

A Glance at Satisfaction on Democracy-Evidence of the European Social Survey

Dr. Nasios Orinos
Cyprus College,
European University Cyprus
Nicosia, Cyprus

Abstract

This article discusses satisfaction with the way democracy has been working in Cyprus as opposed to Europe. The article more specifically discusses the satisfaction of Cypriots, as opposed to Europeans, on the way democracy has been working from 2008-2012 in Cyprus and Europe and highlights the differences in satisfaction in people based on how they place themselves on the left-right scale.

Keywords: Democracy, European Social Survey, Cypriots, Europeans, left-right scale

Introduction

This paper portrays that European Social Survey is a unique, academically driven social survey that has a major impact from different angles. The paper starts by citing a theoretical background explaining the importance of Democracy as opposed to other forms of regimes. Furthermore, the paper provides the methodology used in the survey explaining in detail how the survey is organized, sampled, executed and analyzed. The last part of the paper provides an analysis and presentation of specific topics as derived from European Social Survey, concentrating on the satisfaction of the way democracy has been working in Cyprus and Europe from 2008-2012 and discussing the differences in satisfaction in people based on how they place themselves on the left-right scale.

European Social Survey – A glance at satisfaction on Democracy

1. Theoretical Background

Rosefielde and Mills (2013) argue that, “Democracy is an attractive but elusive concept. It is both an icon and a mirage. Democracy, as they say, literally means people’s rule (*demos kratos*), a governance system where the political sovereignty of every citizen reigns without privilege or special entitlement. The people cast in the role of sovereign ruler (*demos*) distinguishes Democracy from types of political rule (*kratos*) where power is variously vested in the hands of kings (autocracy/monarchy), tyrants, aristocrats (aristocracy), patricians, religious authorities (theocracy), sects, cults, clans, communities, communes, cooperatives, professions, unions, gangs (mafocracy), or families (patriarchy or matriarchy)”. As Rosefielde and Mills (2013) state, “the sovereign *demos* is the ultimate authority, superior to any entity claiming to speak for it as is often done by powerful interest groups (describing themselves as the public), the community, or societal spokesmen (associations of some of the *demos*)”.

Rosefielde and Mills (2013) further note that, “the mission of true democratic governments is to provide the variety and quantity of public services the people want, paid for by various groups at majority-approved tax rates, subject to the civil and property-rights protections set forth in the constitution. The methods used to fund programs variously financed through direct taxation, pass-through taxation (taxes levied on business passed through to purchasers), indirect taxation (inflation tax), stealthy taxation (military draft), and borrowing must express the people’s will”.

Heywood (2002) mentions that “today, even though there still exists a battle as to which format of democracy is more desirable, there is a global acceptance on a model called liberal democracy. Liberal democracy is characterized by three pillars. First, it is a representative model since political offices are acquired through regular elections which are based on political equality. Second, is based on partisan competition and electoral choice in which there is a tolerance in conflicting beliefs. Third, in liberal democracy there is a clear distinction between *state* and *civil society*”.

Wejnert (2014) found that, “since the 1980s, the number of democracies across the world has approximately doubled. This rapid spread has brought substantial changes to people’s lives, and most studies have shown that democratic development leads to increased levels of literacy, education, industrialization, urbanization, and the overall well-being of citizens. Other positive outcomes of democratization have been demonstrated to include a middle class of educated professionals and intelligentsia, the principal carriers of democratic values, who foster civic engagement and the development of a civil society”.

In his 2010 book, Przeworski notes that, “Democracy, with all its changing meanings, has recurrently confronted four challenges that continue to feed widespread and intense dissatisfaction today. These are, first the incapacity to generate equality in the socioeconomic realm, second the incapacity to make people feel that their political participation is effective, third the incapacity to ensure that governments do what they are supposed to do and not do what they are not mandated to do, and fourth the incapacity to balance order and noninterference. On the other hand, self-government, in turn, was desirable because it was the best system to advance liberty, understood in a particular way as ‘autonomy’ as people is free when is bound only by the laws they choose”. In addition, Przeworski (2010 citing Dunn 1993 p17) observe that “the idea of autonomy is the source of the power and appeal of democracy. In sharp contrast to the autocratic alternative, democracy aims to empower all citizens in equal measure”.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Type

European Social Survey is a quantitative approached survey with the task to discover and calibrate cross cultural and cross-national differences in people’s responses. Specification for European Social Survey (2013) explains well the survey’s two elements. The survey consists of two elements, a main interview questionnaire conducted by paper and pencil interview and a supplementary questionnaire. Around one half of the long questionnaire is a core module, which largely remains the same each round, comprising key repeat questions to measure change in a range of social and demographic characteristics, attitudes and behavior patterns. This includes questions on topics such as media use, political trust and participation, social values, fear of crime, national, ethnic and religious allegiances as well as demographic composition. In addition to the long face-to-face interview questionnaire, there is also a supplementary questionnaire. The first part of the supplementary questionnaire, a short self-completion questionnaire, provides further questions on topics not covered in the main. The second part contains repeat measures from the main interview questionnaire that are asked here in a slightly modified form. Repetition is necessary in order to determine measurement errors and the reliability of the items. The main interview lasts on average about an hour while the supplementary questionnaire needs a further 5-10 minutes to be completed.

