



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

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Biographic profile

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		

Residence (dummy)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Thessaloniki	107	72.3	73.8	73.8
	Other Greek city	38	25.7	26.2	100.0
	Total	145	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.0		
Total		148	100.0		

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		

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			

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Employment details

Employment Status

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Full time employed	30	20.3	20.4	20.4
Self-employed	10	6.8	6.8	27.2
Still at school	6	4.1	4.1	31.3
Student	86	58.1	58.5	89.8
Part time employed	10	6.8	6.8	96.6
Unemployed	5	3.4	3.4	100.0
Total	147	99.3	100.0	
Missing System	1	.7		
Total	148	100.0		

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		

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		

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		



Satisfaction with democracy

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		

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		

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Satisfaction and voting

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	

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.

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Past demonstrative activity

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		



Info sources (affirmative answers %)

■ Radio/TV	40.5
■ Newspapers	56.1
■ Posters	54.7
■ Relatives/People you know	37.2
■ At school/At work	10.8
■ Group/Union	56.1
■ Web-page	25.7

Most prominent info sources

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	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		

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 et	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		

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Reasons for protesting at Thessaloniki (% total answers)

- Against Globalisation 14.2%
- **Against War** **10.9%**
- Against EU policies 10.8%
- Against Capitalism 10.8%
- Against the EU 8.8%
- Against Neo-liberalism 6.7%
- Against EU leaders' decisions 4.7%



Past demonstrative activity

■ Anti-war	87.2%
■ Societal/Syndical	67.6%
■ Anti-globalisation	66.9%
■ Anti-racism	64.2%
■ Human rights	48.0%
■ Local interests	39.9%
■ Third World	27.0%

War on Iraq - 'perceptions'

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		

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		

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		

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War on Iraq - 'justifications'

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		

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		

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		

An utter rejection of the UN as legitimator?

■ Trust a lot (1)

Trust least/not at all (5)

Statistics

	Trust-Educational System	Trust-Legal System	Trust-Head of State	Trust-Trade Unions	Trust-Policemen	Trust-Social movements/citizens groups	Trust-Environmental 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	,8248	,7375	,9210	1,1481	,4242	1,0347	1,1979	,4307	,5954	,6490	1,0924	,4992	,8872	,4901	,6928	,5793	,7128
Variance	,6804	,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

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War – ‘origins’

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		

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		

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War – ‘justifications’

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		

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		

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		

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Assessing Iraq war through generic ideas about war

- No correlation between 'war for interests' and Iraq war
- Small, significant correlations between 'just war against dictators' and 'Saddam as a threat'/'Saddam had to go to stop the misery of the people'
- Small, significant correlations between 'war always unjustified' and 'Iraq war as a crusade'/'Iraq war was racist'

Group variation for 'war' perceptions

Small yet significant associations

- 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);
- whether war is justified when redressing an ill (Cramer's $V = 0.337$, Sig. 0.000)



Group membership

Group participating into (dummy)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Social Forum	19	12,8	12,8	12,8
	Initiative	4	2,7	2,7	15,5
	DRASSI	21	14,2	14,2	29,7
	Thessaloniki 2003	24	16,2	16,2	45,9
	Other	80	54,1	54,1	100,0
	No group mentioned	148	100,0	100,0	
	Total				



Iraq war

- No significant association between 'group' membership and opinion about Iraq war
- A case of inter-movement conflict for hegemony?