

**Perceptions of war and justice amongst Greek mobilisers:
The case of the Iraq second war**

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the perceptions of war and justice amongst Greek mobilisers, focusing on the latest war in Iraq. The data is based on questionnaires administered during the EU Summit meeting at Thessaloniki, Greece, during June 19-21, 2003. Although similar research is conducted by other research teams in different countries, our dataset differs in two important ways: First, the people interviewed were ‘activists’ and not the (possibly) one-off demonstrator. Thus, we hope to get an insight into the beliefs of a quite distinctive and rather under-researched social group. Second, at the time of research, the war in Iraq was effectively over, while in other research data was collected prior or during the war. Accordingly, our results offer themselves to comparative assessment; namely, is there a time-effect on war’s perceptions and justification? Does (achieved) ‘success’ justify the ‘means’? Thus, we try to monitor the echo of Iraq war as juxtaposed to attitudes towards war in general. Finally, and since the mobilisations at Thessaloniki were staged by different groups which had, hitherto, avoided any co-operation, this paper will try to examine to which extent this separation is due to each group’s distinctive socio-economic following or rather on resource mobilisation issues.

Introduction

This paper is going to present some preliminary findings concerning the stance towards war (in general) and the Iraq war (in particular). The findings are based on our team’s ground research¹ during the June 2003 mobilisations in Thessaloniki, Greece, on the eve of the EU summit of the Hellenic Presidency at the European Union. The questionnaire we have used is a (partially) revised version of the questionnaire used by Stefaan Walgrave and his international team, while investigating the February 15, 2003, international anti-war mobilisations.

Our team had visited the activists’ main camping sites (the campus of the University, Velideion Conference Centre, Aghios Pavlos etc.), where the questionnaires were

¹ The research was organised and co-ordinated by Prof. Moses Boudourides (University of Patras) and Dr. Iosif Botetzagias (Keele University). The questionnaires were administered at the spot (over a four

distributed over a four-day period (June 17 to June 20). The vast majority were collected on the spot, while around 50 questionnaires were picked up the following week, through some of the organising groups we have been in contact with. In total we have managed to collect approx. 180 questionnaires, 148 of which were answered by Greek respondents and the remaining were answered by non-Greek mobilisers participating at the events.

The mobilisers' profile

Before we proceed to the presentation and an initial analysis of our findings, it is important to stress that since our team was situated within the mobilisers' camps, it is highly plausible that our sample suffers from a 'selection' bias. Namely, the people we have 'interviewed' were not the occasional lay-people who might join a protest event on a last minute decision: rather, they were individuals who were willing, to say the least, to spend a couple of days out in the open, in their tents. Thus, this group of mobilisers consists of rather committed individuals. To that extent, our respondents' characteristics could be different than the research results of Walgrave *et al.*, who interviewed individuals prior to the major demonstration events².

The basic demographic data of the respondents are presented in Tables 1 to 6. Our sample is evenly divided between male and female respondents. Locals of Thessaloniki dominate the sample, while overall it is a group of young people (younger than thirty), with high academic qualifications, mainly students; those active in the workforce are mainly highly skilled, employed at the private sector, especially at the fields of services and education.

day period) by: Dimitris Kalamaras, Andreas Gogos, Grigoris Koutsogiannis, Yiannis Ieropoulos, Dimitris Akrivoulis and his students (their voluntary help is gratefully acknowledged).

² That said, one should be cautious in interpreting our findings, since not all the interviewees were staying out in the open; the majority were local inhabitants (actually only 26% were not from Thessaloniki).

The mobilisers' beliefs – a rough introduction

Albeit identifying a 'democracy deficit' both at national and at EU level (Tables 7 and 8), our sample exhibited a great interest in politics (approx. 90% were 'very much' or 'very' interested in politics). The perceived 'democracy deficit', however, has to be disengaged by electoral participation: if we control for those unable to vote in the last parliamentary election, we observe a weak and insignificant correlation between 'satisfaction with democracy' and voting (or not) (Kendall's tau-c -0.108, approx. sig. 0.136) (Tables 9-10). As far as the party voted for at the last general election, although the response rate is very low (around 19%), those who did cast a ballot and did answer our question seem evenly split between the two major Greek Left parties: KKE (the Communist Party of Greece) and SYN (the Coalition for the Left and Progress)³.

