

L'Europe des populistes

Dominique Reynié

Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié

OÙ VA LA DÉMOCRATIE ?

UNE ENQUÊTE INTERNATIONALE DE LA
FONDATION POUR L'INNOVATION POLITIQUE



Edited by Dominique Reynié

WHAT NEXT FOR DEMOCRACY?

AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY BY
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United Kingdom European Union membership referendum, 2016

National result

<i>“Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union?”</i>	Votes	%
Leave the European Union	17,410,742	51.89%
Remain a member of the European Union	16,141,241	48.11%

Austrian Presidential Election (2016, %):

	First Round	Run-Off (05/22)	Run-Off (12/12)
Norbert Hofner (FPÖ)	35	49,7	46,2
Alexander Van der Bellen (Independent)	21,3	50,3	53,8
Irmgard Griss (Indépendant)	18,9	-	
Rudolf Hundstorfer (SPÖ)	11,3	-	
Andreas Khol (ÖVP)	11,1	-	
Richard Lugner (Independent)	2,3	-	

Dutch general election (2017, %)

People's Party for Freedom and Democracy	VVD	Mark Rutte	21,3	-5.3
Party for Freedom	PVV	Geert Wilders	13,1	+3.0
Christian Democratic Appeal	CDA	Sybrand Buma	12,4	+3.9
Democrats 66	D66	Alexander Pechtold	12,2	+4.2
GreenLeft	GL	Jesse Klaver	9,1	+6.8
Socialist Party	SP	Emile Roemer	9,1	-0.6
Labour Party	PvdA	Lodewijk Asscher	5,7	-19.1
Christian Union	CU	Gert-Jan Segers	3,4	+0.3
Party for the Animals	PvdD	Marianne Thieme	3,2	+1.3
50PLUS	50+	Henk Krol	3,1	+1.2
Reformed Political Party	SGP	Kees van der Staaij	2,1	+0.0
Denk	Denk	Tunahan Kuzu	2,1	New
Forum for Democracy	FvD	Thierry Baudet	1,8	New

Mark Rutte: *To all Dutchmen* (March 2017)

“Most people have good will. The silent majority. We want the best for our country. We work hard, help one another, and think the Netherlands are quite a cool country. But we do worry about the way we treat one another. Sometimes it seems like no-one behaves normally anymore.

You probably recognise it. People seem to behave more and more anti-socially. In traffic, in public transport, and in the streets. Who think they always have right of way. Who dump their garbage on the street. Who spit at conductors. Who hang around in groups and bully people, threaten them or even assault them. Not normal.

We feel increasingly uneasy when people abuse our freedom to undermine our country, even though they came to our country for that freedom. People who refuse to adapt, dislike our traditions and reject our values. Who harass gays, cat-call women in short skirts, or call normal Dutchmen racist. I understand it all too well when people think: if you reject our country in such a fundamental manner, I'd rather have you leave. Because I feel the same. Behave normally or leave”.

	Electors/Voters	% registered electors	% Votes
Registered electors	47 581 118	-	-
Marine LE PEN	7 679 493	16,14	21,30
Jean-Luc MÉLENCHON	7 060 885	14,84	19,58
Nicolas DUPONT-AIGNAN	1 695 186	3,56	4,70
Jean LASSALLE	435 365	0,91	1,21
Philippe POUTOU	394 582	0,83	1,09
François ASSELINEAU	332 588	0,70	0,92
Nathalie ARTHAUD	232 428	0,49	0,64
Jacques CHEMINADE	65 598	0,14	0,18
TOTAL	17 896 125	37,6	49,6

French Presidential Election (2017, first round)

49,6% of the votes where for a populist...

Austrian General Election (2017, %):

