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In Western Europe, Populist Parties Tap Anti-Establishment Frustration but Have Little Appeal Across Ideological Divide

Ideology remains a powerful factor in how Europeans view key policy questions

BY *Katie Simmons, Laura Silver, Courtney Johnson, Kyle Taylor and Richard Wike*

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Richard Wike Director, Global Attitudes Research

Katie Simmons, Associate Director, Research

Laura Silver, Senior Researcher

Stefan Cornibert, Communications Manager

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

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In Western Europe, Populist Parties Tap Anti-Establishment Frustration but Have Little Appeal Across Ideological Divide

Ideology remains a powerful factor in how Europeans view key policy questions



Protesters in Kandel, Germany, demonstrate over migration politics and domestic security in April. (Uli Deck/Picture Alliance via Getty Images)

In Western Europe, populist parties and movements have disrupted the region's political landscape by making significant gains at the ballot box – from the Brexit referendum to national elections in Italy. The anti-establishment sentiments helping to fuel the populist wave can be found on the left, center and right of the ideological spectrum, as a Pew Research Center survey highlights. People who hold these populist views are more frustrated with traditional institutions, such as their national parliament and the European Union, than are their mainstream counterparts. They are also more concerned about the economy and anxious about the impact of immigrants on their society.

This dissatisfaction may in part be why they are more favorable toward populist parties; still, regardless of populist sentiments, people tend to favor parties that reflect their own ideological orientation. With regard to policy, too, ideology continues to matter. Left-right differences carry more weight than populist sympathies when it comes to how people view the government's involvement in the economy, as well as the rights of gays and lesbians and women's role in society.

These are among the findings of an in-depth Pew Research Center public opinion study that maps the political space in eight Western European countries – Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom – based on a survey of 16,114 adults conducted from Oct. 30 to Dec. 20, 2017. Together, these eight European Union (EU) member states account for roughly 70% of the EU population and 75% of the EU economy.¹ The study's purpose is to evaluate how the intersection of ideology and populist views within and across these publics shapes attitudes about policies, institutions, political parties and values.

In this report, survey respondents are categorized into groups based on their self-placement along the left-center-right ideological spectrum and on whether they express support for populist views. The measure of ideology is general and not specific to either economic or social values. The measure of populist views primarily focuses on anti-establishment attitudes – whether respondents believe that ordinary people would do a better job than elected officials at solving the country's problems, and whether most elected officials care what people like them think. Anti-establishment attitudes constitute a core component of many definitions of populism. In this analysis, the combination of ideology and anti-establishment attitudes leads to the identification of six political groups: Left Populists, Left Mainstream, Center Populists, Center Mainstream, Right Populists and Right Mainstream. (For more on how these groups are defined, please see the explanatory box and [Appendix A.](#))

¹ In June 2016, citizens of the UK voted to leave the European Union. At the time of this survey, the UK had formally notified the bloc of its intentions to withdraw from the union but was still an EU member state.







Analyzing the political landscape in Western Europe

To measure left-right ideology, the survey uses a traditional question that asks respondents to place themselves on a left-right ideological scale, where zero represents the far left, and six represents the far right. People who answer 0, 1 or 2 on this scale are categorized on the **left**; people who answer 3 are categorized in the **center**; and people who answer 4, 5 or 6 are categorized on the **right**. Those who do not place themselves on the ideological scale are referred to as **Unaligned**. This measure of ideology is a general measure of ideology and is not specifically defined based on economic versus social values.

To measure populist views, the survey focused on capturing two core components of populism: that government should reflect the will of “the people,” and that “the people” and “elites” are opposing, antagonistic groups. The measure is based on combining respondents’ answers to two questions: 1) Ordinary people would *do a better job/do no better* solving the country’s problems than elected officials and 2) Most elected officials *care/don’t care* what people like me think. Those who answer that ordinary people would do a better job solving the country’s problems than elected officials and that elected officials don’t care about people like them are categorized as holding populist views. Everyone else is categorized as mainstream. For ease of reference throughout the report, we call these groups **populist** and **mainstream**. But it is important to keep in mind that these are broad measures that focus on anti-establishment views as a key aspect of populist support. The populist group may include some people who do not consider themselves populist or populist supporters, while the mainstream group may include some people who do. Still, as the analysis shows, the two groups reveal consistent, distinct attitudinal patterns across a range of issues.

The measures of left-right ideology and of populist views are combined to create six key groups that compose the primary analytical approach in this report. The groups are referred to as: **Left Populists, Left Mainstream, Center Populists, Center Mainstream, Right Populists** and **Right Mainstream**.

For more information on these measures, see [Appendix A](#).

		Measure of ideology: Based on a 0 to 6 scale, respondents categorized as left (0 to 2), center (3) or right (4 to 6).		
		Left	Center	Right
Measure of populist views: Respondents categorized as holding populist views if they say ordinary people would do a better job than elected officials and elected officials don’t care what people like them think. Otherwise, categorized as mainstream.	Populist views	 Left Populists	 Center Populists	 Right Populists
	Mainstream	 Left Mainstream	 Center Mainstream	 Right Mainstream

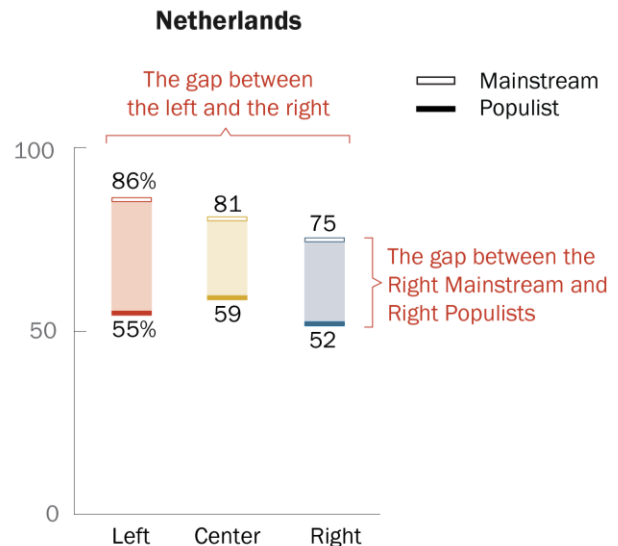
People who hold populist views are more unhappy with institutions, economy and immigration

Across the ideological spectrum, people with populist views share a deep distrust of traditional institutions. This dissatisfaction affects not just attitudes about the national parliament but a range of institutions across society, including the news media and banks, as well as the European Union (EU). In fact, when it comes to opinions of the EU, populist views are often a more significant dividing line than ideology. For example, in the Netherlands, roughly six-in-ten or fewer among the left, center and right populist groups say that membership in the Brussels-based organization has been good for their country's economy, compared with three-quarters or more among those in the mainstream on the left, center and right. People with populist sympathies also express higher support for returning powers from the EU to their national government than those in the mainstream. (For more on Western European views of the news media, see "[In Western Europe, Public Attitudes Toward News Media More Divided by Populist Views Than Left-Right Ideology](#)".)

Journalists and scholars have [fiercely debated](#) whether economic struggles underlie publics' support for populist movements. By analyzing populist views across the ideological spectrum, this study finds that people who are critical of the establishment are somewhat more likely than those in the mainstream to have faced economic hardship, such as unemployment. Perhaps in part because of this experience, Left, Center and Right Populists are much more dissatisfied with the national economy and, in half the countries surveyed, more likely than their mainstream ideological counterparts to support the government providing economic assistance to the public.

Dutch attitudes about EU more divided by populist views than ideology

Membership in the EU has been a good thing for the Dutch economy



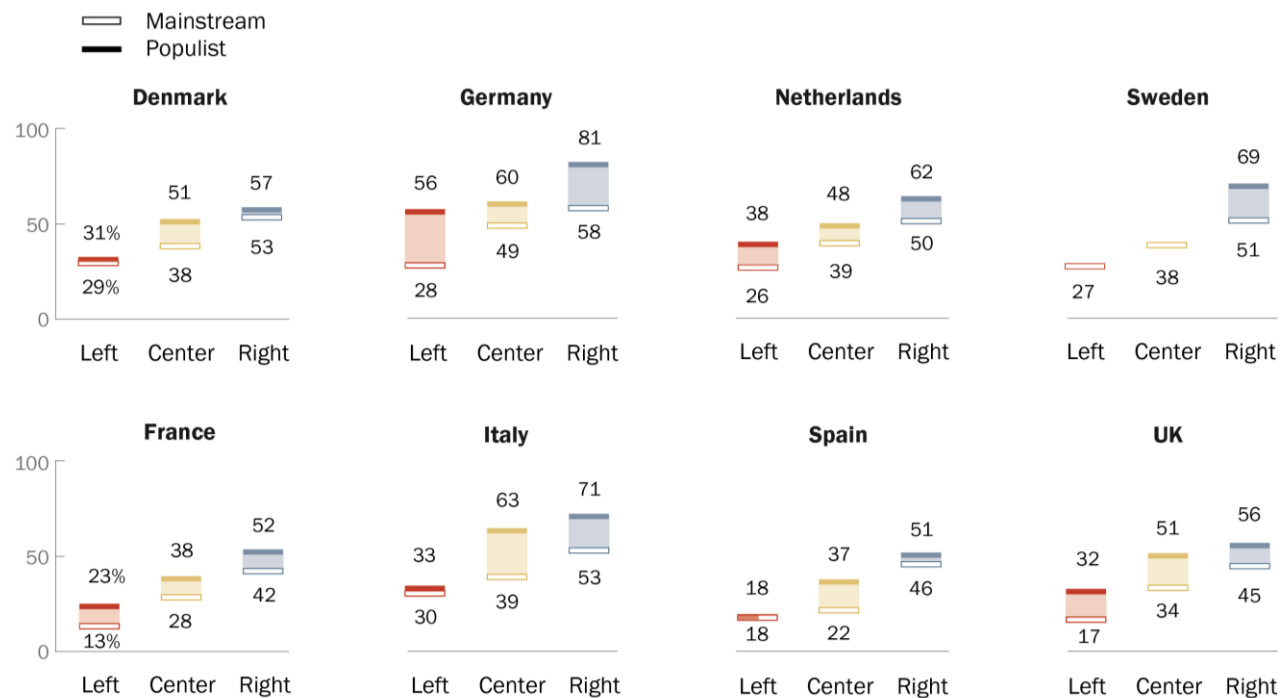
Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Additionally, anti-establishment sentiments and attitudes about immigration are linked, the study finds. Overall, left-right ideology is the most prominent divide in public attitudes about immigrants. Still, across the left-right spectrum, respondents with populist views are consistently more negative toward immigrants than those in the mainstream who share their ideological position. For example, in the Netherlands, both Left Populist and Left Mainstream respondents are less likely than their counterparts on the right to say immigrants increase the risk of terrorism. At the same time, the Left Populist group (38%) still expresses higher levels of concern than the Left Mainstream (26%). Similarly, the Center and Right Populist groups in the Netherlands generally hold more negative attitudes about immigrants than the Center and Right Mainstream groups, respectively. Across a number of questions about immigrants, Right Populists tend to be the most negative group.

Western Europeans with populist views more concerned that immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks

Immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks in our country



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Given this pattern of attitudes, it is perhaps unsurprising that people with anti-establishment views tend to hold more favorable opinions of populist parties. For example, in France, 34% of Right Populist respondents have a positive view of the National Front (FN), a right-aligned populist party, compared with 21% of those in the Right Mainstream.² Similarly, in the Netherlands, there is a 17-percentage-point gap in favorability toward the right-aligned Party for Freedom (PVV) between the Right Populist and Right Mainstream groups. This pattern holds for nearly all populist parties asked about in the survey.

² On June 1, 2018, Marine Le Pen announced that the National Front would be renamed Rassemblement National (literally, National Rally).

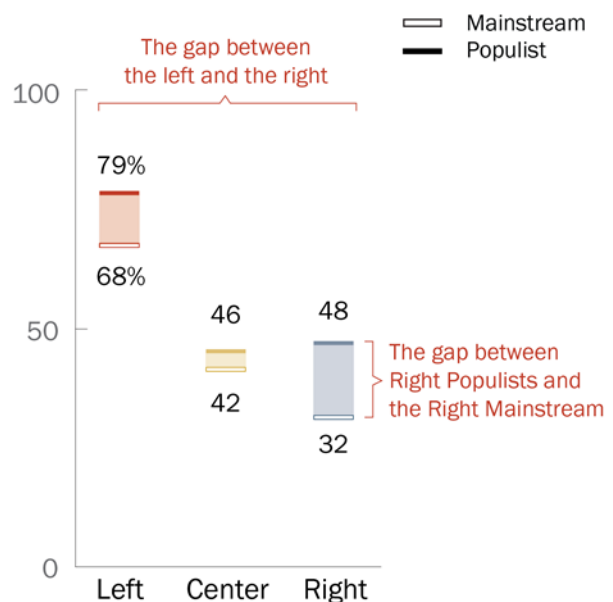
Still, ideology is the main divide on important policy areas, with smaller differences by populist views

While populist views play a significant role in some key areas, the attitudinal differences between people who place themselves on the left and those who place themselves on the right tend to be larger across a range of major issues asked about. The left-right divide is particularly large on the issue of immigration, but is also quite substantial on attitudes about the role of the government in the economy. A clear illustration of this is the question of whether it is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all or if it is the individual's responsibility to do so. In most countries surveyed, respondents categorized as Left Mainstream are at least 20 percentage points more likely than those in the Right Mainstream to say it is the government's responsibility. While in some cases the populist groups studied are more supportive of government assistance than those in the mainstream, the divide by populist views tends to be smaller than the ideological divide in most countries.

In the UK, for example, nearly seven-in-ten Left Mainstream respondents (68%) think the government should help people have a decent standard of living. About a third of the Right Mainstream agree (32%), for a difference of 36 percentage points. The gaps between the populist and mainstream groups at each point on the ideological scale are much smaller – a 16-point difference between Right Populists and the Right Mainstream, 11 points between the two groups on the left, and a statistically insignificant 4 points in the center.

Left-right divide on government economic assistance large in the UK

It is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all



Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Attitudes about political parties also largely determined by ideology

While people who are frustrated with the establishment are more supportive of populist parties than respondents in the mainstream groups studied, they have not yet abandoned traditional parties. Instead, people on the left – whether or not they hold populist views – tend to prefer left-leaning political parties, while those on the right prefer right-leaning parties. This pattern reveals that respondents with populist sympathies are not supportive of populist parties irrespective of ideology, but rather are supportive of parties that are consistent with their own ideological leanings.

Categorizing political parties in Western Europe

To group political parties for analysis across the eight Western European countries, we divide parties into traditional and populist parties. We define **traditional** parties as those that have led the government – whether as president, prime minister or chancellor – at least once during the past 25 years, have competed in at least two national elections and still compete in elections today.

Populist parties are those that display high levels of anti-elite rhetoric and express a preference for direct democracy, according to the [Chapel Hill Expert Survey \(CHES\)](#). This survey asked regional experts to evaluate the party positions of 132 European political parties with regard to their left-right ideological leanings, key party platform positions and degree of anti-elitism, among other things. We also use the CHES to further group traditional and populist parties by ideology.

Finally, we discuss two political parties that are neither traditional nor populist, but that garnered at least 10% of the public's vote in the most recent election preceding the survey and with which 15% or more of respondents identify as partisans. We analyze this subset of parties as a separate group called “other key nontraditional parties.”

For more details on how these party groups are defined and a list of where each political party is grouped, see [Appendix B](#).

Despite its significant shift in the party system in the past two years, France provides a clear example of this dynamic. More than four-in-ten of both the Right Mainstream (46%) and Right Populists (44%) have a favorable view of the Republicans (LR), the traditional, right-aligned party in France. Fewer than two-in-ten respondents in the Left Mainstream (15%) and Left Populists (11%) feel the same. Both groups on the left have more positive views than either group on the right of the traditional, left-aligned Socialist Party (PS).

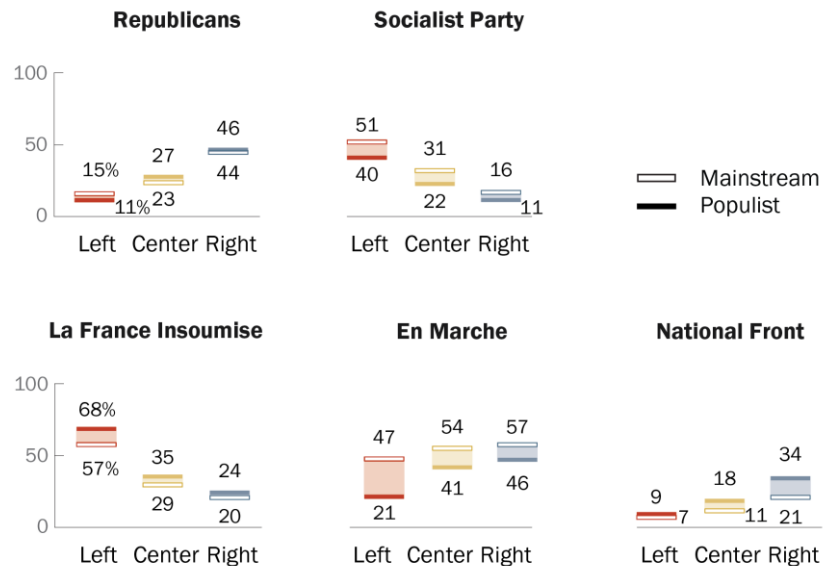
The two populist parties in France that are on opposite ends of the ideological

spectrum – the National Front on the right, led by Marine Le Pen, and La France Insoumise on the left, led by Jean-Luc Mélenchon – appeal most strongly to respondents from their respective ideological camps who hold populist views. These two parties repel the populist groups on the opposite side of the ideological spectrum, however. For example, 68% of Left Populist respondents have a favorable view of La France Insoumise, while just 24% of Right Populists say the same.

En Marche – the new party that emerged with Emmanuel Macron in 2016 and is neither traditional nor populist – gets higher ratings from all three mainstream groups, as well as from the two populist groups in the center and on the right. Left Populist respondents are the most negative about the party.

Ideological divide in French attitudes for most political parties bigger than gap based on populist views

Favorable view of ...



Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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1. Mapping the political space in Western Europe

This report identifies six key political groups across Western Europe based on people's left-right ideology and their support for populist views.³ In all countries surveyed, minorities hold populist views, though these minorities are somewhat larger in Spain, Italy and France. Majorities in each country tend to be in the mainstream (defined as not holding populist views). A seventh group is the Unaligned – individuals who do not place themselves on the left-right ideological spectrum.

The political groups differ considerably from each other in terms of demographics. Populists tend to be less affluent and less educated than those in the mainstream, and they often express lower levels of political interest. In most countries, people on the ideological left tend to be younger than those in the center or on the right, with the Center Mainstream and Right Mainstream standing out as among the oldest groups in many countries. The Unaligned group is often the least affluent, least educated and least politically interested of all the groups. And unlike most other groups, which have similar gender balances, the Unaligned tend to be disproportionately female.

These groups differ widely from one another in their positions on various issues, too. The Right Mainstream stand out for the primacy they place on individual responsibility, while the Left Mainstream tend to support government involvement in the economy. Right Populists express the most skepticism of the European Union and its impact on their country, though Left and Center Populists also say the Brussels-based institution negatively affects their country's economy at higher rates than those in the mainstream. The two groups on the right also tend to express more concerns about immigrants than those on the left, with Right Populists standing out as the most negative.

³ Respondents were asked to place themselves on a left-right political ideology scale from 0 to 6, where zero indicates the far left and six indicates the far right. People who answer 0, 1 or 2 on this scale are categorized as being on the left; people who answer 3 are categorized as being in the center; and people who answer 4, 5 or 6 are categorized as being on the right. See [Appendix A](#) for details on classification.

Defining distinct political groups across Western Europe

This report analyzes six political groups and a seventh group of Unaligned respondents. The groups are created based on two key dimensions: left-right ideological self-placement and populist views. Respondents were asked to place themselves along an ideological scale, ranging from far left (zero) to far right (six). Based on this self-report, people are classified as left (zero to two), center (three) or right (four to six). Those who did not offer an ideological self-placement are classified as Unaligned.

These three ideological groups are further divided by populist and mainstream views. The measure of populist views used in this survey is based on respondents' answers to two questions: 1) Ordinary people would do a better job/do no better solving the country's problems than elected officials and 2) Most elected officials care/don't care what people like me think. Those who answered that elected officials do not care about people like them *and* who say ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials are considered to hold populist views; everyone else is considered to hold mainstream views. (For more details on how these groups were created, see [Appendix A](#).)

Combining the measures of ideology and populist views results in seven analytical groups: Left Populists, Left Mainstream, Center Populists, Center Mainstream, Right Populists, Right Mainstream and the Unaligned. These groups show distinct attitudinal patterns.

Group composition within each country

	Left Populists	Left Mainstream	Center Populists	Center Mainstream	Right Populists	Right Mainstream	Unaligned
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Denmark	6	20	8	19	9	31	7
France	11	13	12	21	12	19	13
Germany	5	17	14	37	6	14	7
Italy	8	14	12	17	18	16	17
Netherlands	5	19	7	23	12	30	5
Spain	13	11	17	21	11	18	9
Sweden	2	20	4	25	4	37	8
United Kingdom	9	16	13	19	10	24	9

Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Left Mainstream: This group expresses higher support for gender equality, LGBT rights and government involvement in the economy. They also tend to be the group most likely to say that EU membership has benefited their country's economy. In most countries, the Left Mainstream stand apart substantially from the Right Mainstream on the issue of immigrants; those in the Left Mainstream are the least likely to see immigrants as a burden on the economy.

