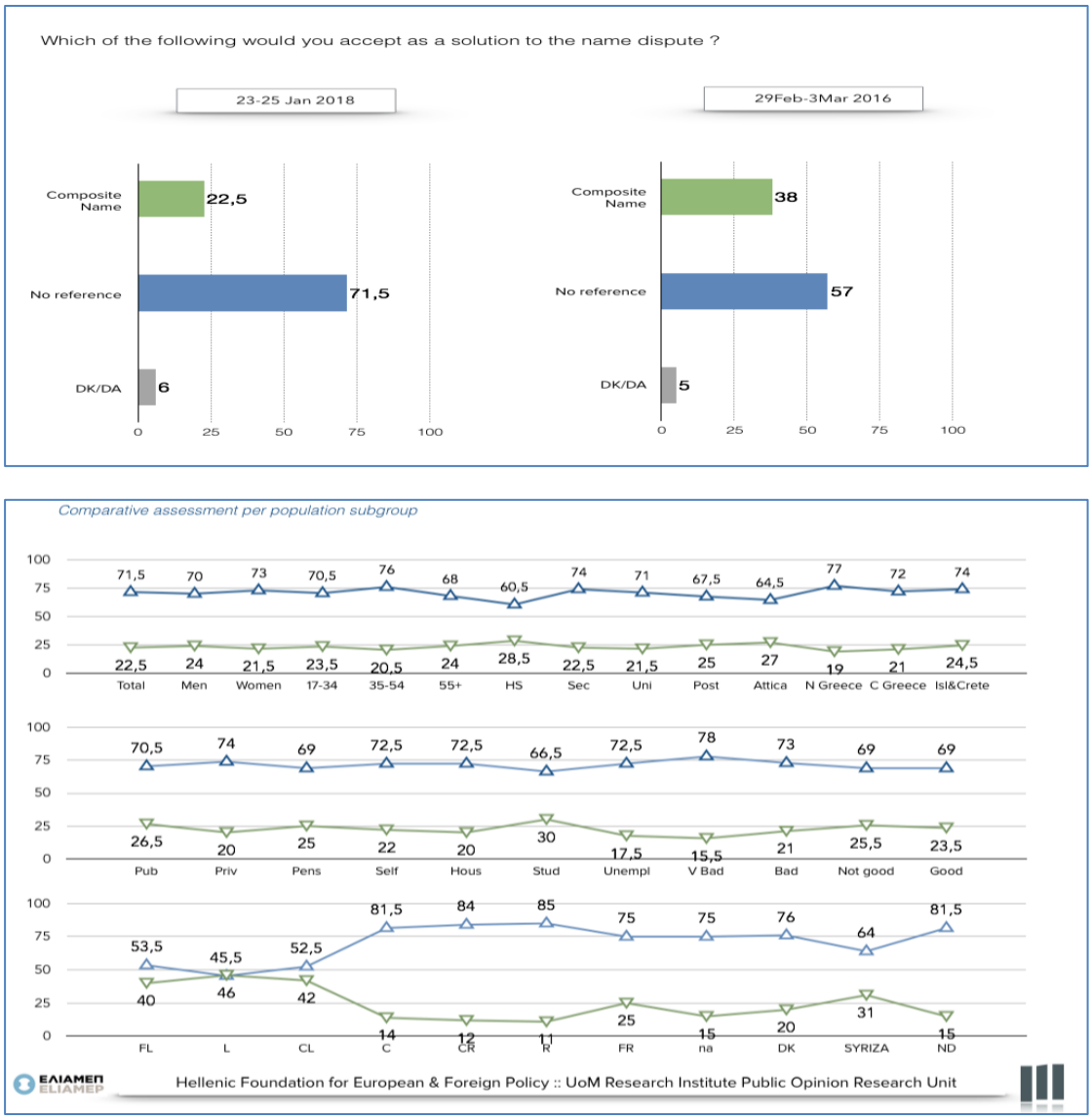
Graph 7 – How important is for you an immediate solution to this issue?

Turning to the question of the immediacy of a solution, a very comfortable majority consider very (53%) and somewhat (19%) important to have an immediate solution to the name dispute. In contrast, only 13% assign little importance and another 13% no importance to the solution. When comparing with the findings of the 2016 poll, we see that the results are similar, but the importance of the immediate settlement is slightly reduced.

Overall, when combining questions about the importance of the name dispute and imminent character of its settlement, we can draw the conclusion that the perceived salience is extremely high. Two thirds (65%) of all respondents consider the issue to be of very high importance, while more than half (53%) consider an quick settlement of the dispute as very important. responded that it should be resolved the soonest possible.

The name dispute: attitudes towards a potential solution

At this point we reach what can be considered the most important question of polls about the name dispute, namely the solution that the Greek public opinion would accept in view of a compromise between the two sides. A large majority of respondents reject any reference to the term “Macedonia” as a part of any future solution (71.5%), while 22.5% responded that they could accept a composite name that would include the term “Macedonia”. These two options (a composite name containing the term “Macedonia” vs. no reference to the term) are the two opposing stances in both the public discourse and the political positioning; for example, on the one hand the participants in the “Macedonia rallies” and some of the Greek parties demanded that no reference to the term “Macedonia” is made in the solution that will result from the name issue negotiations; on the other hand, the Greek Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the major governmental partner SYRIZA, and in fact the country’s official position since the mid 2000s have all considered a compromise that would include the term “Macedonia” in principle acceptable.



Graph 8 – Which of the following would you accept as a solution to the name dispute?

When comparing these findings with the 2016 poll we find that the rejectionist camp (i.e. no reference to term "Macedonia") has had a sharp increase in the last two years. Back in 2016, a smaller majority of 57% did not accept ay reference to the term "Macedonia", while the part of It is On the previous wave, in 2016, the un-compromising stance was supported by 57%, while the composite name was supported by 38%.

It is worth noting here that while we adopted in this question we provided a slightly varied set of responses between 2016 and 2018. In the 2016 poll, respondents were offered the following three responses: (a) the approval of a composite name, (b) the rejection of any reference to the term "Macedonia", (c) the acceptance of fYROM's constitutional name. In 2018, we omit the third response since with the name issue gaining plentiful media coverage and political salience a clear dichotomy between the "no reference" and "composite name" options has emerged. So, as the (c) choice of the constitutional name "Republic of Macedonia" is not a part of the public discourse, any reference to this could have been totally misleading. Also, in 2018 we provided explicit examples for each of the response items.

At the research report of the 2016 poll we also commented that the methodology we followed might have implied 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. So, with this approach, 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. We should repeat, for comparison purposes the above comment also to this report. Of course, the elaboration on this hypothesis is beyond the scope of this report.

Additionally, as we emphasized in 2016, Greece's official position is to try to reach a compromise solution on the issue based on a 'composite name' that will include the term "Macedonia". As the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic states "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".[4] Greek governments have been negotiating on that basis, mainly about the scope of the use of the negotiated term, 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 subsidiary issues. The same comments apply to the 2018 poll and demonstrate that a large majority of the public opinion in Greece was and continues to be opposed to the official position of the Greek diplomacy on the issue.

Within subgroups, the most compromising stance is reported by the left oriented (46% compromising vs 45.5 non-compromising), center-left (42% compromising vs 52.5% non-compromising), SYRIZA voters (31% compromising vs 64% non-compromising), and people who live in Attica (27% compromising vs 64.5% non-compromising). The most rejectionist outlook can be found among people that place themselves on the center and right of the left-right axis, New Democracy voters (81.5% non-compromising stance) and among the residents of the Northern Greece (77%).

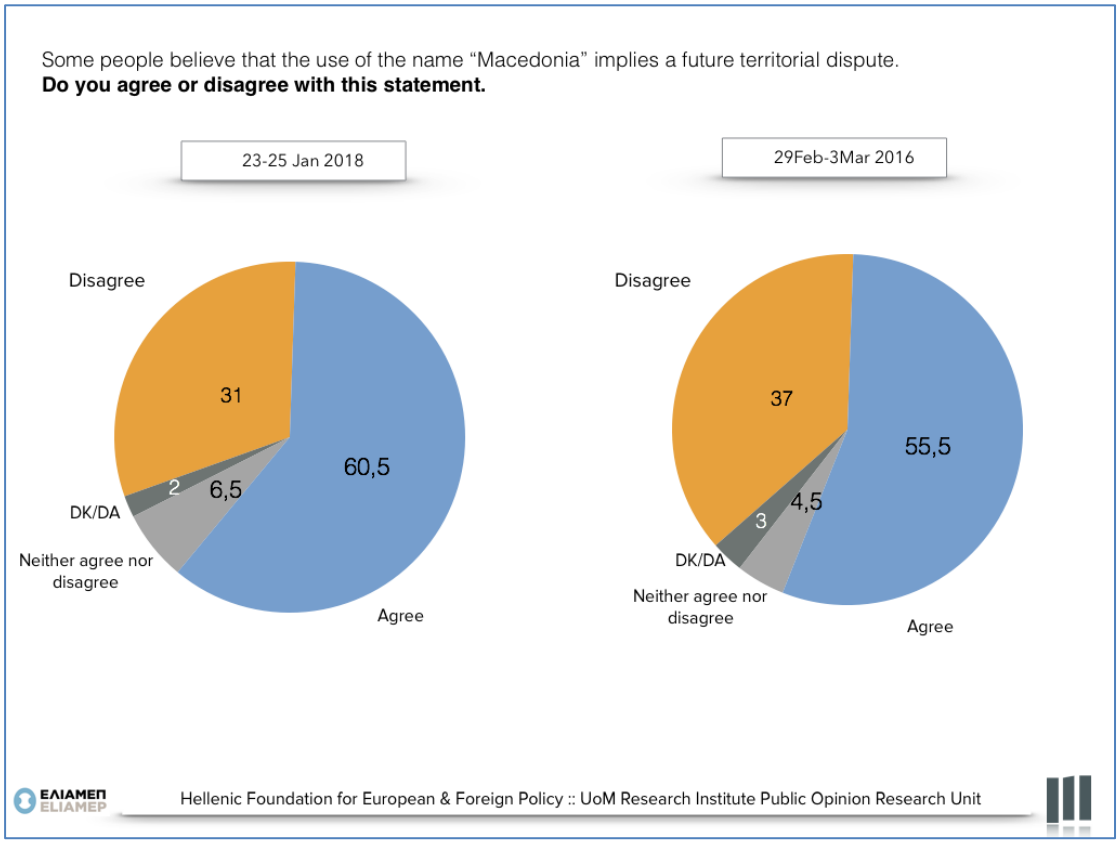
To those who rejected any reference to the term "Macedonia" a follow on question asked was whether they would assess positively or negatively a solution that would satisfies the their preferred option of no reference but only for Greece's bilateral relations with fYROM.