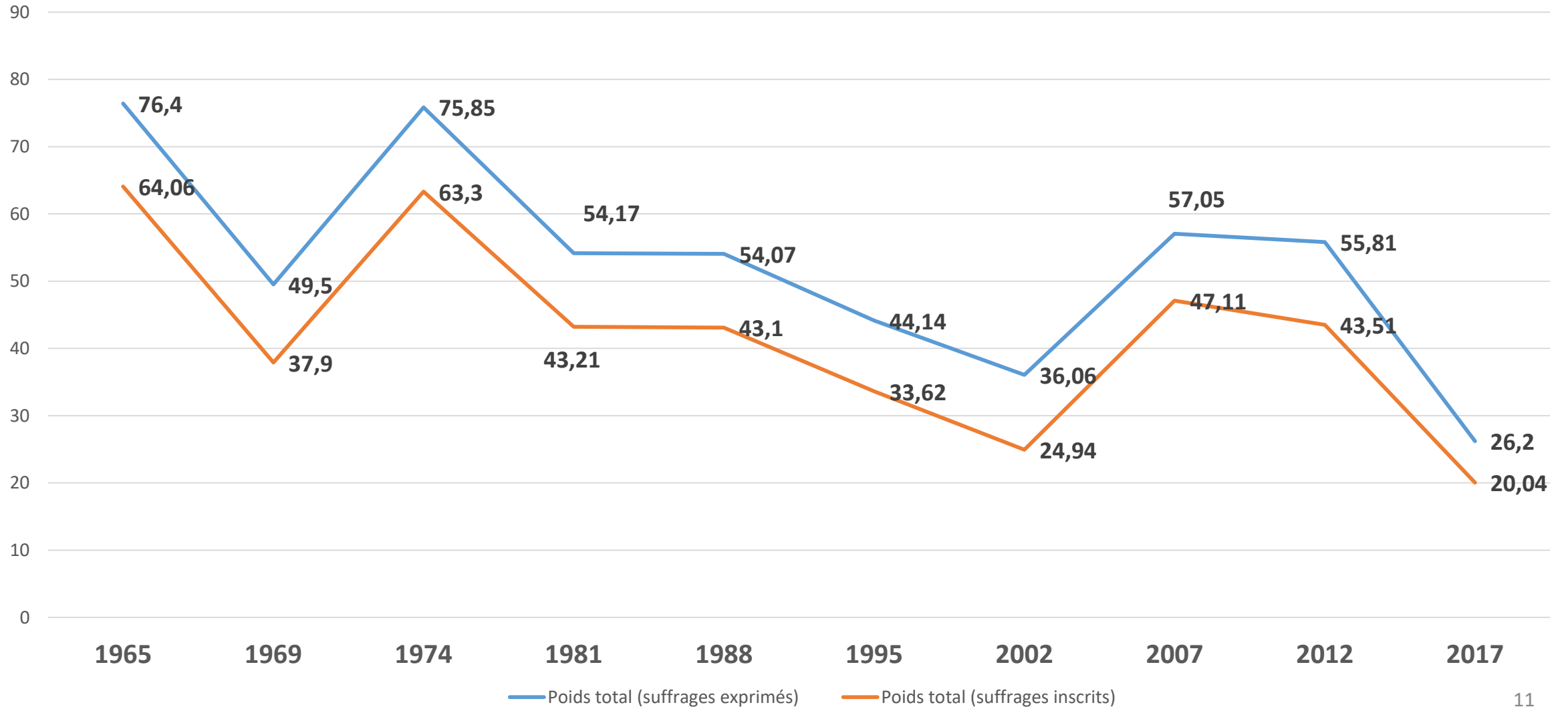
	%
Austrian People's Party (ÖVP)	31,5
Social Democratic Party (SPÖ)	26,9
Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)	26
NEOS – The New Austria	5,3
Peter Pilz List	4,4

Czech Republic General Election (2017, %):

	%
ANO 2011	29,6
Civic Democratic Party (ODS)	11,3
Czech Pirate Party	10,7
Freedom and direct Democracy (SPD)	10,6
Communist Party	7,7
Czech Social Democratic Party	7,2
KDU-CSL	5,8
TOP-09	5,3
Mayors and Independents	5,1

The total electoral weight of the French ruling parties Presidential election, first round (1965-2017)

(Right and Left – % of the votes and % of the electoral population - registered)



The Norwegian Progress Party - the Sweden Democrats - the Danish People's Party - the True Finns - Dutch Freedom Party or Forum - Austrian Freedom Party - the NVA Belgian - Swiss SVP – Ano - Golden Dawn or Laos - M5S or The League – Jobbik or Fidesz – PiS - the BNP or the UKIP - the National Front – Alternative für Deutschland...

Podemos – Samoobrona - Syriza - Die Linke - France Insoumise - SMER...

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WHAT NEXT FOR DEMOCRACY? PRESENTATION OF THE SURVEY

- 26 COUNTRIES
- 23 LANGUAGES
- 22,041 INTERVIEWS

The data were collected over a period of three weeks to neutralise any effects produced by the general context of the period (between 15 February and 9 March 2017).

'Are you bothered by...'