2.2 Sample Size and Structure

According to European Social Survey, sampling principles and requirements (2012), the objective of the ESS sampling strategy is the design and implementation of workable and equivalent sampling strategies in all participating countries. This concept stands for random samples with estimates of comparable precision based on full coverage of the eligible residential populations aged 15+. The actual method of achieving this requirement varies considerably between participating countries, depending on their access to sampling sources and other considerations. But it is based on the same basic principles of strict probability and representativeness. In Cyprus, a total of around 1600 sampling points are set up front. The sample is representative of all individuals aged 15 and over from 1600 households, who are permanent residents, regardless of nationality, citizenship, language or legal status. The selection of people who respond to the questionnaire from every household is done with the method of the last birthday so that representativeness is ensured. Households are randomly selected and then one person from each household is drawn again also randomly and anonymously. This means that households and individuals that are drawn across the country cannot be exchangeable with others. Once an individual has been selected, under no circumstances can be substituted by another individual. Interviewers must attempt to make contact at every household or with every individual in their assignment except those notified as refusals. Interviewers must make a personal visit on a minimum of 4 occasions, at different times of the day and spread across the fieldwork period before they classify the household or individual as unproductive. At least one of these personal visits should be in the evening and one at the weekend. A high response rate is essential in order to ensure that the people interviewed in the survey accurately represent the population, so a target minimum response rate of 70% has been set.

In Cyprus - Round 6 - a total of 1589 sampling points were set up front, out of which Cyprus had succeeded a sample of 1116 individuals aged 15+. Out of these, 56% were female and 44% were male. The results of this paper are based on this sample. Considering the Cyprus population, *the maximum margin of error, at a 95% confidence level associated with the aforementioned sample size, is plus / minus 2.93% at an overall level.*

2.3 Gathering Data

The three waves under consideration, that is, waves 4th, 5th, and 6th were conducted between September – December of 2008, 2010 and 2012. Cyprus 5th wave was conducted in early 2011. European Social Survey, sampling principles and requirements (2012), note that the mode of European Social Survey data collection in all countries is face-to-face interviewing. Through this method it is easier to boost response rates and achieve consistent data quality across diverse nations. Furthermore, European Social Survey aims at reducing possible bias caused by nonresponse and outline the steps taken to achieve this. First, a minimum target national response rate of 70% is set up front recognizing that the target will not universally be achieved. Since response rates cannot be forecasted, the survey insists instead on certain fieldwork procedures in all countries that help maximize the chances of recruiting. For instance, to reduce refusals, the survey insists on personal briefings of all interviewers in doorstep interactions and the consideration of a range of response maximization techniques, such as advance letters. In addition, at least four visits have to be made before abandoning a sampling unit as non-productive, with calls spread across times of day and days of week. Similarly, to ensure that difficult to contact or busy people are consistently pursued, a minimum fieldwork duration of 30 days has been specified, but at the same time to reduce seasonal effects, a maximum time window of four months has been set. Most importantly, outcome codes are completed for each contact at each address on standardized contact forms. These include interviewer recorded observations of the household and its neighborhood. This enables response patterns to be identified and subsequently response rates and nonresponse to be consistently documented and calculated across countries.

2.4 Analysis

Data is analyzed in SPSS (Statistical Package of Social Sciences). Analyses employ both descriptive and inductive. Descriptive analysis involves the examination of frequencies and inductive employs the use of Hypothesis Testing for verification of the results. To provide some evidence of the degree of validity, the research design utilizes *face validity*.

Face validity refers to the subjective agreement of professionals that a scale logically appears to be accurately reflecting what it purports to measure and is just based on a close reading and study of the question. Validity is also achieved through the use of the short self-completion questionnaire that provides further questions on topics not covered in the main, as well as some variations on questions already asked during the interview, designed to exactly quantify the reliability and validity of certain measures in the interview.