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

More than 8 out of 10 replied that they would see development negatively. Similarly, a follow on question was asked to those who accepted a composite name; they were asked if they would view positively or negatively a solution whereby a composite name would be adopted for all international relations, while fYROM could maintains its current constitutional name for domestic use. More than half of respondents thought that this would be a negative development, while 21% responded that this could be seen positively.

Future implications from a potential solution

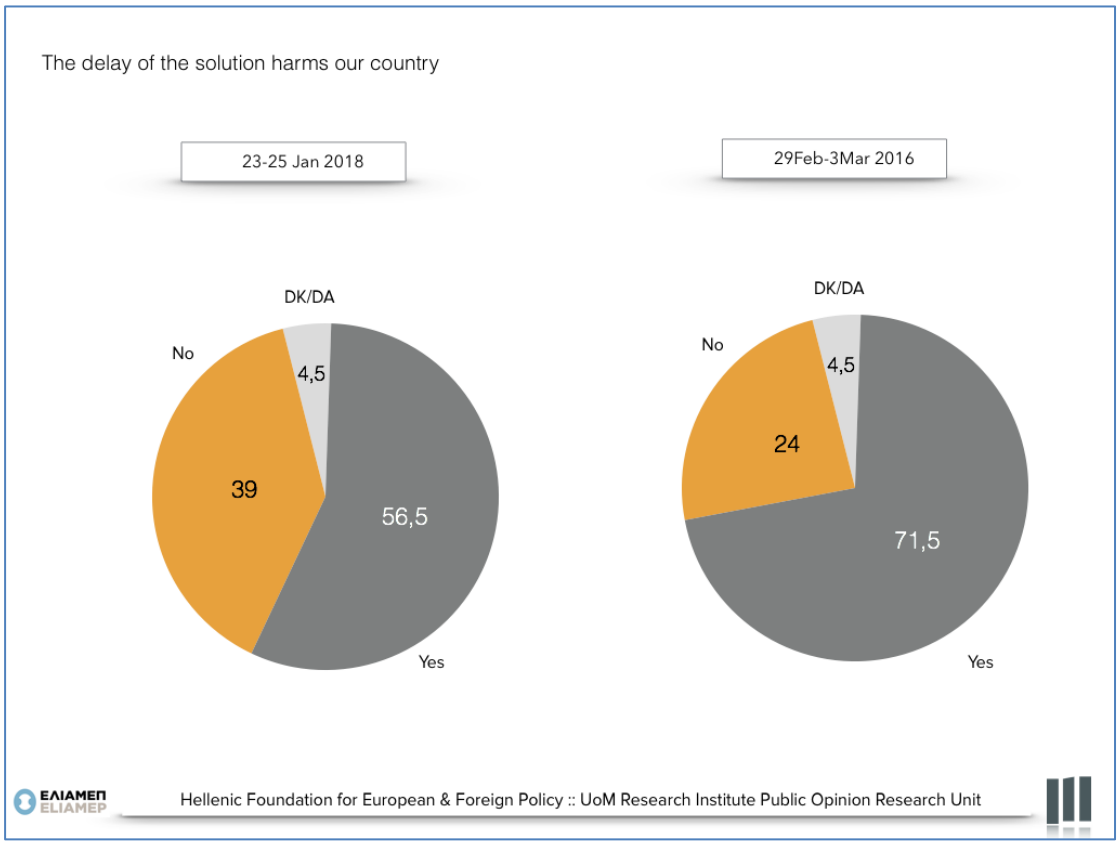
One of the purposes of this part was to explore the roots of the rejectionist approach. We asked respondents about their opinion using two typical 'rejectionist arguments': that the usage of the term "Macedonia" by fYROM implies a future territorial threat and that it is a falsification of Greek history. Respondents were asked to declare their agreement or disagreement with these arguments. We found that the argument about a future territorial threat is supported by 6 out of 10 respondents (60.5%), while one in three respondents (31%) disagree. This is actually a similar depiction to the 2016 poll, with a slight increase of those that believe the future territorial threat argument. The historical falsification argument is supported by a wider majority of 72.5%, while 2 out of 10 respondents disagree.



Graph 9 – Some people believe that the use of the name "Macedonia" implies a future territorial dispute. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

And what is the impact of a delay in settling the dispute? Could it be harmful to Greece's interests? Interestingly, in this question we found noteworthy differences from the 2016 poll. Back in 2016 the vast majority of the respondents (71.5%) considered that any delay is harmful to Greece's interest. In 2018 there is a noticeable decrease, as now –although still

majority- the 56.5% agree with this statement. Of course, this presents a major inconsistency. While public opinion supports that the issue is of extreme importance and should be resolved the soonest possible, it also believes that any delay is not so harmful for Greece's interests. Probably this can be explained by the current circumstance in the name dispute. As the major governmental coalition party (SYRIZA) actively promotes a solution that will include the term "Macedonia", and given the overall rejectionist outlook of the majority of the public opinion, many respondents probably felt that the sense of urgency in the matter is not in Greece's interest and they expressed as such in their responses to our question.

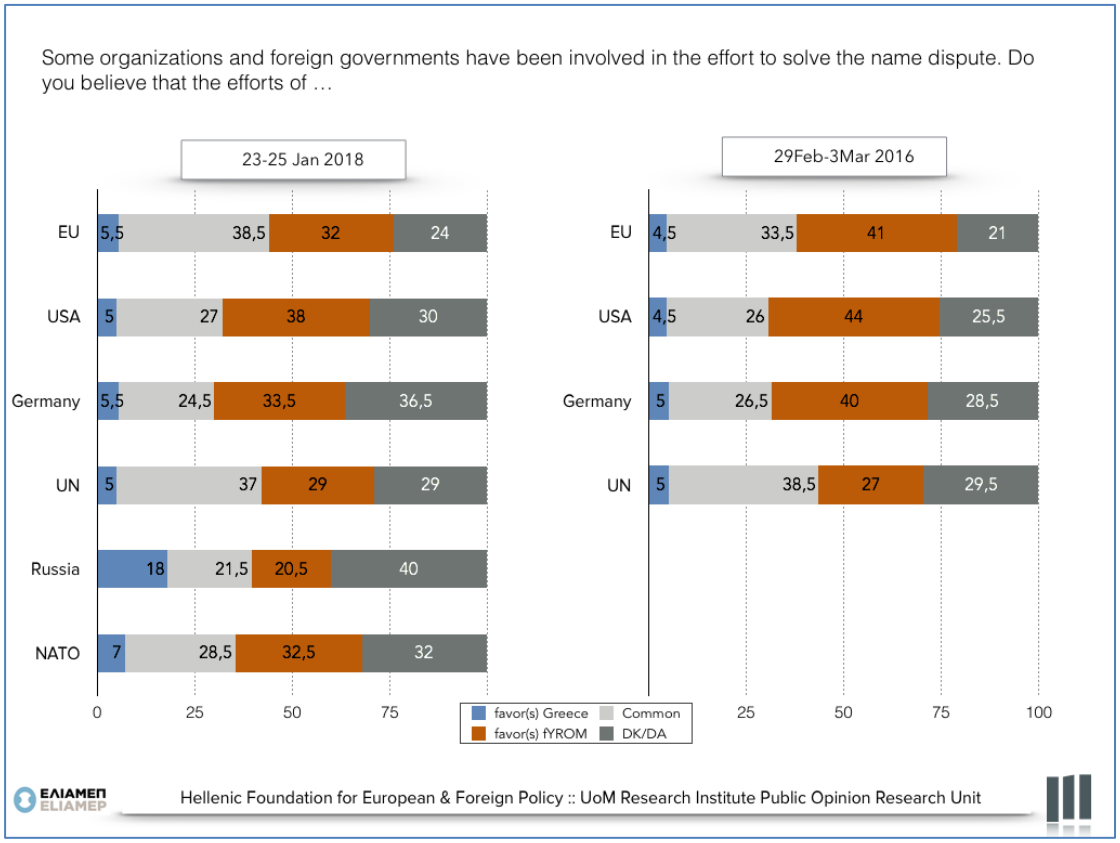


Graph 10 – The delay of the solution harms our country?

Another question attempted to clarify the way people view the implications from the delay in the settlement of the name dispute. Respondents were asked to assess the probability for a de-facto recognition of fYROM as "Republic of Macedonia", in case there is no settlement to the dispute even under a composite name. Among four options, that expressed certainty, high probability, low probability and no probability at all, the first two choices collected (cumulatively) 63.5%. More specifically, 20.5% asserted certainty and 43% high probability that if a compromise solution, even under a composite name, is not reached soon then fYROM will be widely recognized as Republic of Macedonia. It is one of the paradoxes of the Greek public opinion attitudes that that the distribution of these answers is pretty similar among both those who reject any compromise solution and those who accept a composite name. In both groups, small probabilities of such an outcome is supported by few respondents (29% among those that accept a composite solution and 30% among those that reject any reference to the term "Macedonia"). Certainty for such a development is at 28.5% for those who support a composite solution and at 17.5% among the rejectionists.