(Response: 'yes')

	Eastern Europe	Western Europe
Sexual orientations that are different from yours	31	16
Religious opinions that are different from yours	24	24
Political opinions that are different from yours	28	24
People who do not come from the same place as you	21	20

'Globalisation is an opportunity'

Eastern Europe	Other EU countries
54	61

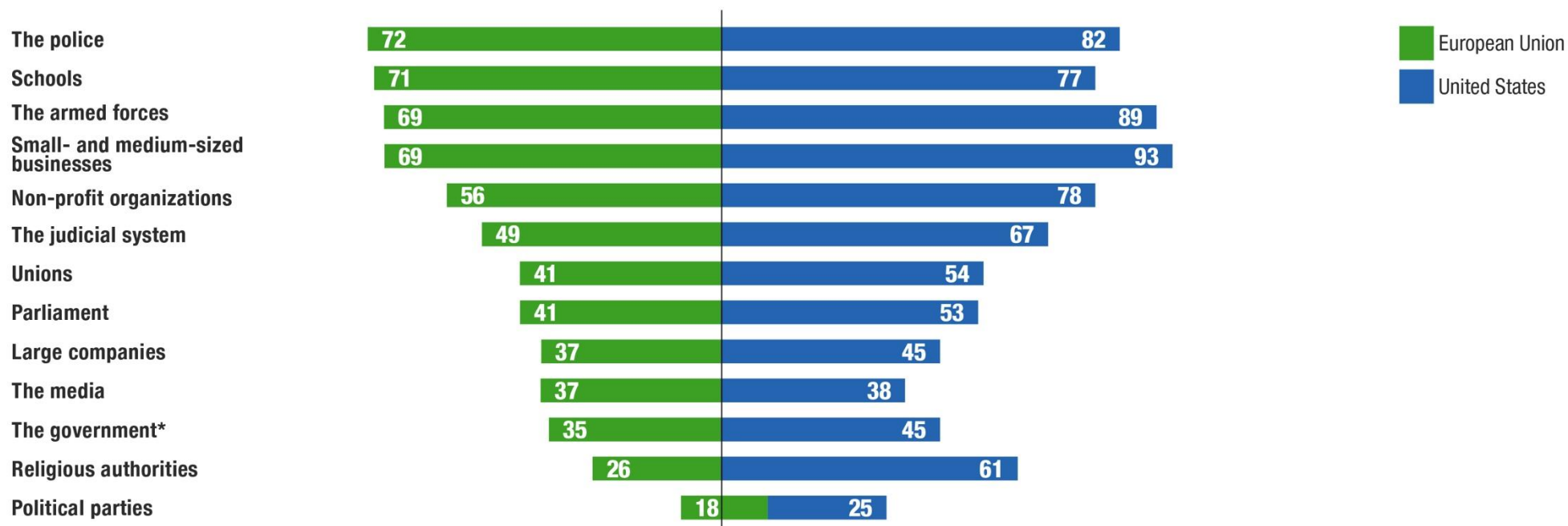
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“Welfare chauvinism”
or
“Ethno-Socialism”

From
political pluralism
to
multiculturalism

Trust and distrust in institutions

(Responses: 'entirely trust' and 'trust')



