

Research report for The Democratic Center and The Rise of Radical Right-Wing Populism

Contents

Abstract



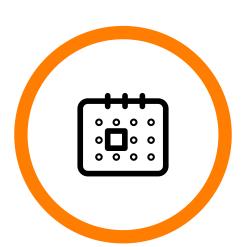
Sample size of at least 500 people per country

The research consists of 4 types of questions:



6 EU countries

- Single choice questions
- Multiple choice questions
- Slider questions
- Open questions



November 2024

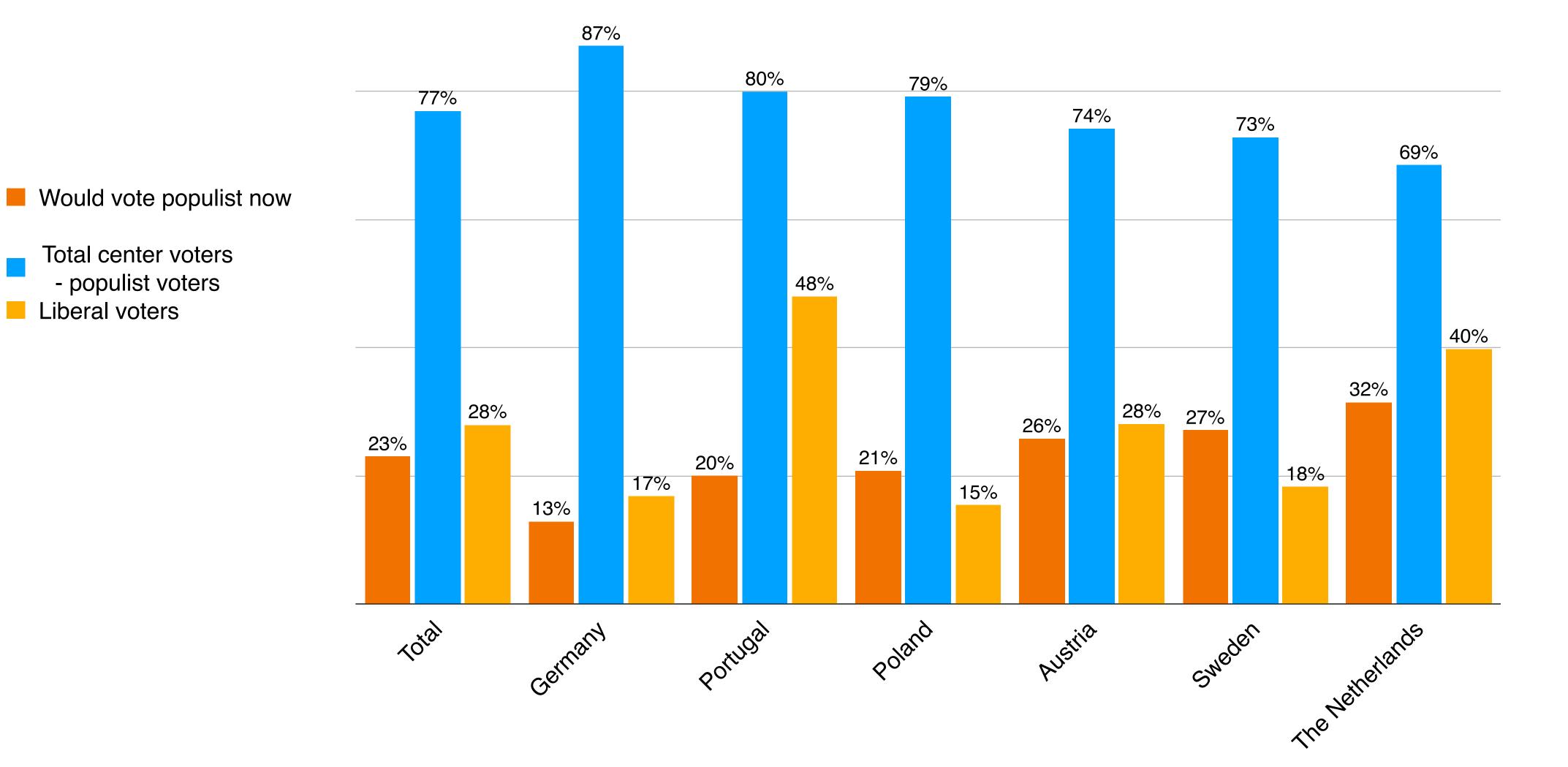
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Contents