The role of international actors

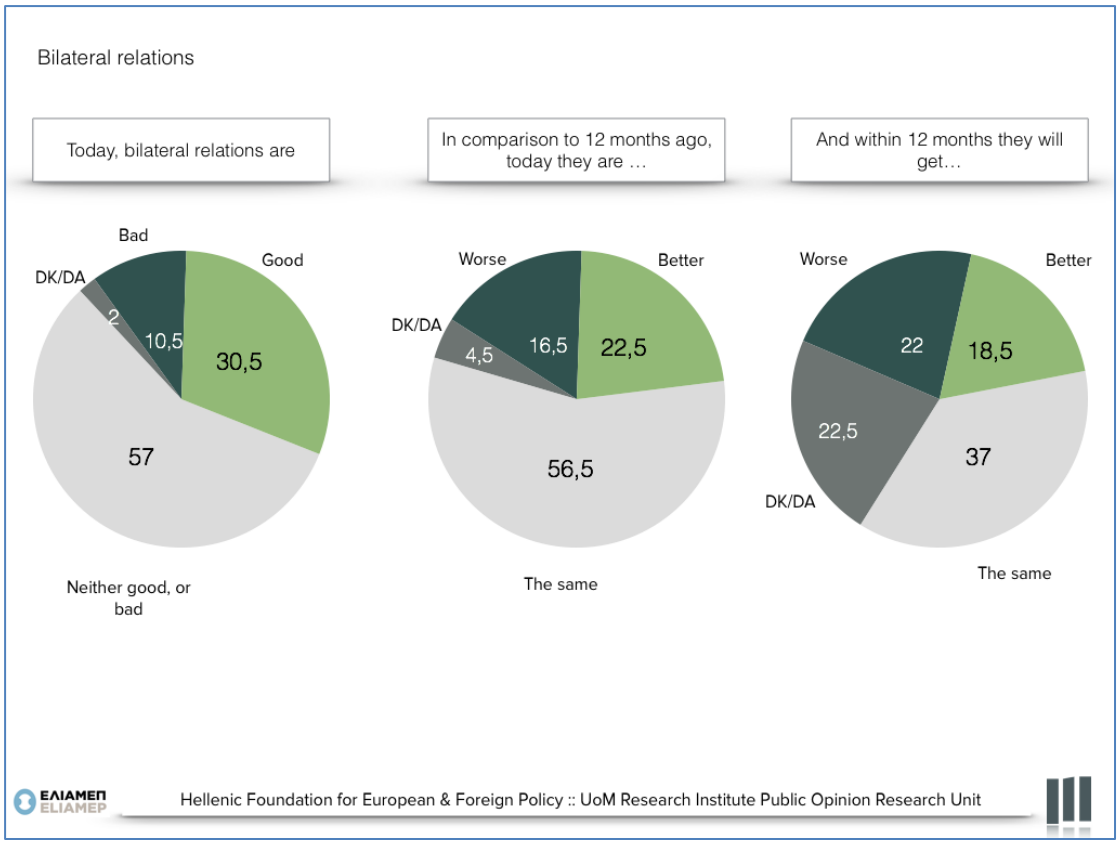
Another aspect, also explored in a comparative approach with the 2016 poll, was the assessment of the involvement of international actors in the efforts for the settlement of the dispute. The advantage of this question is that it offers also insights about the Greek public opinion's overall attitude towards international organizations and countries. On this question, the 'Don't Know answers' are quite high which is evidence of lack of knowledge that is recognized by respondents. The most favorable attitudes are expressed for Russia, as 18% of respondents consider that Moscow favours Greece, 20.5% that it favours fYROM, 21.5% that it is impartial and 40% Don't Know. In contrast, the results are pretty damning for traditional allies and partners of Greece. Only 5.5% consider that the EU favours Greece, and the percentages for NATO, the US and Germany are at 7%, 5% and 5.5% respectively. Instead, a third or more of respondents believe that EU, the US and Germany favour fYROM in the dispute. Overall, the Greek public opinion does not consider any of the measured actors to be more supportive of Greece; in contrast, for all actors measured, between 3 and 4 out of 10 consider that they are favour fYROM in the dispute. Interestingly, back in 2016, the Don't Know numbers were higher as were the percentages of those who considered international actors as favouring fYROM. The percentages of those seeing a favouring of Greece were equally low in 2016. This is one additional indication of the introvert and pessimistic mood that the Greek public opinion holds, when it expresses its feelings towards international actors.



Graph 11 – Some organizations and foreign governments have been involved in the effort to solve the name dispute. Do you believe that the efforts of…

Bilateral relations between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

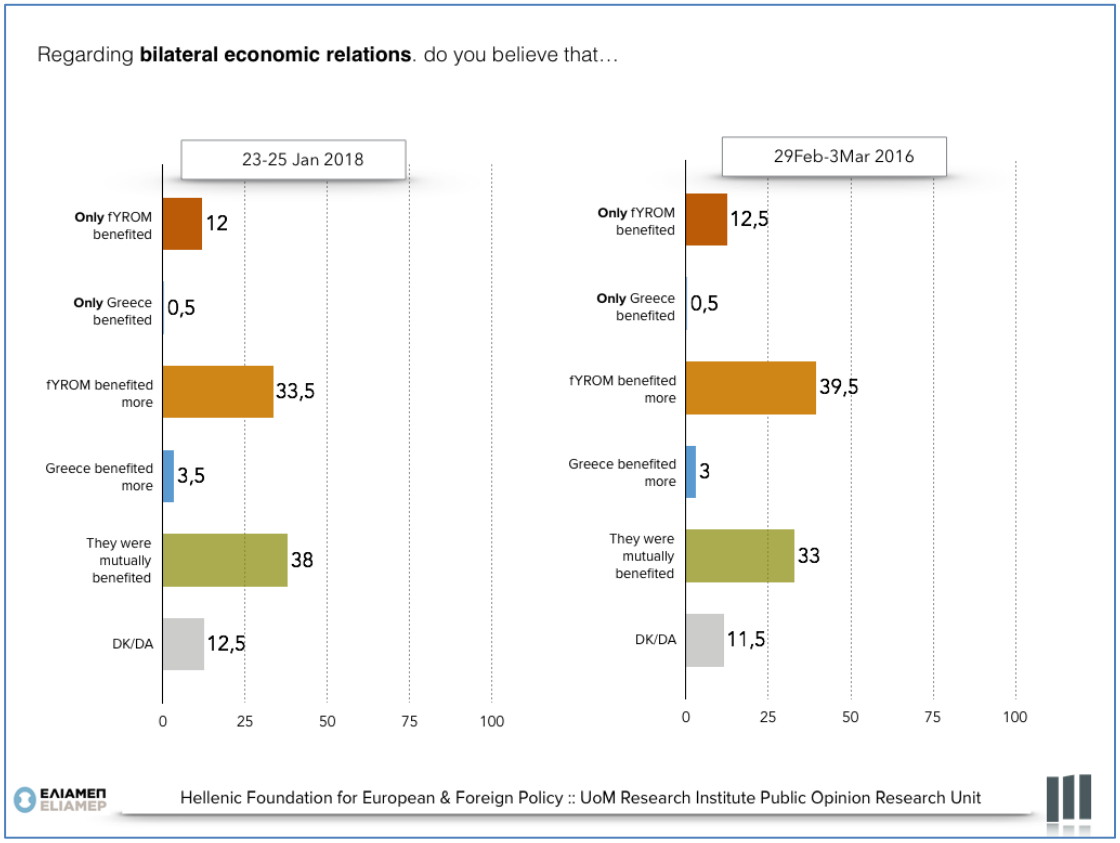
In this section, we attempted to evaluate attitudes on the current state and future prospects of relations between Greece and fYROM. Regarding the current state, the majority of the respondents (57%) consider them neither good, nor bad. About 3 out of 10 assess relations as good, and only 1 out of 10 considers them bad. A similar picture arose when respondents were asked to assess current relations in comparison to 12 months before. 16.5% considered that relations deteriorated, while 22.5% consider that they have improved. As for the next 12 months, views appear more diverse, probably reflecting the unclear political environment and potential implications on future developments. More than half of the respondents either Don't Know (22.5%) or consider that relations will remain the same (37%). Another 22% believe that relations will deteriorate, while only 18.5% believe that they will improve.



Graph 12 – Bilateral Relations

Assessment of bilateral economic relations

Our poll also measured the attitudes of the Greek public opinion about the state of economic cooperation between the two countries. Greece and fYROM maintain a long lasting economic cooperation, since major Greek organizations have made significant investment in fYROM. This question offers the opportunity to examine the beliefs Greek society holds about the economic basis of relations with Balkan neighbors, especially after the mid-1990s.