Our group proved to be seasoned mobilisers, as Table 11 shows, while it seems that they arrived readily warmed up in Thessaloniki: 73% of them have participated at a public protest the month leading to the EU summit. A number of interesting questions can be asked here: Is increased mobilisation correlated to sex, age, education and/or employment status? Although that it does not fit the aim of this presentation, I would like to make a small point: common knowledge to the contrary, in our sample there is no correlation between age and demonstrative activity. We can assume that when it comes to mobilising you are as young as you feel!

As a last point, I would like to refer to the information sources the mobilisers relied upon⁴ (shown at Table 23). The 'group/union' one belonged to superseded all others as the most important source category (48% of all valid answers).

³ In its May 2003 convention, SYN renamed itself into 'Coalition for the Left, the Ecology and the Social Movements'.

⁴ 'Getting information for the mobilisations/events at Thessaloniki' prior to arrival.

The issue of war

Does it make sense to interview protesters during an EU summit for war issues, especially when this war was already over and the EU was not directly involved into it? Surprisingly enough, the mobilisers themselves seemed to think that it was relevant. For almost 11% of them, war was one of the reasons demonstrating at Thessaloniki.⁵ When juxtaposed to other prominent reasons, war's importance becomes even clearer, e.g., 'Capitalism', 10.8%; 'Neo-liberalism', 6.7%; 'Globalisation', 14.2%; 'EU', 8.8%; 'EU policies', 10.8%; 'EU leaders' decisions and plans', 4.7%⁶. Furthermore, checking the respondents' past demonstrative activity, we come across the fact that 'war' had been an issue which mobilised 87.2%, an easy first when compared to 'Societal/Trade Union' issues (67.6%) and 'Anti-Globalisation' (66.9%)⁷.

Our questionnaire included two questions on war. The first focused on the Iraq War, while the second dealt with war in general. In both cases, the respondents were asked to indicate the level of their agreement to a number of statements. It is remarkable here to make an important note: there were cases where the respondents refused to stick to the answers given but rather penned into the questionnaire their own 'answer'. While coding, we have labelled these answers as 'something else'. In the Iraq war question, the only statement which provoked the respondents' reaction was the one stating that 'The Iraq regime had to come down in order to stop the suffering of the Iraqi people'. Around 6% highlighted that this was not done by the Iraqi people themselves, indicating that for them a clear line is drawn between popular uprisings and foreign intervention. The results are shown in Tables 12 to 22.

What these results tell is that the respondents overwhelmingly believed this was a war for oil (approx. 93%). The Alliance's claims that Saddam was a threat to global peace or that its fall was necessary to stop the misery of the Iraqi people failed to make an impression. Similar was the fate of the other side's claims, namely that this was a

⁵ Answering an open-ended question reading 'For what reasons are you mobilisation in Thessaloniki these days?'.the first five answers were then coded (protreas1-protreas5), ranking accordingly to the respondent's writing.

⁶ These figures are indicative; the cleaning of data as far as these variables are concerned is still under way

Crusade or that it was a racist war. Yet, the most important finding is the utter rejection of the UN as a mean for war legitimisation⁸. This holds true across sex, age and education groups. Yet, does it imply an utter rejection of the UN? This seems to be the case if one checks the level of trust the respondents place on different institutions: UN scored very low⁹ – actually lower than the Greek public administration and national parliament, and similar to the media!