Hypothesis Testing - the empirical verification of results

Hypothesis testing enables the validation of the findings of the study by empirical means. The rationale behind this decision is grounded to the need of using inferential statistics in order to verify the results and make inferences about the population under investigation.

For the purpose of this paper, a decision was made to adopt Hypothesis Testing. The rationale behind this decision was made after reviewing the relevant literature and considering views by leading scholars such as Zikmund (2003) and Norusis (1999). “In marketing theory a hypothesis is an unproven proposition or supposition that tentatively explains certain facts or phenomena—it is a statement of assumption about the nature of the world. In its simplest form, the hypothesis is a guess” (Zikmund, 2003).

With statistical techniques we are able to decide whether or not our theoretical hypothesis is confirmed by the empirical evidence. This is basically done by testing the null and alternative hypotheses

A null hypothesis is a statement that asserts that any change from what has been thought to be true will be due entirely to random sampling error (no significance). The true purpose of setting up the null hypothesis is to provide an opportunity for nullifying it. The alternative hypothesis states the opposite of the null hypothesis.

One of the things we wish to test in this project is whether interest in politics or satisfaction on institutions is indeed low. A hypothesis that interest or satisfaction is low is a null hypothesis, that is, it describes a hypothetical but exact state of affairs. The alternative hypothesis describes the situation when the null hypothesis is false.

When we statistically test a hypothesis, we assume that the null hypothesis correctly describes the state of affairs. The null hypothesis is the frame of reference against which we will judge our sample results.

What is Hypothesis (significance) testing

We generally assign the symbol H_0 to the null hypothesis and the symbol H_1 to the alternative hypothesis. The purpose of hypothesis testing is to determine which of the two hypotheses is correct.

The t- tests provides a method by which we can compare two data sets. Conducting a t- test informs us whether the degree of difference between the two data sets could be due to factors other than sampling error. If the results indicate that the difference between the groups is not likely due to sampling error, we believe that the two data sets probably do not come from the same population, or else are not equal with each other (are statistically significant).

In significance testing we set a critical value which our observed t- statistic value should exceed if we are to say that the means are SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM EACH OTHER. When the t statistic values are extreme we think the two samples are from different populations (reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis). We say the two sample means are statistically significantly different from each other (there is a real significant difference between them, therefore we can generalize about our population).

Regarding the analysis in this paper, the variables that are used are the following: political interest, satisfaction on key institutions, age and gender.

2.5 Ethical Considerations

Great emphasis is given to the ethical aspect of the study. As Zikmund (2003) points out, ethical issues in survey research are of primary importance. As he notes, the respondent's right to privacy, use of deception, the respondent's right to be informed about the purpose of the research, the need for confidentiality, the need for honesty and objectivity in collecting and reporting data, and other issues are factors in the design and execution of surveys. To ensure that the survey is in line with European laws and directives on data protection, three main points are conveyed to respondents, whether in written or oral form. First, participation in the European Social Survey is voluntary and second the data are stored and are available from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services. They are released for statistical purposes only from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services that takes all necessary steps to make it impossible for any user to directly identify any of the individuals who supplied the data. Third, an advance letter is always sent to each selected household. Respondents prefer having an advance letter which provides them with advance notice and enables interviewers to avoid a refusal.

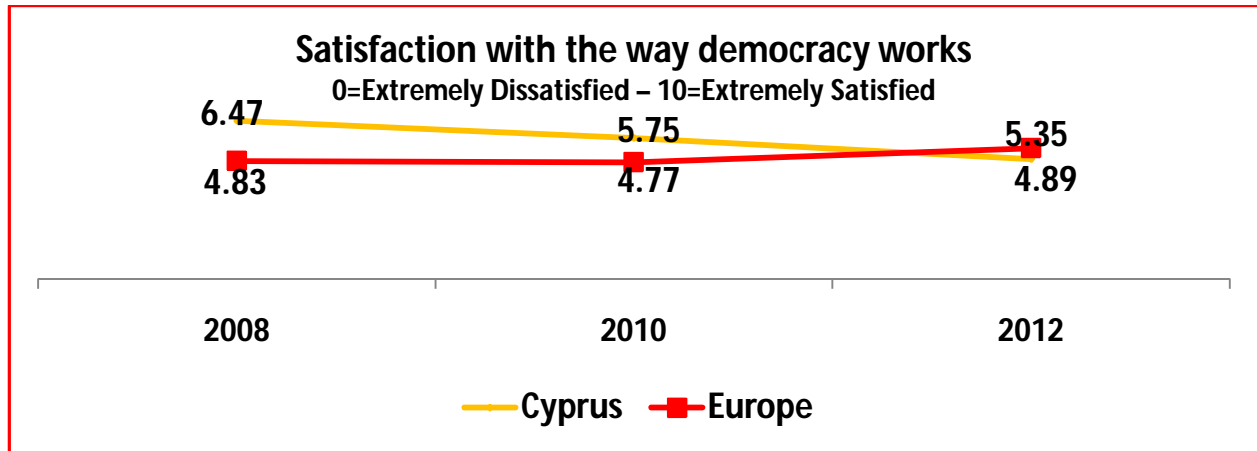
3. Analysis

The analysis provides a descriptive analysis of the results followed by a Hypothesis Testing for verification of the results.