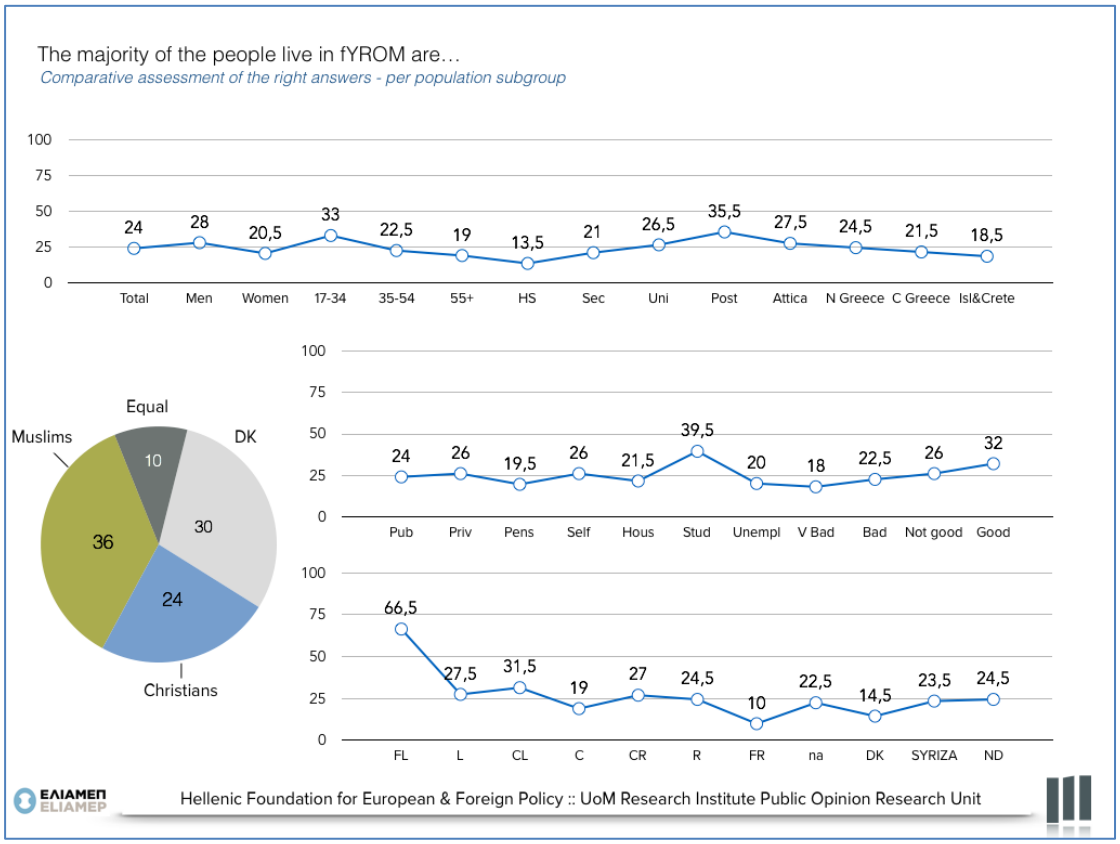


Graph 13 – Bilateral Economic Relations

The majority of respondents consider that there is clear winner of this cooperation and this is fYROM. 33.5% of respondents believe that fYROM gained more than Greece and 12% that only fYROM benefited, leading to a 45.5% in overall that believes that the outcome of the bilateral economic cooperation wasn't mutual beneficial. The statement that both countries mutual benefited is supported by 38% and only 4% consider that Greece was the main winner of this cooperation. The ranking of the results are quite similar to those of the previous 2016 poll. Although there is a decrease in the percentage of those regard fYROM as a clear winner (45.5% in 2018 while it was 52% in 2016), the distribution of the answers is similar. The majority believes that fYROM was the only beneficiary (33.5% in 2018 and 39.5% in 2016), there is a small increase among those that believe that economic partnership helped both countries (38% in 2018 while it was 33% in 2016), and in both waves only a minor share regard Greece as the only beneficiary (4% in 2018 vs 3.5% in 2016).

How well informed is the Greek public?

One of the issues we aimed to explore was the degree of knowledge that the public opinion possesses about fYROM and the dispute. So, we wanted to explore two main potential misconceptions about Greece's neighbour: how aware respondents are about the religious composition of fYROM's population and also if respondents know what is Greece's official position on the name dispute. These two concepts represent the two different sides on the same coin. Our poll found that respondents have a lack of knowledge about the population of fYROM and the fact that its majority is Christian. The question provided to the respondents only two options, so they were asked to choose if they believed that the majority in fYROM is Christians or Muslims. The correct reply was given by the 24% of respondents. In contrast, 36% of respondents replied that the majority of fYROM population is Muslim. Among subgroups only post-graduate degree holders (35.5%) and younger people of age between 17-34 (33%) gave correct answers that exceeded the average. Also, if we compare sub-groups according to the perceived importance of the issue and the compromising or not-compromising stance on the solution, we notice that only those that do not regard the issue as important differ significantly from the average of the correct answers.

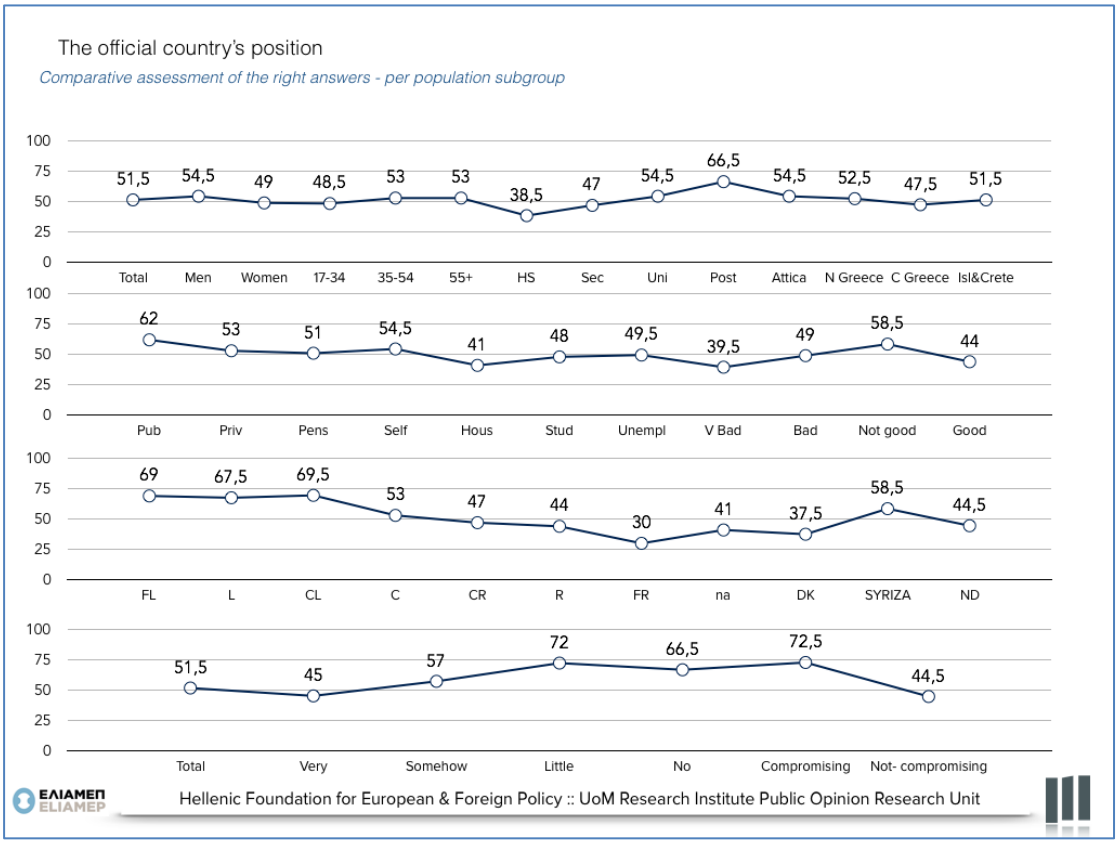


Graph 14 – The majority of the people live in fYROM are…

With regards to Greece's position on the issue, only one in two respondents (51.5%) are well aware of the country's official position. Respondents were asked to affirm that a statement given that described Greece's official position was right or wrong. It's surprising that although the issue was highly covered by the media and the Thessaloniki rally was held just a few days before the poll was fielded, only a marginal majority of the public opinion could correctly identify the official Greek position. About half of respondents, either did not know

or responded incorrectly. Specifically, 34% replied that the given statement about Greece's official position was wrong, and 14.5% did not know.

The degree of knowledge is correlated with the educational level, as more educated people have better knowledge of the issue. Overall, holders of a post-graduate degree seem to know better than other demographic categories the country's official position (66.5%). But the best knowledge of the issue is present among those that accept a compromise solution (72.5%) and among those where the perceived importance of the issue is low (72%). In contrast, the lowest rates, i.e. the least knowledge of the official position, could be found among those that reject any reference to the term Macedonia (44.5% of correct answers), voters of the main opposition party ND (44.5%) and people that place themselves on the right side of the left-right axis. Also, as the degree of knowledge is correlated with the educational level, the less educated have worse knowledge of the issue than the better educated ones.

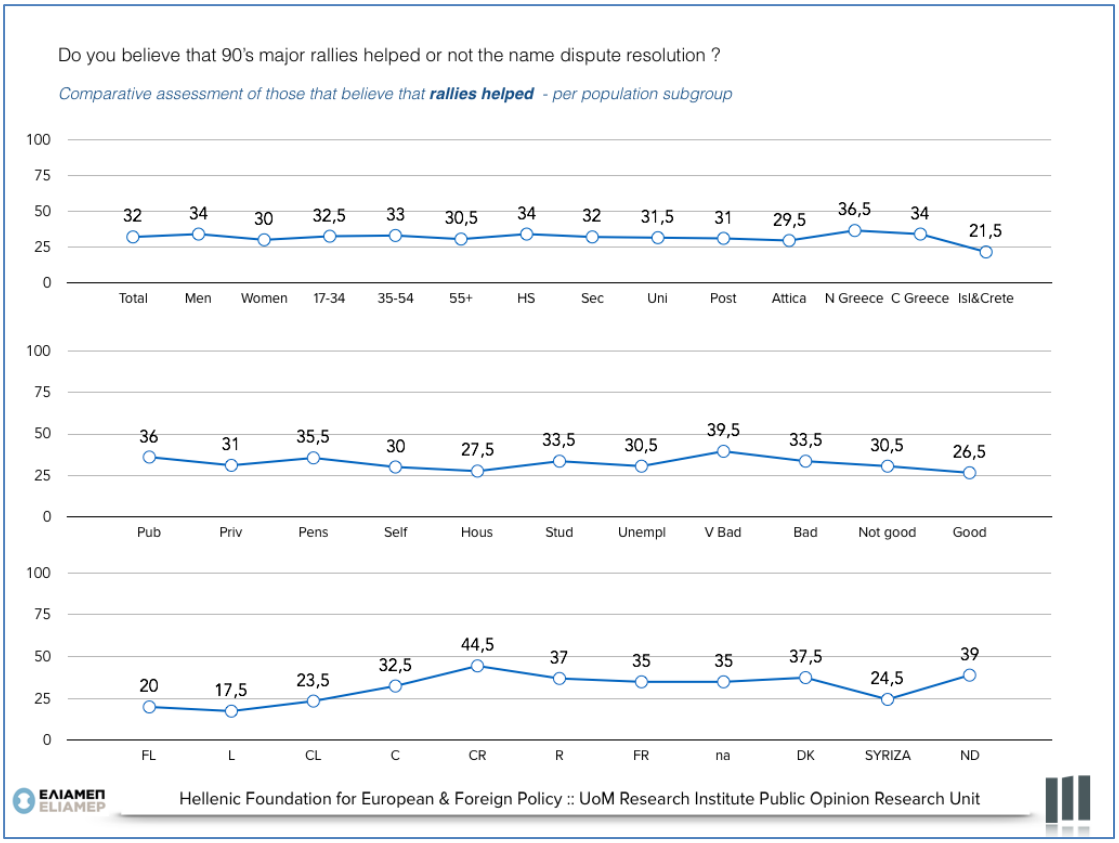


Graph 15 – The official country's position

What was the impact of the Greek rallies for Macedonia?