Demographics

	Total center voters		Votes populist now		Total center voters - populist voters		Liberal (past 10 yrs)	
Total	3070	72,1%	706	16,6%	2364	55,5%	855	20,1%
The Netherlands ==	515	66,1%	162	20,8%	353	45,3%	205	26,3%
Germany =	512	71,7%	66	9,2%	446	62,5%	86	12,0%
Poland <u></u>	505	69,6%	105	14,5%	400	55,1%	78	10,7%
Portugal	521	77,8%	104	15,5%	417	62,2%	250	37,3%
Sweden 🛤	509	77,7%	138	21,1%	371	56,6%	93	14,2%
Austria 🚄	508	71,3%	131	18,4%	377	52,9%	143	20,1%

	Total center voters	Votes populist now		Total center voters - populist voters		Liberal (past 10 yrs)	
Total	3070	706	23,0%	2364	77,0%	855	27,9%
The Netherlands 🚅	515	162	31,5%	353	68,5%	205	39,8%
Germany =	512	66	12,9%	446	87,1%	86	16,8%
Poland —	505	105	20,8%	400	79,2%	78	15,4%
Portugal	521	104	20,0%	417	80,0%	250	48,0%
Sweden 🛤	509	138	27,1%	371	72,9%	93	18,3%
Austria 🗀	508	131	25,8%	377	74,2%	143	28,1%



Liberal voters

Results

1. How does the rise of radical right-wing populist parties and politicians make you

feel? Open Question: answer with a maximum of 2 words



Answer	Frequency
Good	93
Very bad	88
Badly	86
Fear	85
Worried	74
Not good	73

All respondents

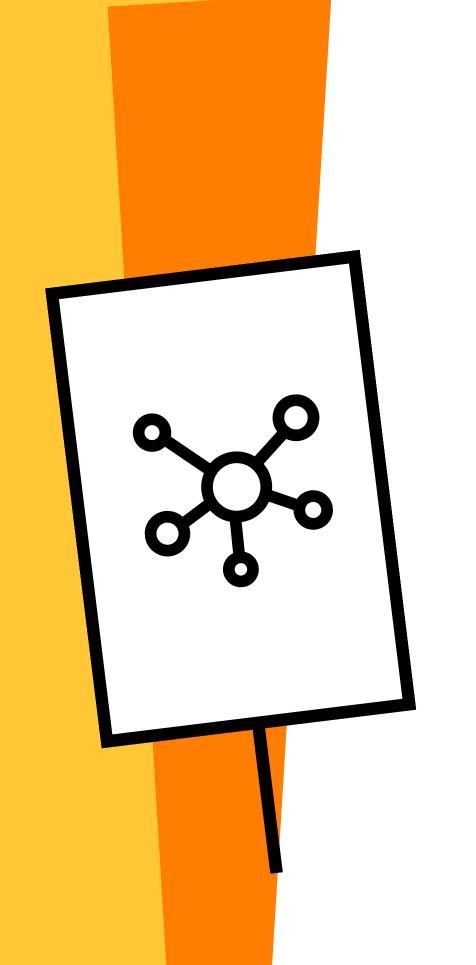
2. What are good reasons to vote for such radical right-wing populist parties?