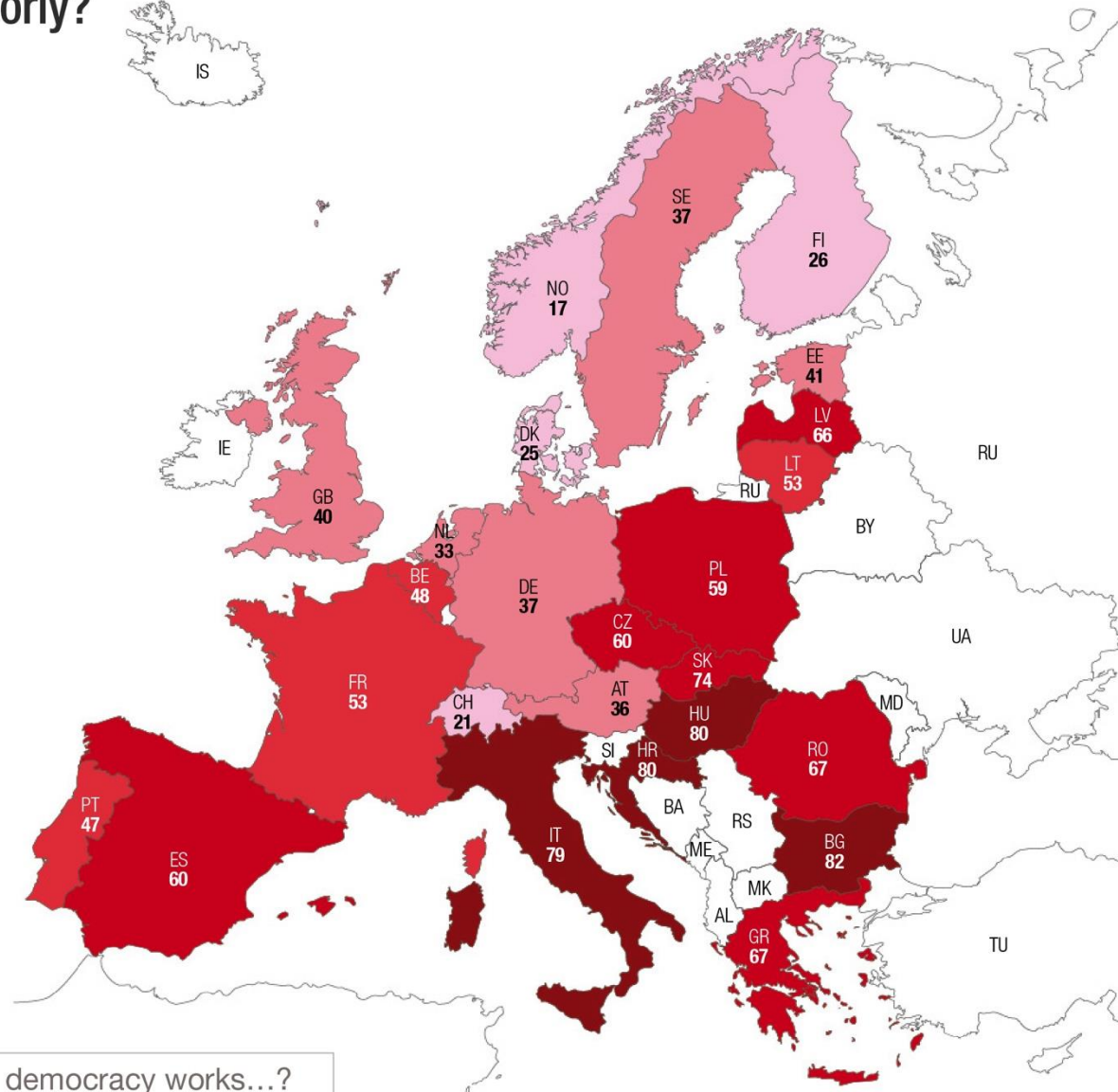
*Federal government in the United States and in Germany.

Question: I will show you a list of institutions and ask you how much you trust them. For each institution, please tell me if you entirely trust them, trust them, distrust them or entirely distrust them.

Responses: The federal government / The federal council / **The government** / **The media** / **Parliament** / **The judicial system** / **The police** / **The armed forces** / **Unions** / **Small- and medium-sized businesses** / **Large companies** / **Political parties** / **Religious authorities** / **Non-profit organizations** / **Schools**

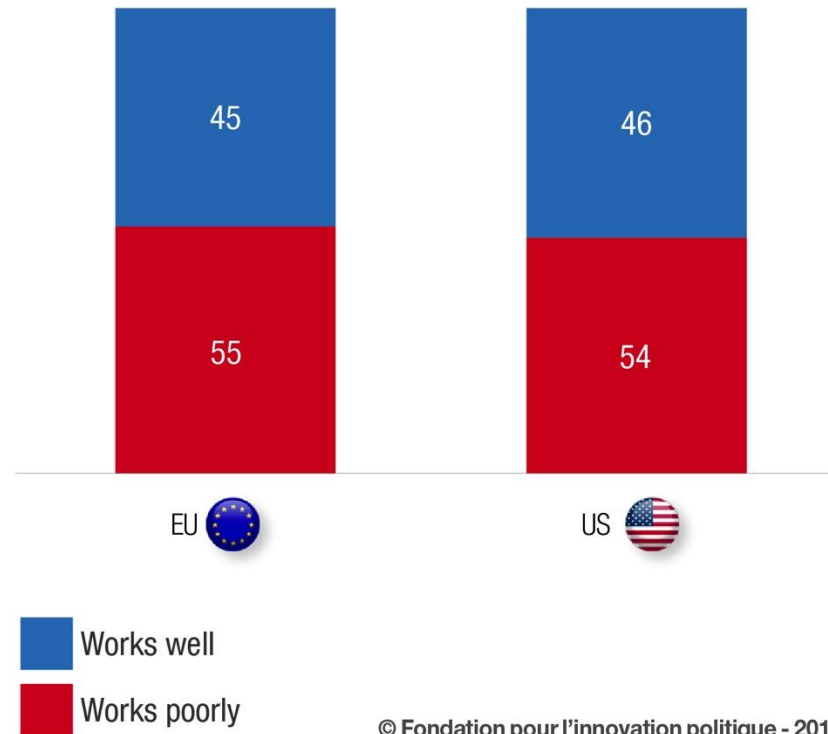
Does democracy work well or poorly?