On Sunday 21 January 2018, just a few days before the data collection process started, a successful rally against any reference to the term Macedonia in a future solution was organised in Thessaloniki. Many people participated and even some came to Thessaloniki exclusively for this purpose. This rally was the first massive demonstration for the "name dispute" since the 1990s. After the Thessaloniki rally, a successful rally was organised in Athens on Sunday 4 February 2018, right after the completion of our survey.

We attempted to understand the way public opinion perceives the importance of the rallies and their impact on Greece's leverage in negotiations. To do so, we constructed two questions. The first asked the respondents to evaluate the impact that the 1990s have had on the name dispute. More than four in ten respondents (42.5%) replied that the 1990s rallies didn't actually help the settlement of the name dispute. About one in three (32%) said that the rallies did help the settlement of the dispute, while 16% replied that they had no impact and 9.5% chose the Don't Know answer. Among the population sub-groups there is largely an even overall distribution. More variation can be observed in the ideological sub-groups. People that place themselves into the right part of the LR axis are more likely than those in the left to think that the rallies helped (e.g. Centre-Right 44.5%). ND voters are also more supportive than the average (39%) as well as people living in the Northern part of Greece (36.5%).

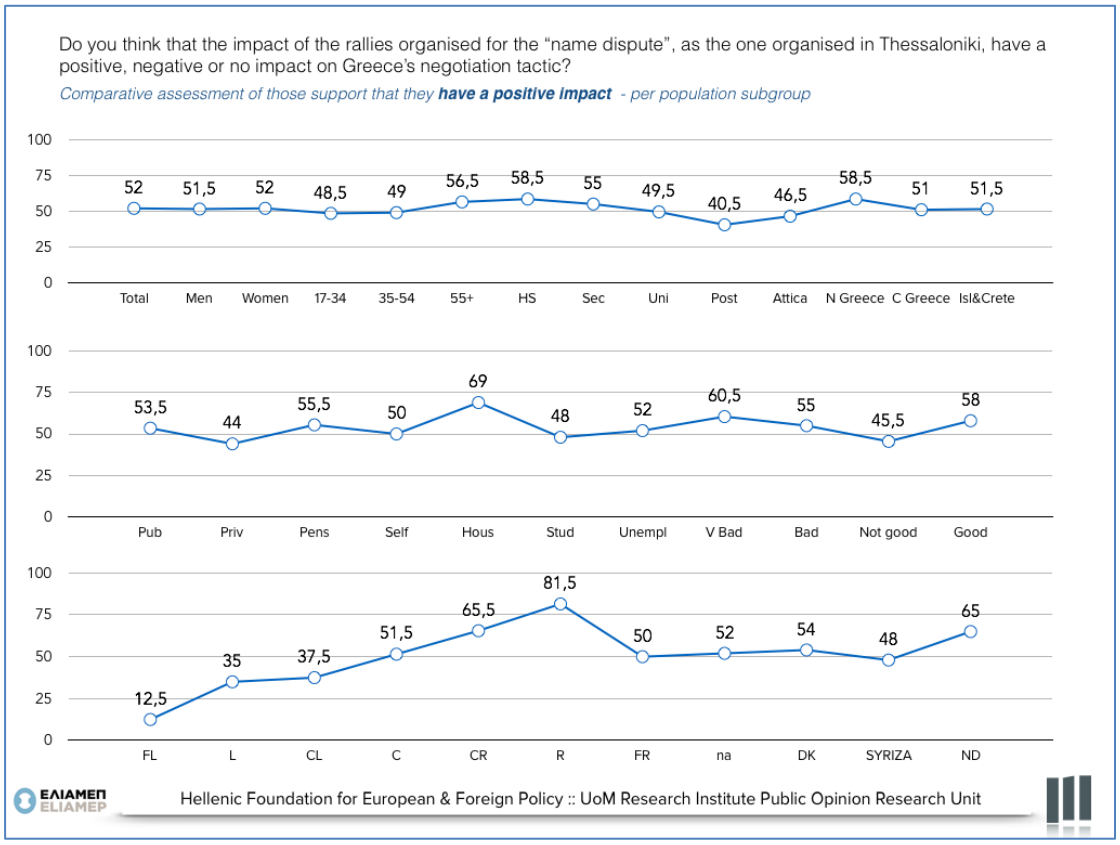


Graph 16 – Do you believe that 90's major rallies helped or not the name dispute resolution?

But when question focused on the rally that had taken place only a few days before the poll was held public opinions attitudes changed and adopted a more supporting perspective, possibly also due to the particular phrasing of the question. Thus, the second relevant

question posed on respondents was about whether the recent rally in Thessaloniki had a positive, negative or no impact on Greece's negotiation tactics (leverage). The majority of the respondents (52%) considered that the Thessaloniki rally would have a positive impact on Greece's negotiations efforts. In contrast, only 12.5% believe that it would have a negative impact, and 3 out of 10 (32.5%) believe that there would be no impact.

Comparing the results among population sub-groups we notice a significant correlation between the level of support for the Thessaloniki rally and political placement in LR axis. People that place themselves from the center to the right place of the spectrum are more supportive to the rally, as, also are the ND voters (65%). Holders of a postgraduate degree are the least supportive (40.5% positive stance), as well as residents in Attica (46.5% positive assessment).

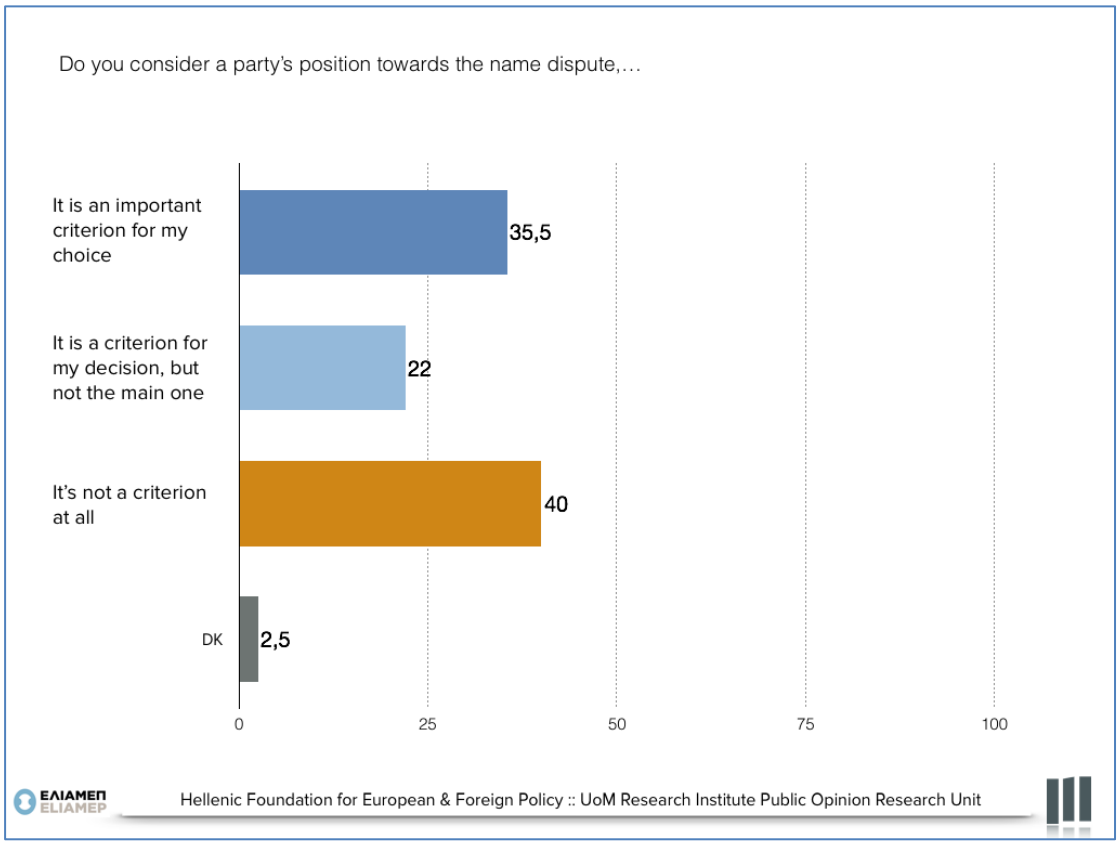


Graph 17 – Do you think that the impact of the rallies organized for the "name dispute", as the on organised in Thessaloniki, have a positive, negative or no impact on Greece's negotiation tactic?

Overall, when the issue was presented at a rather neutral factual context, i.e. an assessment of past events - the rallies are perceived as less effective. But when respondents are asked to evaluate a present event, that mobilized and in which many people participated, they present a different attitude. Still, at present, rallies are a preferential field for those that place themselves on the right side of the LR axis.

