

# Civility and Citizenship. A study for the island of Lesbos, Greece

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## Πολιτικές νοοτροπίες και πολιτειακή συνείδηση στο νησί της Λέσβου

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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to examine the condition of the civil and civic perception of the common good, and the attitudes toward the public sphere in the Greek islands of the Northern Aegean. In particular, we wish to examine whether they constitute a region of particular political-cultural characteristics. Based upon the findings of a previous study (Marangudakis, Rontos, and Xenitidou 2013), we examine the moral self in a political framework: Following Alexander and Smith, Triandis, and Ramfos we examine the quality of specific moral attributes and value preferences vis-à-vis aspects of modern and pre-modern mentality, as well as the value- and mean-orientation of their purposeful action.

**KEY WORDS:** Moral self, collective self, individualist self, cultural patterns

### ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ο σκοπός αυτού του άρθρου είναι η εξέταση της πολιτικής και της πολιτειακής αντίληψης του δημόσιου αγαθού, και οι στάσεις των πολιτών έναντι της δημόσιας σφαίρας στο νησί της Λέσβου. Συγκεκριμένα, εξετάζεται κατά πόσον αποτελούν μια περιοχή με ιδιαίτερη πολιτικά-πολιτισμικά χαρακτηριστικά. Βασιζόμενοι σε μία προηγούμενη πανελλαδική μελέτη (Marangudakis, Rontos, και Xenitidou 2013), εξετάζουμε τον ηθικό εαυτό ως συστατικό στοιχείο του πολιτικού: Ακολουθώντας τις έρευνες των Alexander και Smith, του Triandis, και του Ράμφου εξετάζουμε την ποιότητα των συγκεκριμένων ηθικών ιδιοτήτων και των αξιακών προτιμήσεων έναντι πτυχών της σύγχρονης και της προ-νεωτερικής νοοτροπίας, καθώς και τον αξιακό και τον εργαλειακό προσανατολισμό της εμπρόθετης δράσης τους.

**ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ:** Ηθικός εαυτός, συλλογικός και ατομοκεντρικός εαυτός, πολιτισμικά πρότυπα

## Theoretical Considerations

Morality has recently made a forceful comeback in mainstream sociology as a legitimate, if not a crucial subject of civil society and civic responsibility. Following the work of Taylor, Alexander (1996, 2006), Alexander and Smith (1993), Harrison and Huntington (2001), Szokolczi and Füstös (1998), Fukuyama (1995), Taylor (1992) and Eisenstadt (2001), we examine a series of issues that concern the individual predisposition toward the civil sphere. Our first step is

to examine such a predisposition toward individualistic vs. collectivist moral stands. Whereas individualism and collectivism are often treated as constituting two distinct cultural patterns, Triandis (1998) suggested that there are many kinds of individualism and collectivism. Following Triandis we contend that the most important attributes that distinguish among different kinds of individualism and collectivism are the relative emphases on horizontal and vertical social relationships. Generally speaking, horizontal patterns assume that one self is more or less like every other self. By contrast, vertical patterns consist of hierarchies, and one self is different from other selves.

In detail, and according to Triandis, the ways in which these relative emphases combine with individualism and collectivism produce four distinct patterns: Horizontal Individualism (HI), Vertical Individualism (VI), Horizontal Collectivism (HC), and Vertical Collectivism (VC). More specifically, in HI, people want to be unique and distinct from groups; in VI, people often want to become distinguished and acquire status; in HC, people see themselves as being similar to others but they do not submit easily to authority; in VC people emphasize the integrity of the in-group, are willing to sacrifice their personal goals for the sake of in-group goals, and support competitions of their in-groups with out-groups. If in-group authorities wish them to act in ways that benefit the in-group but are extremely distasteful to them, they submit to the will of these authorities.

In a previous application of Triandis' test on a Greek population sample, the pattern that emerged was as follows: Horizontal Collectivism came first being followed by Vertical Collectivism, Horizontal Individualism and Vertical Individualism. It suggested that Collectivism is the dominant pattern of social behavior with Individualism being the residual one. Furthermore, it suggested that while our sample sifts from authoritarian modes of social interaction to voluntary associations, the collective mode remains strong (Marangudakis, Rontos and Xenitidou, 2013, p.13).