Left Populists: This group holds relatively similar views to those in the Left Mainstream, with two notable exceptions. First, Left Populists are more skeptical of the EU than those in the Left Mainstream. Second, in a majority of countries, they are more likely than those in the Left Mainstream to say that regulating business is bad.

Center Mainstream: This group tends to fall somewhere between the Left Mainstream and the Right Mainstream on most issues. For example, while majorities of the Center Mainstream in most countries support LGBT couples being able to adopt children, they are somewhat less supportive than those in the Left Mainstream and more supportive than those in the Right Mainstream. The same is true when it comes to views of immigrants. But, when it comes to views of government regulation of the economy, in most countries, the Center Mainstream tend to look slightly more like the Right Mainstream than the Left Mainstream.

Center Populists: Similar to the Center Mainstream, this group tends to have attitudes that place them somewhat between Left Populists and Right Populists. For example, when it comes to attitudes about immigrants, Center Populists are more likely than Left Populists to think that immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks but less likely than Right Populists to feel that way. But, like populist groups across the ideological spectrum, Center Populists are more likely than those in the mainstream to see the EU's influence as negative.

Right Mainstream: This group stands apart from others for the emphasis they place on individual, rather than government, responsibility in economic issues. Beyond this sense that the government should intervene little in the economy, the Right Mainstream also tend to be the most traditional on social issues of all of the groups, and they are relatively more negative about the impact of immigrants. Most in the Right Mainstream also have positive opinions of the EU's impact on their country.

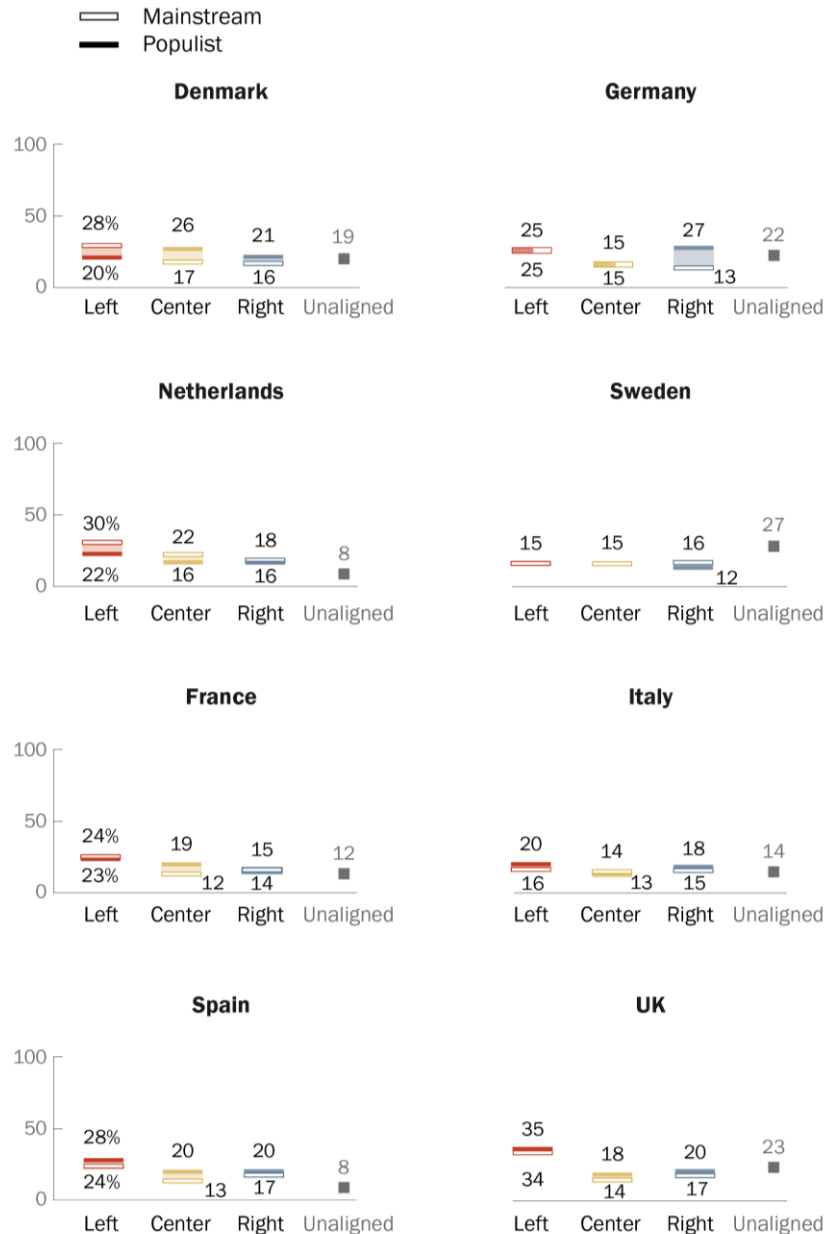
Right Populists: Right Populists stand apart from the other groups for their very negative attitudes about the EU and immigrants. For example, they are more likely to see immigrants as a burden on the economy, even relative to Left Populists and Center Populists, and majorities tend to think immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks. Right Populists differ little from the Right Mainstream on social issues.

Younger people tend to fall on the ideological left

The seven groups differ considerably in age. In most countries, those on the ideological left tend to be younger than those in the center or on the right. These differences are generally larger than differences between populists and the mainstream. For example, in the UK, 34% of the Left Mainstream and 35% of Left Populists are younger than 30, compared with 17% of the Right Mainstream and 20% of Right Populists.

In most countries, people younger than 30 are more likely to be on ideological left

Ages 18 to 29



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze. Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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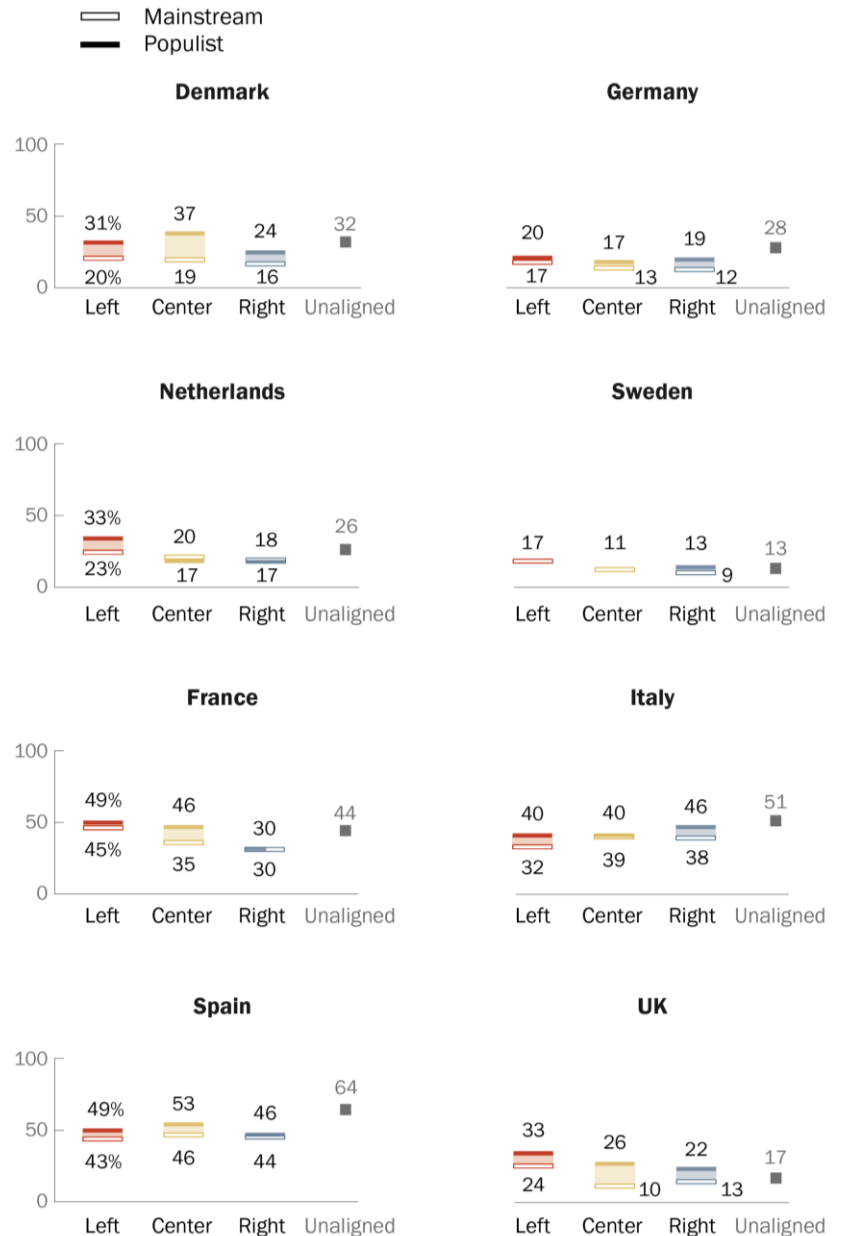
Populist groups, Unaligned tend to be less economically well-off and less educated than those in the mainstream

Populist groups are somewhat more likely to have experienced unemployment. For example, in Denmark, 37% of Center Populists say they or their family members have been unemployed or looked for work for more than three months during the past year, compared with 19% of the Center Mainstream. There are also smaller gaps of 11 percentage points between Left Populists (31%) and the Left Mainstream (20%) in Denmark and of 8 points between Right Populists and the Right Mainstream (24% vs. 16%). Aside from Germany, at least three-in-ten Left Populists have had some experience with unemployment.

Still, the percentage of the public that has had experience with unemployment differs widely across countries. In Germany and Sweden, experience with unemployment is below 20% for nearly all groups, while at least three-in-ten of all groups say they or their families have been unemployed in the past year in France, Spain and Italy.

Populist groups, Unaligned more likely to have experienced unemployment during past year

You or anyone in your immediate family have been unemployed or seeking work for more than three months during the past year



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze. Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

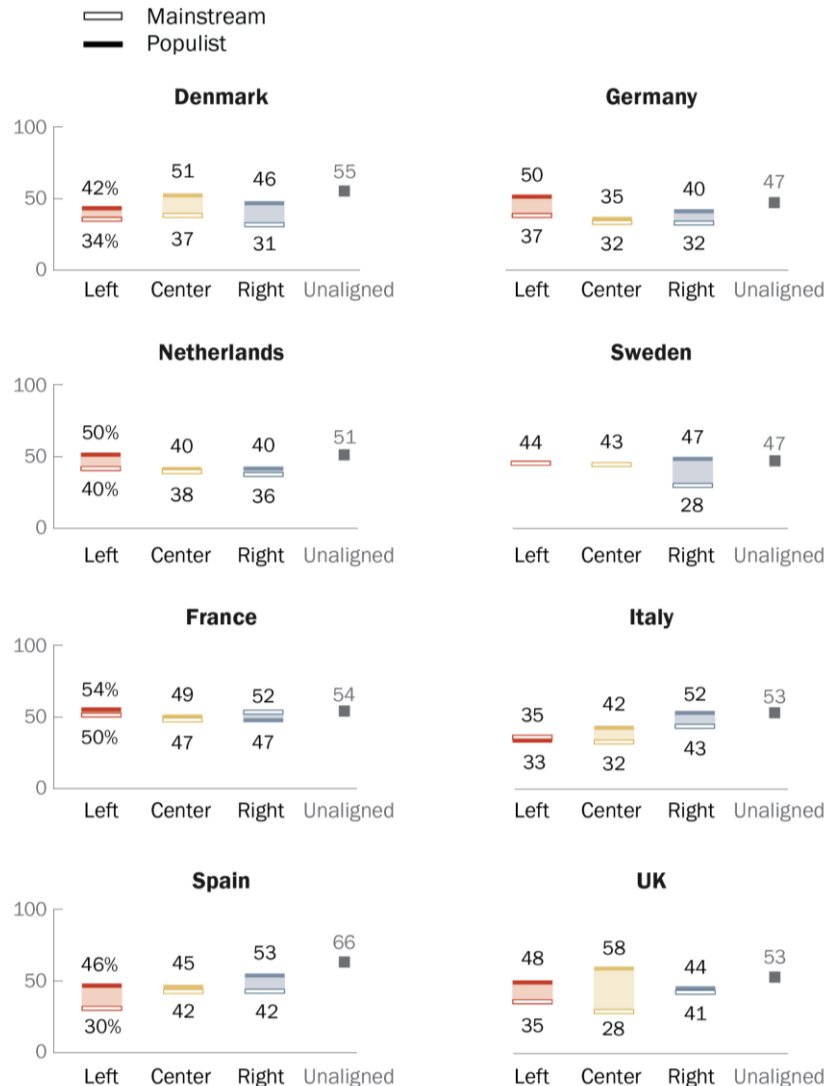
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People who endorse populist views and the Unaligned also stand out for having relatively lower incomes than those in the mainstream.⁴ For example, in the UK, 44% or more of Left Populists, Center Populists and Right Populists are lower income, compared with 28% of the Center Mainstream, 35% of the Left Mainstream and 41% of the Right Mainstream. The Unaligned tend to be among the least well-off of all the political groups; in all eight countries, roughly half or more have lower incomes, ranging from a low of 47% in Germany and Sweden to a high of 66% in Spain. By comparison, fewer than 40% of the Left Mainstream are lower income in most surveyed countries.

Finally, the Unaligned and populist groups also tend to be somewhat less educated than the mainstream. In the Netherlands, for example, 88% of the Unaligned have no postsecondary education. The same is true for around eight-in-ten of each of that country's populist groups. In contrast, only 55% of the Left Mainstream and 66% of the Right Mainstream fall into this lower educational group.

Populist groups more likely to earn below their country's median income

Lower income



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze. Income categorization based on income levels that are higher and lower than the median household income within each country.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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⁴ Respondents with a household income below the approximate country median are considered lower income. Those with an income at or above the approximate country median are considered higher income.

While those with populist views on the left and right tend to have less education than those in the mainstream, this is particularly true of Right Populists. For example, in Germany, 84% of Right Populists have a secondary education or less, compared with 79% and 73% of Center and Left Populists, respectively. Among the German mainstream groups, around six-in-ten or fewer have a secondary education or less. Germany also exhibits a pattern common in most countries: The Left Mainstream tend to be the most educated. Around half of the German Left Mainstream (48%) have a university degree, compared with 36% of the Center Mainstream and 40% of the Right Mainstream.

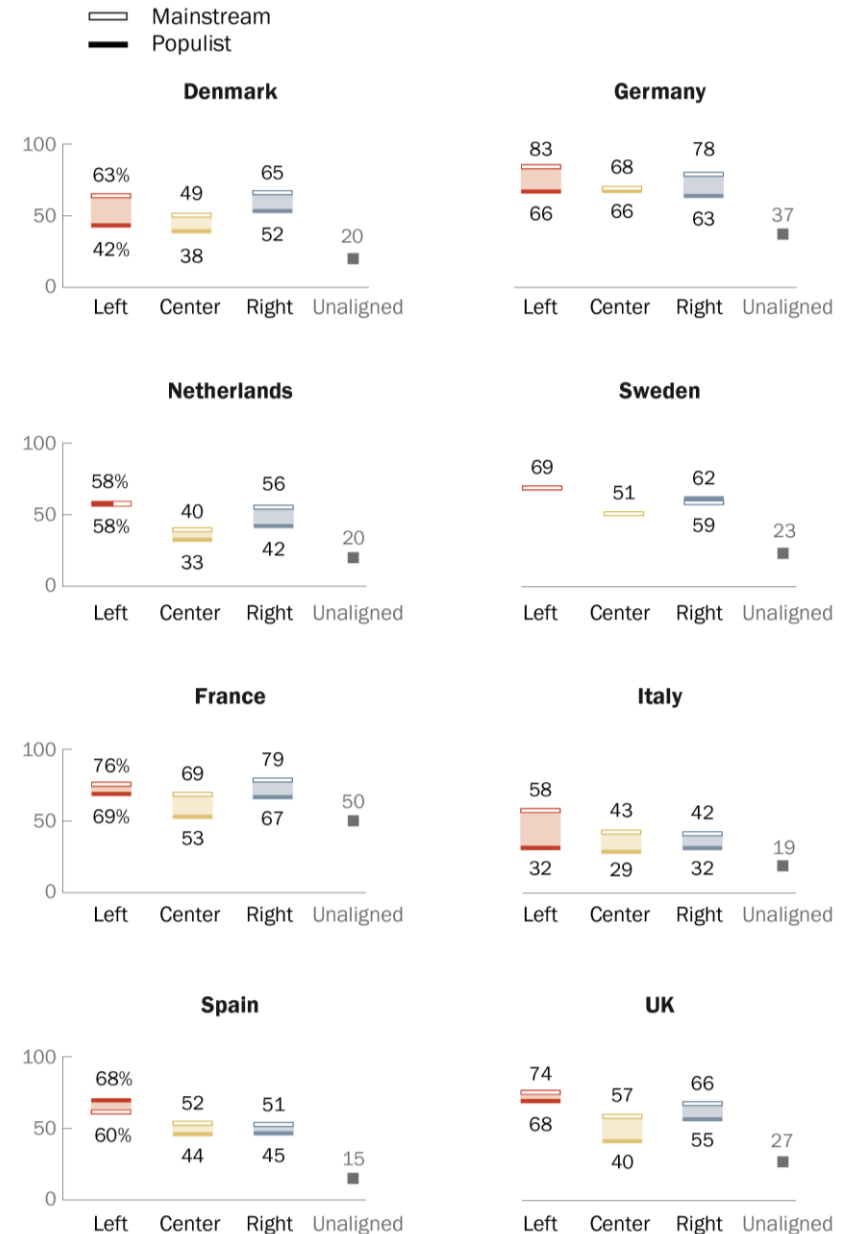
Unaligned and populist groups are less politically engaged

Western Europeans tend to be relatively interested in politics, with a median of 55% saying they are at least somewhat interested in the topic. This varies widely by country, however, from a high of 70% in Germany to a low of 37% in Italy.

The Unaligned are by far the least politically engaged among the groups in all countries. In Spain, for example, only 15% of the Unaligned say they are interested in politics – nearly 30 percentage points lower than the next-least-interested group in the country, the Center Populists. Perhaps reflecting its limited political engagement, the Unaligned group also stands out for having the most people who do not identify with any particular political party in their country. In six of the eight countries, the Unaligned group is at least 20 percentage points less likely to have a partisan identification than any other group in the country. For example, in Sweden, 69% of the Unaligned do not identify with a party, compared with 36% of Center Populists, the next most unaffiliated group.

Mainstream groups express most interest in politics

Interested in politics



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze. Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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People with populist sympathies tend to be less politically engaged than those in the mainstream. This is particularly the case for Center Populists. In six of the eight countries, fewer than half of Center Populists say they are interested in politics, with the notable exceptions being France and Germany (where 53% and 66% are interested in politics, respectively). Among mainstream groups, around six-in-ten or more in each country say they are interested in the topic, ranging from 58% in Italy and the Netherlands to highs of 83% in Germany, though interest is somewhat higher among the Left Mainstream. Center Populists also have the highest rates of partisan unaffiliation outside of the Unaligned.

When it comes to political interest, there are two exceptions. Whereas in many countries the Left Populists are among the least interested groups, in Spain, Left Populists are the *most* interested in politics, with 68% saying they are very or somewhat interested, compared with 60% or less in all other groups (such as 44% of Center Populists and 45% of Right Populists). In the Netherlands, too, Left Populists (58%) have high interest levels that mirror those of the Left and Right Mainstream (58% and 56%, respectively).

For information on which parties each group supports, see [Chapter 7](#).

2. On economic policy, Western European public opinion deeply divided along traditional ideological lines

Western European publics generally favor an active role for the government in the economy. More than half of the public in most countries surveyed say it is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all, and similar shares also say that government regulation of business is generally good for society. However, these eight publics differ markedly in their assessments of how their economies are performing.

Opinions on economic policy largely break along traditional left-right ideological lines.⁵ Most of those on the left favor government intervention in the economy, while those on the right are more skeptical. Populists' views tend to fall closest to their mainstream ideological counterparts. Left Populists are usually most similar to the Left Mainstream; Right Populists, to the Right Mainstream. But to the degree that people with populist sympathies differ from people in the mainstream, they are somewhat more likely to see the government as having a responsibility to guarantee everyone a basic standard of living and somewhat less likely to support regulating business. Populists across the ideological spectrum are also much more pessimistic about the state of the economy, in general, than those in the mainstream.

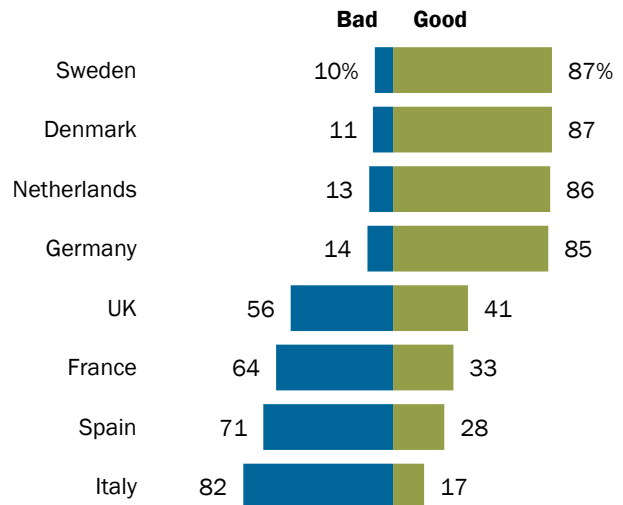
⁵ Respondents were asked to place themselves on a left-right political ideology scale from 0 to 6, where zero indicates the far left and six indicates the far right. People who answer 0, 1 or 2 on this scale are categorized as being on the left; people who answer 3 are categorized as being in the center; and people who answer 4, 5 or 6 are categorized as being on the right. See [Appendix A](#) for details on classification.