Moving to the generic war question, again a small proportion of the respondents wrote down their reservations concerning the statements offered. These answers scored from 1.5 to 4.5% of the total responses given, and they generally highlight the difference between ‘a liberating; indigenous; popular; and/or class war’ and ‘imperialistic’ wars (the former being condoned, of course). The results are shown on Tables 18 to 22. Again the analysis offers some interesting findings: First, there exists no correlation between the statement ‘war occurs due to interests’ and any statement concerning the war on Iraq (contrary to our expectations for a strong, positive correlation at least in the ‘war for oil’ scenario’). Second, there exists a small yet significant correlation between the statement ‘war is justified when bringing down a dictator’ and ‘Saddam was a threat to world peace’ (Kendall’s tau-b 0.228, sig. 0.002) and ‘The Iraqi regime had to be overthrown for ending the suffering of the Iraqi people’ (Kendall’s tau-b 0.296, sig. 0.000). A similar correlation exists between ‘war is justified when redressing an ill’ and the ‘people suffering category’ (Kendall’s tau-b 0.200, sig. 0.004). Last, for those viewing war as ‘always unjustified’, there exists a small, significant correlation with the categories describing the Iraq war as a ‘crusade’ (Kendall’s tau-b 0.195, sig. 0.004) or as ‘racist’ (Kendall’s tau-b 0.263, sig. 0.000).

The groups’ perceptions

The reader should note that at Thessaloniki – as this was the case in almost any major demonstration against the Iraq war in 2003 – the major Greek social groups decided to demonstrate on their own. We will now proceed to investigate whether this decision reflects any major difference to their members’ perceptions on war (in

⁷ Multiple answers were allowed.

⁸ The figures are stunning: 71% ‘disagreeing strongly’ while 20% ‘disagreeing’.

⁹ A mean score of 4.64 where 1 denotes ‘Trust a lot’, while 5 ‘trust least’.

general) and the war in Iraq (in particular). While interviewing, we had asked our respondents to name the group they were to march along at Thessaloniki. Albeit a 74% participating/demonstrating with a group of some kind, only 46% did write down the group's title/name. For the need of our analysis the different groupings were recoded into: 'Social Forum'¹⁰, 'Drassi'¹¹, 'Initiative'¹², and 'Other'¹³. Running the cross-tabulations for group membership and several statements about the war, we see a small yet significant association between group membership and whether war is always unjustified (Cramer's $V= 0.293$, Sig. 0.000); whether war is justified when bringing down a dictator (Cramer's $V= 0.266$, Sig. 0.004); and, whether war is justified when redressing an ill (Cramer's $V= 0.337$, Sig. 0.000). Thus, although such a claim has to be further investigated, the results point towards different perceptions concerning war and justice between the different groups. Could, then, follow that this difference would also re-emerge at the Iraq war case? This was not the case. All cross-tabulations on the Iraq war questions showed no significant relations. Which lead us to two important conclusions: first, the Iraq war was universally condemned by the Greek activists –a result in perfect accordance with the total rejection of the war by the Greek public, as it was shown in many opinion polls of the period. Second, and more interesting, it seems that there was no reason for the major Greek anti-war alliances to opt for a non-cooperative approach on the Iraq issue. Their followers shared an amazing consensus both between themselves and when compared to the 'general' public (the 'no group mentioned' category).

This is indeed a peculiar finding –and actually one our team was intuitively expecting to monitor-. Since, if there is no 'theoretical' reason for acting separately, one has to account for the split in the Greek anti-war (and anti-globalisation) movement. We are not going to elaborate much further into this point –which in any case escapes the scope of the present paper-. Yet, it could be the case –and further research is needed to substantiate the point- that the split experienced by the movement is actually the outcome of inter-movement conflict for hegemony. If one takes into account that the two major political parties behind the anti-war/anti-

¹⁰ Including answers such as 'Social Forum', 'SYN', 'SYN Youth Branch' and 'DEA'. We consider this group to be pre-disposed towards SYN.

¹¹ Including answers such as 'Drassi'; 'KKE'; 'KKE Youth Branch'. We consider this group to be pre-disposed towards KKE.

¹² Including answers such as 'Initiative Thessaloniki 2003'. We consider this group to be pre-disposed towards the extra parliamentary Left.

¹³ Any other answer

globalisation umbrella organizations (that is the Social Forum/SYN and DRASSI Thessaloniki 2003/KKE pairs) have spent the better part of the nineties (or, one should say, ever since the restoration of the democracy in 1974) trying to secure the leadership of the Greek Left, it could well be the case that we are witnessing but the latest episode of this leftish war for supremacy, cloaked under 'modern' and 'up-to-date' anti-war and alter-globalisation slogans.