Open Question

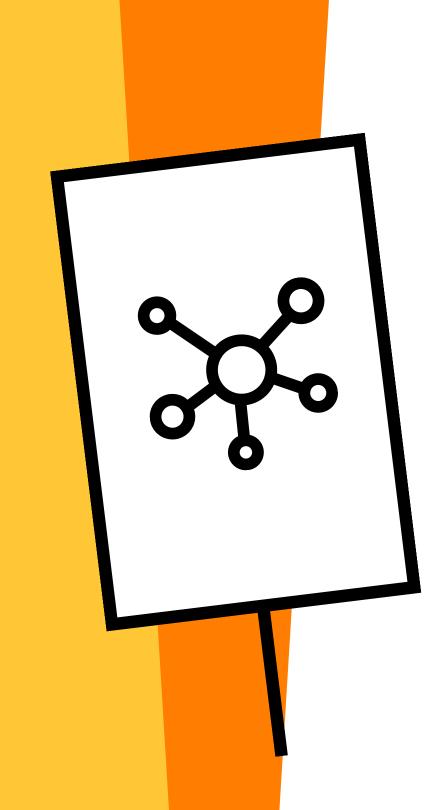
```
there are no reasons for this there is no good reason
                                   i do not know
                                                                                       discontent
                                                                                                                                                asylum seekers
                                nothing protest foreigner
                                                                                                                                      they are good
                                                                                                                                                                                    there is nothing
                                the immigration migration policy money fear
                                                                                                                                                                                            i don't see any
                                                                democracy i don't have dissatisfied
                    fewer immigrants there are no good reasons don't know
        dissatisfaction there is no doesn't exist yes are not there less immigration there aren't any asylumetric is none environment okav ignorance
                                                                                                                                                                                                             asylum reduction
                          there is none environment okay
                                                                                                                                                  order there aren't
security migration none order the jumple of the patriotism
                  changes justice there are no good reasons for this there are no no dood reasons for this there are no good reasons for the good 
                                                                           change xenophobia there isn't there are no reasons stupidity
                               good no reason
                            nationalism no idea
                                                                                                   i don't know trust none at all
                                          balance
                                                                      lack i can't think of any no good reason
                    no good reasons
                                                                       freedom immigration policy there is no reason
                                                        i have no opinion there are no reasons at all
                                          economy asylum i don't know any there are no such reasons
                                 immigrants frustration
                                                                                                                                                  no reasons
```

Answer	Frequency
None	240
I don't know	85
There are none	81
Don't know	62
There is none	57

All respondents



Rise of radical right-wing populism - Worries & expectations



Slider scores

We asked people to share their feelings on an affective slider from 0-100

This intuitive tool and its combination with a sense of time pressure, ensures that participants give as honest/emotional an answer as possible, with minimal bias. The scores range from 0 to 100. Participants exhibit a central tendency bias when interacting with these sliders. Values above 75 and below 61 are therefore to be interpreted as very high and very low, respectively.

Slider scores:

Very high: above 75

High: above 70

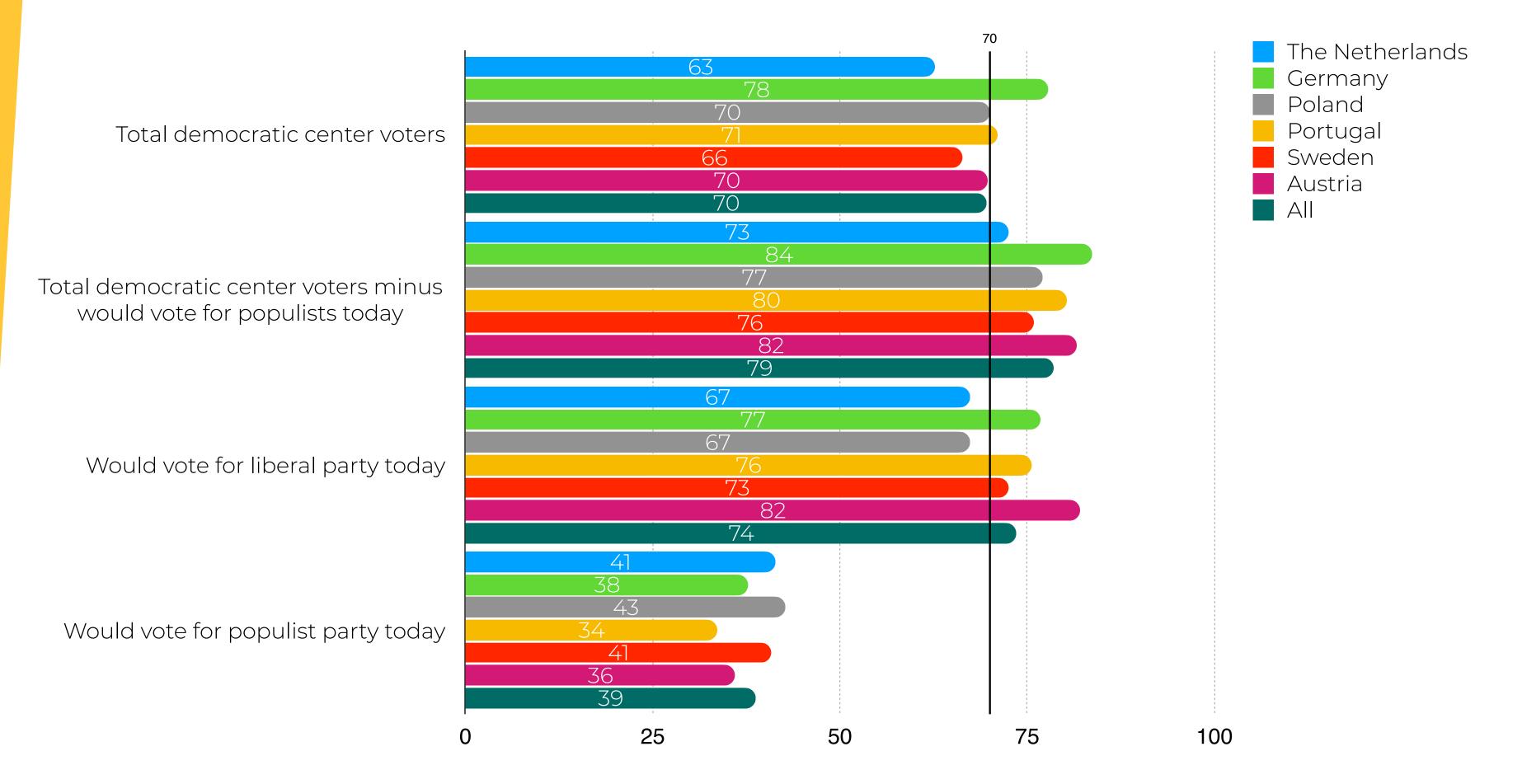
Average: 66-70

Low: 61-65

Very low: below 61

3. I am worried about the rise of radical right-wing populist parties.

Slider question: disagree-agree score on a scale of 0 to 100



Interpreting slider scores, example

The scores are very high in the cluster of current democratic center voters.

This indicates that they are very worried.