Furthermore, we wish to examine the perception of the common good, and of the public good. To say that someone adheres to collective or individualist goals and morals, or that someone is willing to sacrifice him/herself for the common good, or someone is willing to sacrifice everyone else for his/her interests, does not tell us a lot about their perception of political institutions, and their role into the framework of political life. For this reason, and to measure the perception people have about political (democratic) institutions and the boundaries of the society/group they feel they belong to, we use a second set of questions/items to examine the quality of the various combinations that the Triandis test will detect.

In a previous application of the same set of items, five discourses emerged. According to their significance, the first one was the *phobic* discourse made of the items that denote concern for the "foreigners", belief in the miraculous intervention of God and the understanding of the political domain as a process of "demanding". The second most important discourse was the *righteous* one. It matches the principles of the bi-polar individual of the Orthodox theological principles who combines righteousness with an inner, emotional, sense of justice irrespective of the consequence. The third one, the *populist* discourse brings together the typical elements of populism and its moral principles. The fourth discourse, the *egoist* one, exemplifies the identification of the moral good with the personal benefit irrespective of the law. Last the *leveling* discourse resembles more a herding mentality rather than of a people in power: someone who is willing to give up his/her individual rights as long as he/she retains his/hers essential similarity to the next individual (ibid.p. 15).

## Data and methods

### *Tool, field work, Sampling method and methods of analysis*

The data produced by contacting a specific survey in the island in concern.

The questionnaire, consisting of 58 closed type questions and statements, was filled in by a selected sample of the population of Lesbos Island the period January-April 2012. Qualified postgraduate students were employed as enumerators. A quota sampling method was employed and a total of 353 persons were finally selected.

Descriptive statistics and Factor Analysis were employed to produce the following results. Fifteen items from the Triantis test was used measured in a scale from 1 (disagree) to 10 (agree). The same scale of 1-10 was used on seventeen items measuring the civil consciousness. As far as the implementation of Factor Analysis is concerned, the statistical measure Kaiser-Meyer Olkin (K.M.O.) of sampling adequacy and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity were calculated. Principal components analysis was employed to extract the number of factors, with Eigenvalues > 1 taken as a criterion, which was verified by Scree Plot. Conducting factors rotation the maximum likelihood method was used as extraction method and Varimax with Kaiser Normalization as rotation method.

## Results

### *Sample description*

From the total sample of 353 individuals 56.9% are women and 43.1% are men. The mean average age of the sample is 32 years old. More specifically, 38.5% of the sample belong to the age group of 16-24, 24.8% in the age group of 25-34, 19.0% in the age group of 35-44, 11.7% in the age group 45-54, 5.0% in the age group 55-64 and 1.2% in the age group of 65 and above. The educational level of the sample is high as well, The 53.8% holds a university or technical college degree, the 30.8% holds a high school diploma and 7.4% has a postgraduate degree. Only 1.1% of the sample did not finish primary school, while 3.4% has primary school baccalaureate and 3.4% has high school baccalaureate.

It is important to mention that 28.3% of the sample works as routine non-manual employees, higher grade-lower grade, 17% works as lower-grade professionals, administrators, officials, higher-grade technicians, 10% are students and 9.1% works as skilled manual workers, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. At very low rates we see people working as farmers and as other workers in primary production (5.9%), small proprietors, artisans with employees - without employees, farmers and smallholders (4.8%), lower - grade technicians and supervisors of manual workers (2%), people working in higher-grade professionals, administrators, officials and managers (0.3%), people who are not working (unemployed 3.1%), retired (2%), household (2.8%) (13.9% did not answer this question). The monthly income of 38.1% of the sample range up to 500 €, 37.5% from 500 € to 1.000 €, 16.3% from 1.000 € to 1.500 €, while a very small percentage of the sample has a monthly income more than 1.500 € (1.500 € - 2.000 €: 3,1%, 2.000 € - 3.000 €: 1,7%, 3.000 € - 5.000 €: 1,6%).