Table 1

Respondent's gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	68	45.9	46.3	46.3
	Female	79	53.4	53.7	100.0
	Total	147	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		148	100.0		

Table 2

Age cohort

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Over 50	7	4,7	4,8	4,8
	Between 40 and 50	5	3,4	3,4	8,3
	Between 30 and 40	15	10,1	10,3	18,6
	Between 20 and 30	98	66,2	67,6	86,2
	Younger than 20	20	13,5	13,8	100,0
	Total	145	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	3	2,0		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 3

In what kind of business do you work

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Private Sector	40	27.0	44.4	44.4
	Public Sector	22	14.9	24.4	68.9
	Charitable/Voluntary organisations	4	2.7	4.4	73.3
	Other/Never worked	24	16.2	26.7	100.0
	Total	90	60.8	100.0	
Missing	System	58	39.2		
Total		148	100.0		

Table 4

Kind of employment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Professional/Highly Technical	9	6.1	6.6	6.6
	Manager/Senio Administrator	3	2.0	2.2	8.8
	Clerical	31	20.9	22.8	31.6
	Sales/Services	16	10.8	11.8	43.4
	Skilled Manual Worker	3	2.0	2.2	45.6
	Semi-skilled/Unskilled manual worker	11	7.4	8.1	53.7
	Have not worked	51	34.5	37.5	91.2
	Other	12	8.1	8.8	100.0
	Total	136	91.9	100.0	
Missing	System	12	8.1		
Total		148	100.0		

Table 5

Employed in sector

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary sector (agriculture/fishery etc)	5	3.4	5.9	5.9
	Secondary Sector (Industry/Mining/Building etc.)	4	2.7	4.7	10.6
	Education	19	12.8	22.4	32.9
	Health/Social Care	8	5.4	9.4	42.4
	Media	3	2.0	3.5	45.9
	Other Public Sector	8	5.4	9.4	55.3
	Banking/Finance etc.	2	1.4	2.4	57.6
	Other Services	22	14.9	25.9	83.5
	Other	14	9.5	16.5	100.0
	Total	85	57.4	100.0	
Missing	System	63	42.6		
Total		148	100.0		

Table 6

Highest education degree achieved

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary education	1	.7	.7	.7
	Secondary education (Gymnasium)	3	2.0	2.1	2.8
	Secondary education (Lyceum)	12	8.1	8.3	11.1
	IEK/College	2	1.4	1.4	12.5
	University	107	72.3	74.3	86.8
	M.Sc., M.A.	14	9.5	9.7	96.5
	Ph.D.	4	2.7	2.8	99.3
	Other	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	144	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	4	2.7		
Total		148	100.0		

Table 7

Satisfaction with democracy (Greece-dummy)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly satisfied	1	.7	.7	.7
	Neutral	31	20,9	22,0	22,7
	A bit satisfied	67	45,3	47,5	70,2
	Least/Not at all satisfied	42	28,4	29,8	100,0
	Total	141	95,3	100,0	
Missing	System	7	4,7		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 8

Satisfaction with democracy at EU (dummy)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly satisfied	2	1,4	1,4	1,4
	Neutral	23	15,5	16,0	17,4
	A bit satisfied	75	50,7	52,1	69,4
	Least/Not at all satisfied	44	29,7	30,6	100,0
	Total	144	97,3	100,0	
Missing	System	4	2,7		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 9

Satisfaction with democracy (Greece-dummy) * What have you voted in the last parliamentary election? Crosstabulation

			What have you voted in the last parliamentary election?				Total
			Did not vote-dont believe in parliamentary democracy	Did not vote-no party expresses me	Voted blank/spoiled	Voted	
Satisfaction with democracy (Greece-dummy)	Neutral	Count	1	0	1	18	20
		Expected Count	3,2	1,3	2,3	13,3	20,0
	A bit satisfied	Count	9	5	5	25	44
		Expected Count	6,9	2,8	5,1	29,2	44,0
	Least/Not at all satisfied	Count	5	1	5	20	31
		Expected Count	4,9	2,0	3,6	20,6	31,0
Total	Count	15	6	11	63	95	
	Expected Count	15,0	6,0	11,0	63,0	95,0	