Responses: 'poorly' + 'very poorly')

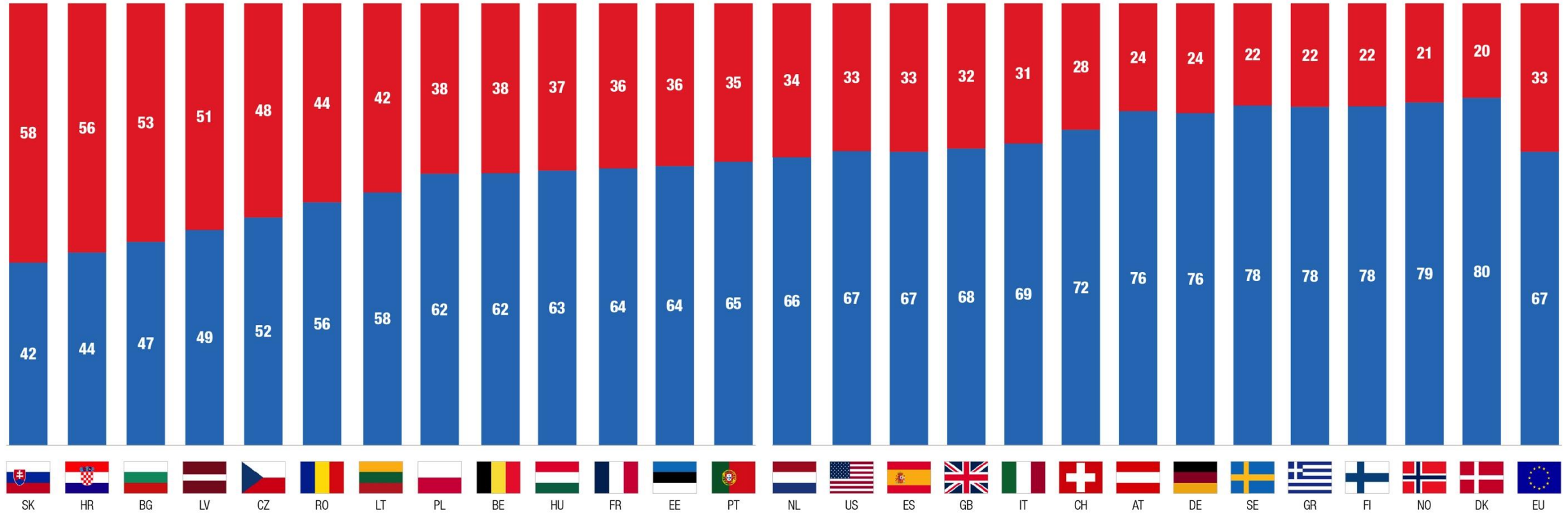


Question: In your country, would you say that democracy works...?
Responses: Very well / Well / **Poorly** / **Very poorly**

Democracy in your country...



Is the democratic system irreplaceable?



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■ There is no substitute for the democratic system; it is the best possible system
■ Other political systems might be just as good as the democratic system

Question: Generally speaking would you say that...?

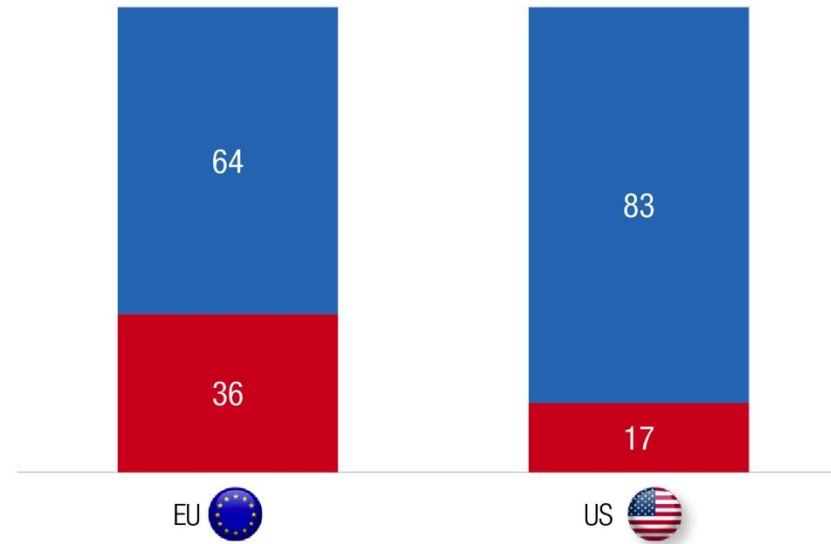
Responses: There is no substitute for the democratic system; it is the best possible systems / Other political systems might be just as good as the democratic system