### *Triantis test statistical analysis*

First of all mean value and Std of the 15 items included in the test are shown in table 1. Items 18.15, 18.4 and 18.14 seem to have the highest mean agreement, while 18.8 and 18.6 have the lowest mean agreement of the sample.

**Table 1**

<b>Descriptive Statistics of Trianis test items</b>			
	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>Analysis N</b>
18_2. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others	7,7105	2,10734	342
18_3. I often do «my own thing»	6,7807	2,18402	342
18_4. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me	8,1725	1,90909	342
18_5. It is important that I do my job better than others	7,2602	2,23793	342
18_6. Winning is everything	4,7661	2,60007	342
18_7. Competition is the law of nature	6,5877	2,38081	342
18_8. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused	4,2982	2,52238	342
18_9.If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud	7,9766	2,04051	342
18_10. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me	7,2018	2,16143	342
18_11.To me, pleasure is spending time with others	8,1550	1,92284	342
18_12. I feel good when I cooperate with others	7,7135	2,06771	342
18_13. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible	5,6608	2,67642	342
18_14. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want	8,0585	2,17209	342
18_15. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required	8,3509	1,97038	342
18_16. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups	7,3158	2,12228	342

Factor Analysis was used to detect the internal relations and structures among the variables of the Triantis test, by grouping and reducing their number.

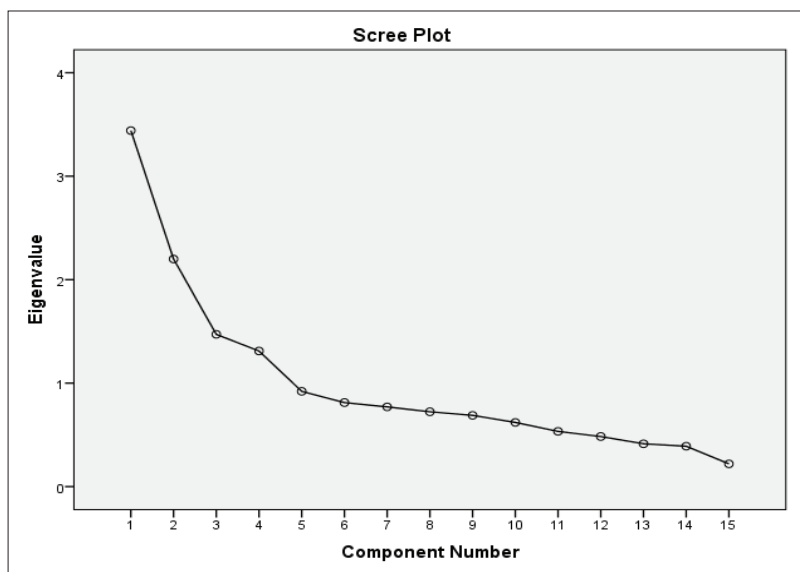
In order to ensure the indigenous correlations, the statistical measure Kaiser-Mayer Olkin (K.M.O.) was used, which indicates the data suitability, the existence of adequate endogenous correlations and the adequacy of the sample, ranging in 0.743. At the same time, Bartlett's Test Sphericity=1252.445, df=105, p=0.00 verifying the possibility of variable correlation, by using factor analysis (Table 2).

**Table2**  
**KMO and Bartlett's Test**

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		0.734
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1252,445
	df	105
	Sig.	0.000

Principal Components Analysis was employed to extract the number of factors, with Eigenvalues>1 taken as a criterion for selecting the factors. Four factors were selected by the method (Table 3) which was verified by Scree Plot (Figure 1). Conducting factors rotation the maximum likelihood the method was used. According to the Goodness of fit Test, Chi-Square is=96.533, df=51 and p=0.000Sig.

**Figure 1**



It is important to note, that the four Factors occurred show that the total variance initially explained by the model is 56.153% and 43,847% loss (Table 3).In the final model the variance explained is reduced to 41.7 (Table4). The contribution of each factor to the variance explanation is also seen in the table 4.