Political implications

As the name issue emphatically returned to the political agenda, party politics inserted it into their daily confrontation. In that context, we aimed to measure potential implications of the name dispute for electoral behavior. We asked respondents to state whether or not they will take into consideration parties' positions on the name dispute when deciding for their preferred party in the next elections. The results were mixed. Four in ten respondents stated that parties' positions on the name dispute do not matter for their personal voting preference. However, 35.5% of respondents thought that the issue is important for their voting preference and another 22% stated that the name dispute will be taken into consideration, but it's not their primary vote-determining issue. Thus, for the majority of respondents (57.5%) the name dispute does play a role in determining voting behavior, and the role can be primary or not. Among the population subgroups it's not surprising that people who place themselves on the right place of the LR axis consider the matter as more important.



Graph 18 – Do you consider a party's position towards the name dispute……

Summary of findings and concluding remarks

In its attitudes towards the name dispute, the public opinion in Greece appears to be highly emotional, but also full of paradoxes and inconsistencies. The Greek public considers the name issue as a matter of great importance; and, as a salient issue, Greeks think that the issue should be resolved the soonest possible as any delay harms Greek interests. They also admit that if the issue is not resolved soon then fYROM would uniformly be recognized internationally as Macedonia. But, at the same time, the Greek public appears to be totally unwilling to compromise in order to prevent such a negative development; when asked whether it would accept a composite name that would include the term "Macedonia" a significant rejectionist outlook predominates. Thus, the percentage of those who reject any reference to the term "Macedonia" is in the 2018 poll even larger than the comfortable majority that emerged already in the 2016 wave. Back then, the issue was still salient, but not at the top of the political agenda. As in 2018 the issue returned full force as priority of governments and parties, becoming part of the daily political agenda and news, the rejectionist outlook sharply increased. Evidently, as salience and political attention (and the accompanying popular mobilization) increases, the non-accommodative/rejectionist stance also grows stronger.

Inconsistencies and paradoxes can be explained by emotional and political arguments. The Greek public opinion appears sensitized to –and sensitive about- various dimensions of the problem that are not always visible to outsiders. For example, the Greek public considers at times the perceived the falsification of historical narratives as more important and a bigger problem than territorial threats. This adds to the sense that this international politics problem is clouded by a measure of irrational attitudes. When Greek respondents are asked to state whether they believe or not that a foreign country presents a threat to Greece they single-handedly identify Turkey as the source of such threat. fYROM, in contrast, is uniformly considered a non-threat to Greece. Many more Greeks are willing to accept that fYROM may present a threat in the future. But this is an elusive perception of threat that does not directly correspond to the facts on the ground. And even in the case of a future territorial threat presented by fYROM, many more Greeks are more disturbed by what they perceive historical fabrication in fYROM's national identity narrative. All these make for a quite peculiar international political dispute, one that is not easily comprehended by foreign observers.

Moreover, the political exploitation of the matter and the confrontation that takes place in the Greek political arena could be explained by the perceived importance of the name dispute and the stance held by specific population sub-groups. People that place themselves on the center and right side of the LR axis are more sensitive about the name dispute and ready to reject any compromise solution in larger than the average percentages. The same applies to people residing in Northern Greece.

A factor worth noting here is also the level of ignorance that the Greek public seems to have about specific parameters of the problem. The Greek public is not aware of the religious composition of fYROM's population and only a marginal majority could identify what Greece's official position on the dispute is. As the dispute lingers for more than 25 years, and also has attracted a lot of attention and media coverage lately, this evident lack of knowledge is both startling and perplexing. Even more interesting and puzzling is the fact that Greeks appear more honest and self-reflective about the experience of the 1990s 'Macedonia rallies', while when asked about the new rallies they are unwilling to question their effectiveness. The emotional element seems to strengthen whenever poll questions touch upon contemporary facets and manifestations of the name dispute.

Greece's curious public opinion picture is reinforced when the questions about international life are considered. The 2016 poll had abundant pessimism, probably due to the 2015 events that threatened Greece's position in the international environment. But the fact is that even in 2018 the Greek public opinion appears introvert and quite pessimistic about Greece's international standing and role. This is more than evident in the way that relations with traditional allies and partners are perceived by the wider public. While the Greek diplomacy has carefully crafted its strategy around the fact that Greece is a member in the most effective international organisations and allied to some of the most powerful countries in the world, the Greek public appears unwilling to entertain the thought that such international alliances may actually benefit Greece. The same reluctance and distrust is evident also when we consider economic relations with neighbouring countries, despite the fact that Greece develops such encounters from a position of comparative advantage.

Appendix 1. The questionnaire (Greek version)

2310 891 796 | 2310 897 900 **facebook**: ResearchUnitUoM

ΜΟΝΑΔΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΓΝΩΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΕΠΙ –ΠΑ.ΜΑΚ.

Έρευνα για την Ευρωπαϊκή και Εξωτερική πολιτική–Ιανουάριος2018

Καλημέρα/Καλησπέρα σας,

Σας τηλεφωνούμε από τη Μονάδα Ερευνών του Πανεπιστημίου Μακεδονίας. Διεξάγουμεμία έρευνα για λογαριασμό του **Ελληνικού Ιδρύματος Ευρωπαϊκής και Εξωτερικής πολιτικής** στο πλαίσιο ενός ερευνητικού προγράμματος. Θα μπορούσα να μιλήσω **για πέντε λεπτά με** το νεότερο μέλος της οικογένειάς σας που είναι άνω των 17 ετών και βρίσκεται εκεί αυτή τη στιγμή;

Σας ευχαριστώ πολύ. Θα ήθελα να σας ενημερώσω πως ο τηλεφωνικός σας αριθμός **έχει επιλεγεί τυχαία**, **δεν είναι γνωστός σε κανέναν** και οι **απαντήσεις** σας θα **παραμείνουναπόρρητες**.

Σας ενημερώνω επίσης πως επιστημονικά υπεύθυνος της έρευνας είναι ο Καθηγητής Νίκος Μαραντζίδης.

Ενότητα Α. Γενικού ενδιαφέροντος

1. Αρχικά θα ήθελα να σας ρωτήσω, σε σύγκριση μ' έναν χρόνο πριν, η θέση της χώρας μας στον κόσμο πιστεύετε πως σήμερα είναι **πιο ισχυρή**, **πιο αδύνατη**, ή **παρέμεινε η ίδια**;

ΠΙΟ ΙΣΧΥΡΗ	1
ΠΙΟ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΗ	2
Η ΙΔΙΑ	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

2. Και τους επόμενους **δώδεκα μήνες** πιστεύετε πως θα είναι πιο ισχυρή, πιο αδύνατη, ή η ίδια με σήμερα ;

Πιο ισχυρή / ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΗ	1
Πιο αδύνατη / ΧΕΙΡΟΤΕΡΗ	2
Η ΙΔΙΑ	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

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

ΝΑΙ	1	
ΟΧΙ	2	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88	

4. (Μόνο εάν ερ3=ΝΑΙ) Και ποια είναι αυτή ; (αυθόρμητες αποκρίσεις) ; .....

Ενότητα Β. Ζητήματα σχέσεων με πΓΔΜ

5. 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 την πρώην Γιουγκοσλαβικής Δημοκρατίας της Μακεδονίας**. Πόσο σημαντικό ζήτημα είναι για εσάς προσωπικά το ζήτημα της **ονομασίας την πρώην Γιουγκοσλαβικής Δημοκρατίας της Μακεδονίας;**

ΠΟΛΥ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΟ	1
ΚΑΠΩΣ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΟ	2
ΛΙΓΟ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΟ (ΟΥΔΕΤΕΡΟ)	3
ΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ ΑΣΗΜΑΝΤΟ	4
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

6. Και για εσάς πόσο σημαντικό είναι να επιλυθεί **άμεσα** το ζήτημα της ονομασίας ;

ΠΟΛΥ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΟ	1
ΚΑΠΩΣ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΟ	2
ΟΥΔΕΤΕΡΟ	3
ΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΟ / ΑΣΗΜΑΝΤΟ	4
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

7. Εσείς προσωπικά **ποια λύση θα αποδεχόσασταν** για την ονομασία της γειτονικής μας χώρας ;

Σελίδα **1** από **4**

ΜΙΑ ΣΥΝΘΕΤΗ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ ΠΟΥ ΘΑ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΡΟ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ **όπως για παράδειγμα Άνω Μακεδονία ή Νέα Μακεδονία ή Βόρεια Μακεδονία**	1
ΝΑ ΜΗΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ Ο ΟΡΟΣ «ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ» ΣΤΗΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ	2
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

8. **(μόνο για όσους απορρίπτουν οποιαδήποτε αναφορά στον όρο «Μακεδονία»)** Εάν θεωρητικά καταλήγαμε σε μία λύση στην οποία η ΠΓΔΜ θα αποδέχονταν την αλλαγή στην ονομασία της χωρίς τον όρο Μακεδονία αλλά μόνο για τις σχέσεις της με την Ελλάδα ενώ θα χρησιμοποιούσε τον όρο Μακεδονία στις σχέσεις της με τα άλλα κράτη. Αυτό θα το θεωρούσατε μία θετική ή αρνητική εξέλιξη ;

Θετική	1
Αδιάφορη	2
Αρνητική	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

9. **(μόνο για όσους επιλέγουν μία σύνθετη ονομασία)** Εάν θεωρητικά καταλήγαμε σε μία λύση στην οποία η ΠΓΔΜ αποδέχονταν μία σύνθετη ονομασία για τις εξωτερικές της σχέσεις αλλά στο εσωτερικό της διατηρούσε το συνταγματικό της όνομα «Δημοκρατία της Μακεδονίας». Αυτό θα το θεωρούσατε μία θετική ή αρνητική εξέλιξη ;

Θετική	1
Αδιάφορη	2
Αρνητική	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