'The democratic system is the best possible system

Under 35	51
35-59	53
60 and above	63
Right-wing	65
Left-wing	55

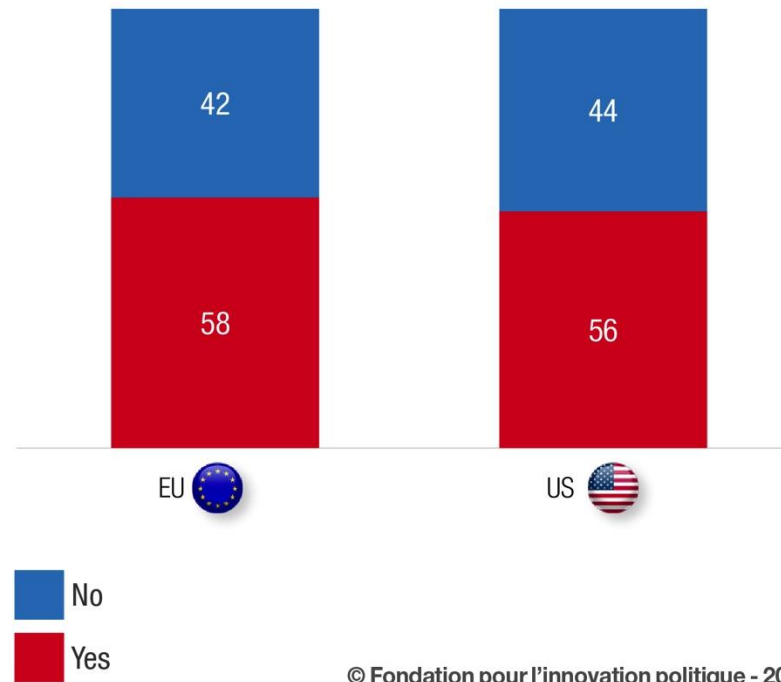
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Is voting worthwhile or pointless?



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Is Islam a threat?



Islam and immigration

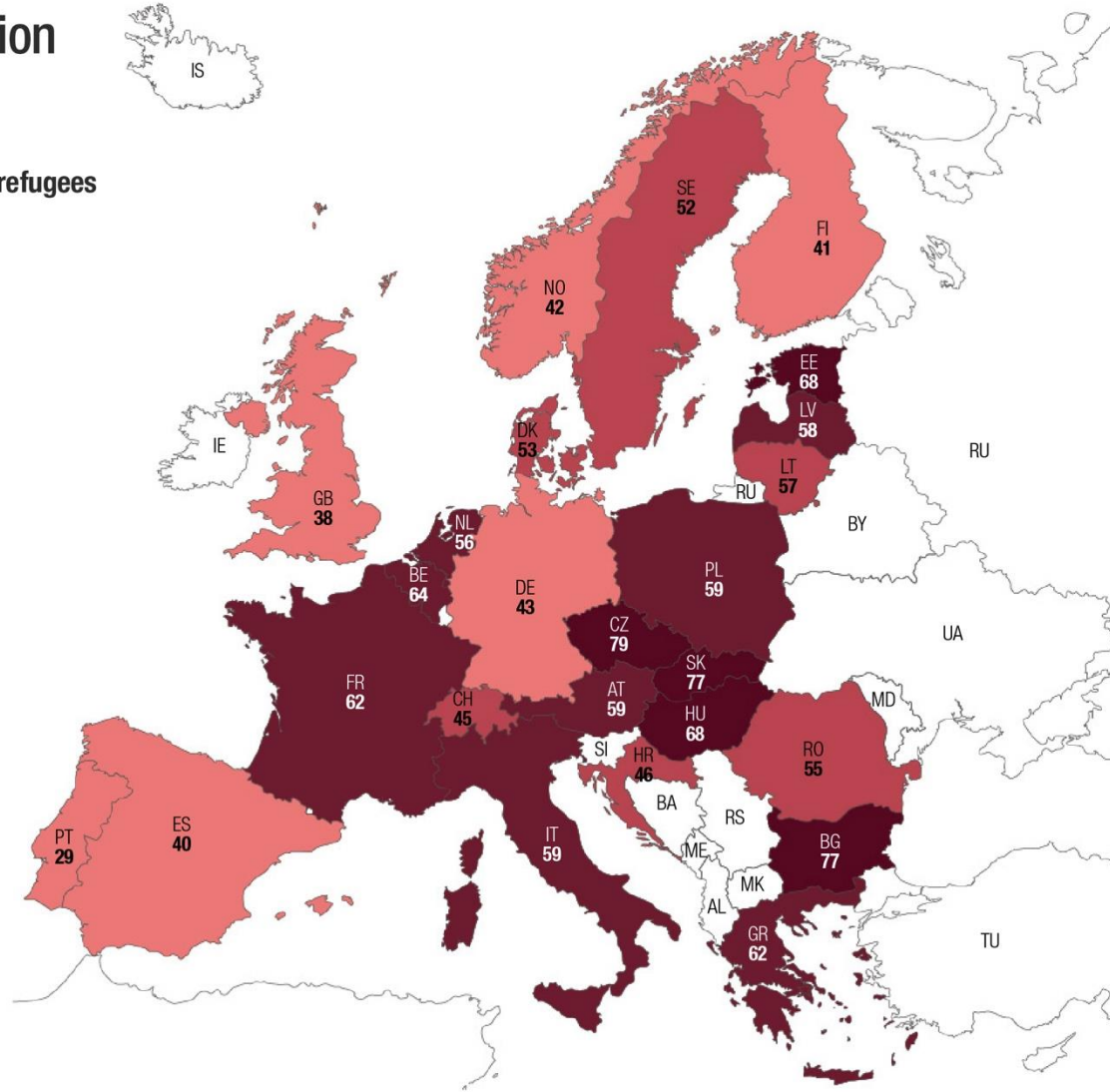
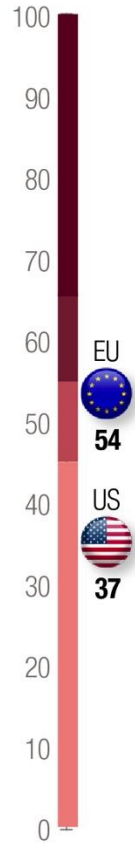
	Eastern Europe	Western Europe
Islam is a threat	63	54
Immigration is positive for our country	21	44