3.1. Satisfaction with the way Democracy Works

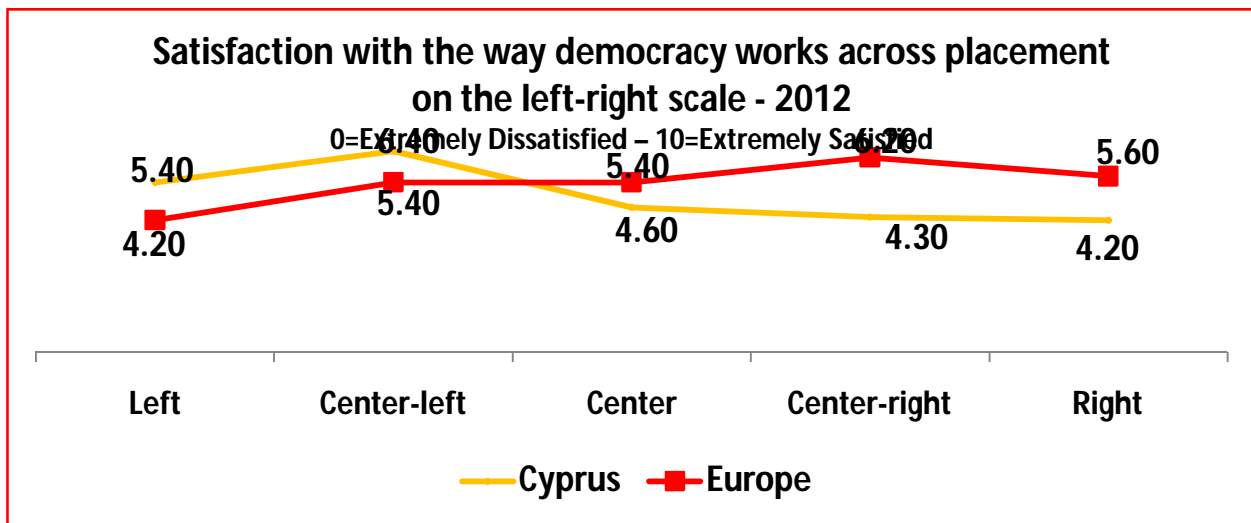
Timeless and much debated question is whether or not there is a satisfaction with the way democracy has been working both in Cyprus and in Europe, that is, in all European countries taken part in the 2008-2010-2012 European Social Survey waves. It seems there is a negative relationship in the way Cypriots have experienced democracy in Cyprus the last few years as opposed to Europeans. Satisfaction for Cypriots was averaged at 6.47 in 2008 following a downward trend to 4.89 in 2012. On the contrary, European satisfaction has followed an upward trend from 4.83 to 5.35. Obviously the social, political and economical crisis which has been taking place in Cyprus has led to more scorn democratic believes among Cypriots.

Figure I: Base:All Interviewed



Interestingly, satisfaction with the way democracy worked in Cyprus in 2012 based on how people place themselves on the left-right scale is also depicting differences among Cypriots and Europeans. Specifically, Cypriot “lefts” are depicting a higher satisfaction than Cypriot “rights” with satisfaction for “lefts” averaging for 2012 at 5.4 ending at 4.2 for “rights”. Exactly the opposite goes on for Europeans. European “lefts” have been less satisfied in 2012 (4.2) than European “rights” whom satisfaction has averaged at 5.6. Both for Cypriots and Europeans, satisfaction for “centers” is on the moderated side.

Figure II: Base:All Interviewed



3.2 Hypothesis Testing

Significance level is defined as the level at which we are significant (5%), the level which is considered too low to warrant support of the null hypothesis so we have to reject it.

Additionally, confidence level is defined as the percentage that indicates the long-run probability that the results will be correct. Traditionally, researchers have used the 95% confidence level. Testing a hypothesis about a *mean*, requires interval data.