Table 3

Total Variance Explained						
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,441	22,941	22,941	3,441	22,941	22,941
2	2,200	14,665	37,606	2,200	14,665	37,606
3	1,472	9,810	47,416	1,472	9,810	47,416
4	1,311	8,737	56,153	1,311	8,737	56,153
5	,921	6,137	62,290			
6	,812	5,413	67,704			
7	,771	5,137	72,841			
8	,723	4,822	77,663			
9	,689	4,592	82,254			
10	,620	4,134	86,388			
11	,534	3,558	89,946			
12	,484	3,226	93,172			
13	,414	2,760	95,932			
14	,390	2,603	98,535			
15	,220	1,465	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Specifically, the results from the use of the Varimax Rotation with Kaiser Normalization method, in which the basic hypothesis is that the factors that occur are independent with each other, are analyzed below (Table 5).

Table 4

Total Variance Finally Explained									
Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,441	22,941	22,941	2,780	18,533	18,533	1,936	12,908	12,908
2	2,200	14,665	37,606	1,592	10,614	29,146	1,822	12,145	25,054
3	1,472	9,810	47,416	1,174	7,824	36,970	1,312	8,744	33,798
4	1,311	8,737	56,153	,717	4,778	41,748	1,192	7,950	41,748

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

First Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «I feel good when I cooperate with others»(0.693), «To me, pleasure is spending time with others»(0.667), «The well-being of my coworkers is important to me»(0.664), «If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud» (0.598). All variables have very high loads, which fluctuate more than 0.6.

Second Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables « It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want» (0.836), «Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required» (0.820), « It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups» (0.360), «Parents and children must stay together as much as possible» (0.352). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Third Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables«I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others»(0.534), «My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me»(0.491),«I often do «my own thing»»(0.439). It's clearly that the first two variables have very high loads as opposed to the last one.

Fourth Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables«When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused»(0.703), «Winning is everything»(0.630), «Competition is the law of nature »(0.408), «It is important that I do my job better than others»(0.340). It's evident from the variables loads that the first two variables show the higher contribution than the two last one.

**Table5**  
**Rotated Factor Matrixa**

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
18_2. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others	0.054	0.080	-0.084	0.534
18_3. I often do «my own thing»	-0.002	-0.057	0.259	0.439
18_4. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me	0.146	0.108	0.116	0.491
18_5. It is important that I do my job better than others	0.049	0.180	0.340	0.485
18_6. Winning is everything	-0.022	-0.012	0.630	0.190
18_7. Competition is the law of nature	0.139	0.159	0.408	0.193
18_8. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused	-0.239	0.065	0.703	-0.065
18_9. If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud	0.598	0.080	-0.094	0.206
18_10. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me	0.664	0.040	-0.102	0.107
18_11. To me, pleasure is spending time with others	0.667	0.199	0.045	-0.026
18_12. I feel good when I cooperate with others	0.693	0.258	0.042	0.036
18_13. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible	0.076	0.352	0.113	-0.023

18_14. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want	0.153	0.836	0.035	0.231
18_15. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required	0.118	0.820	-0.087	0.229
18_16. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups	0.257	0.360	0.077	-0.016

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.<sup>a</sup>

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

To check the reliability of the 14 variables of the test, Cronbach's "Alpha" statistic was computed equal to 0.717, recommended quite good internal consistency.

## Civil consciousness test analysis

The mean value and Std of the 17 items included in the test are shown in table 6. Items 20.2, 20.7 and 20.8 seem to have the highest mean agreement, while 20.11, 20.5 and 20.17 have the lowest mean agreement of the sample.