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Accepting refugees: A wall of rejection surrounding Germany

Responses: 'strongly agree' and 'agree'

Mean approval rating of the four reasons for not accepting refugees



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Question: For each of the following statements, please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

Responses: We cannot let in more refugees because we do not share the same values and that makes it hard to live alongside one another / We cannot let in more refugees because they bring an increased risk of crime into our country / We cannot let in more refugees because they bring an increased risk of terrorism into our country / We cannot let in more refugees because that would harm the country's economy

Reasons for rejecting refugees

Among Europeans, support for the principle of taking in refugees correlates with the reasons given in the survey for not taking them in: **‘because that would harm the country’s economy’ (61%)**, because **‘they bring an increased risk of crime’ (58%)**, because **‘they bring an increased risk of terrorism’ (56%)** and lastly, because **‘we do not share the same values and that makes it hard to live alongside one another’ (51%)**.

A lot has changed in the world over the past twenty years...

Do you feel your standard of living has gotten better or worse?			
	It has gotten better	It has remained the same	It has gotten worse
European Union	29	36	35
United States	18	34	48

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A lot has changed in the world over the past twenty years...

Would you say your way of life is now threatened?			
	Threatened (‘Very threatened’ and ‘threatened’)	Not threatened (‘Not very threatened’ or ‘Not at all threatened’)	-
European Union	62	38	-
United States	69	31	-

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A lot has changed in the world over the past twenty years...

How do you picture the lives of your children or those of your relatives' children [in your country] tomorrow?			
	Better than yours	As good as yours	Worse than yours
European Union	14	28	58
United States	33	25	42

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A lot has changed in the world over the past twenty years...

What do you think your country will be like tomorrow?			
	Better than it is now	As good as it is now	Not as good as it is now
European Union	14	27	59
United States	39	20	41