Test 1**Table I – One sample Test – European Average – 2008****One-Sample Test**

	Test Value = 0					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
How satisfied with the way democracy works in Europe	431,902	54038	,000	4,829	4,81	4,85

Firstly, I wish to test whether satisfaction from democracy in Europe in 2008 was moderate. The **null hypothesis** is that satisfaction with the way democracy worked in Europe in 2008 was *not* on the moderate side.

Ho: $\mu=0$

H1: $\mu\neq 0$

As already mentioned, the significance level is a critical probability in choosing between the null and the alternative hypotheses. The level of significance determines the probability—say, .05 or .01—that is to be considered too low to warrant support of the null hypothesis (we reject the null hypothesis).

The computed **t-statistic** value needs to be compared with the **critical value** associated with the **.05 probability level with 54038 degrees of freedom**. From the “distribution of t for given probability levels” table, the critical value is **1.96**. Since the calculated **t-statistic** (431.902) is way higher than the tabular one, the null hypothesis – that satisfaction with the way democracy worked in Europe in 2008 was *not* on the moderate side – IS REJECTED

So we conclude that, on a 95% confidence level, satisfaction with the way democracy worked in Europe at 2008 was ON the moderate side.

Therefore on this we can generalize on the population.

Test 2**Table II – One sample Test – Cyprus Average - 2008****One-Sample Test**

	Test Value = 0					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
How satisfied with the way democracy works in Cyprus	106,039	1187	,000	6,471	6,35	6,59

In the same way i tested the **null hypothesis** that satisfaction with the way democracy worked in Cyprus in 2008 was *not* on the high side.

Ho: $\mu=0$

H1: $\mu\neq 0$

Using the same procedure, at 5% significance level the critical value is 1.96 and the $t=106.039$, so since the calculated t-statistic is way higher than the tabular one the null hypothesis IS REJECTED.

So we conclude that, on a 95% confidence level, satisfaction with the way democracy worked in Cyprus at 2008 was ON the high side.

In the exact same way Hypotheses both for Europe and Cyprus for 2010 and 2012 were tested. Results showed that results are significant.

Table III – One Sample Test – European Average - 2010**One-Sample Test**

	Test Value = 0					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
How satisfied with the way democracy works in Europe	415,774	50039	,000	4,766	4,74	4,79

Table IV – One sample Test – Cyprus Average - 2010**One-Sample Test**

	Test Value = 0					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
How satisfied with the way democracy works in Cyprus	82,190	1042	,000	5,753	5,62	5,89

Table V – One sample Test – European Average - 2012**One-Sample Test**

	Test Value = 0					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
How satisfied with the way democracy works in Europe	433,263	42684	,000	5,351	5,33	5,38

Table VI – One sample Test – Cyprus Average – 2012**One-Sample Test**

	Test Value = 0					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
How satisfied with the way democracy works in Cyprus	59,186	1086	,000	4,891	4,73	5,05

Testing differences among more than two groups – Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

We turn now to a more general version of the t-test situation when there are more than two groups to compare. SPSS includes a special one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure, which allows a single predictor or independent variable. For a t-test with only two groups, this decision is unambiguous; if the result is significant, which mean is higher and which is lower is obvious. When using more than two groups a statistically significant result tells us only that it is unlikely that all of the group means in the population are the same, but not which groups are different from each other. *The post hoc, or multiple comparison tests, provide this information.*

Post hoc tests are used to determine which means are statistically different from the means in the categories of the factor variable. **These tests are used only after the overall F test indicates that population differences exist.** In this example we will use the Bonferroni, a less conservative test to provide a contrast.

Table VII – ANOVA Test for EUROPEAN Satisfaction with the Way Democracy Works across Placement on a Left-Right Scale**Descriptives**

How satisfied with the way democracy works in country

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Left	2308	4,18	2,892	,060	4,06	4,30
Center-left	5229	5,39	2,509	,035	5,33	5,46
Center	19605	5,42	2,402	,017	5,38	5,45
Center right	7496	6,17	2,204	,025	6,12	6,22
Right	3048	5,63	2,725	,049	5,53	5,73
DK/NA	4999	4,19	2,767	,039	4,11	4,27
Total	42685	5,35	2,552	,012	5,33	5,38

The analysis of variance (ANOVA) table provides a test of the further hypothesis that there is a relationship between satisfactions with the way democracy works in Europe, across placement groups on the left-right scale. In analysis of variance, an F statistic is computed and used to test the null hypothesis of **no difference in the means**. For our purposes the F test is significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, we conclude that there is a statistically significant difference in mean satisfaction on how democracy works in Europe across placement on the left-right scale.