**Table 6**

Descriptive Statistics			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Analysis N
20_1. I am ready to fight for what I believe is right, even by breaking the Law	6,3653	2,51090	334
20_2. Physical violence by no means belongs to social life	7,6916	2,83014	334
20_3. "Justice" is more important than "individual rights"	5,8353	2,61891	334
20_4. The role of the politicians is to adhere to my demands	5,7814	3,01500	334
20_5. Before my personal profit I do not consider the Law	3,3623	2,40443	334
20_6. I sense the world more with my feelings rather than my intellect	6,0569	2,62348	334
20_7. If I consider something to be right I support it irrespective of the consequences	7,0629	2,29222	334
20_8. At the end of the day I am responsible for what happens to me	7,5509	2,45233	334
20_9. The foreigners are jealous and conspire against us	4,2156	3,00874	334
20_10. The interest of the people is above institutions and laws	6,3443	2,77451	334
20_11. I believe that the stars affect people's life	3,0030	2,42299	334
20_12. Between individual freedoms and social equality, I prefer social equality	5,9222	2,36464	334
20_13. I feel that my life is controlled by dark networks	4,0629	2,93763	334



20_14. When the people truly get the power, it would be a matter of time to solve the most important problems	5,0808	2,62170	334
20_15. I believe in the miraculous intervention of God in the world	5,6527	3,07841	334
20_16. The foreigners impose a threat to our national identity	4,8772	3,11635	334
20_17. In general I trust my fellow citizens irrespective of how well I know them personally	3,6677	2,18932	334

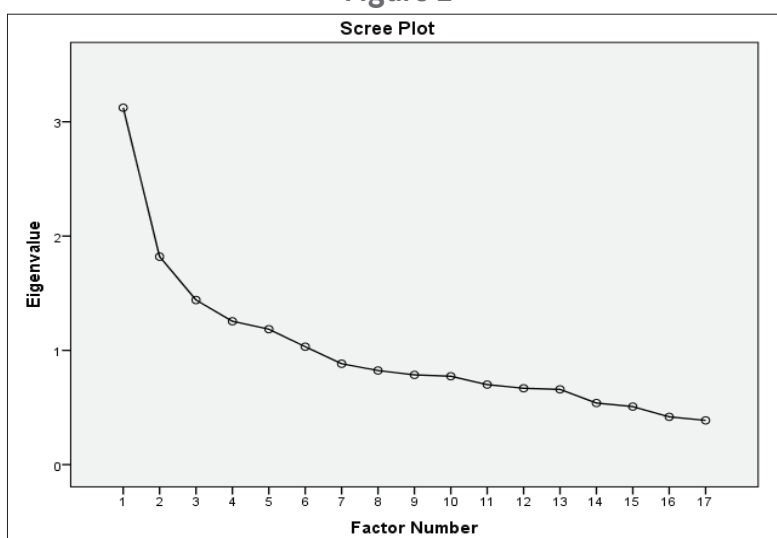
Factor analysis was used again for the civil consciousness test analysis. In order to ensure the indigenous correlations, the statistical measure Kaiser-Meyer Olkin (K.M.O.) was used, which indicates the data suitability, the existence of adequate endogenous correlations and the adequacy of the sample, ranging in 0.702. At the same time, Bartlett's Test Sphericity = 842.086, df=136, p=0.00 verifying the possibility of variable correlation, by using factor analysis (Table 7).

**Table 7**

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,702
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	842,086
	df	136
	Sig.	,000

Principal Components Analysis was employed to extract the number of factors, with Eigenvalues > 1 taken as a criterion for selecting the factors. Five factors were selected by the method (Table 8) which was verified by Scree Plot (Figure 2). In fact sixth factor did not selected as Eigenvalue for it was almost 1. Conducting factors rotation the maximum likelihood method was used. According to the Goodness of fit Test, Chi-Square is = 87,148, df = 61 and p = 0.016 Sig.

**Figure 2**



It is important to note, that the five Factors occurred show the total variance initially explained by the model is 51,90% and 48,10% loss (Table 8). In the final model the variance explained is reduced to 35.42% (Table 9). The contribution of each factor to the variance explanation is also seen in the table9.

**Table 8**

Total Variance Explained						
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,123	18,370	18,370	3,123	18,370	18,370
2	1,820	10,705	29,075	1,820	10,705	29,075
3	1,441	8,474	37,550	1,441	8,474	37,550
4	1,254	7,379	44,929	1,254	7,379	44,929
5	1,185	6,972	51,901	1,185	6,972	51,901
6	1,032	6,072	57,973			
7	,883	5,193	63,165			
8	,823	4,843	68,009			
9	,785	4,620	72,629			
10	,774	4,551	77,179			
11	,700	4,119	81,298			
12	,669	3,932	85,230			
13	,659	3,874	89,104			
14	,539	3,169	92,273			
15	,508	2,987	95,260			
16	,418	2,461	97,722			
17	,387	2,278	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Specifically, the results from the use of the Varimax Rotation with Kaiser Normalization method, in which the basic hypothesis is that the factors that occur are independent with each other, are analyzed below (Table 9).