10. Αρκετοί άνθρωποι εκφράζουν το φόβο πως ηχρήση της λέξης «Μακεδονία» ως μέρος του ονόματοςτης γειτονικής χώραςμπορεί να κρύβει μία**μελλοντική εδαφική απειλή για τη χώρα μας**. Εσείς συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε με αυτήν την τοποθέτηση;

Συμφωνώ	1
ΟΥΤΕ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩ / ΟΥΤΕ ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ	2
ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

11. Αρκετοί άνθρωποι, επίσης,θεωρούν πως ηχρήση της λέξης «Μακεδονία» ως μέρος του ονόματοςτης γειτονικής χώρας αποτελεί **παραχάραξη της ιστορίας ΜΑΣ**. Εσείς συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε με αυτήν την τοποθέτηση;

Συμφωνώ	1
ΟΥΤΕ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩ / ΟΥΤΕ ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ	2
ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

12. Αρκετοί άνθρωποι, ακόμη, εκφράζουν το φόβο πως εάν το ζήτημα δεν επιλυθεί **ακόμη και με μία σύνθετη ονομασία που θα περιλαμβάνει τον όρο Μακεδονία,** τότε θα καταλήξει σε μία επί της ουσίας αναγνώριση από **όλα**τα υπόλοιπα κράτη με τον όρο «Δημοκρατία της Μακεδονίας». Πόσο πιθανό θεωρείτε πως είναι να συμβεί αυτό;

Βέβαιο	1
Πολύ πιθανό	2
Λίγο πιθανό	3
Απίθανο	4
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

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

ΝΑΙ	1
ΟΧΙ	2
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

14. Για την επίλυση της ονομασίας έχουν κατά καιρούς εμπλακεί διεθνείς οργανισμοί και ξένεςχώρες. 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 ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΑΣ				
12.4. ΤΟΥ ΟΗΕ				
12.5. Της Ρωσίας				
12.6. Του ΝΑΤΟ				

15. Κατά καιρούς τα ελληνικά κόμματα έχουν εκφράσει άλλες φορές πιο έντονα άλλες φορές πιο ήπια τη στάση τους απέναντι στο ζήτημα της ονομασίας της πΓΔΜ. Για εσάς προσωπικά η στάση ενός κόμματος στο θέμα της ονομασίας της πΓΔΜ…

Αποτελεί σημαντικό κριτήριο για να το επιλέξετε	1
Αποτελεί κριτήριο αλλά όχι σημαντικό για να το επιλέξετε	2
Δεν αποτελεί κριτήριο	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

Ενότητα Γ. Σχέσεις Ελλάδας –πΓΔΜ

16. Εσείς προσωπικά πιστεύετε πως σήμερα οι σχέσεις των δύο κρατών δηλαδή της Ελλάδας και της πρώην Γιουγκοσλαβικής Δημοκρατίας της Μακεδονίας είναι…

Καλές	1
Κακές	2
Ούτε καλές, ούτε κακές	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

17. Και σήμερα οι σχέσεις των δύο κρατών είναι καλύτερες, χειρότερες ή οι ίδιες από ότι ήταν 12 μήνες πριν ;

Καλύτερες	1
Χειρότερες	2
Ούτε καλύτερες, ούτε χειρότερες	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

18. Και μέσα στους επόμενους 12 μήνες οι σχέσεις της Ελλάδος με την πγδΜ πιστεύετε πως…

ΘΑ ΒΕΛΤΙΩΘΟΥΝ	1
ΘΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΤΕΡΕΥΣΟΥΝ	2
ΘΑ ΜΕΙΝΟΥΝ ΙΔΙΕΣ	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

19. Μιλώντας, τέλος, για τις **οικονομικέςσχέσεις** Ελλάδας-ΠΓΔΜ/Σκοπίων, πιστεύετε πως…

ΜΟΝΟ Η ΠΓΔΜ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΑΥΤΕΣ.	1
ΜΟΝΟ Η ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΑΥΤΕΣ.	2
Η ΠΓΔΜ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΤΕΡΟ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ.	3
Η ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΤΕΡΟ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΓΔΜ.	4
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΥΟ ΧΩΡΕΣ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΑΜΟΙΒΑΙΑ;	5
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

Ενότητα Δ. Γνώσεις / Ψήφος / Τοποθέτησης

20. Θα ήθελα να σας θέσω κάποιες γενικές ερωτήσεις κλείνοντας. Η πλειοψηφία των κατοίκων στην ΠΓΔΜ σήμερα θα λέγατε πως είναι…

Χριστιανοί Ορθόδοξοι	
Μουσουλμάνοι	
Μισοί – Μισοί (αυθόρμητα)	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

21. **«Η επίσημη θέση της χώρας μας στη διαπραγμάτευση με την πΓΔΜ είναι πως επιζητά μία σύνθετη ονομασία που να περιέχει τον όρο Μακεδονία μεγεωγραφικό προσδιορισμό και αυτή να ισχύει έναντι όλων».** Αυτό που σας διάβασα είναι σωστό ή λάθος ;

Σωστό	
Λάθος	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

22. Τέλος, πιστεύετε πως τα συλλαλητήρια για το «Μακεδονικό ζήτημα», όπως για παράδειγμα αυτό που έγινε στη Θεσσαλονίκη την προηγούμενη Κυριακή, ενισχύουν, δυσκολεύουν ή δεν έχουν κάποια επίδραση στη διαπραγματευτική τακτική της χώρας μας…

Ενισχύουν	
Δυσκολεύουν	
Καμία επίδραση	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

23. Και ειδικότερα, πιστεύετε πως τα μεγάλα συλλαλητήρια της δεκαετίας του 1990 για το ζήτημα της ονομασίας της πΓΔΜ βοήθησαν ή όχι στην επίλυση του ζητήματος ;

Βοήθησαν	
Δεν βοήθησαν	
Δεν είχαν κάποια επίδραση	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

24. Πολλοί άνθρωποι επιλέγουν στις εκλογές να μην ψηφίσουν, είτε επειδή είναι μακριά από τον τόπο κατοικίας τους, είτε γιατί συνειδητά επιλέγουν την αποχή. **Εσείς ψηφίσατε στις τελευταίες εκλογές του Σεπτεμβρίου του 2015** ; (ΑΝ ΔΕΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΑΝ, βάζουμε ΔΕΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΑ – **ΑΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΑΝ** ΣΥΝΕΧΙΖΟΥΜΕ). **Ποιο κόμμα ψηφίσατε;**
…….. (αυθόρμητες αποκρίσεις)

25. Και τέλος, πολλές φορές στην πολιτική μιλάμε για τους όρους αριστερά και δεξιά. Εσείς που τοποθετείτε τον εαυτό σας….

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	20	88
ΑΚΡΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ	ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ	ΚΕΝΤΡΟ-ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ	ΚΕΝΤΡΟ	ΚΕΝΤΡΟ-ΔΕΞΙΑ	ΔΕΞΙΑ	ΑΚΡΑ ΔΕΞΙΑ	(ΑΥΘ) Δεν με εκφράζει ο άξονας	ΔΞ/ΔΑ

ΔΗΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ

1. Φύλο

ΑΝΔΡΑΣ	ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ
1	2

2. Ηλικία

18-24 ΕΤΩΝ	1
25-34 ΕΤΩΝ	2
35-44 ΕΤΩΝ	3
45-54 ΕΤΩΝ	4
55-64 ΕΤΩΝ	5
ΑΝΩ ΤΩΝ 65 ΕΤΩΝ	6
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

3. Μορφωτικό επίπεδο

ΔΕΝ ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΗΣΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟ	1
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΥ	2
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΥ	3
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΛΥΚΕΙΟ	4
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΤΕΧΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ / ΙΕΚ	5
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΤΕΙ/ΑΕΙ	6
ΚΑΤΟΧΟΣ ΜΕΤΑΠΤΥΧΙΑΚΟΥ ή Δρ.	7
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	88

4. Επαγγελματική κατάσταση

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΟΣ	1
ΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΟΣ ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΟΣ	2
ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΟΥΧΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΥ	3
ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΟΥΧΟΣ ΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΟΥ	4
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΙΑΣ / ΕΜΠΟΡΟΣ	5
ΑΥΤΟΑΠΑΣΧΟΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ	6
ΟΙΚΙΑΚΑ	7
ΑΝΕΡΓΟΣ	8
ΦΟΙΤΗΤΗΣ	9
ΑΓΡΟΤΗΣ	10
ΑΛΛΟ	11

5. **(Οικονομική κατάσταση)** Ποια από τις παρακάτω φράσεις εκφράζει καλύτερα την οικονομική κατάσταση του νοικοκυριού σας ;

ΔΕΝ ΤΑ ΒΓΑΖΩ ΠΕΡΑ	1
ΤΑ ΒΓΑΖΩ ΠΕΡΑ ΜΕ ΠΟΛΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΕΣ ΔΥΣΚΟΛΙΕΣ	2
ΤΑ ΒΓΑΖΩ ΠΕΡΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΔΕ ΜΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΚΡΗ	3
ΕΙΜΑΙ ΑΝΕΤΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΑ	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	5

6. **(Τάξη)** Και σε ποια κοινωνική τάξη θα λέγατε πως ανήκετε…

Κατώτερη προς μεσαία	1
Μεσαία	2
Ανώτερη προς μεσαία	3
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	5

7. Γεωγραφική περιφέρεια

ΑΤΤΙΚΗ	1
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ	
ΣΤΕΡΕΑ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ	
ΘΡΑΚΗ	
ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ	
ΗΠΕΙΡΟΣ	
ΑΙΓΑΙΟ	
ΚΡΗΤΗ	
ΙΟΝΙΟ	

Appendix 2. The questionnaire (English version)

Research Unit- UoM

Research on European and Foreign Policy–**January 2018**

Good morning/Good evening to all,

We are calling from the Research Unit of the University of Macedonia. We are conducting research on behalf of the **Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy** in the context of a research program. Could I speak **for five minutes** with the youngest member of the household, who is older than 17 and is currently there?