Table VIII – ANOVA test for Europe**ANOVA**

How satisfied with the way democracy works in country

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	15318,120	5	3063,624	497,858	,000
Within Groups	262629,816	42679	6,154		
Total	277947,936	42684			

The overall F test demonstrates clearly that satisfaction with the way democracy works in Europe across placement groups on the left-right scale is indeed true to the population. Had the F test indicated that there was no significant difference, then we could not get further comparisons of the means so we could not turn to the post hoc tests. The key column is the "Sig." column which contains the significance value of the various tests.

Table IX – Multiple comparisons for EUROPE

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: How satisfied with the way democracy works in country

Bonferroni

(I) Placement on left right scale	(J) Placement on left right scale	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Left	Center-left	-1,216*	,062	,000	-1,40	-1,03
	Center	-1,239*	,055	,000	-1,40	-1,08
	Center right	-1,996*	,059	,000	-2,17	-1,82
	Right	-1,454*	,068	,000	-1,65	-1,25
	DK/NA	-,013	,062	1,000	-,20	,17
Center-left	Left	1,216*	,062	,000	1,03	1,40
	Center	-,023	,039	1,000	-,14	,09
	Center right	-,780*	,045	,000	-,91	-,65
	Right	-,238*	,057	,000	-,40	-,07
	DK/NA	1,203*	,049	,000	1,06	1,35
Center	Left	1,239*	,055	,000	1,08	1,40
	Center-left	,023	,039	1,000	-,09	,14
	Center right	-,757*	,034	,000	-,86	-,66
	Right	-,215*	,048	,000	-,36	-,07
	DK/NA	1,226*	,039	,000	1,11	1,34
Center right	Left	1,996*	,059	,000	1,82	2,17
	Center-left	,780*	,045	,000	,65	,91
	Center	,757*	,034	,000	,66	,86
	Right	,542*	,053	,000	,39	,70
	DK/NA	1,983*	,045	,000	1,85	2,12
Right	Left	1,454*	,068	,000	1,25	1,65
	Center-left	,238*	,057	,000	,07	,40
	Center	,215*	,048	,000	,07	,36
	Center right	-,542*	,053	,000	-,70	-,39
	DK/NA	1,441*	,057	,000	1,27	1,61
DK/NA	Left	,013	,062	1,000	-,17	,20
	Center-left	-1,203*	,049	,000	-1,35	-1,06
	Center	-1,226*	,039	,000	-1,34	-1,11
	Center right	-1,983*	,045	,000	-2,12	-1,85
	Right	-1,441*	,057	,000	-1,61	-1,27

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The analysis of variance (ANOVA) results depicts those pairwise comparisons between groups on the left-right scale that fail or not to reject the null hypothesis of no difference. The null hypothesis test tells us for which comparisons there is a relationship.

For example, if we examine “European Satisfaction” between lefts and center-lefts we see that the test is significant at 0.05, so we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that, there is **enough evidence to support that the mean satisfaction in lefts (4.18) is lower than center-lefts (5.39)**. In simple words, in 2012 in Europe, center-lefts were more satisfied than lefts in the way democracy worked.

Using the same procedure we can test all comparisons for Cyprus. Results show that results are significant.

Table X – ANOVA Test for CYPRUS Satisfaction with the Way Democracy Works across Placement on a Left-Right Scale

Descriptives

How satisfied with the way democracy works in country

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Left	128	5,40	2,793	,247	4,91	5,89
Center-left	87	6,39	2,507	,269	5,86	6,93
Center	338	4,55	2,644	,144	4,27	4,84
Center right	112	4,31	2,427	,229	3,86	4,77
Right	137	4,18	2,685	,229	3,73	4,64
DK/NA	285	5,17	2,747	,163	4,85	5,49
Total	1087	4,89	2,724	,083	4,73	5,05

Table XI – ANOVA test for Cyprus

ANOVA

How satisfied with the way democracy works in country

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	395,963	5	79,193	11,170	,000
Within Groups	7664,010	1081	7,090		
Total	8059,972	1086			

Table XII – Multiple Comparisons for CYPRUS

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: How satisfied with the way democracy works in country