Amid divides across countries in ratings of economy, those with populist views are more negative

European publics diverge in their assessments of their country's economies. More than eight-in-ten in Sweden (87%), Denmark (87%), the Netherlands (86%) and Germany (85%) say their current economic situation is good, compared with fewer than half who say the same elsewhere. Italians and Spaniards are especially negative: 71% in Spain and 82% in Italy say the economic situation is bad, with 34% of Spaniards and 31% of Italians saying it is *very* bad.

Most say economy is good in Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany

The current economic situation in our country is ...



Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

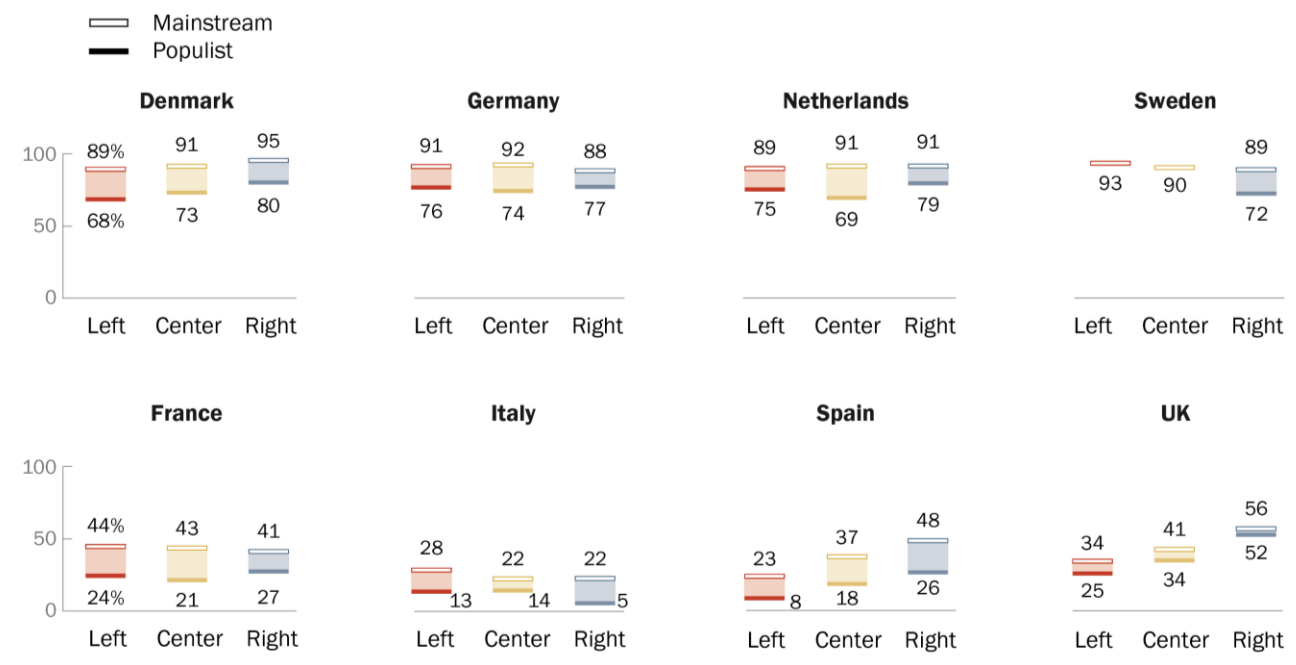
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People with populist views are generally less positive about the economy than those in the mainstream. France illustrates this pattern well. There, similar minorities of Left, Center and Right Populists see the economy doing well (24%, 21% and 27%, respectively) – assessments which are significantly lower than those of the Left, Center and Right Mainstream (44%, 43% and 41%, respectively).

Germany follows a similar pattern: Roughly nine-in-ten of the Left (91%), Center (92%) and Right Mainstream (88%) say the current economic situation in Germany is good, while about three-quarters of Left (76%), Center (74%) and Right Populists (77%) feel the same.

Populist groups less positive about the economy

The current economic situation in our country is good



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

Left and right split over government's responsibility to guarantee a decent standard of living

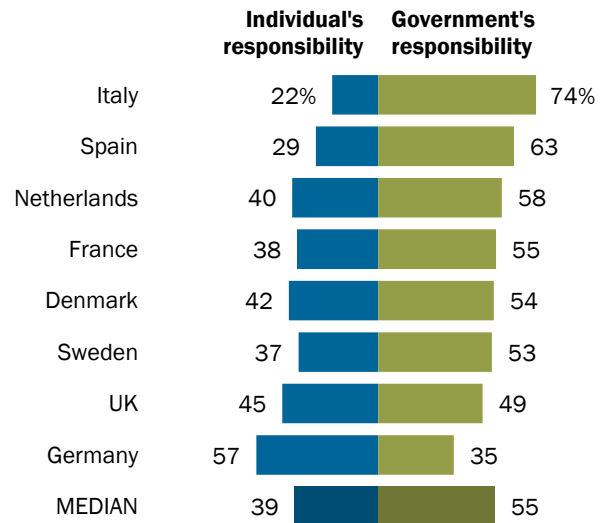
More than half of the public in six of the eight countries surveyed say it is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all. Support for government assistance is highest in Italy and Spain, where more than six-in-ten say it is the government's responsibility, including 55% in Italy and 43% in Spain who feel this way *strongly*. Germany is the only country where public opinion falls on the other side of this issue: Just 35% of Germans think the government should be responsible, while 57% say that individuals should earn a decent standard of living for themselves.

Left-right ideology is central to how people feel about this issue. In general, most on the left place responsibility on the government to guarantee that everyone has a decent standard of living, while many on the right do not. In seven of the eight countries – the notable exception being Germany – widespread majorities of roughly seven-in-ten or more of groups on the left place the responsibility on government. For example, in the Netherlands, 71% of the Left Mainstream take this position compared with half of the Right Mainstream.

In Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, people with populist views differ little from their mainstream counterparts on this issue. Take Denmark as an example: About seven-in-ten Danes on the left favor government responsibility – including 71% of the Left Mainstream and 69% of Left Populists. On the other end of the spectrum, about four-in-ten on the right say the same, with little difference between the Right Mainstream and Right Populists.

Many support government economic assistance

It is the individual's responsibility to earn a decent standard of living OR it is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all?

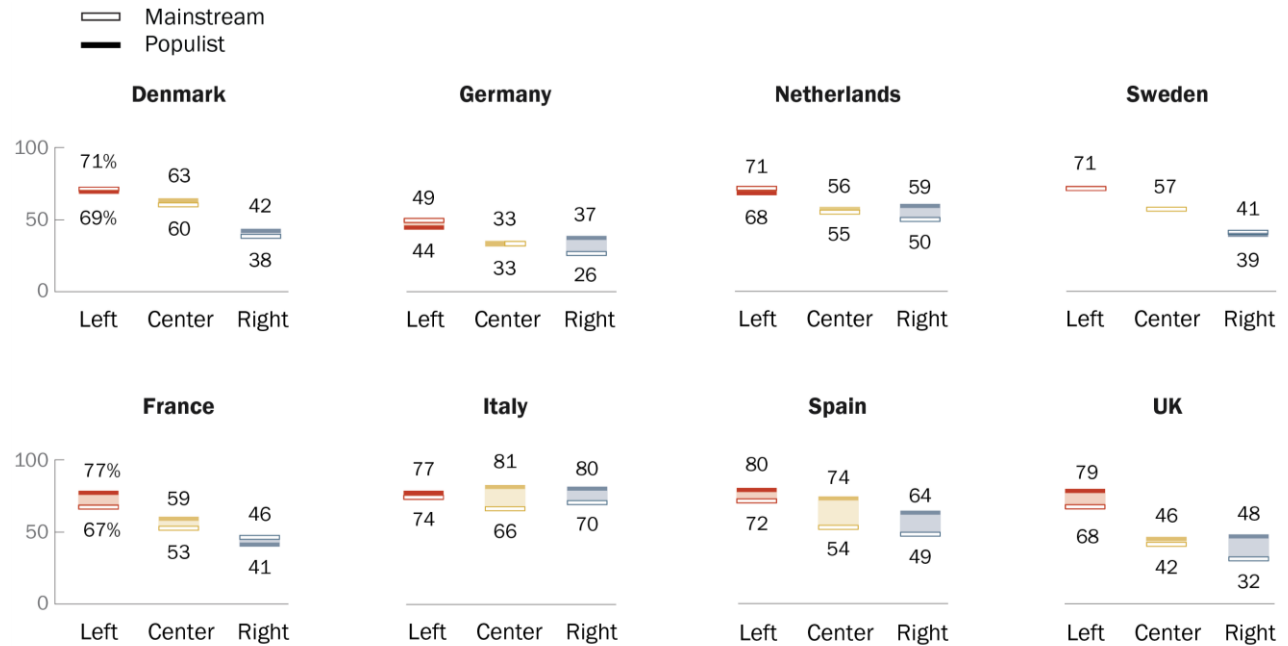


Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Most on the left say government is responsible for guaranteeing everyone a decent standard of living

It is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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In France, Italy, Spain and the UK, there are more pronounced differences between populists and the rest of the public, with populists being somewhat more likely to express support for government assistance than those in the mainstream. For instance, about three-quarters of French Left Populists (77%) say it is government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all, compared with two-thirds of the French Left Mainstream. And while those on the right are generally less favorable to government guarantees, Right Populists in Italy, Spain and the UK are more open to government solutions than the Right Mainstream.

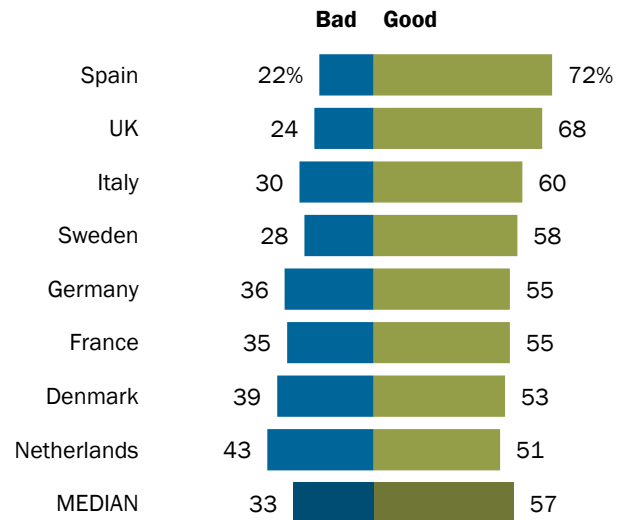
On government regulation of business, left-right divides are somewhat more consistent than differences by populist views

In each country surveyed, about half or more say it is generally good for society if government regulates business. This ranges from a high of 72% in Spain to a low of 51% in the Netherlands.

Views on regulation, like those on the social safety net, are grounded in ideology. Most on the left say it is good to regulate business, while the right tends to be less in favor. But populist views also play a role on this issue, especially on the left. Left Populists tend to be significantly more likely than the Left Mainstream to say regulation is bad, while Right Populists differ little from the Right Mainstream in their evaluations.

Widespread support for regulating business across Western Europe

It is generally ___ for our society if government regulates business



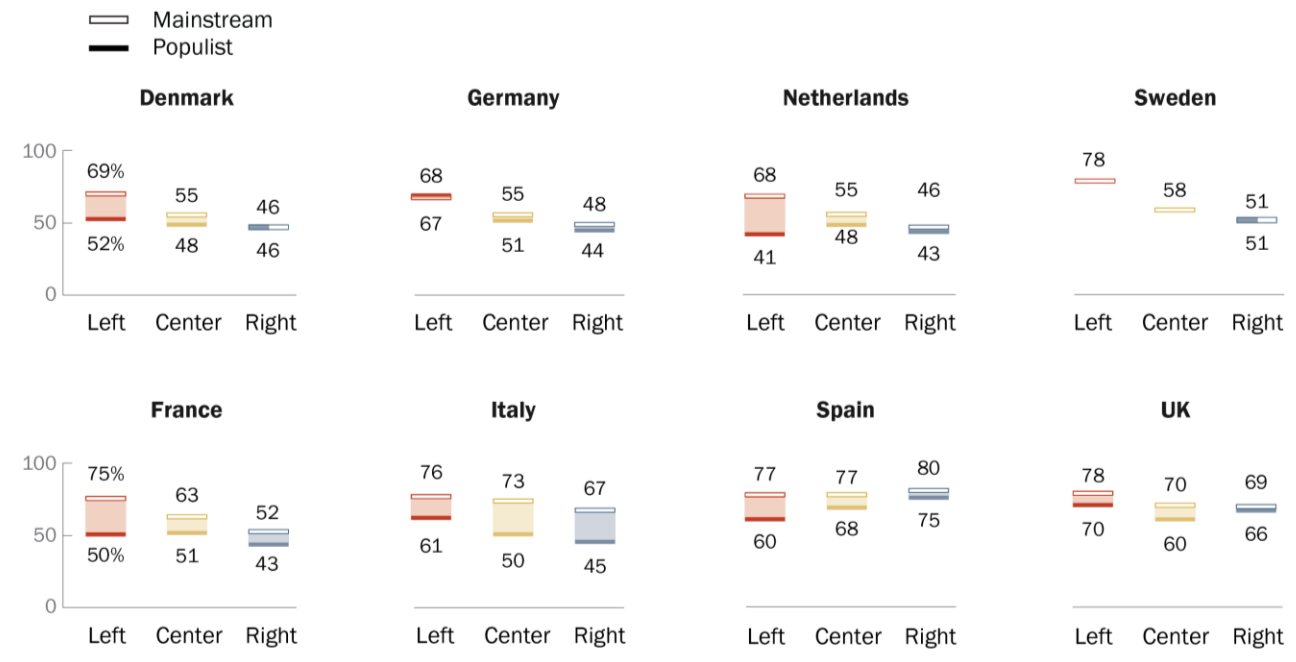
Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Denmark provides a clear example: While many on the left say regulation is a good thing, the Left Mainstream (69%) are significantly more likely to take that stance than Left Populists (52%). In contrast, Danish Right Populists and the Right Mainstream are equally likely to say regulation is good – 46% of each group. In Italy and France, Right Populists differ from the Right Mainstream and are much less supportive of regulation.

Left Populists less supportive of regulating business than Left Mainstream

It is generally good for our society if the government regulates business



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

3. Ideological right more traditional on social issues

Most people across Western Europe support allowing gays and lesbians to adopt children, and many also believe family life is better when women have full-time jobs. While these opinions are fairly widespread, the ideological left is more likely to hold these views than the right. Traditional left-right ideology strongly divides people's views on gay and lesbian adoption across much of Western Europe, with populist sympathies playing only a limited role.⁶

⁶ Respondents were asked to place themselves on a left-right political ideology scale from 0 to 6, where zero indicates the far left and six indicates the far right. People who answer 0, 1 or 2 on this scale are categorized as being on the left; people who answer 3 are categorized as being in the center; and people who answer 4, 5 or 6 are categorized as being on the right. See [Appendix A](#) for details on classification.

Wide support for allowing gays and lesbians to adopt children

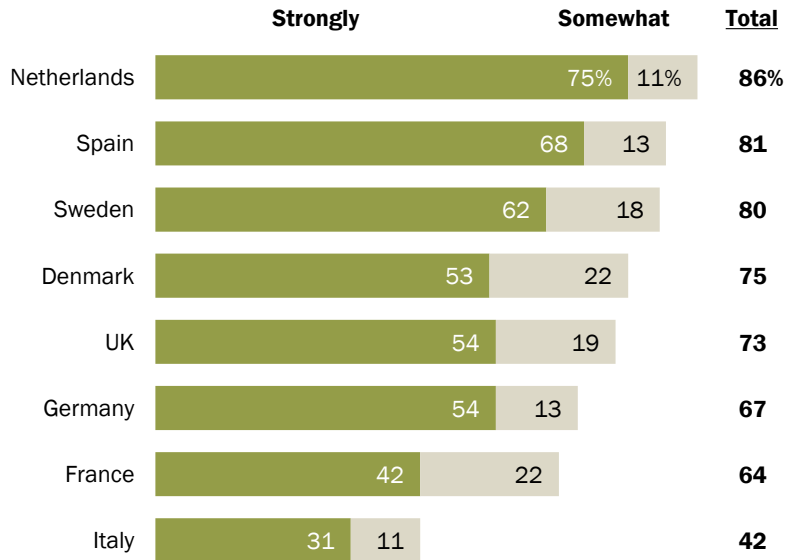
In seven of the eight countries surveyed, about two-thirds or more of the public believes gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children. And in six of these countries, more than half feel this way *strongly*. Italy is a notable exception. There, roughly half (52%) oppose allowing gays and lesbians to adopt children, and 42% *strongly* oppose it.

Left-right ideology influences how people feel about the issue, for both populist groups and those in the mainstream. The differences between left and right are generally in the *level* of support, not the *direction* of

it: Outside of Italy, all groups on both the left and the right support adoption by gays and lesbians, but support is more widespread on the left.

More than half in most countries strongly support gays and lesbians being able to adopt children

— *feel gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children*



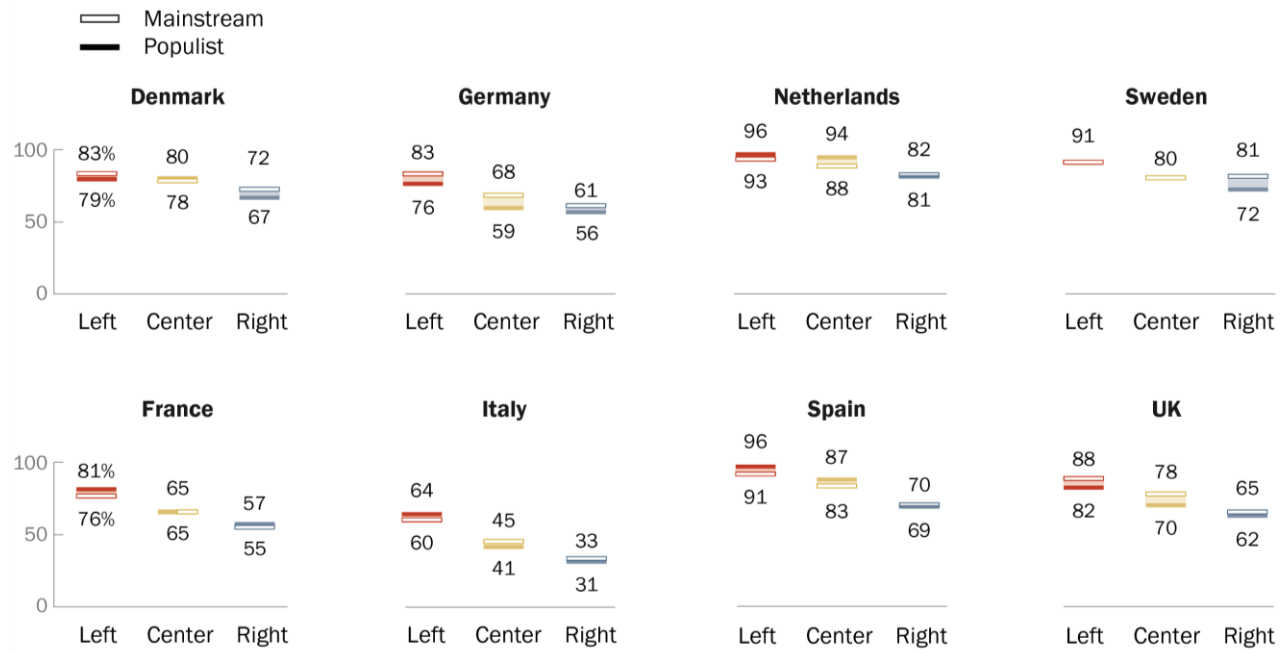
Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Across the region, there is a clear left-right divide on this issue: In every country, the Left Mainstream are more likely than the Right Mainstream to support adoption by gays and lesbians. The same is true for Left Populists compared with Right Populists. For example, in the UK, 88% of the Left Mainstream say gays and lesbians should be able adopt children, while 65% of the Right Mainstream agree. There is a similar 20-percentage-point difference between Left Populists and Right Populists. Groups on the left are also much more likely to express strong support than those on the right. Continuing the example of the UK, 68% of Left Populists and 74% of the Left Mainstream *strongly* support adoption by gays and lesbians, compared with 38% of Right Populists and 43% of the Right Mainstream.