**Table 9**

Total Variance finally Explained									
Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,123	18,370	18,370	1,335	7,850	7,850	1,634	9,609	9,609
2	1,820	10,705	29,075	2,260	13,296	21,146	1,201	7,066	16,675
3	1,441	8,474	37,550	1,166	6,857	28,004	1,173	6,898	23,573

4	1,254	7,379	44,929	,624	3,668	31,672	1,099	6,466	30,039
5	1,185	6,972	51,901	,637	3,750	35,422	,915	5,383	35,422

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

First Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «The foreigners impose a threat to our national identity» (0.797), «The foreigners are jealous and conspire against us» (0.685), «I feel that my life is controlled by dark networks» (0.382), «I believe in the miraculous intervention of God in the world»(0.379). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Second Factor: The higher loading value is been shown to the following variable «If I consider something to be right I support it irrespective of the consequences» (0.685), «I am ready to fight for what I believe is right, even by breaking the Law» (0.518), «At the end of the day I am responsible for what happens to me» (0. 419), «I sense the world more with my feelings rather than my intellect» (0. 340). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Third Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «When the people truly get the power, it would be a matter of time to solve the most important problems» (0.489), «The interest of the people is above institutions and laws» (0.489), «In general I trust my fellow citizens irrespective of how well I know them personally» (0.226). It's evident from the variables loads that the first two variables show the higher contribution than the last one.

Fourth Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «Before my personal profit I do not consider the Law» (0.940), «The role of the politicians is to adhere to my demands» (0.318), I believe that the stars affect people's life (0.222). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Fifth Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «"Justice" is more important that "individual rights"» (0.486), «Between individual freedoms and social equality, I prefer social equality» (0.340), «Physical violence by no means belongs to social life» (0.330). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

**Table 10**

<b>Rotated Factor Matrix</b>					
	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
20_1. I am ready to fight for what I believe is right, even by breaking the Law	,006	,004	,518	,163	-,118
20_2. Physical violence by no means belongs to social life	,028	-,132	,081	-,019	,330
20_3. "Justice" is more important that "individual rights"	,057	,273	-,084	,078	,486
20_4.The role of the politicians is to adhere to my demands	,264	,318	-,073	,265	,125
20_5. Before my personal profit I do not consider the Law	,095	,940	,176	,090	-,260
20_6. I sense the world more with my feelings rather than my intellect	,089	,120	,340	,188	,309
20_7. If I consider something to be right I support it irrespective of the consequences	-,061	-,025	,685	,071	,085

20_8. At the end of the day I am responsible for what happens to me	,065	,046	,419	,033	,262
20_9.The foreigners are jealous and conspire against us	,685	,180	,071	,062	,100
20_10.The interest of the people is above institutions and laws	,230	,046	,241	,489	,081
20_11.I believe that the stars affect people's life	,183	,222	-,027	,002	,152
20_12.Between individual freedoms and social equality, I prefer social equality	,047	-,032	,065	,107	,340
20_13.I feel that my life is controlled by dark networks	,382	-,009	-,023	,195	-,027
20_14.When the people truly get the power, it would be a matter of time to solve the most important problems	,225	-,006	,127	,764	,074
20_15.I believe in the miraculous intervention of God in the world	,379	,076	,039	,134	,347
20_16.The foreigners impose a threat to our national identity	,797	,046	,014	,035	,078
20_17. In general I trust my fellow citizens irrespective of how well I know them personally	-,040	,120	,092	,226	,115

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.a

a. Rotation converged in 8 iterations.

## Discussion and Conclusions

First of all we should mention that the above four factors resulted by factor analysis on Triantis test represent Hierarchical Individualism, Hierarchical Collectivism Vertical Collectivism and Vertical Individualism, as suggested by him.