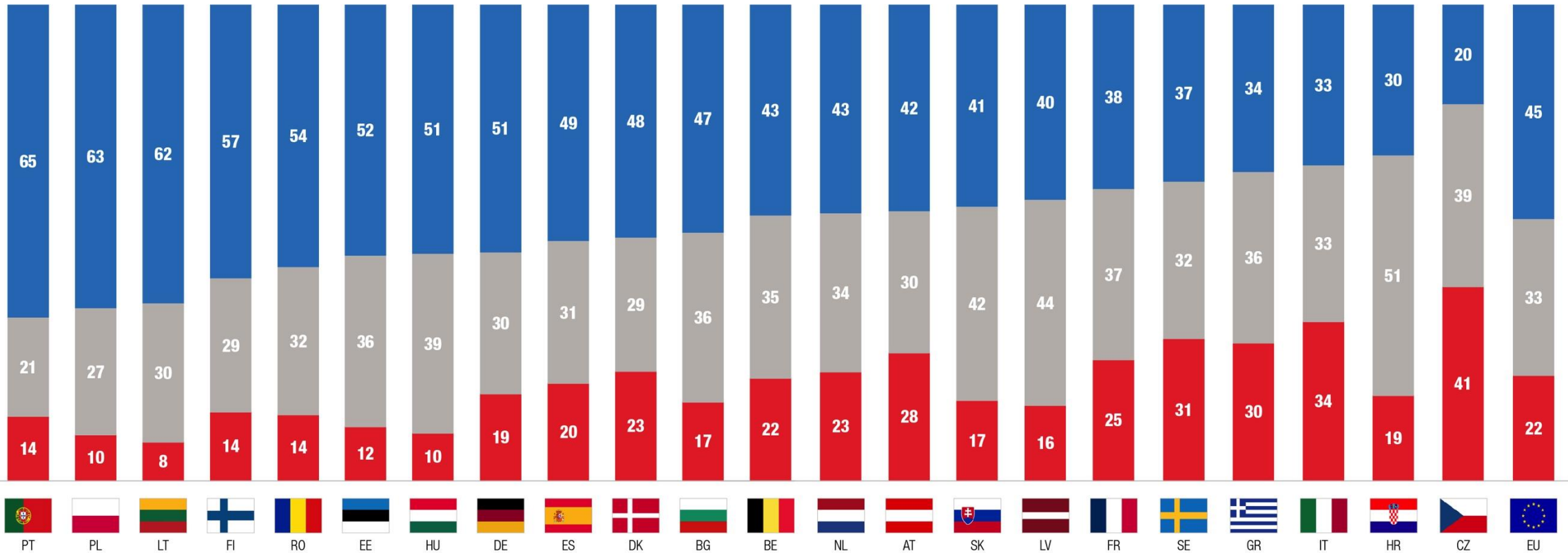
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'I have faith in the future of my country and the world'

	Eastern Europe	Other EU countries
Changes in the past twenty years have been positive	49	43
My standard of living has improved	39	28
My children will have a better life than me	29	12
My country will be better tomorrow than it is now	27	10

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EU membership: moderate enthusiasm



- My country's membership of the European Union is a good thing
- My country's membership of the European Union is neither good nor bad
- My country's membership of the European Union is a bad thing

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Question: Do you think that belonging to the European Union ...?

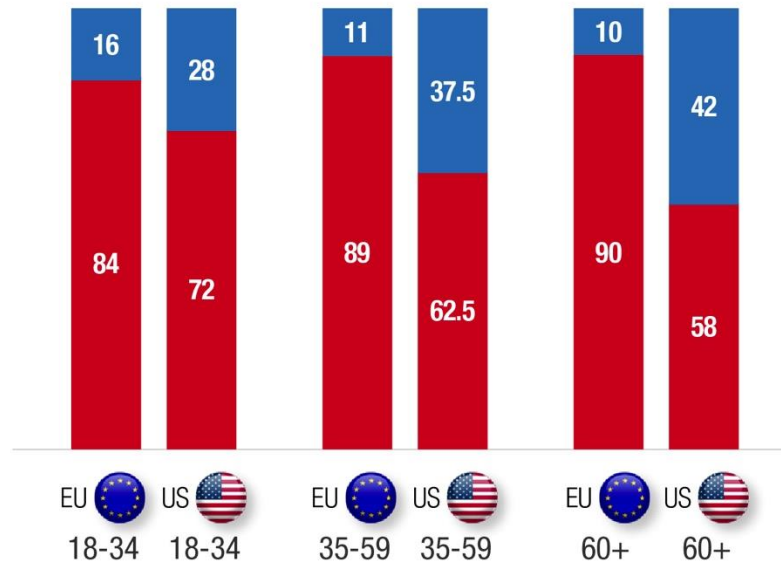
Responses: Strengthens democracy in your country / Weakens democracy in your country / Does not impact democracy in your country

The euro is the people's Europe!

(Support for the euro compared to support for the European Union)

	DE	AT	BE	ES	EE	FI	FR	GR	IT	LV	LT	NL	PT	SK	EU
Euro	60	70	67	62	68	73	62	50	45	51	47	56	66	61	58
EU	51	42	43	49	52	57	38	34	33	40	62	43	65	41	45

Are you worried about social inequalities?



Not worried

Worried

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