Left more likely than right to support adoption by gays and lesbians

Gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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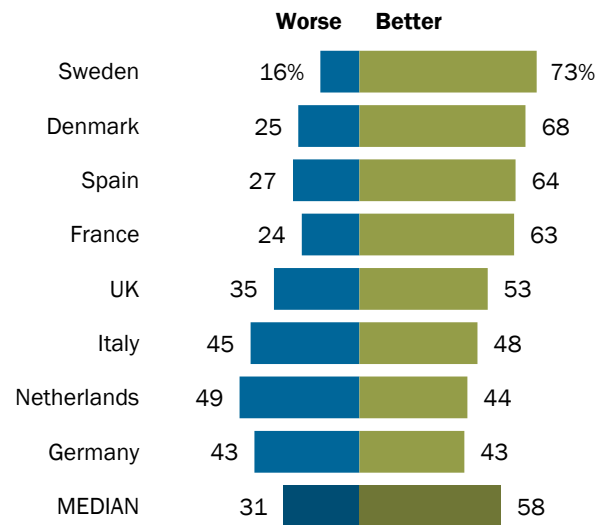
Less regional consensus when it comes to views on gender roles

A median of 58% across Western Europe say it is better for family life when women have full-time jobs. In Sweden, more than half (53%) feel this way *strongly*. Italy, Germany and the Netherlands are more divided. In these countries, more than four-in-ten say family life is *worse* when women have full-time jobs.

This issue is not as ideologically divisive as adoption by gays and lesbians, but there are still significant differences between the left and the right in five countries. For example, roughly three-quarters of Spaniards who place themselves on the left say it is better for family life when women have full-time jobs, including 77% of Left Populists and 72% of the Left Mainstream. Fewer on the right take this view, though majorities of both Right Populists (64%) and the Right Mainstream (58%) agree.

Many think family life is better when women have full-time jobs

It is ___ for family life when women have full-time jobs



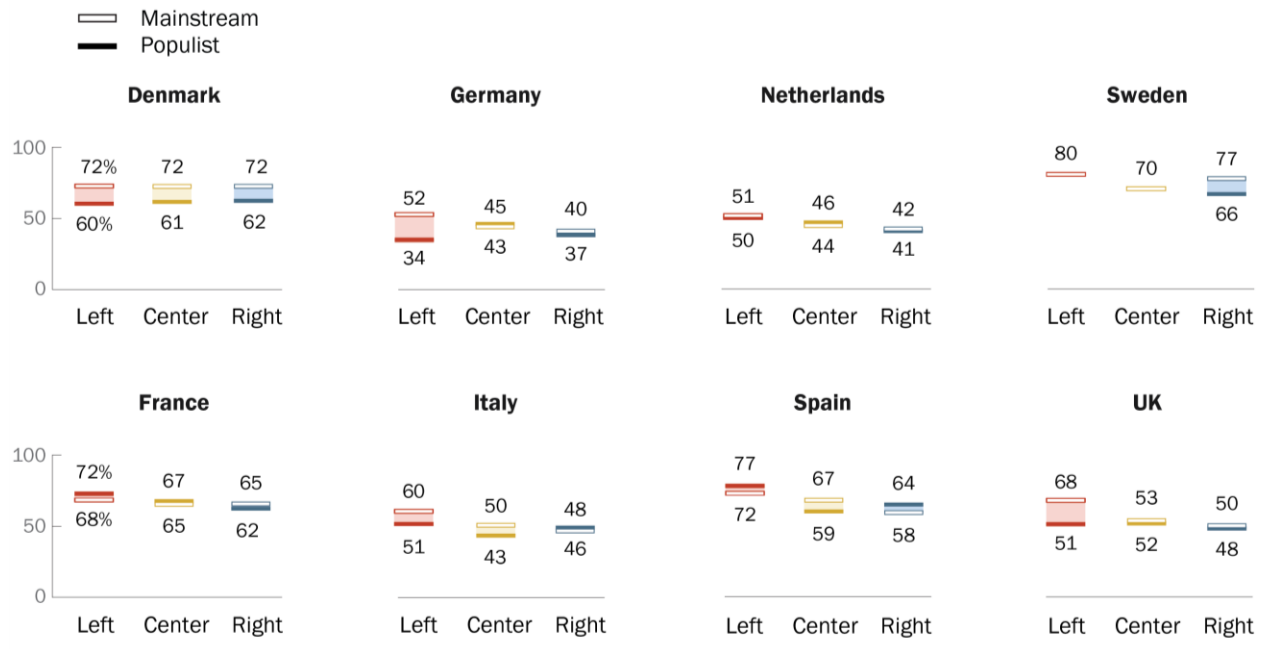
Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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There are minimal differences between those with populist views and those in the mainstream. However, in Denmark, Germany and the UK, the Left Mainstream are more likely than Left Populists to say it is better for family life when women have full-time jobs. In the UK, for instance, nearly seven-in-ten in the Left Mainstream (68%) say family life is better when women have full-time jobs, compared with 51% of Left Populists. Only in Denmark is there a significant difference between groups on the right.

Left Populists somewhat less likely than Left Mainstream to say family life is better when women have full-time jobs in Denmark, Germany and the UK

It is better for family life when women have full-time jobs



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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4. Stark left-right divides on attitudes about immigration

Most Western Europeans think immigrants strengthen their national economies. However, publics are more split on whether immigrants increase the risk of terrorism in their countries and overwhelmingly say it is best if immigrants adopt the customs and traditions of the country to which they've moved.

People's left-right ideological positions shape their attitudes about immigration more than whether they hold populist views.⁷ Those on the left are significantly more positive than the groups on the right about immigration's impact on their country. Still, people with populist views are consistently more likely than their mainstream ideological counterparts to think immigrants have a negative impact on jobs and domestic security, with Right Populists often being the most concerned about the effects of immigration.

⁷ Respondents were asked to place themselves on a left-right political ideology scale from 0 to 6, where zero indicates the far left and six indicates the far right. People who answer 0, 1 or 2 on this scale are categorized as being on the left; people who answer 3 are categorized as being in the center; and people who answer 4, 5 or 6 are categorized as being on the right. See [Appendix A](#) for details on classification.

Most Western Europeans say immigrants help the economy

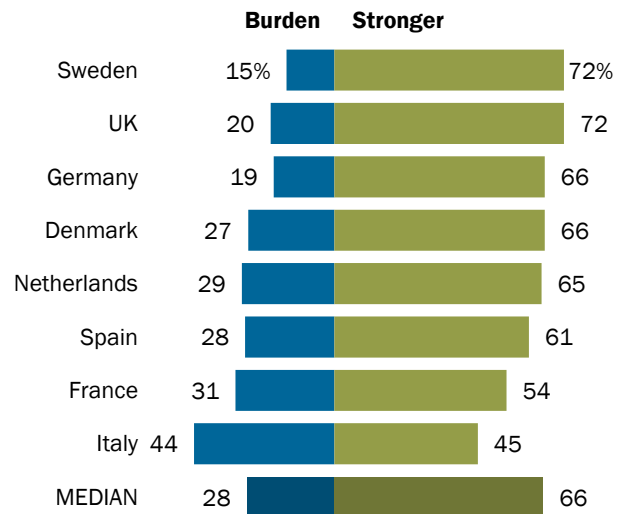
Half or more adults in seven of the eight Western European countries surveyed say immigrants make their country's economy stronger because of their work and talents. This feeling is most widespread in both Sweden and the UK (72%). About three-in-ten or fewer in seven of the eight countries believe immigrants are a burden on their economy because they take the country's jobs.

Only in Italy is the public divided; nearly equal shares say immigrants make the economy stronger (45%) as say they are a burden (44%).

Across all eight countries, people on the ideological right are more likely than those on the left to think immigrants are an economic burden. For example, about half of the Italian Right Mainstream (51%) see immigrants as an economic burden, compared with just 18% of those in the Left Mainstream. In the Netherlands, 34% of those in the Right Mainstream say immigrants negatively impact the economy, while just 12% of the Left Mainstream agree.

Across Western Europe, few see immigrants as an economic burden

Immigrants make our economy stronger because of their work and talents OR immigrants are a burden on our economy because they take our jobs?



Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

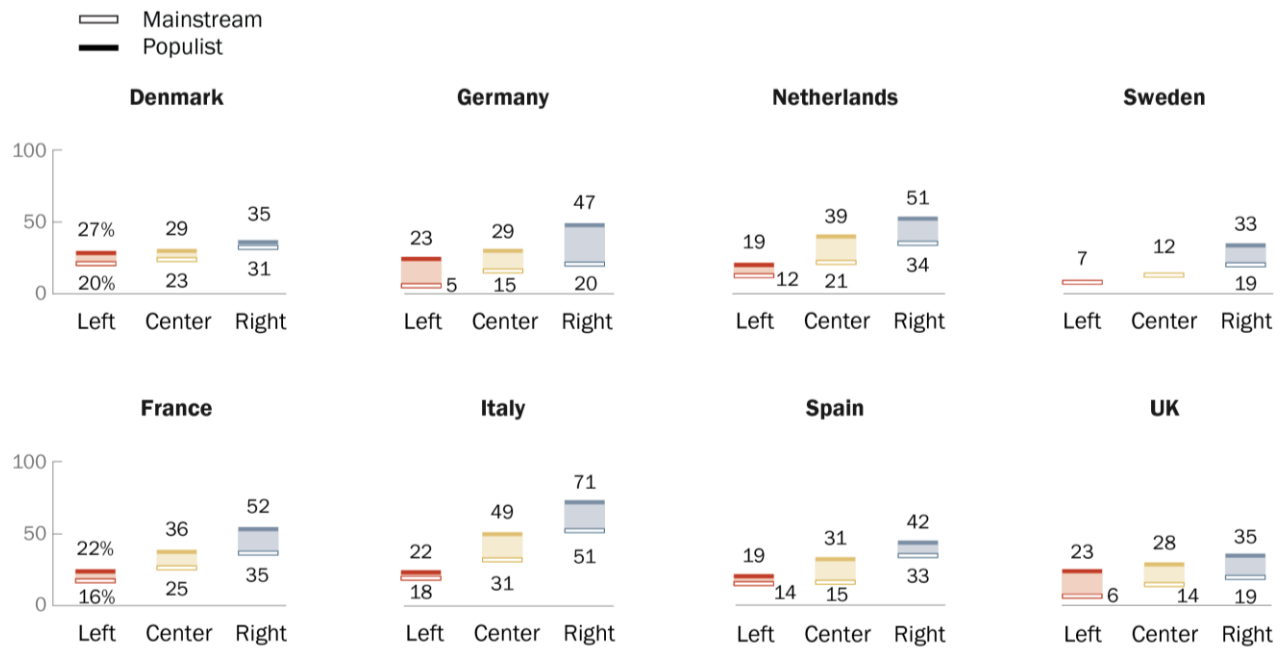
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In nearly all countries surveyed, the differences between those who hold populist views and those in the mainstream are also significant, with those espousing populist views tending to be more negative about the impact of immigration on their national economies. In Germany, for example, Right Populists (47%) are significantly more likely than their mainstream counterparts (20%) to see immigrants as a burden. German Left Populists are also more likely than the Left Mainstream (23% vs. 5%) to share this view, as are Center Populists compared with the Center Mainstream (29% vs. 15%).

In most countries, Right Populists are the most likely of all groups to see immigrants as a drain on the economy.

Right Populists often most likely to say immigrants are economic burden

Immigrants are a burden on our economy because they take our jobs



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

Many Western European publics split on how immigration impacts terror risks

While a majority of people across Western Europe think immigration strengthens their economies, publics are split on whether immigration increases the risk of terrorist attacks in their countries.

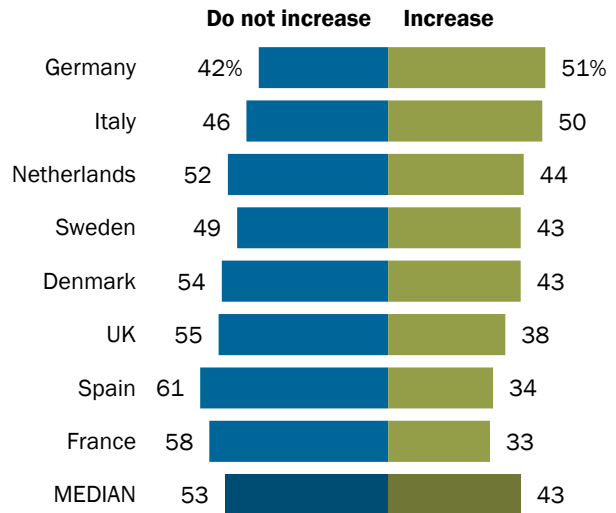
Germans (51%) and Italians (50%) are the most likely to say immigrants increase the risk of terrorism in their country. Italians are also the most likely to say they *strongly* hold this view (34%).

But half or more in five countries – the Netherlands, Denmark, the UK, Spain and France – say immigrants *do not* increase the risk of terrorist attacks in their country.

Left-right ideology tends to influence people's attitudes about immigration's impact on security more than populist views. In every country, people on the right are more likely than those on the left to think immigrants increase the risk of terrorism in their countries. Differences between those on the left and those on the right in each country range from 24 to 31 percentage points. For example, 58% of Germans in the Right Mainstream say immigrants are a security risk, compared with just 28% of Germans in the Left Mainstream.

Publics divided on whether immigration increases terror risk

Immigrants ___ the risk of terrorist attacks in our country



Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

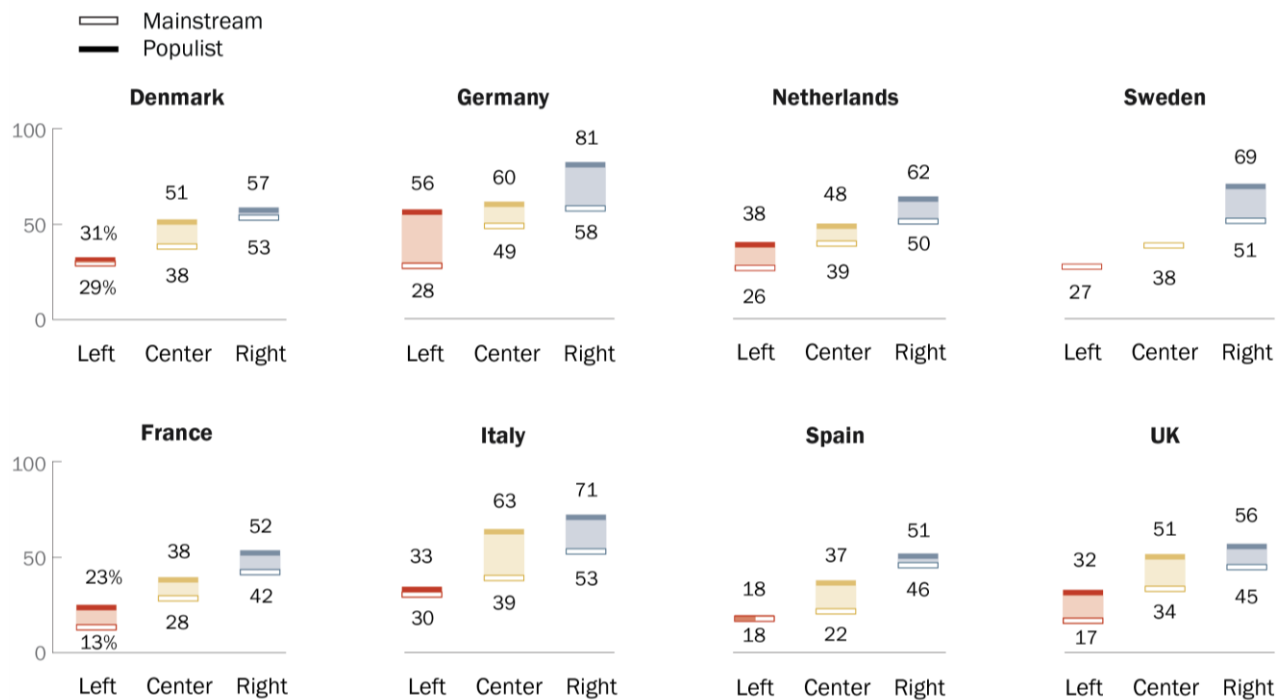
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Still, in most countries, populist groups are more negative toward immigrants on the issue of security than their mainstream counterparts. For example, 32% of British Left Populists think immigrants increase the risk of terrorism, compared with just 17% of the Left Mainstream.

Right Populists everywhere stand out for their negative views of immigrants. In every country surveyed, at least half of Right Populists think immigrants increase the likelihood of terror. This is particularly the case in Italy, Germany and Sweden, where around seven-in-ten or more Right Populists hold this position, about 20 percentage points higher than the Right Mainstream in each country. In most countries, Right Populists are also the most likely to say they *strongly* think immigrants increase terrorism risks.

Many on the right, especially Right Populists, say immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks

Immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks in our country



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

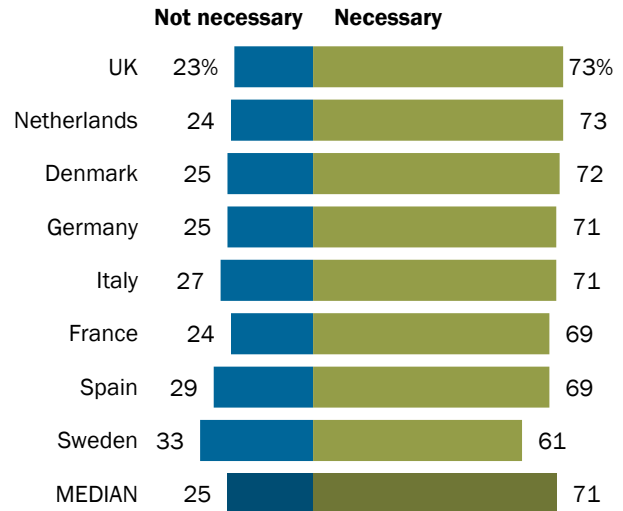
Western Europeans overwhelmingly want immigrants to integrate

Roughly seven-in-ten in most Western European countries think it is necessary for the good of society that immigrants adopt the customs and traditions of their new country. Fewer Swedes say integration is essential, though a majority (61%) still endorses it.

As with views on immigrants' impact on the economy and terrorism, left-right ideology tends to shape peoples' views on integration more than populist views. In all countries, those on the right are much more likely than those on the left to say it's necessary for immigrants to adopt the customs and traditions of their new country. For instance, 81% of Dutch people in the Right Mainstream say integration is necessary, compared with 56% of Left Mainstream.

Majorities say integration by immigrants is necessary

For the good of our society, it is ___ for immigrants to adopt our country's customs and traditions



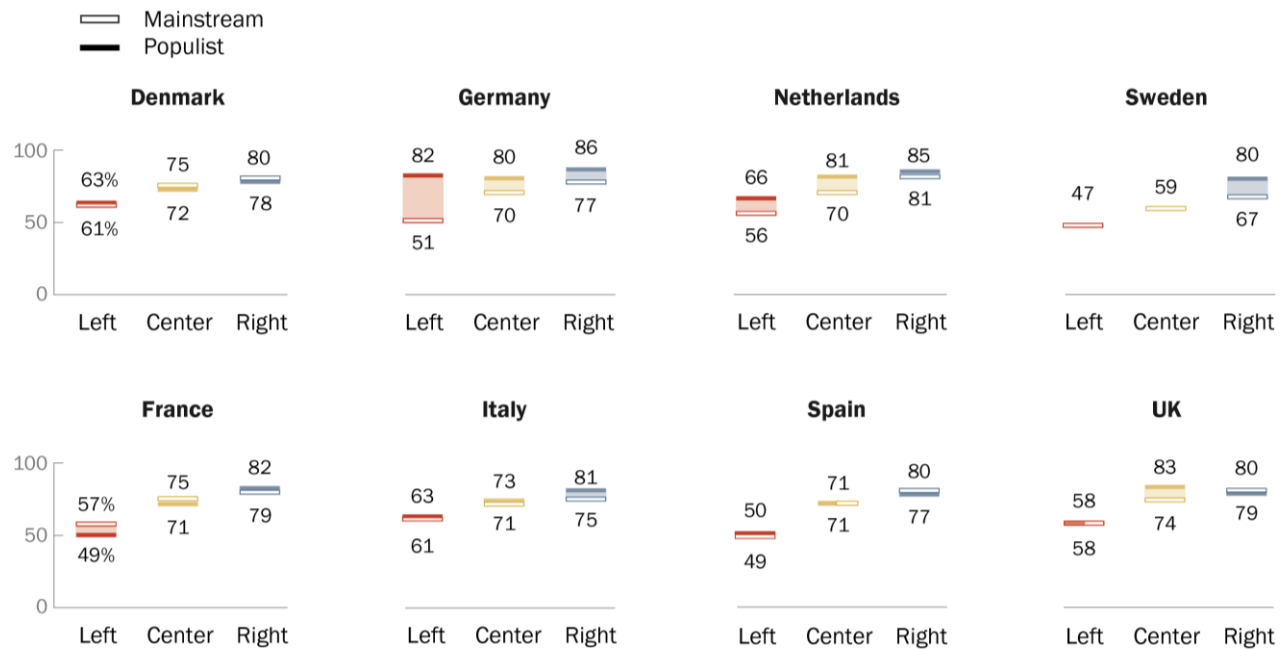
Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Still, in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, populist attitudes also color people’s views of immigrant integration, with those who hold populist views being more likely to believe immigrants need to integrate than their mainstream counterparts. For example, in Germany, 82% of Left Populists say immigrants must adopt German customs and traditions, versus 51% of the Left Mainstream.

Large majorities in the center and on the right say immigrants need to adopt their country’s customs and traditions

For the good of our society, it is necessary for immigrants to adopt our country’s customs and traditions



Note: Groups are based on respondents’ self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered “Most elected officials don’t care what people like me think” and “Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country’s problems than elected officials.” See Appendix A for details. Sweden’s Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

5. Populist groups across the ideological spectrum have low trust in institutions

Across Western Europe, publics express very different levels of trust in institutions. While the military is the most highly rated across all eight countries, publics in France, Spain, Italy and the UK express much lower levels of trust in other institutions, including financial institutions, the news media and the national parliament.