4. Why are you worried?

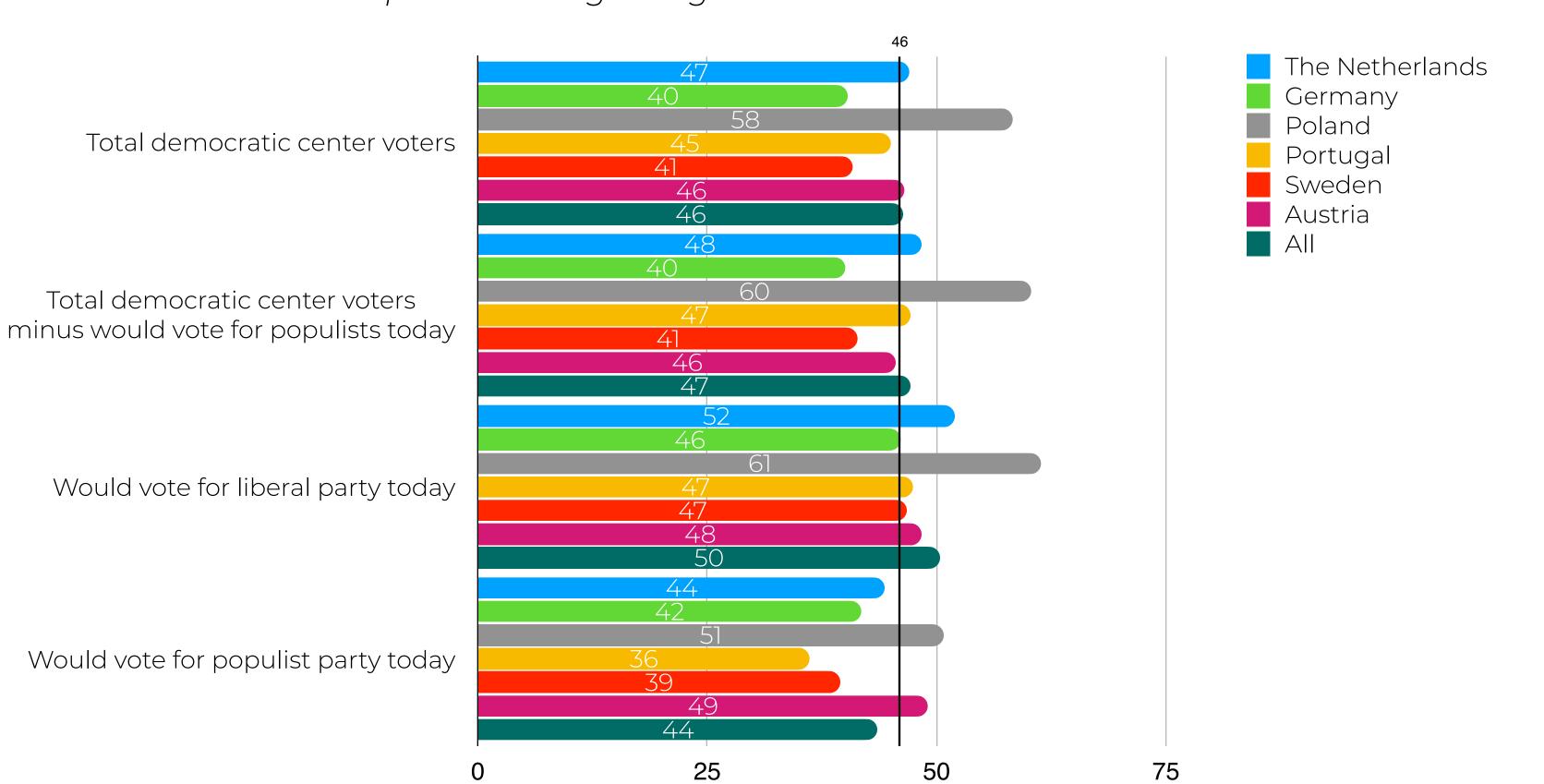
Open Question: answer with a maximum of 2 words



Answer	Frequency		
Racism	66		
Democracy	60		
Radicalism	60		
Not worried	58		
Fear	55		