Thank you very much. I would like to inform you that your telephone number was **chosen at random, is not known by anyone** and your **answers** will **remain confidential**.

I would also like to inform you that Professor Nikos Marantzidis is scientifically responsible for this study.

Section A. General Interest

1. First, I would like to ask you, do you believe that the position of our country in the world today is **stronger**, **weaker** or **remained the same**, in comparison to the previous year?

STRONGER	1
WEAKER	2
THE SAME	3
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

2. Do you believe that, in the **next 12 months**, the country will become stronger, weaker or remain the same as today?

Stronger/ BETTER	1
Weaker/ WORSE	2
THE SAME	3
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

3. Generally speaking, do you believe that there is country that poses a threat to Greece?

YES	1	
NO	2	
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88	

4. (Only if q3=YES) Which country would that be? **(spontaneous responses)**?

TURKEY	1	ALBANIA	5	RUSSIA	5
GERMANY	2	FYROM	6	USA…	6

Section B. Issue of Relations with FYROM

5. I would now like to ask you opinion on one of the issues that relates to our country's foreign policy, the issue of **naming the Former Yugoslavic Republic of Macedonia.** How important is the issue of the **name the Former Yugoslavic Republic of Macedonia** for you personally?

VERY IMPORTANT	1
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	2
OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE (NEUTRAL)	3
NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	4
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

6. And how important is it to you to have the issue of the name resolved **immediately**?

VERY IMPORTANT	1
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	2
NEUTRAL	3
NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT/UNIMPORTANT	4
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

7. **Experiment. Conditions of consensus**

Control condition	0	Condition 1 (Consensus)	1

7.1. **(Control Condition)** Which **solution** would you **personally accept** as the name of our neighboring country?

7.2. **(Condition 1- Consensus)** If we were to assume that the **Prime Minister, Alexis Tsipras, AND the leader of the opposition, Kyriakos Mitsotakis**, **agreed for a solution to the name issue** by adopting a composite name, for example Upper-Macedonia or New-Macedonia or Northern-Macedonia, which solution would you **personally accept** as the name of our neighboring country?

A COMPOSITE NAME THAT INCLUDES THE TERM MACEDONIA **for example Upper-Macedonia or New-Macedonia or Northern-Macedonia**	1
A NAME WITHOUT THE TERM "MACEDONIA"	2
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

8. **(only for those who reject any reference to the term "Macedonia")** If, hypothetically, we agreed on a solution, according to which FYROM would accept to change its name into one that would not include the term "Macedonia", but only for its relations to Greece, while it would use the term "Macedonia" when dealing with other states, would you deem that as a positive or negative development?

Positive	1
Indifferent	2
Negative	3
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

9. **(only for those who choose a composite name)** If, hypothetically, we agreed on a solution, according to which FYROM would accept the composite name for its foreign relations, but would domestically maintain its constitutional name "Republic of Macedonia", would you deem that as a positive or negative development?

Positive	1
Indifferent	2

Negative	3
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

10. Many express fear that the use of the word "Macedonia" as part of the name of our neighboring country might imply a **future territorial threat for our country**. Do you agree or disagree with this position?

AGREE	1
NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	2
DISAGREE	3
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

11. Many also believe that the use of the word "Macedonia" a part of the name of our neighboring country constitutes a **falsification of OUR history**. Do you agree or disagree with this position?

AGREE	1
NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	2
DISAGREE	3
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

12. Several people, moreover, express fear that, if the issue is not resolved, **even with a composite name that would include the term "Macedonia"**, then that would result to the, in essence, recognition of that state as "Republic of Macedonia" by **all** other states. How likely is this to occur in your opinion?

Certain	1
Very likely	2
Unlikely	3
Impossible	4
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

13. Do you believe that the delay in resolving the name issue harms our country?

YES	1
NO	2
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

14. In order to resolve the name issue, international organizations and other countries have, at times, been involved. Do you personally believe that the efforts **[name]** to resolve the name issue are... **[items]**

	BENEFITING GREECE	BENEFITING FYROM	EQUAL BENEFIT TO BOTH COUNTRIES	DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER
12.1. OF THE EUROPEAN UNION				
12.2. OF THE USA				
12.3. OF GERMANY				
12.4. OF THE UN				
12.5. OF RUSSIA				
12.6. OF NATO				

15. At times, Greek parties have expressed sometimes more intensively other times more mildly their stance on the FYROM name issue. For you personally, the stance of a party on the FYROM name issue …

Constitutes a key factor in choosing it	1
Constitutes a factor, but not so important for choosing	2
Does not constitute a factor	3
Don't Know/Don't answer	88

16. Would you say that the actions and the stance of the following people in regard to the FYROM name issue are in the right or wrong direction….

		In the right direction	In the wrong direction	Don't Know/Don't answer
1	Of Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras			
2	Of Leader of the Opposition Kyriakos Mitsotakis			
3	Of Foreign Affairs Minister Nikos Kotzias			

4	Of National Defence Minister Panos Kammenos			
5	Of Mayor of Thessaloniki Y. Boutaris			
6	Of Regional Governor of Central Macedonia A. Tzitzikostas			
7	Of Archbishop Ieronymos			

Section C. Greece-FYROM Relations

17. Do you personally believe that today the relations between the two countries, that is Greece and the Former Yugoslavic Republic of Macedonia, are…?

Good	1
Bad	2
Neither good, nor bad	3
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

18. And are these relations today better, worse or the same than they were 12 months before?

Better	1
Worse	2
Neither good, nor bad	3
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

19. And do you believe that in the next 12 months the relations of Greece and FYROM…

WILL IMPROVE	1
WILL WORSEN	2
WILL REMAIN THE SAME	3
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

20. Lastly, with regards to the **economic relations** between Greece-FYROM, do you believe that…

ONLY FYROM HAS BENEFITTED FROM THEM	1
ONLY GREECE HAS BENEFITTED FROM THEM	2
FYROM HAS BENEFITTED MORE THAT GREECE	3
GREECE HAS BENEFITTED MORE THAN FYROM	4
BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE MUTUALLY BENEFITED	5
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

Section D. Knowledge/Vote/Position

21. In closing, I would like to ask some general questions. Would you say that the majority of people living in FYROM today are…?

Christian Orthodox	
Muslim	
Half-Half (spontaneously)	
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

22. **"The official position of our country in the negotiation with FYROM is that we aim for a composite name that includes the term Macedonia with a geographical qualifier and that this should apply to all (erga omnes)".** What I just read is right or wrong?

Right	
Wrong	
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

23. Lastly, do you believe that the rallies about the "Macedonian Issue", as for example the one held in Thessaloniki last Sunday, strengthen, undermine or do not have any effect on the negotiating tactic of our country…

Strengthen	
Undermine	
No effect	
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

24. And more specifically, do you believe that the large rallies of the 1990s about the FYROM name issue helped to resolve the issue or not?

Helped	
Did not help	
Had no effect	
Don't Know/Don't Answer	88

25. Many choose not to vote in elections, either because they are far from their place of residence, or they consciously choose to abstain. **Did you vote during the last elections in September 2015?** (IF THEY DID NOT VOTE, we write down DID NOT VOTE- **IF THEY VOTED**, WE CONTINUE). **Which party did you vote for?**

ND	1
SYRIZA	2
PASOK – DIMAR (DEMOCRATIC ALIGNMENT)	3
ANEL	4
XRYSI AYGI	5
KKE	7
TO POTAMI	14
ANTARSYA	13
ENOSI KENTROON (Leventis)	30
LAIKI ENOTITA (Lafazanis)	40
OTHER (we add it…)	50
INVALID/ BLANK	66
DID NOT VOTE	77
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

26. And lastly, many times in politics we refer to the terms left and right. Where would you position yourselves…?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	20	88
FAR LEFT	LEFT	CENTER-LEFT	CENTER	CENTER-RIGHT	RIGHT	FAR RIGHT	(SPONTANEOUS) THE AXIS DOES NOT REPRESENT ME	DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER

Demographic Characteristics

1. Gender

MALE	FEMALE
1	2

2. Age

18-24 YEARS OLD	1
25-34 YEARS OLD	2
35-44 YEARS OLD	3
45-54 YEARS OLD	4
55-64 YEARS OLD	5
OVER 65 YEARS OLD	6
DON'T KNOW/ DON'T ANSWER	88

3. Educational level

DID NOT GRADUATE PRIMARY SCHOOL	1
GRADUATE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL	2
GRADUATE OF GYMNASIO	3
GRADUATE OF LYKEION (HIGH SCHOOL)	4
GRADUATE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION/ IEK	5
GRADUATE OF TEI/AEI (UNIVERSITY)	6
GRADUATE OF MASTERS OR DOCTORATE	7
DON'T KNOW/DON'T ANSWER	88

4. Occupational situation

CIVIL SERVANT	1
PRIVATE EMPLOYEE	2
PENSIONER OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR	3
PENSIONER OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR	4
FREELANCE/ MERCHANT	5
SELF-EMPLOYED SCIENTIST	6
HOMEMAKER	7
UNEMPLOYED	8
STUDENT	9
FARMER	10
OTHER	11

5. **(Financial situation)** Which of the following statements best describes the financial situation of your household?

UNABLE TO MAKE ENDS MEET	1
MAKING ENDS MEET WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY	2
MAKING ENDS MEET BUT NOT MUCH REMAINS	3
FINANCIALLY COMFORTABLE	3
DON'T KNOW/ DON'T ANSWER	5

6. **(Class)** And in which social class would you say you belong…

Lowest to middle	1
Middle	2
Highest to middle	3
Unaware/Unwilling to answer	5

7. Geographical Region

ATTICA	1
MACEDONIA	
CENTRAL GREECE	
THRACE	
PELOPONNESE	
EPIRUS	
AEGEAN ISLANDS	
CRETE	
IONIAN ISLANDS	

8. (If located in **Macedonia**) County

	1

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