In all countries surveyed, people who espouse populist views have significantly less trust in key institutions than those in the mainstream. These populist-mainstream differences in trust are especially pronounced when it comes to views of the national parliament, and they overshadow the gap between those on the ideological left and right.⁸

⁸ Respondents were asked to place themselves on a left-right political ideology scale from 0 to 6, where zero indicates the far left and six indicates the far right. People who answer 0, 1 or 2 on this scale are categorized as being on the left; people who answer 3 are categorized as being in the center; and people who answer 4, 5 or 6 are categorized as being on the right. See [Appendix A](#) for details on classification.

Trust in most institutions is low in France, Italy, Spain and the UK

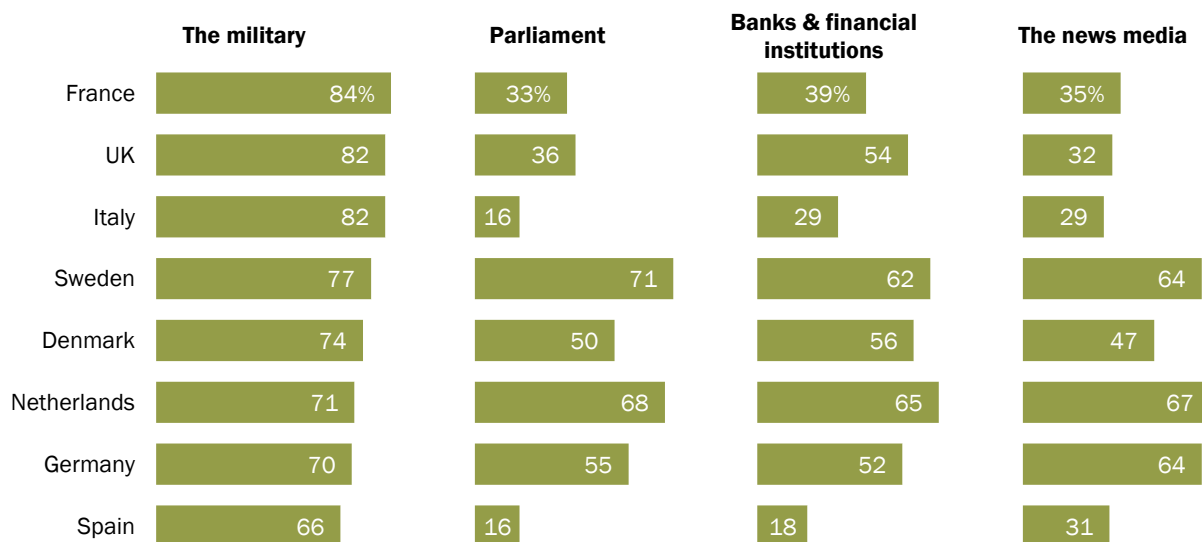
The military is the most trusted of the four institutions asked about in Western Europe (the military, the news media, financial institutions and the national parliament). In all eight countries, at least two-thirds say they trust the military, ranging from a low of 66% in Spain to a high of 84% in France.

Trust is generally lower for the other three institutions. Across all eight countries, no more than about seven-in-ten say they trust the national parliament, banks or the news media. And in three of the countries surveyed – France, Italy and Spain – fewer than four-in-ten say this. In these three countries, the national parliament is particularly poorly rated; only 33% of the French and 16% of both Italians and Spaniards say they trust the institution. These three countries also rate the news media and financial institutions much lower than the other countries surveyed.

Similarly, in the United Kingdom, few trust the national parliament or the news media. Roughly a third trust either of these institutions, though a higher percentage (54%) views banks in a positive light.

Majorities trust the military; trust in other institutions very low in Spain, France, Italy and the UK

Trust ...



Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

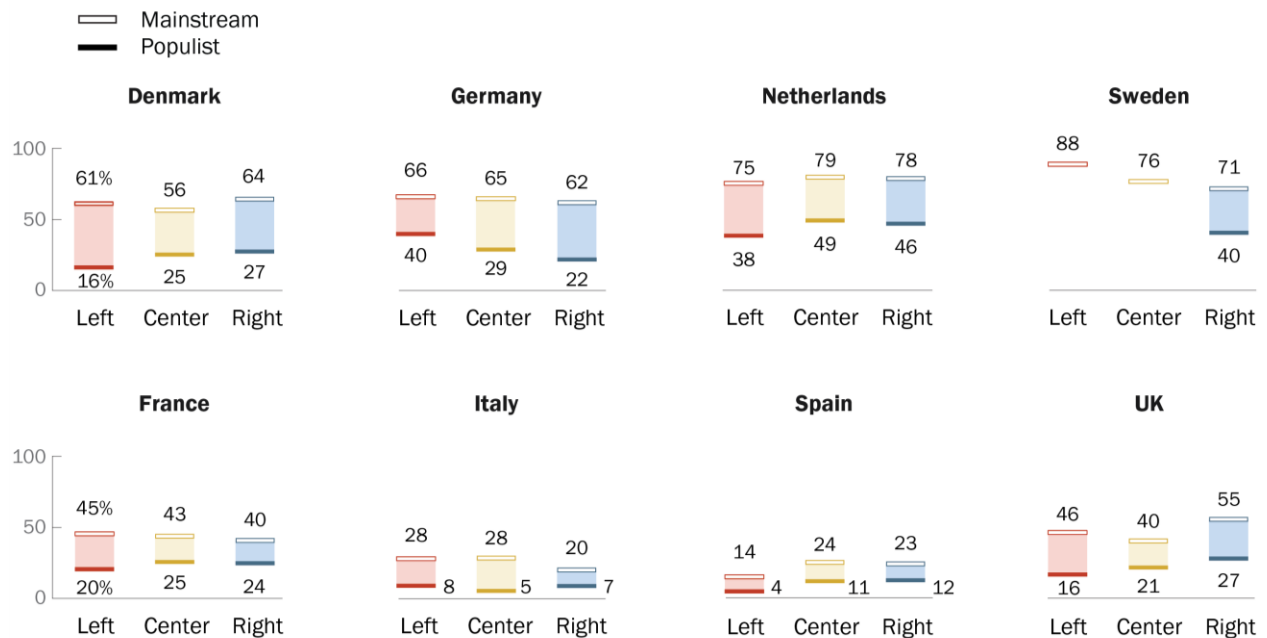
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Populist groups across the ideological spectrum trust the national parliament, news media less than those in the mainstream

In general, populists express lower levels of trust in institutions than those in the mainstream. This is true for all four institutions asked about – the national parliament, the news media, banks and financial institutions, and even the military.

People with populist views trust national parliament less than those in mainstream

Trust national parliament



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Differences between people with populist views and the mainstream are most pronounced when it comes to trust in the national parliament. In five of the eight countries, Left Populists and Right Populists are at least 25 percentage points less likely to trust the national parliament than the Left Mainstream or Right Mainstream, respectively. For example, in Denmark, 16% of Left Populists trust the institution, compared with 61% of the Left Mainstream; similarly, 27% of Right Populists trust parliament, compared with 64% of the Right Mainstream. In no country do more than half of any of the three populist groups say they trust parliament – though it ranges from a low of 4% among Left Populists in Spain to a high of 49% among Center Populists in the Netherlands.

While significantly more people in the mainstream groups trust parliament than in the three populist groups, there is some ideological variation that largely mirrors which parties are in power. For example, in Sweden – currently governed by a [left-leaning coalition](#) – 88% of the Left Mainstream trust the national parliament, compared with 76% of the Center Mainstream and 71% of the Right Mainstream. The opposite is true in the Conservative-led UK; there, 46% of the Left Mainstream and 40% of the Center Mainstream trust the national parliament, compared with 55% of the Right Mainstream.

Populists on the left and the right also trust the news media less than those in the mainstream. For example, in Germany, a majority of the Left Mainstream (74%), Center Mainstream (71%) and Right Mainstream (65%) all trust the news media; in contrast, half or fewer of Left (44%), Center (50%) and Right Populists (38%) feel the same. Gaps in trust in the media between those with populist views and the mainstream tend to be significantly larger and more consistent than those between the ideological left and right. (For more on Western European attitudes about the news media, see [“In Western Europe, Public Attitudes Toward News Media More Divided by Populist Views Than Left-Right Ideology.”](#))

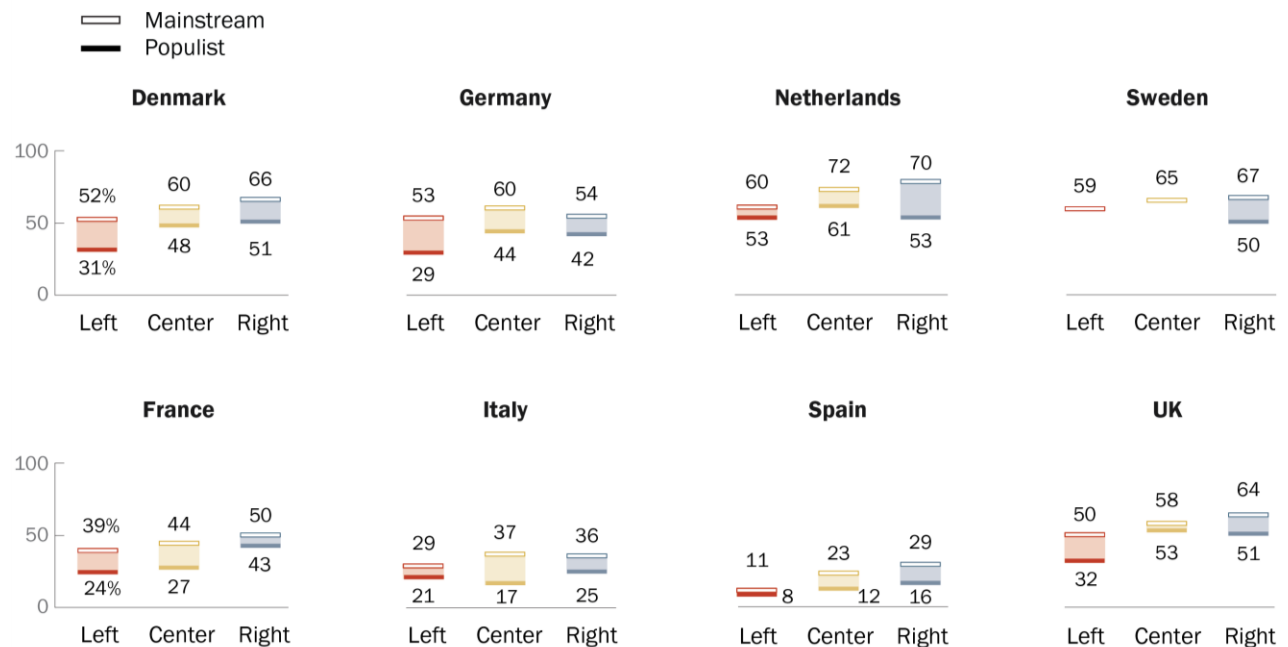
Left Populists have particularly low trust in financial institutions

In six of the eight countries surveyed, people on the ideological right trust financial institutions more than those on the left (the notable exceptions being Germany and Italy). For example, 64% of the Right Mainstream in the UK trust banks, compared with 50% of the Left Mainstream. As with other institutions, people with populist views tend to express lower levels of trust in banks than those in the mainstream. Looking again at the UK, 64% of the Right Mainstream trust banks, compared with 51% of British Right Populists.

Still, Left Populists stand out for their low levels of trust in financial institutions. For example, in the UK, only about a third (32%) of Left Populists trust banks, compared with half or more in all other groups. Trust is particularly low among Left Populists in Spain, where only 8% trust banks.

People with populist views have lower trust in banks and financial institutions

Trust banks and financial institutions



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Finally, with regard to trust in the military, differences between populists and the mainstream are more muted. While those with populist views are still less likely to trust the military than the mainstream in nearly all countries, the difference centers on Left Populists. In all countries, they have the lowest levels of trust in the military. For example, in Spain, whereas half or more of all other groups say they trust the military, 41% of Left Populists say the same.

6. People who hold populist views are less likely to see EU membership bringing economic benefits

A majority of Western Europeans in the eight countries surveyed say membership in the European Union has been a good thing for their nation's economy. Despite these views, majorities say some EU powers should be returned to national governments.

Those on the left tend to be relatively more pro-EU than those on the right.⁹ People with populist views have less positive attitudes about the institution's economic benefits, and more of a desire for some EU powers to be returned.

⁹ Respondents were asked to place themselves on a left-right political ideology scale from 0 to 6, where zero indicates the far left and six indicates the far right. People who answer 0, 1 or 2 on this scale are categorized as being on the left; people who answer 3 are categorized as being in the center; and people who answer 4, 5 or 6 are categorized as being on the right. See [Appendix A](#) for details on classification.

Most Western Europeans say EU membership has economic benefits

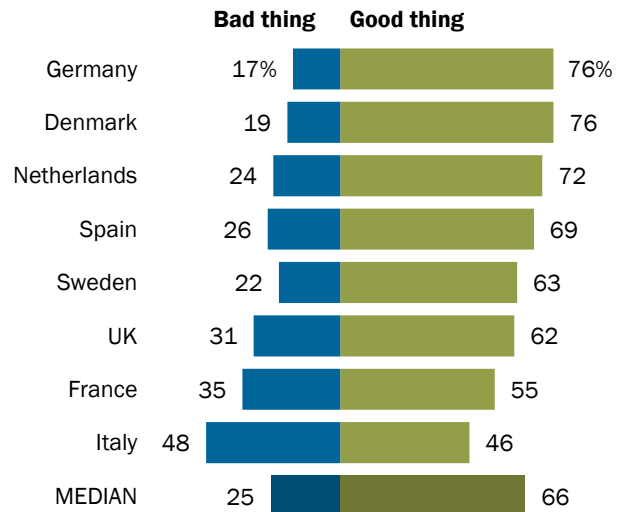
Majorities in every country but Italy say EU membership has benefited their country economically. This sentiment is most widespread in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain, where about seven-in-ten or more see EU membership as a good thing.

Italians are split on how EU membership has affected their country: 46% say membership has been good for the economy, while 48% say it has been bad. And nearly one-third (32%) say they *strongly* feel EU membership has harmed the Italian economy.

In every country surveyed, people who hold populist views are less likely than those in the mainstream to say EU membership has positively impacted their nation's economy. In half of the countries, Left Populists and Right Populists feel similarly about the institution – despite significant differences among their countries' Left and Right Mainstream. For example, in the Netherlands, just 52% of Right Populists say the EU has been good for their economy, as do 55% of Left Populists and 59% of Center Populists. Among the mainstream in the Netherlands, much larger majorities see EU membership as an economic positive: 86% of the Left Mainstream, 81% of the Center Mainstream and 75% of the Right Mainstream say EU membership has benefited their national economy.

Majorities in all countries but Italy say EU membership has been good for economy

EU membership has been a ___ for our country's economy



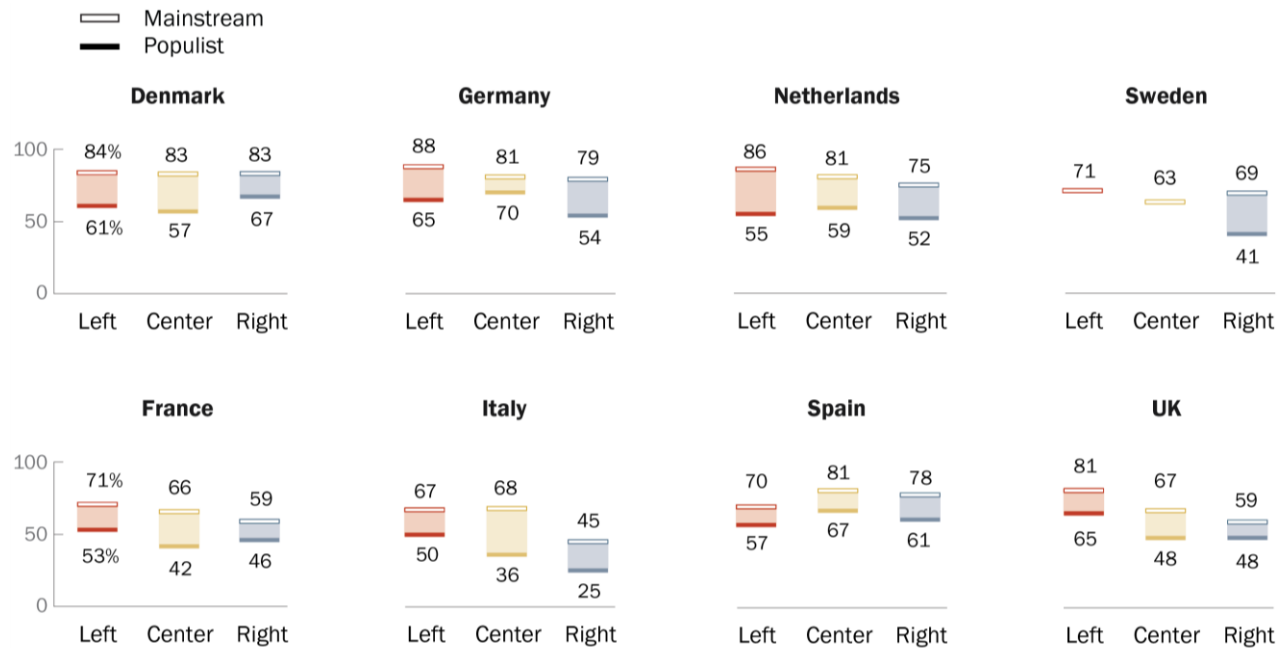
Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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In most countries – France, Italy, the UK, the Netherlands and Germany – people on the left are more likely than those on the right to see EU membership as a good thing for the economy. For example, in Italy and the UK, Left Mainstream respondents are 22 percentage points more likely than the Right Mainstream to say EU membership has helped their economy. In Spain, however, the left-right pattern is reversed: For example, the Right Mainstream group (78%) is somewhat more likely than the Left Mainstream (70%) to see EU membership as an economic positive.

Those with populist views less likely to say EU has been good for country’s economy

Membership in the EU has been a good thing for our country’s economy



Note: Groups are based on respondents’ self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered “Most elected officials don’t care what people like me think” and “Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country’s problems than elected officials.” See Appendix A for details. Sweden’s Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Most want some EU powers returned to national governments

Despite widespread belief in most countries that the EU has benefited national economies, roughly half or more in all countries surveyed say they want some EU powers returned to national governments. Even in Denmark and the Netherlands – countries where broad majorities see economic benefits from the institution – roughly two-thirds say some EU powers should be returned.

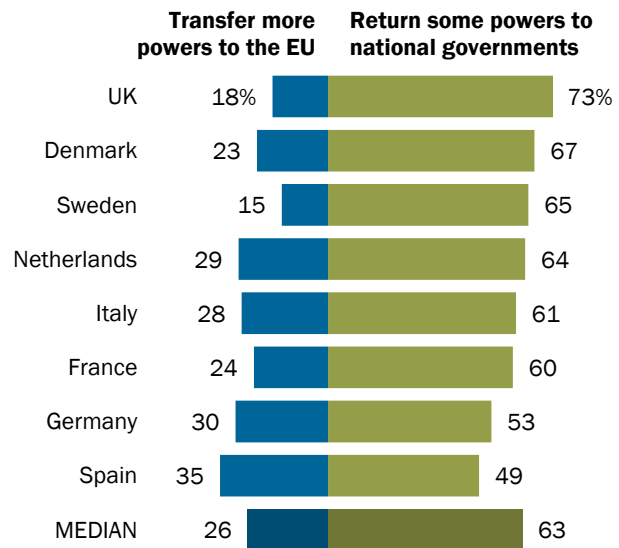
The desire for returning EU powers to individual countries is most widespread in the UK, where the national government is currently negotiating an [exit from the EU](#). Nearly three-quarters of Brits (73%) say they want to see some powers returned. Germans and Spaniards are the least likely to favor this type of change (53% and 49%, respectively).

People who hold populist views are more likely than those in the mainstream to want more national sovereignty in seven of the eight countries surveyed. For example, in France, 68% of Left Populists support EU powers being returned to national governments, compared with 54% of the Left Mainstream; on the right, 76% of Right Populists say the same, versus 61% of the Right Mainstream. The one exception to this pattern is the UK, where populists and mainstream respondents largely agree on this issue.

Ideology also plays a role in how people view the division of powers between the EU and national governments. Across five of the eight countries, those on the ideological right are significantly more likely than those on the left to think that powers should be returned to national governments. For example, British Right Mainstream respondents (82%) are more likely than the Left Mainstream (59%) to want powers returned to their national government.

Most Western Europeans want EU powers returned to national governments

National governments should transfer more powers to the EU OR some EU powers should be returned to national governments?