Bonferroni

(I) Placement on left right scale	(J) Placement on left right scale	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Left	Center-left	-,992	,370	,111	-2,08	,10
	Center	,845*	,276	,034	,03	1,66
	Center right	1,086*	,345	,025	,07	2,10
	Right	1,216*	,327	,003	,25	2,18
	DK/NA	,227	,283	1,000	-,61	1,06
Center-left	Left	,992	,370	,111	-,10	2,08
	Center	1,838*	,320	,000	,90	2,78
	Center right	2,078*	,381	,000	,96	3,20
	Right	2,208*	,365	,000	1,13	3,28
	DK/NA	1,219*	,326	,003	,26	2,18
Center	Left	-,845*	,276	,034	-1,66	-,03
	Center-left	-1,838*	,320	,000	-2,78	-,90
	Center right	,241	,290	1,000	-,61	1,09
	Right	,371	,270	1,000	-,42	1,16
	DK/NA	-,619	,214	,059	-1,25	,01
Center right	Left	-1,086*	,345	,025	-2,10	-,07
	Center-left	-2,078*	,381	,000	-3,20	-,96
	Center	-,241	,290	1,000	-1,09	,61
	Right	,130	,339	1,000	-,87	1,13
	DK/NA	-,859	,297	,058	-1,73	,01
Right	Left	-1,216*	,327	,003	-2,18	-,25
	Center-left	-2,208*	,365	,000	-3,28	-1,13
	Center	-,371	,270	1,000	-1,16	,42
	Center right	-,130	,339	1,000	-1,13	,87
	DK/NA	-,989*	,277	,005	-1,80	-,18
DK/NA	Left	-,227	,283	1,000	-1,06	,61
	Center-left	-1,219*	,326	,003	-2,18	-,26
	Center	,619	,214	,059	-,01	1,25
	Center right	,859	,297	,058	-,01	1,73
	Right	,989*	,277	,005	,18	1,80

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

4. Discussion

The findings of the analysis point out that there is a negative relationship in the way Cypriots have experienced democracy in Cyprus the last few years as opposed to Europeans. On the same path, satisfaction with the way democracy worked in Cyprus in 2012 based on how people place themselves on the left-right scale is also depicting differences among Cypriots and European Citizens. The question that lies before us is why do such differences exist? Why are Cypriots less satisfied than Europeans in the way democracy has been working in Cyprus the last few years?

Based on the November-2013 Euro barometer survey, life in the European Union as opposed in Cyprus is better, at least this is how it is viewed by respondents. European Union citizens were more satisfied by their household financial situation. More specifically, 63% have judged this as “total good” as opposed to only 42% of Cypriots. At the same time, 54% of Europeans judged their personal job situation as “total good” as opposed to only 27% of Cypriots. Furthermore, when asked about the two most important issues facing at the moment, 77% of Cypriots cited “Unemployment” whereas 74% cited the Cyprus’s Economic Situation. Europeans cited the same issues but at lower percentage, “Unemployment” was cited by 49% and Economic Situation by 33%. When asked about the two most important issues Cypriots are personally facing at the moment, they cited “Unemployment” and their “household’s financial situation” as opposed to Europeans who cited “inflation”.

Economist (2013) noted how difficult the bail-in was for Cyprus and explained what Cyprus has been through in terms of the bail-in. “Cyprus had been at the time the fourth euro-zone country to receive a full bail-out after Greece, Ireland and Portugal. But unlike previous rescues, the package for Cyprus left a large part of the island’s financing needing to be found from its outsized banking sector, in particular from depositors, many of them Russian businessmen. On March 16th Cyprus’s president, Nicos Anastasiades, desperate to protect Cyprus’s status as an offshore banking model for Russians, had decided to save the two biggest banks and thus to spread the pain thinly. He would have applied a hefty tax to all depositors: 9.9% for those too big to be covered by the EU-mandated €100,000 deposit guarantee, and 6.75% for the smaller depositors. But after a week of brinkmanship, including protests by Cypriots, the extended closure of banks to avoid the outrush of money, a failed attempt by Cyprus to throw itself at Russia’s feet, an ultimatum by the European Central Bank and an eleventh-hour threat by Cyprus to leave the euro zone, a different decision was made, to apply the pain much more intensely, but on a smaller number of large depositors. The country’s second-biggest bank, Laiki, would be wound down. Viable assets and insured deposits would be put into a “good bank”. Another €4.2 billion worth of uninsured deposits would be placed into a “bad bank”, to be disposed of, with no certainty that big depositors will get any money back. The article also mentions that the treatment of the biggest bank, Bank of Cyprus, was a bit less harsh. It was to be restructured severely by wiping out shareholders and bailing in bondholders, both junior and senior. Uninsured depositors would probably incur haircuts of the order of 35%, said senior sources involved in the negotiation. The “good bank” emerging from Laiki would be merged with Bank of Cyprus”, Economist (2013).