Table 10

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,108	,072	-1,492	,136
N of Valid Cases		95			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 11

Participation in demo over the last FIVE years

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	This is the first time	4	2,7	2,7	2,7
	2 to 5 times	16	10,8	10,9	13,6
	6 to 10 times	20	13,5	13,6	27,2
	11 to 20 times	24	16,2	16,3	43,5
	More than 20 times	83	56,1	56,5	100,0
	Total	147	99,3	100,0	
Missing	System	1	,7		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 12

Iraq War-Crusade

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	8	5,4	6,1	6,1
	Agree	24	16,2	18,3	24,4
	Neither agree nor disagree	27	18,2	20,6	45,0
	Disagree	37	25,0	28,2	73,3
	Disagree a lot	34	23,0	26,0	99,2
	Something else	1	,7	,8	100,0
	Total	131	88,5	100,0	
Missing	System	17	11,5		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 13

Iraq War-Justified only through UN

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	5	3,4	3,7	3,7
	Neither agree nor disagree	8	5,4	6,0	9,7
	Disagree	26	17,6	19,4	29,1
	Disagree a lot	95	64,2	70,9	100,0
	Total	134	90,5	100,0	
Missing	System	14	9,5		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 14

Iraq War-USA wanted the oil

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	79	53,4	56,4	56,4
	Agree	51	34,5	36,4	92,9
	Neither agree nor disagree	5	3,4	3,6	96,4
	Disagree a lot	3	2,0	2,1	98,6
	Something else	2	1,4	1,4	100,0
	Total	140	94,6	100,0	
Missing	System	8	5,4		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 15

Iraq War-It was racist

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	5	3,4	3,8	3,8
	Agree	17	11,5	12,9	16,7
	Neither agree nor disagree	35	23,6	26,5	43,2
	Disagree	45	30,4	34,1	77,3
	Disagree a lot	30	20,3	22,7	100,0
	Total	132	89,2	100,0	
Missing	System	16	10,8		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 16

Iraq War-Saddam a threat to world peace

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	5	3,4	3,8	3,8
	Neither agree nor disagree	25	16,9	19,1	22,9
	Disagree	52	35,1	39,7	62,6
	Disagree a lot	48	32,4	36,6	99,2
	Something else	1	,7	,8	100,0
	Total	131	88,5	100,0	
Missing	System	17	11,5		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 17

Iraq War-Had to stop the suffering of Iraqi people

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	1	,7	,8	,8
	Agree	12	8,1	9,0	9,8
	Neither agree nor disagree	38	25,7	28,6	38,3
	Disagree	31	20,9	23,3	61,7
	Disagree a lot	43	29,1	32,3	94,0
	Something else	8	5,4	6,0	100,0
	Total	133	89,9	100,0	
Missing	System	15	10,1		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 18

War-Justified when bringing down a dictator

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	5	3,4	3,8	3,8
	Agree	20	13,5	15,4	19,2
	Neither agree nor disagree	19	12,8	14,6	33,8
	Disagree	39	26,4	30,0	63,8
	Disagree a lot	40	27,0	30,8	94,6
	Something else	7	4,7	5,4	100,0
	Total	130	87,8	100,0	
Missing	System	18	12,2		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 19

War-Justified when redressing an ill

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	12	8,1	9,3	9,3
	Agree	38	25,7	29,5	38,8
	Neither agree nor disagree	25	16,9	19,4	58,1
	Disagree	22	14,9	17,1	75,2
	Disagree a lot	25	16,9	19,4	94,6
	Something else	7	4,7	5,4	100,0
	Total	129	87,2	100,0	
Missing	System	19	12,8		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 20

War-Always unjustified

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	35	23,6	27,6	27,6
	Agree	27	18,2	21,3	48,8
	Neither agree nor disagree	29	19,6	22,8	71,7
	Disagree	26	17,6	20,5	92,1
	Disagree a lot	8	5,4	6,3	98,4
	Something else	2	1,4	1,6	100,0
	Total	127	85,8	100,0	
Missing	System	21	14,2		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 21