5. The rise of radical right-wing populism is temporary, they are not here to stay and things will return to normal.

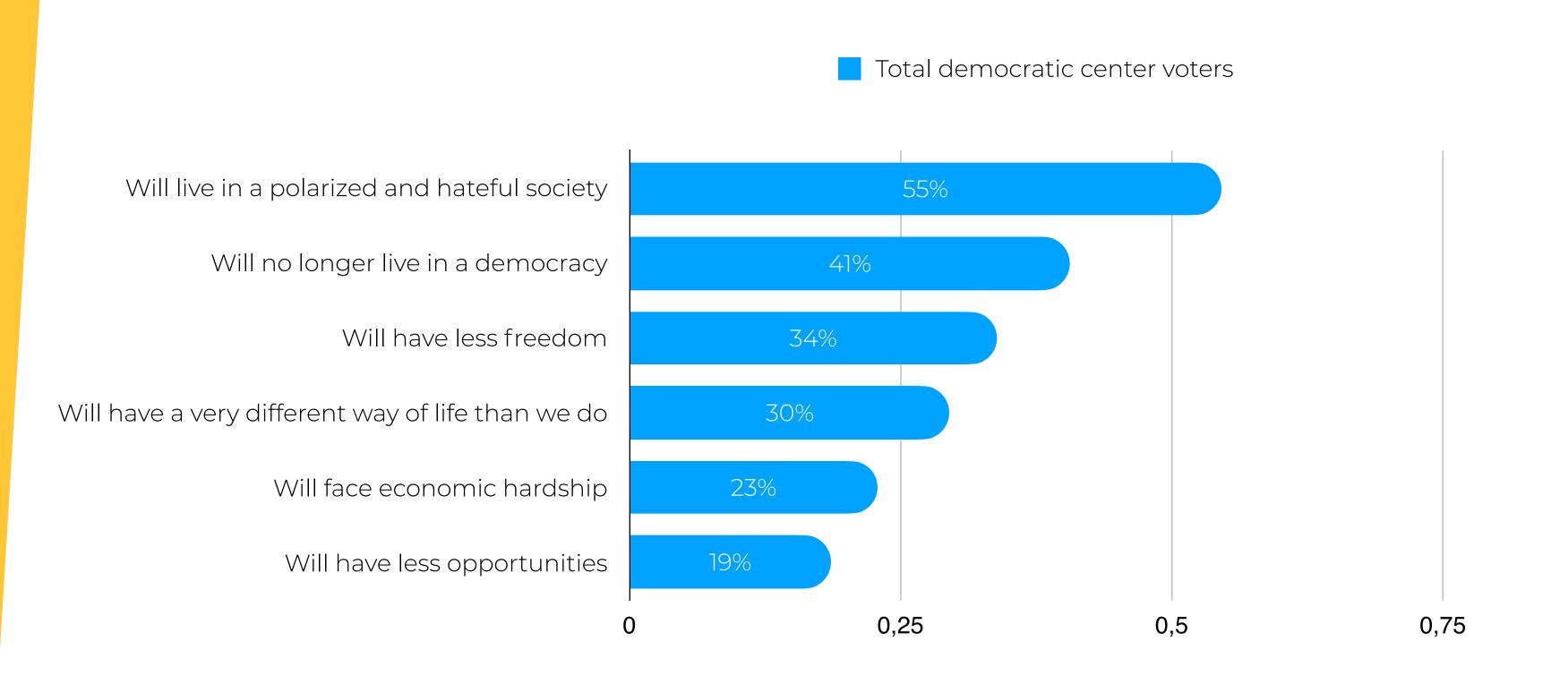
Slider question: disagree-agree score on a scale of 0 to 100