In addition, Eurogroup’s statement on March 25th 2013, noted that the Eurogroup had reached an agreement with the Cypriot authorities on the key elements necessary for a future macroeconomic adjustment programme. The March 25th 2013 statement outlined the plans for restructuring the financial sector:

1. Laiki would be resolved immediately, with full contribution of equity shareholders, bond holders and uninsured depositors, based on a decision by the Central Bank of Cyprus, using the newly adopted Bank Resolution Framework.
2. Laiki would be split into a good bank and a bad bank. The bad bank will be run down over time.
3. The good bank would be folded into Bank of Cyprus, using the Bank Resolution Framework, after having heard the Boards of Directors of Bank of Cyprus and Laiki. It would take 9 billion Euros of ELA with it. Only uninsured deposits in Bank of Cyprus would remain frozen until recapitalisation has been effected, and may subsequently be subject to appropriate conditions.
4. The Governing Council of the European Central Bank would provide liquidity to the Bank of Cyprus in line with applicable rules.
5. Bank of Cyprus would be recapitalized through a deposit/equity conversion of uninsured deposits with full contribution of equity shareholders and bond holders.
6. The conversion would be such that a capital ratio of 9 % is secured by the end of the programme.

7. All insured depositors in all banks would be fully protected in accordance with the relevant European Union legislation.
8. The programme money, up to 10 billion Euros, would not be used to recapitalize Laiki and Bank of Cyprus.

The program pushed Cyprus into recession and was deemed harsh to the Cypriots. The strong opposition with all other parties aggregating more than 50% and forming a very loud voice pushed people to take a stand and resist on to the measures being imposed by the bail-out programme. Recession is backed up by “numbers”. According to Eurostat (2014), Cyprus unemployment rate has followed an increasing trend since 2008 managing to surpass the European Union average. Specifically, in September of 2008 unemployment in Cyprus averaged at 3.6%. From there on, it sky rocked. It went up to 6.6% in January of 2010 and to 6.9% in February of 2011, climbing to 9.9% in January of 2012, to 15.6% in April of 2013 and in 16.8% in January of 2014. At the same time, Eurostat (2014) depicts that the European Union average (28 countries) has followed a steadier trend. It averaged at 7.2% in September of 2008, finishing at 10.8% in January of 2014. In February 2012 Cyprus and European Union unemployment reached the exact same level, 10.2%, in March of 2012 though Cyprus unemployment reached 10.8% surpassing for the 1st time European Union’s 10.3%.

5. Conclusion

In the above content, it appears that the prolonged recession that has been taking place since 2008-2009 in Cyprus and the increased and prolonged unemployment compare to Europe, appear to be basic reasons why Cypriots are less satisfied than Europeans in the way democracy has been working in Cyprus the last few years. After March 2013 and after the bail in it is expected that this notion will be prolonged even further. The challenge that lies before us as a country is to strive and find ways to overcome the obstacle.

References

- Council of the European Union. Eurogroup Statement on Cyprus. [Online] Available: <http://eurozone.europa.eu/media/404933/EG%20EG%20Statement%20on%20CY%2025%2003%202013.pdf> (March 25th, 2013)
- European Commission. (2013). Standard Eurobarometer - Public Opinion in the European Union (80). [Online] Available: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm
- European Social Survey, (2012), Sampling for the European Social Survey Round VI: Principles and Requirements. [Online] Available: http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/round6/methods/ESS6_sampling_guidelines.pdf (February 24, 2014)
- European Social Survey. (2013). Specification for ESS ERIC Member and Observer Countries April 2013. [Online] Available: http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/round7/methods/ESS7_project_specification.pdf (February 24, 2014)
- Eurostat, (2014), Unemployment rate, montly average, %. [Online], Available: <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do;jsessionid=9ea7d07e30d69bff2e8a5fb045f6af0dd8eb177656c3.e34MbxSahmMa40LbNiMbxMc3iPe0> (March 5th, 2014)
- Heywood, A. (2002). *Introduction to Politics*. (2nd ed.). Athens: ΠΟΛΙΣ.
- Norusis, M. (1999). *Guide to Data Analysis*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Przeworski, A. (2010). *Democracy and the limits of Self-Government*. (1st ed.).Cambridge University Press.
- Rosefielde, S., Mills, D. (2013). *Democracy and its Elected Enemies*. (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Ruth, F. (2012). Europe, Democracy and the Economic Crisis: Is it time to reconstitute the “Assises”? *Journal of Parliamentary Affairs*, 65, 463-469.
- The Economist. (2013). The Cyprus Bail-out. A better deal but still painful. [Online] Available: <http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne/2013/03/cyprus-bail-out> (March 25th, 2013)
- Wejnert, B. (2014). *Diffusion of Democracy*. (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Zikmund, W. G. (2003). *Exploring Research Methods*. (8th ed.). Ohio: Thomson, South Western.