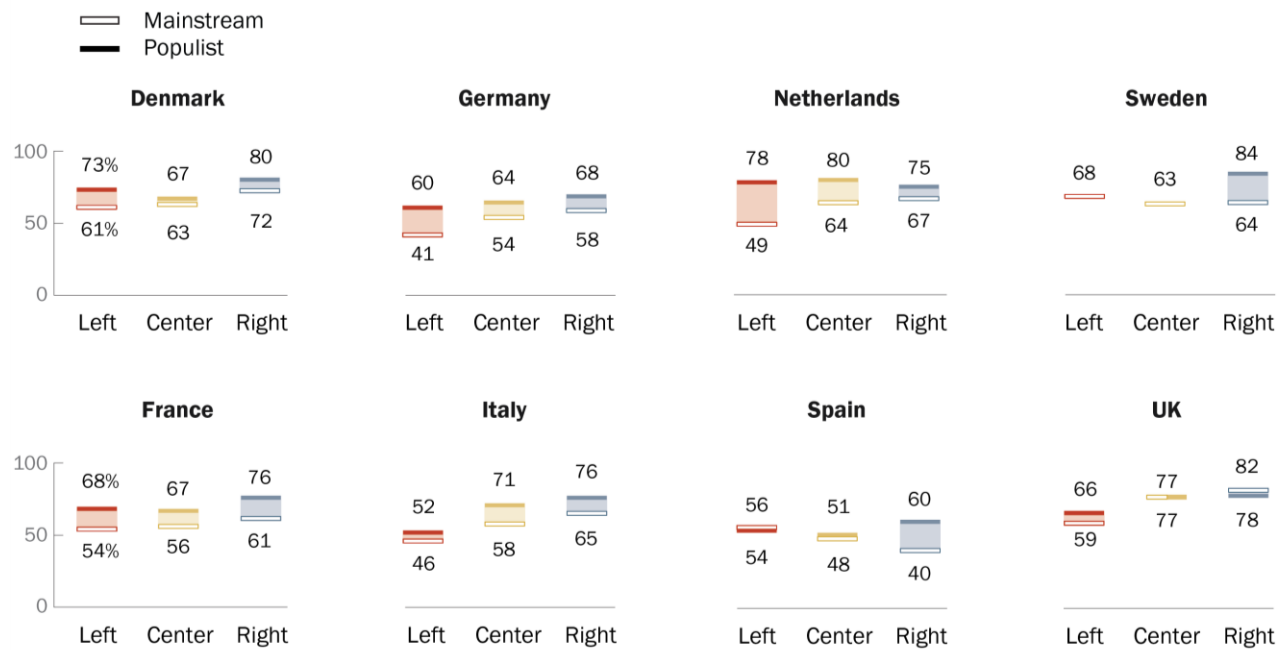
Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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The three countries where those on the right are not more likely than those on the left to support the return of powers to national governments are France, Spain and Sweden. In France and Sweden, those on both sides of the ideological spectrum largely agree on the issue, while in Spain, the left is more likely than the right to want powers returned. For example, Spain’s Left Mainstream (56%) are more likely than those in the Right Mainstream (40%) to think some EU powers should be returned.

Populist groups are somewhat more likely to want EU powers returned to national governments

Some EU powers should be returned to national governments



Note: Groups are based on respondents’ self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered “Most elected officials don’t care what people like me think” and “Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country’s problems than elected officials.” See Appendix A for details. Sweden’s Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

7. Left-right ideology influences political party support across Western Europe more than populist views

In most countries, traditional parties are seen in a more favorable light than populist parties. Public attitudes about parties – whether traditional or populist – are usually closely related to left-right ideology.¹⁰ People on the left tend to support parties on the left, while those on the right tend to favor right-aligned parties. Still, within these left-right differences, opinions of traditional parties follow a consistent pattern: People in the mainstream usually have more favorable views of these parties than people with populist views. Opinions of populist parties follow the opposite pattern: People with populist views tend to see the populist parties more favorably than those in the mainstream.

¹⁰ Respondents were asked to place themselves on a left-right political ideology scale from 0 to 6, where zero indicates the far left and six indicates the far right. People who answer 0, 1 or 2 on this scale are categorized as being on the left; people who answer 3 are categorized as being in the center; and people who answer 4, 5 or 6 are categorized as being on the right. See [Appendix A](#) for details on classification.

Traditional parties receive low ratings in France, Italy and Spain

Traditional parties in Western Europe are seen in relatively favorable terms in Denmark, Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands (see the text box and [Appendix B](#) for more on how parties are classified). In each of these countries, half or more of the public has positive opinions of all traditional parties asked about. For example, a majority of Danes have a favorable view of the left-leaning traditional party, the Social Democrats (66%), and the right-leaning Liberal Party (55%).

In Spain, Italy and France, only minorities rate any of the

traditional parties favorably. In these three countries, about three-in-ten or fewer have a favorable view of the Socialist Party (PS) and the Republicans (LR) in France (26% each), the Democratic Party (PD) and Forza Italia in Italy (30% each) and the Popular Party (PP) in Spain (31%), which is sometimes called the People's Party.¹¹ Only the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) has moderately broad appeal – yet even then, fewer than half of Spaniards view the party favorably (44%).

Categorizing political parties in Western Europe

To group political parties for analysis across the eight Western European countries, we divide parties into traditional and populist parties. We define **traditional** parties as those that have led the government – whether as president, prime minister or chancellor – at least once during the past 25 years, have competed in at least two national elections and still compete in elections today.

Populist parties are those that display high levels of anti-elite rhetoric and express a preference for direct democracy, according to the [Chapel Hill Expert Survey \(CHES\)](#). This survey asked regional experts to evaluate the party positions of 132 European political parties with regard to their left-right ideological leanings, key party platform positions and degree of anti-elitism, among other things. We also use the CHES to further group traditional and populist parties by ideology.

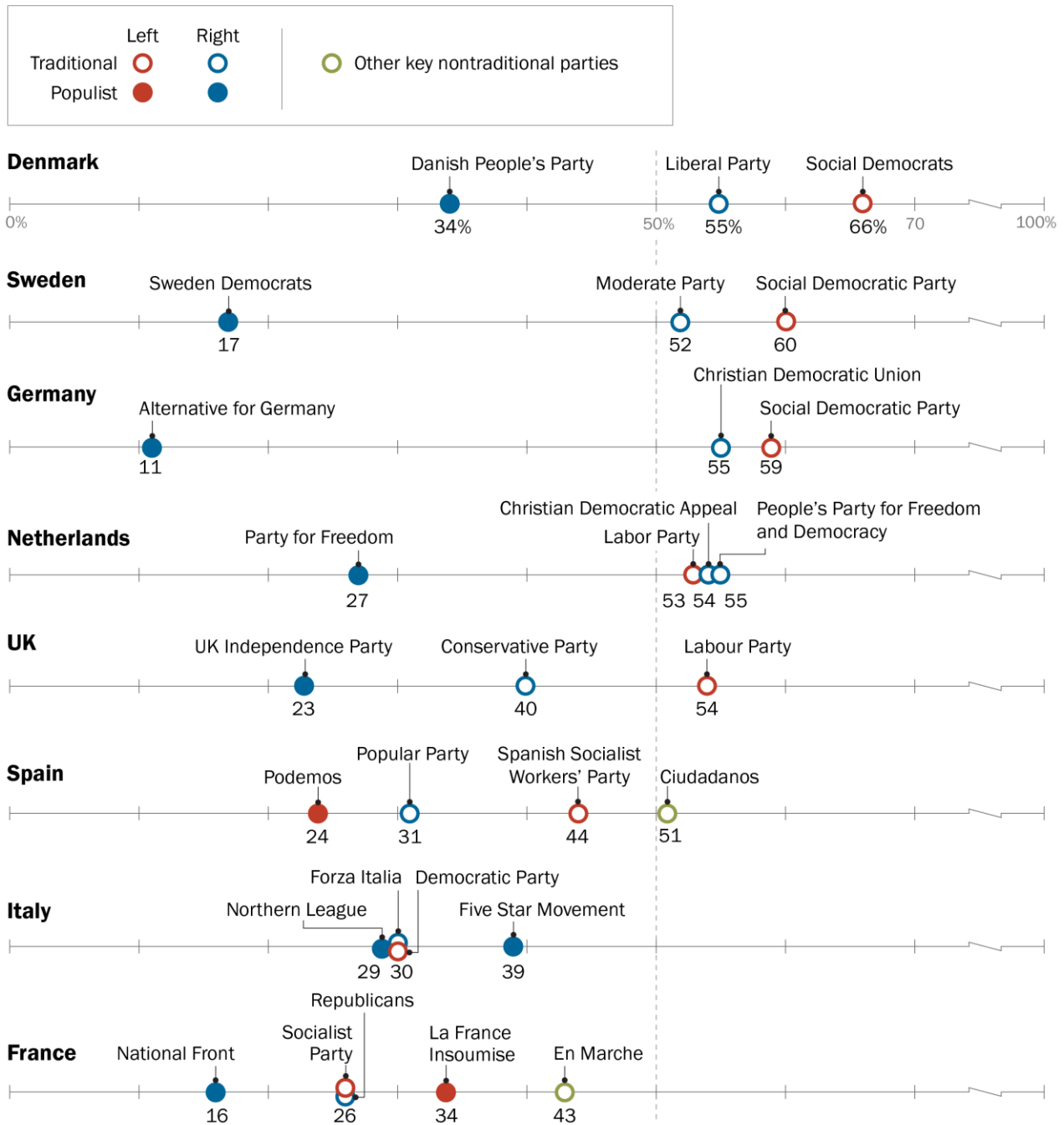
Finally, we discuss two political parties that are neither traditional nor populist, but that garnered at least 10% of the public's vote in the most recent election preceding the survey and with which 15% or more of respondents identify as partisans. We analyze this subset of parties as a separate group called “other key nontraditional parties.”

For more details on how these party groups are defined and a list of where each political party is grouped, see [Appendix B](#).

¹¹ The survey was conducted before the June 2018 vote of no confidence in Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy, who is from the Popular Party (PP). Before and during the time the survey was fielded, both Rajoy and PP were part of a [corruption investigation](#).

In most countries, traditional parties enjoy widest favorability

Favorable view of ...



Note: Only some parties are shown in each country because the report focuses on the traditional parties that have led government over the past 25 years and on populist parties. See Appendix B for details.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

Views of traditional parties heavily colored by ideology

In all countries surveyed, people on the right tend to have more favorable opinions of right-aligned traditional parties than people on the left, and vice versa. This general pattern holds for both people who have populist views and people in the mainstream. However, to the degree that respondents with populist sympathies differ from mainstream respondents, populists tend to give lower favorability ratings to traditional parties.

One clear example of this pattern occurs in the Netherlands. A majority of people on the left have a favorable view of the left-leaning Labor Party (PvdA). Fewer than half of either group on the right have positive opinions of the party. However, Left Populists (57% favorable) have a lower opinion of the party than the Left Mainstream (76%), and the same is true when comparing Center Populists with the Center Mainstream (44% to 59%, respectively). Right Populists and the Right Mainstream have similarly negative views of the left-leaning PvdA (45% and 43%, respectively).

When it comes to Dutch views of the right-aligned traditional party, the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), the pattern largely reverses. Here, people on the right tend to have more favorable views of the party than people on the left – and on the left and right, populists tend to have lower views of the party than those in the mainstream. For example, respondents in the Right Mainstream (70%) have a much more favorable view of the party than those in the Left Mainstream (46%) – but both mainstream groups have more favorable opinions than their populist counterparts, with 52% of Right Populists and 29% of Left Populists expressing favorable opinions, respectively.¹²

¹² The Netherlands has two center-right establishment parties. Views of both the VVD and the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) are heavily colored by ideology; for example, 67% of the Right Mainstream have favorable opinions of the CDA, compared with just 44% of the Left Mainstream.

Ideological gap on political parties generally larger than divide by populist views

FAVORABILITY OF **LEFT** TRADITIONAL PARTIES

— Mainstream — Populist

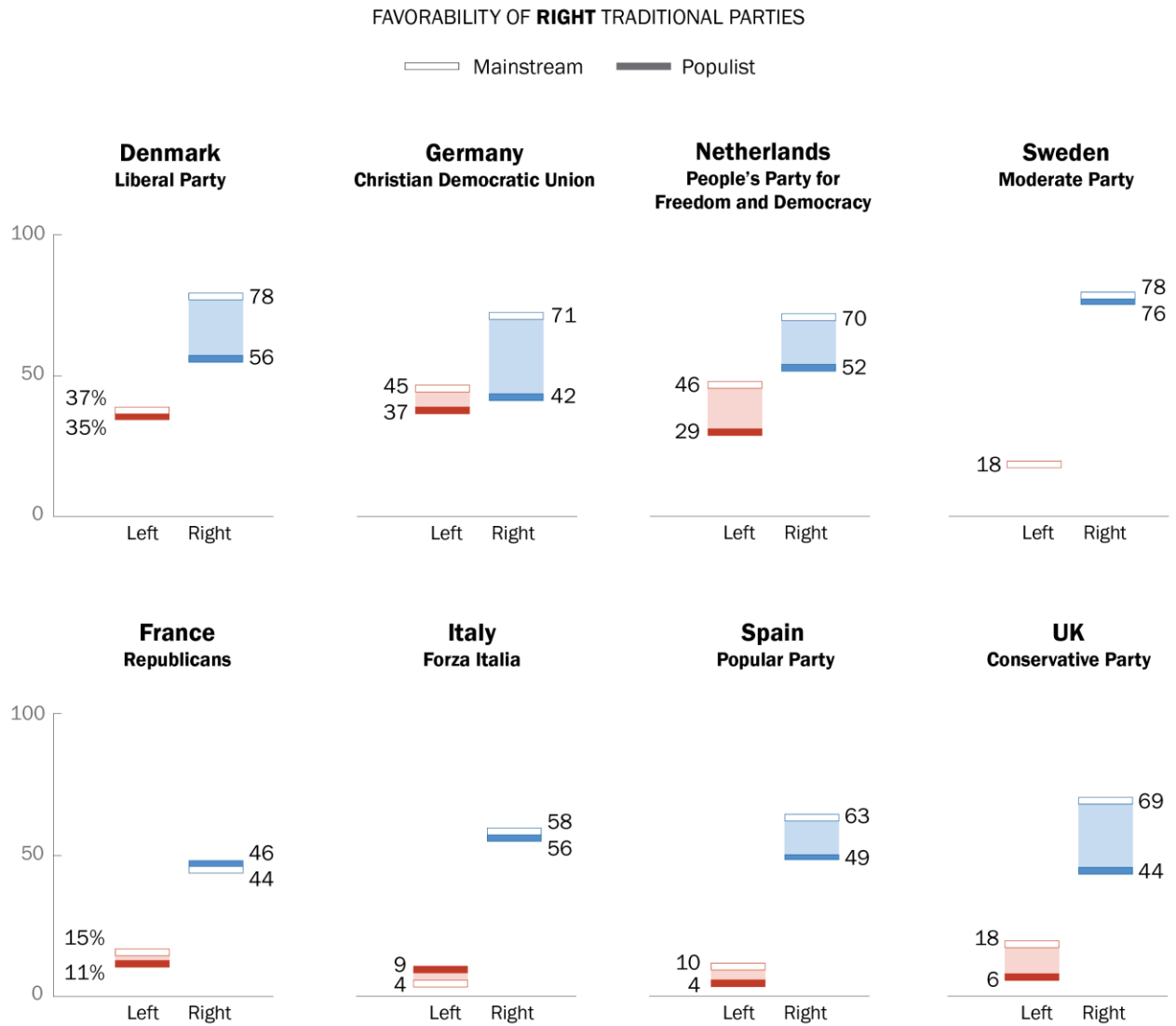


Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Ideological gap on political parties generally larger than divide by populist views, cont.



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Populist parties generally disliked by the public

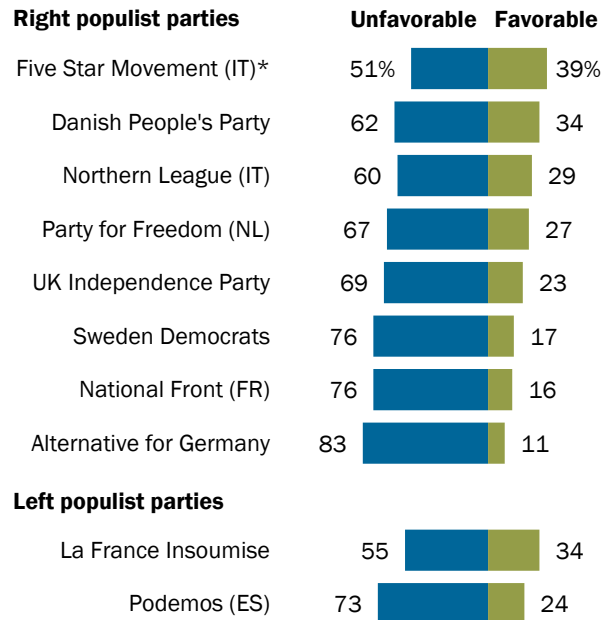
Across all countries, most populist parties – meaning those that are rated as anti-elitist by experts – are broadly disliked.¹³ Only minorities have a favorable view of these parties, ranging from 39% of Italians who have a positive view of the Five Star Movement to 11% of Germans who hold a favorable view of Alternative for Germany (AfD).¹⁴

For most of the populist parties on the right that were asked about, two-thirds or more of the public say they have an *unfavorable* view of each party. And, in the case of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) (49%), the Sweden Democrats (51%), the National Front (FN) in France (53%) and AfD in Germany (62%), about half or more express *very* unfavorable views of the parties.¹⁵

Italy's Five Star Movement is relatively well-regarded among populist parties on the ideological right, receiving the highest favorability of all parties asked about (39%). But Five Star is also one of the few right-aligned populist parties that experts do not classify as “radical right”; rather, the party is relatively centrist in its ideology.¹⁶ Still, more Italians have unfavorable (51%) than favorable views of the party.

Most populist parties deeply disliked

View of ...



*CHES expert ratings place the Five Star Movement's ideology slightly right of center, though it is not part of the radical right party family. See Appendix B for details.

Notes: IT=Italy, NL=Netherlands, FR=France, ES=Spain.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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¹³ This “anti-elitist” designation is based on results of the [Chapel Hill Expert Survey \(CHES\)](#), in which experts scored European political parties on their party position on direct vs. representative democracy and the salience of anti-elite rhetoric within their party. See [Appendix B](#) for details.

¹⁴ The survey took place before the March 2018 election in Italy.

¹⁵ On June 1, 2018, Marine Le Pen announced that the National Front would be renamed Rassemblement National (literally, National Rally).

¹⁶ Expert classification as part of the [CHES 2017 survey](#) indicates that Five Star is slightly right of center (5.2 on a 0 to 10 scale); however, its ideological position is the most centrist of all populist parties asked about. Experts also do not classify Five Star as part of the radical right family of right populist parties; instead, it is classified as “no family.” For more, see [Appendix B](#).

The Danish People's Party (DPP), which, like Five Star, is relatively more centrist among right populist parties, is also somewhat more popular than most right populist parties.¹⁷ Nevertheless, a majority of Danish adults (62%) have unfavorable views of the party.

A majority of the French and Spanish publics also dislike the left-aligned populist parties La France Insoumise and Podemos, respectively. Fully 46% of Spaniards have *very* unfavorable opinions of Podemos.

¹⁷ Denmark is the only country among the eight surveyed that does not have a clear populist party. Based on expert rankings, the party that most closely resembles a populist party in Denmark is the Danish People's Party. Expert classification as part of the [CHES 2014 survey](#) indicates that the DPP is right of center. However, its ideological position is relatively more centrist (6.9 on a 0-to-10 scale) than most other right populist parties that are discussed here (which all fall at or above a 7.5 on the 10-point scale).

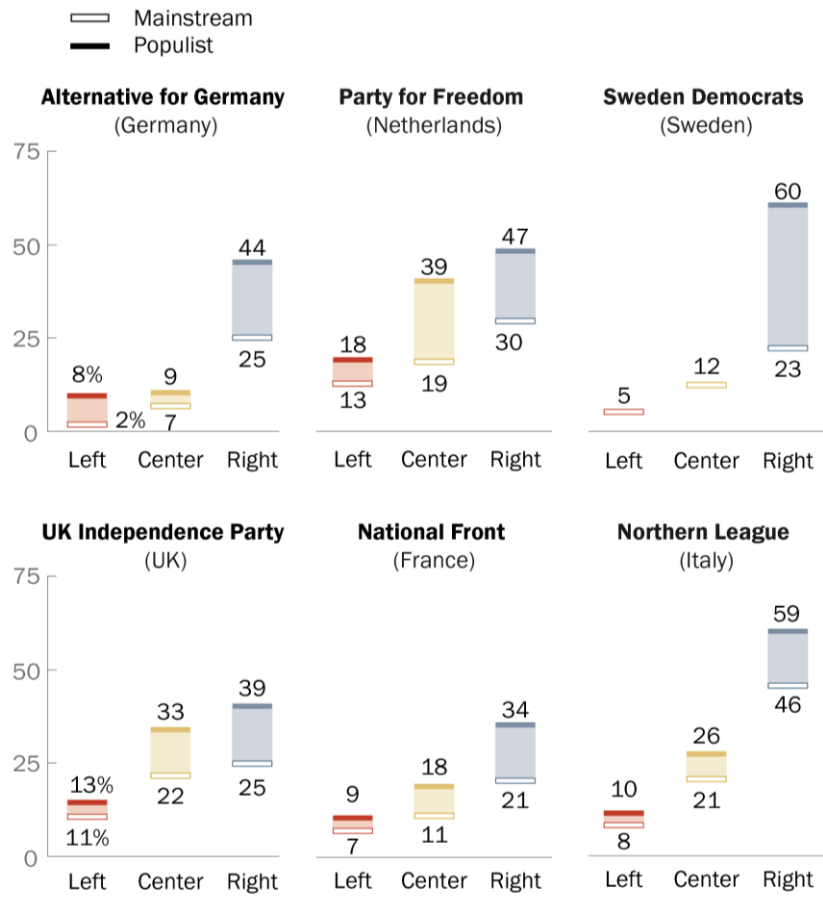
Populist parties receive higher ratings from people with populist views, but many parties still only have minority appeal

Views of populist parties follow the same general pattern as views of traditional parties: Whether populists or in the mainstream, people are more favorable to parties that fall on the same side of the left-right ideological spectrum as they do. But here the dynamics around populist views of parties are flipped, in that people with populist sympathies are *more* favorable toward these populist parties than are people in the mainstream.