War-Inevitable due to human nature

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	4	2,7	3,1	3,1
	Agree	12	8,1	9,4	12,5
	Neither agree nor disagree	16	10,8	12,5	25,0
	Disagree	39	26,4	30,5	55,5
	Disagree a lot	55	37,2	43,0	98,4
	Something else	2	1,4	1,6	100,0
	Total	128	86,5	100,0	
Missing	System	20	13,5		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 22

War-It occurs due to interests, not values

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree a lot	83	56,1	63,8	63,8
	Agree	24	16,2	18,5	82,3
	Neither agree nor disagree	13	8,8	10,0	92,3
	Disagree	6	4,1	4,6	96,9
	Disagree a lot	2	1,4	1,5	98,5
	Something else	2	1,4	1,5	100,0
	Total	130	87,8	100,0	
Missing	System	18	12,2		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 23

Information Sources

	Affirmative answers (%)
Radio/TV	40.5
Newspapers	56.1
Advertisements	4.7
Posters	54.7
Relatives/Friends/Neighbours/People you know	37.2
At school/At work	10.8
Group/Union	56.1
Web-page	25.7
E-mail lists	2.7

Table 24

Most important info source

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Radio/TV	5	3,4	4,0	4,0
	Newspapers	15	10,1	12,0	16,0
	Posters	16	10,8	12,8	28,8
	Relatives/Freinds etc	19	12,8	15,2	44,0
	At school/At work	1	,7	,8	44,8
	Group/Union	60	40,5	48,0	92,8
	Web-page	4	2,7	3,2	96,0
	Other	4	2,7	3,2	99,2
	69,00	1	,7	,8	100,0
	Total	125	84,5	100,0	
Missing	System	23	15,5		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 25

Second most important info source

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Radio/TV	7	4,7	6,0	6,0
	Newspapers	32	21,6	27,6	33,6
	Ads	1	,7	,9	34,5
	Posters	30	20,3	25,9	60,3
	Relatives/Freinds etc	12	8,1	10,3	70,7
	At school/At work	5	3,4	4,3	75,0
	Group/Union	11	7,4	9,5	84,5
	Web-page	16	10,8	13,8	98,3
	Other	1	,7	,9	99,1
	69,00	1	,7	,9	100,0
	Total	116	78,4	100,0	
Missing	System	32	21,6		
Total		148	100,0		

Table 26

Statistics

	Trust-Educational System	Trust-Legal System	Trust-Head of State	Trust-Trade Unions	Trust-Police	Trust-Social movements/Citizens groups	Trust-Env. Groups	Trust-Church	Trust-Media	Trust-Public Administration	Trust-Political parties	Trust-The banks	Trust-Local Gvmnt.	Trust-National Gvmnt.	Trust-National parliament	Trust-European Parliament	Trust-UN
N	Valid 140	140	134	138	137	141	138	135	137	137	132	136	137	138	137	138	138
	Missing 8	8	14	10	11	7	10	13	11	11	16	12	11	10	11	10	10
Mean	4,2857	4,4000	4,3582	3,2319	4,8394	2,3050	3,2319	4,8741	4,6715	4,5839	4,1667	4,8015	4,2409	4,7899	4,5839	4,7174	4,6449
Median	4,0000	5,0000	5,0000	3,0000	5,0000	2,0000	3,0000	5,0000	5,0000	5,0000	5,0000	5,0000	4,0000	5,0000	5,0000	5,0000	5,0000
Mode	5,00	5,00	5,00	3,00	5,00	2,00	3,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00
Std. Deviation	,9248	,7375	,9210	1,1481	,4242	1,0347	1,1979	,4307	,5954	,6490	1,0924	,4992	,8872	,4901	,6928	,5793	,7128
Variance	,8804	,5439	,8482	1,3181	,1799	1,0706	1,4349	,1855	,3546	,4212	1,1934	,2492	,7871	,2402	,4800	,3356	,5080
Range	4,00	3,00	4,00	4,00	2,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	4,00
Minimum	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	1,00
Maximum	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00