The results of Factor Analysis on Civil Consciousness Test indicate that there are particular selective affinities amongst these items, suggesting five ideal-types of discourses and moral hypergoods: the "phobic" (F1), the "righteous" (F2), the "populist" (F3), the "egoist" (F4), and the "leveling" (F5).

The *phobic* discourse (F1) certainly is centered on the "foreigners" yet, believing in the miraculous intervention of God and the understanding of the political domain as a process of "demanding" unfolds a comprehensive cognitive model: It suggests an enclosed moral self fearful of external "intrusions" to its life-world, wrapped in traditional religiosity and a simplistic idea of politics as a demanding-serving process. The belief in the miraculous intervention of God is the most intriguing item as it suggests not only traditional non-reflective religiosity, but also a more basic cognitive predisposition toward the immanent world: the *dues ex machina* principle of solving perplexed issues in a "magic" way, a way that involves little personal effort. This is the moral stand of a traditional self, entrenched in kinship and locality. Significantly enough, it is the discourse most likely to be structured by those who identify themselves with the far right (but not exclusively so).

The *righteous* discourse (F2) is an intriguing and most interesting combination of items. In its core lies the responsible and pacifist person which we consider, theoretical speaking, to be the foundations of a proper civil persona. Yet, it incorporates two more items that could be

described as ambivalent, to say the least: self-righteousness and emotiveness. This latter blend of internal conviction and of filtering moral judgment by emotions suggests a highly personal sense of justice. This discourse matches the principles of the bi-polar individual of the Orthodox theological principles who combines righteousness with an inner, emotional, sense of justice irrespective of the consequence.

The *populist* discourse (F3) brings together the typical elements of populism and its moral principles. It is based on apocalyptic notions of good and evil, insecurity, and illegitimacy. This discourse is more secular and humanistic than the phobic one as it is neither xenophobic nor with supernatural associations, yet, we could consider it as an offshoot of the same moral discourse: it exemplifies the imagistic notion of the good and the just in equally entrenched ways. But while the phobic one is backward looking wishing for a routine life pattern, the populist one looks forward to a revolutionary "miraculous" and final resolution of the tensions of modern life. Interestingly enough, in this populist discourse we also find being included the item concerning "trust of fellow citizens"(20\_17). But, taking into account the context, this is not the civil trust of fellow citizens; instead, it is an abstract trust of the "people" who are seen as a community of transcendental worth.

The forth, *egoist* discourse (F4) is the more straightforward one. It exemplifies the identification of the moral good with the personal benefit irrespective of the law. In this discourse moral hypergoods, personal gains, and illegal behavior are mixed to produce a highly unstable mixture of anomic action. It indicates that naked egoism is not acceptable even for the egoist. It must be connected with some moral good, thus the connection of personal gain with justice; but not without cost: it isolates the actor from other hypergoods. And it is the discourse more likely to be preferred by people who identify their political preferences as far right or far left.

Last, the *leveling* discourse (F5). It appears as the most ideological (collectivism above individuality) but it is not even remotely connected to any other item that would add to the discourse a sense of purposeful moral intention. Isolated from other connotating items, the discourse projects a moral picture that resembles more a herding mentality rather than of a people in power: someone who is willing to give up his/her individual rights as long as he/she retains his/hers essential similarity to the next individual.

The statistical analysis suggests low levels of civil consciousness in the Lesvos island, much like the results of the previous study that were examining Greece as a whole (Marangudakis M., Rontos K. and Xenitidou M., 2013). This low levels of civil consciousness is reflected in the absence of a cluster of variables that gathers together the values of an ideal-type western civility. Instead, the clusters on the Factor's Analysis Scores, that resulted from the civil consciousness test, reflect two crucial matters of civil morality: First, a high percentage of respondents do not take account of the law when it comes to issues of justice; here, the personal 'feeling' of justice clearly predominates. Second, 'people' is considered to be an entity above and beyond institutional arrangements of power, and of rule of law. Though our previous results are confirmed, more analysis on the sources of such low levels of civil consciousness is necessary.

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