For example, 44% of Right Populists in Germany have a favorable opinion of AfD, compared with just 25% of the Right Mainstream. Both of these right-leaning groups give AfD much higher ratings than either group on the left – whether Left Populists (8%) or the Left Mainstream (2%).

Populist parties on the right receive highest ratings from Right Populists

Favorable view of ...



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details. Sweden's Center Populists and Left Populists not shown in the graphic because their sample sizes are too small to analyze.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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The two populist parties on the right that are somewhat less ideologically extreme – DPP in Denmark and Five Star in Italy – follow a similar pattern to the other populist parties, but they each stand out in an important way.

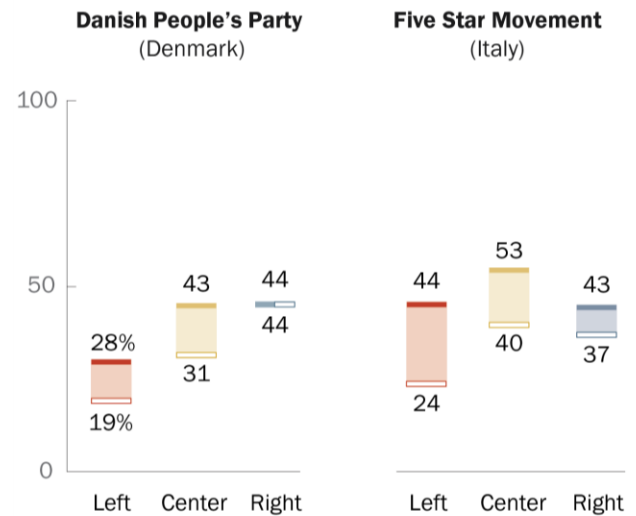
Unlike most other right populist parties, the DPP is viewed similarly by both the Right Mainstream and Right Populists in terms of favorability (44% for both). However, Danish Left Populists feel more favorably toward the party than the Left Mainstream (28% vs. 19%), as do Center Populists compared with the Center Mainstream (43% vs. 31%).

Five Star also has stronger support among those with populist views than among the mainstream. But, in contrast with most other populist parties, there is little difference between Left and Right Populists, with 44% and 43% holding favorable views of Five Star, respectively. In fact, Five Star's base of support is strongest among Center Populists (53%).

Right Mainstream, Right Populists largely agree in views of Five Star, DPP

Favorable view of ...

— Mainstream
— Populist



Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

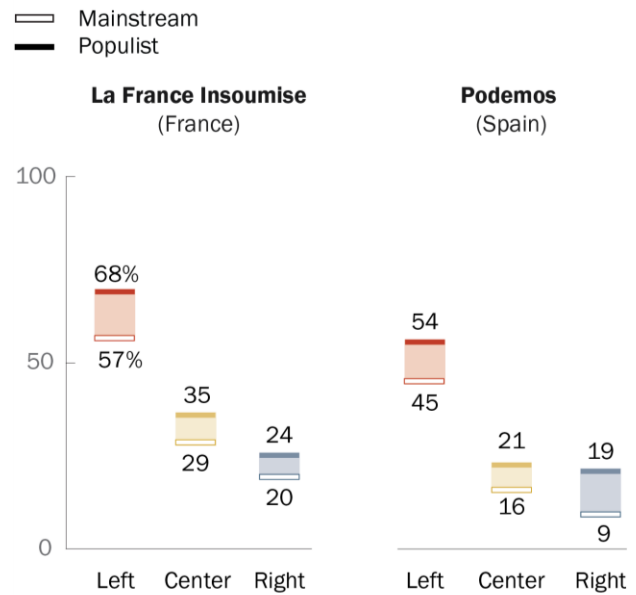
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When it comes to views of populist parties on the left, they, too, receive more support from populist groups than mainstream ones. The left populist La France Insoumise gets its highest favorability ratings from the Left Populists (68%), although a majority of the Left Mainstream (57%) also hold a positive opinion of the party. But both of these ratings stand significantly above those of the right-leaning groups, where just 24% of Right Populists and 20% of the Right Mainstream express positive opinions of the party.

But, while populist parties generally receive more support from those espousing populist views than those in the mainstream, still, only some receive support from more than half of people who hold populist views. These include the left populist parties La France Insoumise and Podemos, which are viewed favorably by 68% and 54% of Left Populists in their respective countries. On the right, the Northern League (LN) and the Sweden Democrats each have majority support among Right Populists in Italy (59%) and in Sweden (60%), respectively. The Five Star Movement, too, is favored by 53% of Center Populists in Italy.

Left Populists most positive toward populist parties on the left

Favorable view of ...



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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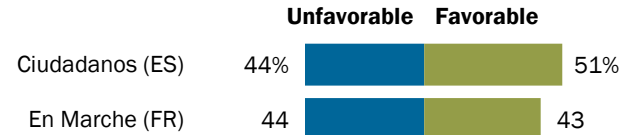
In France and Spain, other nontraditional parties are relatively popular

In France and Spain, newer parties have emerged into the national political landscapes in more recent years that have achieved relative electoral success and popularity.

These relatively new parties, En Marche and Ciudadanos, are more popular than any of the traditional (or populist) parties in their respective countries, with 43% of the French holding a positive opinion of En Marche and 51% of Spaniards saying the same of Ciudadanos.

Despite split opinion, Ciudadanos and En Marche are most popular parties in their countries

View of ...



Note: ES=Spain, FR=France.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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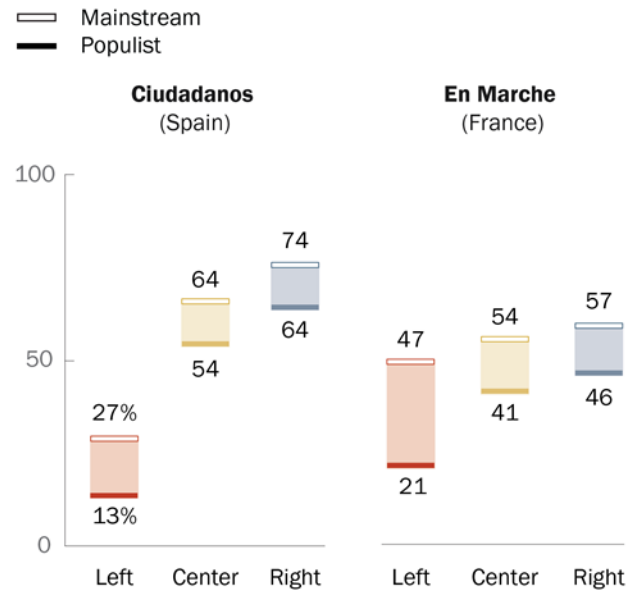
When it comes to how these parties are seen, the favorability pattern for Ciudadanos largely mirrors those of *traditional* parties. Views of the Spanish party are mostly driven by left-right ideology, and those in the mainstream tend to have more favorable opinions of Ciudadanos than those with populist leanings.

For example, 64% of Right Populists have positive views of the party, compared with 54% of Center Populists and only 13% of Left Populists. But the Right Mainstream are 10 percentage points more likely to have a favorable view of the party than Right Populists (74% vs. 64%), and the Left Mainstream (27%) view it more favorably than Left Populists (13%).

Views of En Marche, too, generally follow the traditional party pattern, with people's views being shaped, at least in part, by left-right ideology. French adults on the right are more likely to have a favorable opinion of En Marche than those on the left; for example, 57% of the Right Mainstream express a positive view of the party, compared with only 47% of the Left Mainstream. And people in the mainstream groups are more favorable toward En Marche than those with populist leanings.

Views of Ciudadanos largely grounded in left-right ideology; less so for En Marche

Favorable view of...



Note: Groups are based on respondents' self-placement on a left-right ideological scale and support for populist views, defined as those who answered "Most elected officials don't care what people like me think" and "Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials." See Appendix A for details.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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Acknowledgments

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Primary researchers

Katie Simmons, *Associate Director, Research*
Laura Silver, *Senior Researcher*
Courtney Johnson, *Research Associate*
Kyle Taylor, *Research Assistant*
Richard Wike, *Director, Global Attitudes Research*

Research team

James Bell, *Vice President, Global Strategy*
Danielle Cuddington, *Research Analyst*
Claudia Deane, *Vice President, Research*
Kat Devlin, *Research Associate*
Jonathan Evans, *Research Analyst*
Maira Fagan, *Research Assistant*
Sophia Fedeli, *Research Assistant*
Janell Fetterolf, *Research Associate*
Katerina Eva Matsa, *Associate Director, Research*
Martha McRoy, *Research Methodologist*
Amy Mitchell, *Director, Journalism Research*
Patrick Moynihan, *Associate Director, International Research Methods*
Courtney Nelson, *Research Assistant*
Jacob Poushter, *Senior Researcher*
Audrey Powers, *Administrative Manager*
Elisa Shearer, *Research Analyst*
Kelsey Jo Starr, *Research Assistant*
Bruce Stokes, *Director, Global Economic Attitudes*
Nami Sumida, *Research Analyst*
Mason Walker, *Research Assistant*

Editorial and graphic design

Peter Bell, *Design Director*

Michael Keegan, *Information Graphics Designer*

David Kent, *Copy Editor*

Communications and web publishing

Danielle Alberti, *Web Developer*

Stefan Cornibert, *Communications Manager*

Ariana Rodriguez-Gitler, *Digital Producer*

Rhonda Stewart, *Senior Communications Manager*

Pew Research Center also received helpful advice and feedback for this report from a panel of expert advisers: Charlie Beckett, professor at the London School of Economics; Cas Mudde, associate professor at the University of Georgia; Gianpietro Mazzoleni, professor at the University of Milan; Pippa Norris, the Paul. F McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Harvard University; Adam Thomas, director of the European Journalism Centre; Barbara Thomaß, professor at Ruhr-Universität Bochum; Claes de Vreese, professor and program group director of political communication and journalism at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research.

While the analysis was guided by our consultations with these advisers, Pew Research Center is solely responsible for the interpretation and reporting of the data.

Methodology

[About Pew Research Center's Fall 2017 survey](#)







Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of SSRS and GfK. The results are based on national samples. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are [available here](#).

[Detailed information on survey methods for this report](#)

[General information on international survey research](#)

Appendix A: Defining the groups

To create the political groups used for analysis in this report, survey respondents were categorized into seven groups based on their left-right ideological self-placement and whether they express populist views. The six political groups are Left Populists, Left Mainstream, Center Populists, Center Mainstream, Right Populists and Right Mainstream. The seventh is the Unaligned group, which includes respondents who did not answer the ideological self-placement question.

		Measure of ideology: Based on a 0 to 6 scale, respondents categorized as left (0 to 2), center (3) or right (4 to 6).		
		Left	Center	Right
Measure of populist views: Respondents categorized as holding populist views if they say ordinary people would do a better job than elected officials and elected officials don't care what people like them think. Otherwise, categorized as mainstream.	Populist views	 Left Populists	 Center Populists	 Right Populists
	Mainstream	 Left Mainstream	 Center Mainstream	 Right Mainstream

Measuring ideology

Respondents were asked to place themselves on a zero to six ideological scale ranging from far left (zero) to far right (six). Respondents who place themselves at a zero, one or two are categorized as “left,” those who place themselves at a three are categorized as “center” and those who place themselves at a four, five or six are categorized as “right.” Those who did not answer the ideological self-placement question are placed in the Unaligned group.

The center group is restricted to just category three – rather than combining categories two, three and four – for two reasons. First, a large percentage of respondents in each country place themselves in category three. If the categories two, three and four were combined into the center group, this would leave very few people on the left and the right for analysis. Second, and more importantly, on most key issues included in this report, there are significant differences between

the people who place themselves at “center left” (two) and people who place themselves at “center right” (four). In fact, the attitudes of those who are center left (two) are closer to those on the far left (zero or one) than they are to those who are center right (four) and vice versa on the right. For example, take the issue of whether it is the government’s responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all. In Denmark, 72% of the far left hold this

position, as do 69% of the center left. In contrast, 44% of the center right espouse that view, along with only 35% of the far right.

It is also important to note that the ideology measure is not specific to any particular issue area. While left-right terminology in Europe has typically been used in the context of economic issues and the role of the state in the economy, this self-placement ideological scale captures political differences on a range of issues – economic, social and immigration – as shown throughout the report.

Measuring populist views

To evaluate the impact of populist views, the survey focused on measuring core components of populism. Academic studies of populism consistently identify a few key ideas as underlying the concept: 1) The people’s will is the main source of government legitimacy, 2) “The people” and “the elite” are two homogenous and antagonistic groups, and 3) “The people” are good, while “the elite” are corrupt (Stanley, 2011; Akkerman, Mudde, & Zaslove, 2014; Schulz et al., 2017).

The measure of populist views used in this survey is based on respondents’ answers to two questions: 1) Ordinary people would do a better job/do no better solving the country’s problems than elected officials and 2) Most elected officials care/don’t care what people like me think. Both measures are meant to capture the core ideas that the government should reflect the will of “the people” and that “elites” are an antagonistic group that is out of touch with the demands of “the

Distribution of ideological self-placement on the zero to six scale

	0 (far left)	1	2	3 (center)	4	5	6 (far right)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Denmark	7	5	15	27	20	13	6
France	7	5	12	33	16	9	5
Germany	3	4	16	51	13	5	2
Italy	5	4	13	28	14	8	12
Netherlands	4	4	15	30	22	13	7
Spain	6	5	13	39	17	7	4
Sweden	4	4	14	29	23	12	5
UK	6	5	13	32	19	9	6

Note: Don’t know responses not shown.

Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

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people.” The second measure is also a traditional question asked regularly over time on political surveys to measure efficacy and dissatisfaction with government responsiveness. This measure, or ones that are similar, are used by scholars studying populism to capture attitudes about an antagonistic relationship between elites and the people (Stanley, 2011; Spruyt et al., 2016; Schulz et al., 2017). Spearman correlations for the two questions measuring populist views combined fall between 0.2 and 0.3 across countries.

These two questions were combined into a single variable with two categories: people who hold “populist” views and people who hold “mainstream” views. Those who answer that elected officials don’t care about people like them and who say ordinary people would do a better job solving the country’s problems than elected officials are categorized as holding **populist views**; everyone else is categorized as holding **mainstream views**.¹⁸

Due to the limitations imposed by conducting a survey on a broad range of issues and keeping the survey to a reasonable length for respondents, we focused on just these two key questions to measure populist views. Many scholars rely on multiple questions to measure populist views. The two measures we use are essentially a measure of anti-establishment attitudes. While this is a key aspect of populism, it can also be a broader concept than the narrower idea of populism. Given that, the populist groups studied here may include some people who do not consider themselves populist or populist supporters, while the mainstream group may include some people who do. Still, as is shown in the analysis, the two groups studied – populist and mainstream – reveal consistent, distinct attitudinal patterns across a range of questions.

¹⁸ The Unaligned group, who do not place themselves on the left-right ideological scale, may hold mainstream or populist views.

Appendix B: Classifying the parties

Classifying parties as traditional

For the purposes of this study, we defined “traditional” parties as those that have led the government – whether as president, prime minister or chancellor – at least once during the past 25 years, have competed in at least two national elections, and still compete in elections today. Many of these parties have sustained their success over decades and are likely to be well-known to respondents.¹⁹

Classifying parties as populist

We define “populist” parties as those that display high levels of anti-elitism. We do this on the basis of the [Chapel Hill Expert Survey](#). For all countries but Denmark, we rely on the 2017 CHES. This survey, which was carried out in January and February 2018, asked 228 regional experts to evaluate the 2017 party positions of 132 European political parties across 14 European Union member states. CHES results are regularly used by academics to classify parties with regard to their left-right ideological leanings, their key party platform positions and their degree of populism, among other things. Measures for Denmark come from the 2014 CHES, as this is the most recent year that Danish parties were included in the survey.

For all countries but Denmark, we measure anti-elitism using an average of two variables in the CHES data. First, we used “PEOPLE_VS_ELITE,” which asked the experts to measure the parties with regard to their position on direct vs. representative democracy, where 0 means that the parties support elected officeholders making the most important decisions and 10 means that “the people,” not politicians, should make the most important decisions. Second, we used “ANTIELITE_SALIENESS,” which is a measure of the salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric for that particular party, with 0 meaning not at all salient and 10 meaning extremely salient. The average of these two measures is shown in the table below as “anti-elitism.” In all countries, we consider parties that score above 7.5 as “populist.” In Denmark, because PEOPLE_VS_ELITE was not asked in 2014, we use only one question: ANTELITE_SALIENESS. Additionally, because no party scored above 7.5 on anti-elitism, we include the highest-scoring party: the Danish People’s Party (6.9).

We also considered CHES’s “FAMILY” variable to further classify populist groups. [Per CHES](#), “family attribution is based primarily on Derksen classification ... triangulated by a) membership or affiliation with [European Parliament] party families, b) ParlGov classifications and c) self-

¹⁹ Although En Marche won the 2017 French elections, the party was only created in 2016 and 2017 was the first year in which it competed; as a result, we have categorized En Marche as a “key nontraditional party”.

identification.” As this question was not asked on the 2014 CHES, we do not have family classifications for Danish parties.

Classifying parties as left or right

We can further classify these traditional and populist parties into two groups: left and right. When classifying parties as left and right, we relied on the variable “LRGEN” in the CHES dataset, which asked experts to rate the positions of each party in terms of its overall ideological stance, with 0 meaning extreme left, 5 meaning center and 10 meaning extreme right. We define left parties as those that score below 5 and right parties as those above 5. Most traditional parties fall between 2.5 and 7.5 on this scale, while most populist parties fall outside this range.

Other key nontraditional parties

Finally, we discuss two key parties that 1) are not traditional parties insofar as they have not competed in more than one national election or have not run the government; 2) are not defined by high levels of anti-elitism; 3) have had some level of electoral success in recent elections (which we define as receiving at least 10% of the vote share in the most recent election); and 4) with which 15% or more of people in this survey identify as partisans. We refer to these parties as “key nontraditional parties.”

European political party classifications

Party	Country	Family	Left-right	Anti-elitism	Vote share (%)
Traditional parties on the left					
Social Democrats	Denmark	--	4.4	2.8	26.3
Socialist Party (PS)	France	Socialist	3.4	4.1	7.4
Social Democratic Party (SPD)	Germany	Socialist	3.9	3.0	20.5
Democratic Party (PD)	Italy	Socialist	3.8	2.6	25.4
Labor Party (PvdA)	Netherlands	Socialist	3.9	3.1	5.7
Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)	Spain	Socialist	3.9	2.9	22.6
Social Democratic Party	Sweden	Socialist	3.9	2.0	31.0
Labour Party	UK	Socialist	2.6	5.9	40.0
Traditional parties on the right					
Liberal Party	Denmark	--	7.0	2.8	19.5
Republicans (LR)	France	Conservative	7.7	4.0	15.8
Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	Germany	Christian-Democratic	5.6	1.9	26.8
Forza Italia	Italy	Conservative	6.5	3.7	21.6
People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)	Netherlands	Liberal	7.9	2.2	21.3
Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	Netherlands	Christian-Democratic	7.0	1.9	12.4
Popular Party (PP)	Spain	Conservative	7.1	0.9	33.0
Moderate Party	Sweden	Conservative	7.9	2.3	23.3
Conservative Party	UK	Conservative	7.6	4.3	42.4
Populist parties on the left					
La France Insoumise	France	Radical left	1.0	8.9	11.0
Podemos	Spain	Radical left	2.4	8.7	21.2
Populist parties on the right					
National Front (FN)	France	Radical right	9.7	8.9	13.2
Alternative for Germany (AfD)	Germany	Radical right	9.2	8.7	12.6
Northern League (LN)	Italy	Regionalist	8.3	7.8	4.1
Party for Freedom (PVV)	Netherlands	Radical right	9.3	9.5	13.1
Sweden Democrats	Sweden	Radical right	8.0	8.0	12.9
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	UK	Radical right	8.6	8.2	1.8
Danish People's Party (DPP)	Denmark	--	6.9	6.9	21.1
Five Star Movement	Italy	No family	5.2	9.9	25.6
Other key nontraditional parties					
En Marche	France	Liberal	5.5	3.9	28.2
Ciudadanos	Spain	Liberal	6.1	4.5	13.1

Notes: Left-right indicates the average score CHES experts gave each party on an 11-point left-right scale. Scores for anti-elitism are an average of party position on direct vs. representative democracy and the salience of anti-elite rhetoric within the party. Data for Denmark come from 2014 CHES data; in that year, party family was not asked and only one measure of anti-elitism was asked (ANTIELITE_SALIENCE). Vote share data in each country come from the most recent legislative election before fieldwork was conducted. In Germany, party list vote was used. In France, the first round of legislative elections was used. In Italy, results from the Chamber of Deputies election were used. In the 2013 Italian elections, Forza Italia competed as part of a federation of political parties called The People of Freedom; vote share for that federation is shown. In Spain, Podemos entered the 2016 general election as part of a multi-party alliance called Unidos Podemos; the vote share for that alliance is shown. As of June 1, 2018, France's National Front party is known as Rassemblement National (National Rally). Source: 2017 CHES, 2014 CHES, French Ministry of the Interior, Spanish Ministry of the Interior, Italian Ministry of the Interior, Der Bundeswahlleiter, Kiesraad, Danmarks Statistik, UK House of Commons, Swedish Election Authority.

Appendix C: References

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Topline Questionnaire

Pew Research Center

Fall 2017 Survey

July 12, 2018 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our [international survey methods database](#).
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Not all questions included in the Fall 2017 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

	Q1. How would you describe the current economic situation in (survey country)—is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad?					
	Very bad	Somewhat bad	Somewhat good	Very good	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	2	9	69	18	1	100
France	17	47	32	1	3	100
Germany	3	11	62	23	1	100
Italy	31	51	16	1	1	100
Netherlands	3	10	70	16	1	100
Spain	34	37	27	1	1	100
Sweden	2	8	71	16	2	100
United Kingdom	16	40	37	4	2	100

	Q2a. I am going to name some institutions in our country. Please tell me how much, if at all, you trust each one — do you trust it a lot, somewhat, not too much, or not at all? a. the military					
	Not at all	Not too much	Somewhat	A lot	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	4	15	42	32	7	100
France	5	8	48	36	3	100
Germany	8	17	41	29	5	100
Italy	3	14	55	27	1	100
Netherlands	9	16	44	27	3	100
Spain	13	18	44	22	2	100
Sweden	5	14	47	30	4	100
United Kingdom	5	10	33	49	3	100

	Q2b. I am going to name some institutions in our country. Please tell me how much, if at all, you trust each one — do you trust it a lot, somewhat, not too much, or not at all? b. banks and financial institutions					
	Not at all	Not too much	Somewhat	A lot	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	9	35	39	17	1	100
France	26	34	34	5	1	100
Germany	16	30	39	13	1	100
Italy	31	40	26	3	0	100
Netherlands	10	25	46	19	1	100
Spain	35	47	15	3	0	100
Sweden	9	28	48	14	2	100
United Kingdom	18	28	41	13	0	100

	Q2c. I am going to name some institutions in our country. Please tell me how much, if at all, you trust each one — do you trust it a lot, somewhat, not too much, or not at all? c. parliament					
	Not at all	Not too much	Somewhat	A lot	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	11	38	36	14	1	100
France	30	32	30	3	6	100
Germany	17	26	37	18	2	100
Italy	50	32	15	1	1	100
Netherlands	13	18	47	21	0	100
Spain	42	42	13	3	1	100
Sweden	8	20	48	23	1	100
United Kingdom	30	32	30	6	1	100

	Q2d. I am going to name some institutions in our country. Please tell me how much, if at all, you trust each one — do you trust it a lot, somewhat, not too much, or not at all? d. the news media					
	Not at all	Not too much	Somewhat	A lot	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	8	44	37	10	1	100
France	27	37	31	4	2	100
Germany	13	23	44	20	1	100
Italy	24	47	26	3	1	100
Netherlands	9	23	49	18	1	100
Spain	19	50	26	5	1	100
Sweden	10	24	52	12	1	100
United Kingdom	29	38	27	5	1	100

	Q20DKa. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? a. Social Democrats					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	4	25	54	12	5	100

	Q20DKb. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? b. Danish People's Party					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	31	31	27	7	4	100

	Q20DKc. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? c. Liberal Party					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	10	31	44	11	5	100

	Q20FRa. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? a. The Republican Party (LR)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	20	40	24	2	13	100

	Q20FRb. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? b. Socialist Party, or PS					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	23	41	23	3	11	100

	Q20FRc. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? c. National Front, or FN					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	53	23	12	4	7	100

	Q20FRd. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? e. La France Insoumise					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	22	33	28	6	11	100

	Q20FRf. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? f. La République En Marche					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	15	29	38	5	12	100

	Q20DEa. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? a. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	9	31	47	8	5	100

	Q20DEb. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? b. Social Democratic Party (SPD)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	8	29	51	8	5	100

	Q20DEc. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? c. Alternative for Germany (AfD)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	62	21	9	2	6	100

	Q20ITa. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? a. Forza Italia (FI)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Italy	31	29	23	7	9	100

	Q20ITb. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? b. Democratic Party (PD)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Italy	27	32	26	4	12	100

	Q20ITc. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? c. Five Star Movement (M5S)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Italy	27	24	29	10	11	100

	Q20ITd. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? d. Northern League (LN)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Italy	36	24	22	7	11	100

	Q20NLa. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? a. People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, or the VVD					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Netherlands	13	26	45	10	7	100

	Q20NLb. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? b. Labor Party, or PvdA					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Netherlands	11	30	45	8	6	100

	Q20NLc. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? c. The Party for Freedom, or PVV					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Netherlands	43	24	22	5	6	100

	Q20NLg. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? g. Christian Democratic Appeal, or the CDA					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Netherlands	10	30	47	7	6	100

	Q20ESa. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? a. Popular Party (PP)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Spain	41	25	20	11	3	100

	Q20ESb. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? b. Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Spain	19	34	32	12	3	100

	Q20ESc. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? c. Podemos					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Spain	46	27	17	7	4	100

	Q20ESd. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? d. Ciudadanos					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Spain	24	20	34	17	5	100

	Q20SEa. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? a. Social Democratic Party					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Sweden	7	27	49	11	6	100

	Q20SEb. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? b. Moderate Party					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Sweden	9	32	45	7	7	100

	Q20SEc. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? c. Sweden Democrats					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
Sweden	51	25	13	4	7	100

	Q20UKa. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? a. The Conservative Party					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
United Kingdom	28	27	32	8	6	100

	Q20UKb. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? b. The Labour Party					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
United Kingdom	20	22	36	18	5	100

	Q20UKc. Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of ___? c. The UK Independence Party, or UKIP					
	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable	DK/Refused	Total
United Kingdom	49	20	18	5	8	100

	Q22a. National governments should transfer more powers to the EU OR some EU powers should be returned to national governments?				
	National governments should transfer more powers to the EU	Some EU powers should be returned to national governments	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	23	67	4	5	100
France	24	60	2	14	100
Germany	30	53	7	9	100
Italy	28	61	4	7	100
Netherlands	29	64	2	5	100
Spain	35	49	3	13	100
Sweden	15	65	8	12	100
United Kingdom	18	73	2	7	100

	Q22b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	52	48	0	100
France	45	55	0	100
Germany	51	49	0	100
Italy	65	35	0	100
Netherlands	55	45	0	100
Spain	46	54	0	100
Sweden	42	58	1	100
United Kingdom	58	42	0	100

	Q22. National governments should transfer more powers to the EU OR some EU powers should be returned to national governments? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel national governments should transfer more powers to the EU	Somewhat feel national governments should transfer more powers to the EU	Somewhat feel some EU powers should be returned to national governments	Strongly feel some EU powers should be returned to national governments	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	8	16	28	39	4	6	100
France	8	16	30	30	2	14	100
Germany	13	17	24	30	7	9	100
Italy	16	12	18	42	4	7	100
Netherlands	11	17	24	40	2	5	100
Spain	16	19	26	22	3	13	100
Sweden	4	12	35	29	8	13	100
United Kingdom	7	11	28	45	2	7	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q22b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q22a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q22b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q23a. Membership in the EU has been a good thing for (survey country's) economy OR membership in the EU has been a bad thing for (survey country's) economy?				
	Membership in the EU has been a good thing for (survey country's) economy	Membership in the EU has been a bad thing for (survey country's) economy	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	76	19	1	4	100
France	55	35	3	8	100
Germany	76	17	4	4	100
Italy	46	48	3	4	100
Netherlands	72	24	1	2	100
Spain	69	26	1	4	100
Sweden	63	22	4	11	100
United Kingdom	62	31	2	5	100

	Q23b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	61	39	0	100
France	51	48	0	100
Germany	65	35	0	100
Italy	63	37	0	100
Netherlands	62	38	0	100
Spain	63	36	0	100
Sweden	43	56	0	100
United Kingdom	64	36	0	100

	Q23. Membership in the EU has been a good thing for (survey country's) economy OR membership in the EU has been a bad thing for (survey country's) economy? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel EU membership has been a good thing	Somewhat feel EU membership has been a good thing	Somewhat feel EU membership has been a bad thing	Strongly feel EU membership has been a bad thing	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	47	29	8	11	1	4	100
France	26	29	15	20	3	8	100
Germany	52	24	8	9	4	4	100
Italy	26	20	15	32	3	4	100
Netherlands	45	27	10	15	1	3	100
Spain	46	23	11	14	1	4	100
Sweden	27	36	12	10	4	11	100
United Kingdom	39	23	11	20	2	5	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q23b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q23a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q23b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q24a. It is the individual's responsibility to earn a decent standard of living OR it is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all?				
	It is the individual's responsibility to earn a decent standard of living	It is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	42	54	3	2	100
France	38	55	3	4	100
Germany	57	35	6	2	100
Italy	22	74	4	1	100
Netherlands	40	58	1	1	100
Spain	29	63	5	2	100
Sweden	37	53	6	4	100
United Kingdom	45	49	4	2	100

	Q24b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	67	33	0	100
France	59	41	0	100
Germany	56	44	0	100
Italy	71	29	0	100
Netherlands	62	37	0	100
Spain	64	36	0	100
Sweden	51	48	0	100
United Kingdom	64	36	0	100

	Q24. It is the individual's responsibility to earn a decent standard of living OR it is the government's responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for all? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel it is the individual's responsibility	Somewhat feel it is the individual's responsibility	Somewhat feel it is the government's responsibility	Strongly feel it is the government's responsibility	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	26	16	16	38	3	2	100
France	21	17	21	34	3	4	100
Germany	34	22	18	17	6	2	100
Italy	13	9	19	55	4	1	100
Netherlands	25	16	21	37	1	1	100
Spain	17	12	21	43	5	2	100
Sweden	18	19	24	28	6	4	100
United Kingdom	28	17	17	32	4	3	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q24b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q24a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q24b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q25a. It is generally good for our society if the government regulates business OR it is generally bad for society if the government regulates business?				
	Generally good for our society if the government regulates business	Generally bad for society if the government regulates business	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	53	39	2	6	100
France	55	35	2	8	100
Germany	55	36	6	3	100
Italy	60	30	3	6	100
Netherlands	51	43	3	3	100
Spain	72	22	1	5	100
Sweden	58	28	4	9	100
United Kingdom	68	24	2	6	100

	Q25b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	46	54	0	100
France	40	60	0	100
Germany	45	55	0	100
Italy	55	44	0	100
Netherlands	44	56	0	100
Spain	51	49	0	100
Sweden	34	65	1	100
United Kingdom	44	55	0	100

	Q25. It is generally good for our society if the government regulates business OR it is generally bad for society if the government regulates business? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel government regulation is generally good	Somewhat feel the government regulation is generally good	Somewhat feel government regulation is generally bad	Strongly feel government regulation is generally bad	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	23	29	20	19	2	7	100
France	19	35	18	16	2	8	100
Germany	23	31	19	17	6	4	100
Italy	33	27	13	17	3	7	100
Netherlands	20	31	21	22	3	3	100
Spain	36	35	11	11	1	5	100
Sweden	19	39	18	10	4	9	100
United Kingdom	30	38	13	11	2	7	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q25b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q25a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q25b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q26a. Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials OR ordinary people would do no better solving the country's problems than elected officials?				
	Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials	Ordinary people would do no better solving the country's problems than elected officials	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	44	52	2	3	100
France	49	41	3	8	100
Germany	34	56	7	3	100
Italy	51	43	3	3	100
Netherlands	39	56	2	3	100
Spain	51	41	2	7	100
Sweden	22	68	4	6	100
United Kingdom	44	51	2	3	100

	Q26b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	57	42	1	100
France	47	53	0	100
Germany	56	43	0	100
Italy	64	35	0	100
Netherlands	55	45	0	100
Spain	55	45	0	100
Sweden	54	46	1	100
United Kingdom	55	45	0	100

	Q26. Ordinary people would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials OR ordinary people would do no better solving the country's problems than elected officials? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel ordinary people would do better	Somewhat feel ordinary people would do better	Somewhat feel ordinary people would do no better	Strongly feel ordinary people would do no better	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	27	16	24	27	2	4	100
France	24	25	23	18	3	8	100
Germany	17	16	23	34	7	3	100
Italy	33	17	16	27	3	3	100
Netherlands	20	19	24	32	2	3	100
Spain	29	21	20	20	2	7	100
Sweden	9	13	28	39	4	7	100
United Kingdom	26	18	24	27	2	3	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q26b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q26a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q26b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q27a. Most elected officials care what people like me think OR most elected officials don't care what people like me think?				
	Most elected officials care what people like me think	Most elected officials don't care what people like me think	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	52	44	1	3	100
France	25	69	1	5	100
Germany	32	61	4	2	100
Italy	19	77	1	2	100
Netherlands	45	51	1	2	100
Spain	17	81	1	1	100
Sweden	55	34	3	7	100
United Kingdom	29	67	2	2	100

	Q27b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	52	48	0	100
France	55	45	0	100
Germany	51	49	0	100
Italy	69	31	0	100
Netherlands	48	52	0	100
Spain	68	32	0	100
Sweden	34	65	1	100
United Kingdom	53	47	0	100

	Q27. Most elected officials care what people like me think OR most elected officials don't care what people like me think? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel elected officials care what people like me think	Somewhat feel elected officials care what people like me think	Somewhat feel elected officials don't care what people like me think	Strongly feel elected officials don't care what people like me think	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	25	26	19	25	1	3	100
France	6	19	23	46	1	5	100
Germany	11	22	24	37	4	2	100
Italy	7	12	18	59	1	2	100
Netherlands	16	29	21	30	1	3	100
Spain	6	11	20	60	1	2	100
Sweden	14	41	17	17	3	7	100
United Kingdom	8	21	23	44	2	2	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q27b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q27a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q27b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q28a. For the good of our society, it is necessary for immigrants to adopt (survey country nationality) customs and traditions OR it is not necessary for immigrants to adopt (survey country nationality) customs and traditions?				
	It is necessary for immigrations to adopt (survey country nationality) customs and traditions	It is not necessary for immigrants to adopt (survey country nationality) customs and traditions	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	72	25	2	1	100
France	69	24	2	4	100
Germany	71	25	3	1	100
Italy	71	27	2	1	100
Netherlands	73	24	1	1	100
Spain	69	29	1	1	100
Sweden	61	33	3	3	100
United Kingdom	73	23	2	2	100

	Q28b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	66	34	0	100
France	58	42	1	100
Germany	59	40	0	100
Italy	75	25	0	100
Netherlands	69	31	0	100
Spain	65	34	0	100
Sweden	46	54	1	100
United Kingdom	62	38	0	100

	Q28. For the good of our society, it is necessary for immigrants to adopt (survey country nationality) customs and traditions OR it is not necessary for immigrants to adopt (survey country nationality) customs and traditions? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel it is necessary	Somewhat feel it is necessary	Somewhat feel it is not necessary	Strongly feel it is not necessary	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	53	20	14	11	2	1	100
France	44	25	14	10	2	4	100
Germany	46	25	14	11	3	2	100
Italy	56	15	9	17	2	1	100
Netherlands	55	18	12	12	1	1	100
Spain	48	21	13	16	1	1	100
Sweden	30	30	20	13	3	4	100
United Kingdom	49	24	13	10	2	3	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q28b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q28a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q28b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q29a. Immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks in our country OR immigrants do not increase the risk of terrorist attacks in our country?				
	Immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks in our country	Immigrants do not increase the risk of terrorist attacks in our country	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	43	54	1	2	100
France	33	58	2	7	100
Germany	51	42	6	2	100
Italy	50	46	2	2	100
Netherlands	44	52	2	2	100
Spain	34	61	2	3	100
Sweden	43	49	3	5	100
United Kingdom	38	55	3	5	100

	Q29b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	58	42	0	100
France	58	42	0	100
Germany	53	47	0	100
Italy	68	32	0	100
Netherlands	53	47	0	100
Spain	60	40	0	100
Sweden	49	50	1	100
United Kingdom	63	37	0	100

	Q29. Immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks in our country OR immigrants do not increase the risk of terrorist attacks in our country? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks	Somewhat feel immigrants increase the risk of terrorist attacks	Somewhat feel immigrants do not increase the risk of terrorist attacks	Strongly feel immigrants do not increase the risk of terrorist attacks	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	25	18	23	31	1	2	100
France	19	14	25	34	2	7	100
Germany	27	23	20	22	6	2	100
Italy	34	17	14	31	2	2	100
Netherlands	22	22	23	29	2	2	100
Spain	17	17	21	40	2	4	100
Sweden	18	25	21	27	3	6	100
United Kingdom	22	16	19	36	3	5	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q29b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q29a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q29b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q30a. Immigrants make our economy stronger because of their work and talents OR immigrants are a burden on our economy because they take our jobs?				
	Immigrants make our economy stronger because of their work and talents	Immigrants are a burden on our economy because they take our jobs	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	66	27	4	2	100
France	54	31	8	8	100
Germany	66	19	11	4	100
Italy	45	44	9	2	100
Netherlands	65	29	4	2	100
Spain	61	28	7	3	100
Sweden	72	15	8	5	100
United Kingdom	72	20	5	4	100

	Q30b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	53	46	1	100
France	52	48	0	100
Germany	53	46	0	100
Italy	62	38	0	100
Netherlands	53	47	0	100
Spain	59	40	0	100
Sweden	54	45	1	100
United Kingdom	66	34	0	100

	Q30. Immigrants make our economy stronger because of their work and talents OR immigrants are a burden on our economy because they take our jobs? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel immigrants make our economy stronger	Somewhat feel immigrants make our economy stronger	Somewhat feel immigrants are a burden on our economy	Strongly feel immigrants are a burden on our economy	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	36	30	13	14	4	3	100
France	26	27	13	18	8	8	100
Germany	36	30	10	9	11	4	100
Italy	26	19	15	29	9	2	100
Netherlands	34	30	13	16	4	2	100
Spain	37	24	12	16	7	4	100
Sweden	41	31	9	6	8	5	100
United Kingdom	48	23	7	12	5	4	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q30b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q30a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q30b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q31a. It is better for family life when women have full-time jobs OR it is worse for family life when women have full time jobs?				
	It is better for family life when women have full-time jobs	It is worse for family life when women have full-time jobs	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	68	25	4	3	100
France	63	24	6	7	100
Germany	43	43	11	3	100
Italy	48	45	4	3	100
Netherlands	44	49	3	3	100
Spain	64	27	5	4	100
Sweden	73	16	6	5	100
United Kingdom	53	35	6	6	100

	Q31b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	63	37	0	100
France	53	47	0	100
Germany	56	44	0	100
Italy	72	28	0	100
Netherlands	58	42	0	100
Spain	68	32	1	100
Sweden	69	30	0	100
United Kingdom	51	49	0	100

	Q31. It is better for family life when women have full-time jobs OR it is worse for family life when women have full time jobs? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel it is better for family life when women have full-time jobs	Somewhat feel it is better for family life when women have full-time jobs	Somewhat feel it is worse for family life when women have full-time jobs	Strongly feel it is worse for family life when women have full-time jobs	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	45	23	12	13	4	3	100
France	36	28	13	11	6	7	100
Germany	24	19	19	24	11	3	100
Italy	35	13	13	31	4	3	100
Netherlands	24	21	19	30	3	3	100
Spain	47	17	12	15	5	4	100
Sweden	53	19	8	8	6	5	100
United Kingdom	27	25	18	17	6	7	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q31b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q31a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q31b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q32a. Gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children OR gays and lesbians should not be able to adopt children?				
	Gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children	Gays and lesbians should not be able to adopt children	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	75	22	2	2	100
France	64	27	3	6	100
Germany	68	27	4	2	100
Italy	42	52	1	4	100
Netherlands	86	12	1	1	100
Spain	81	14	1	4	100
Sweden	81	13	1	6	100
United Kingdom	74	22	1	3	100

	Q32b. And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?			
	Strongly	Only somewhat	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	71	29	0	100
France	67	33	0	100
Germany	78	21	1	100
Italy	77	23	0	100
Netherlands	85	15	0	100
Spain	82	18	0	100
Sweden	76	24	0	100
United Kingdom	74	26	0	100

	Q32. Gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children OR gays and lesbians should not be able to adopt children? And do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?						
	Strongly feel gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children	Somewhat feel gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children	Somewhat feel gays and lesbians should not be able to adopt children	Strongly feel gays and lesbians should not be able to adopt children	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	53	22	7	15	2	2	100
France	42	22	8	19	3	6	100
Germany	54	13	7	20	4	3	100
Italy	31	11	10	42	1	4	100
Netherlands	75	11	3	9	1	1	100
Spain	68	13	4	10	1	4	100
Sweden	62	18	4	9	1	6	100
United Kingdom	54	19	6	16	1	4	100

Respondents who said DK/Refused to Q32b are coded as DK/Refused. Percentages in the combined table may not sum to those for Q32a due to respondents saying DK/Refused to the Q32b follow-up or due to rounding.

	Q39. Generally speaking, how much interest would you say you have in politics—a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or no interest at all?					
	No interest at all	Only a little	A fair amount	A great deal	DK/Refused	Total
Denmark	7	39	38	16	0	100
France	14	19	45	22	1	100
Germany	6	24	42	28	1	100
Italy	22	41	19	18	1	100
Netherlands	12	40	38	9	0	100
Spain	14	37	31	18	0	100
Sweden	8	36	37	18	1	100
United Kingdom	12	30	38	20	0	100