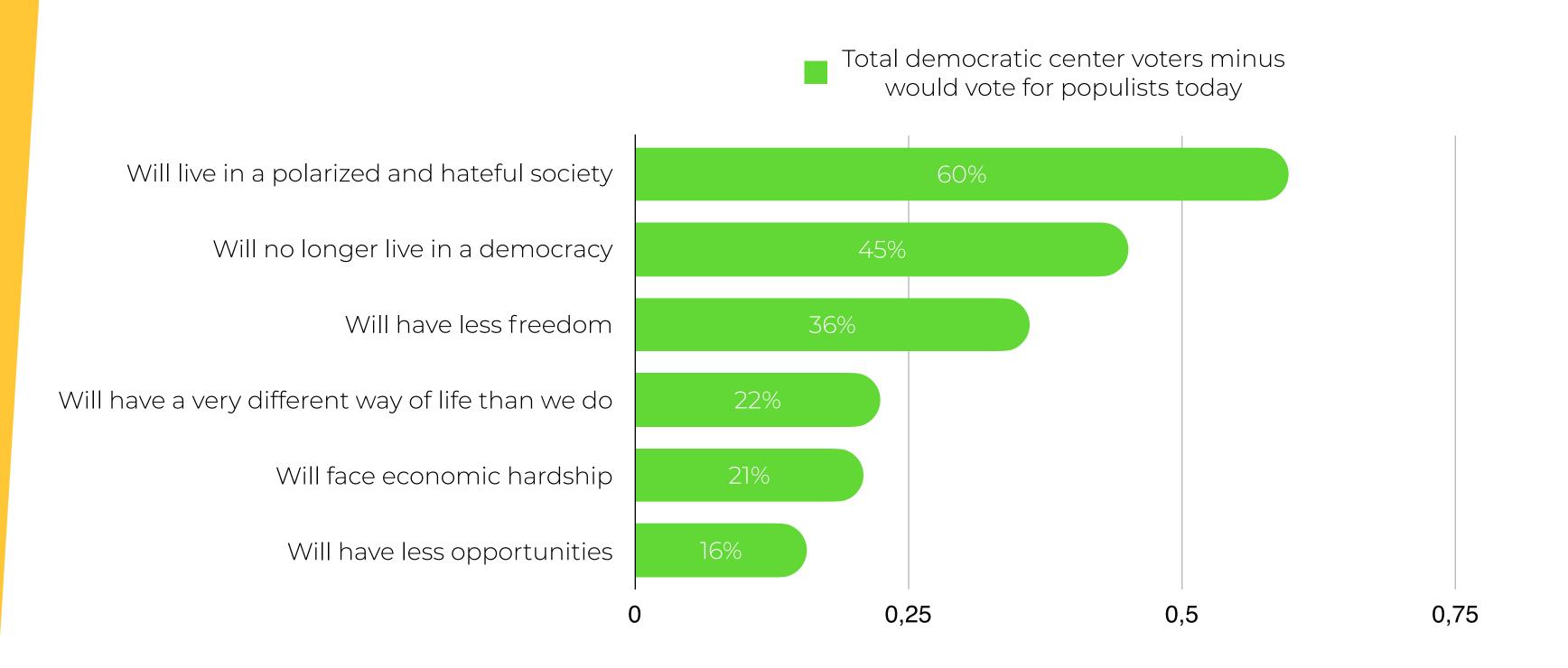


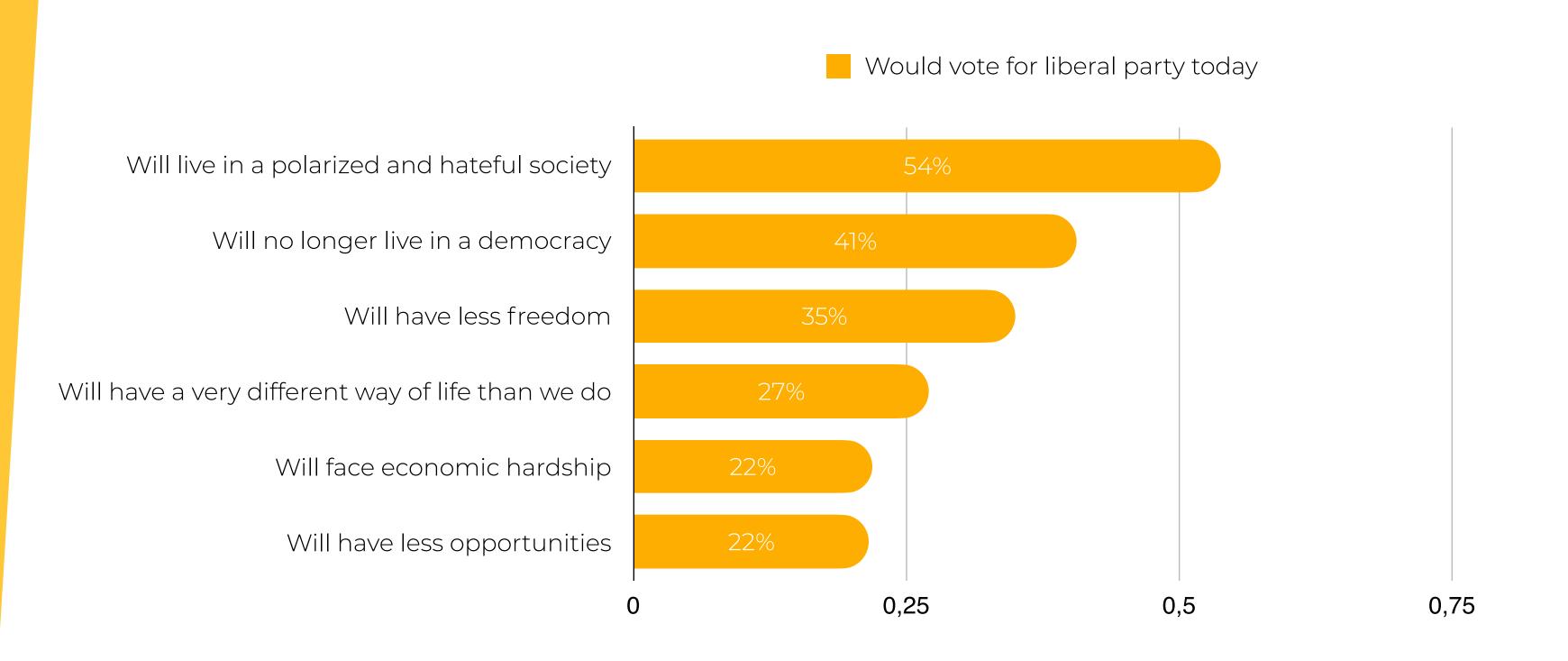
Interpreting slider scores, example

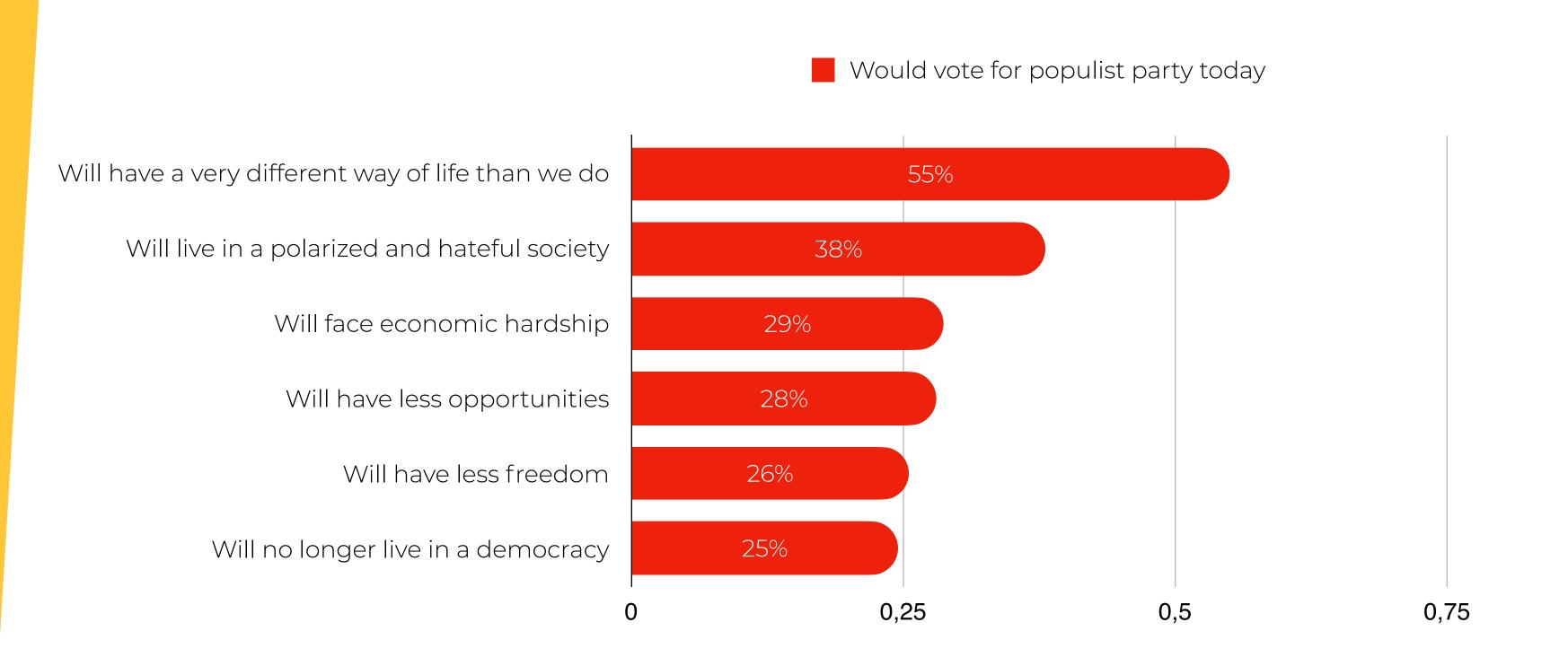
Scores are very low, meaning people do not agree with the statement at all and think that things will probably not return to normal.

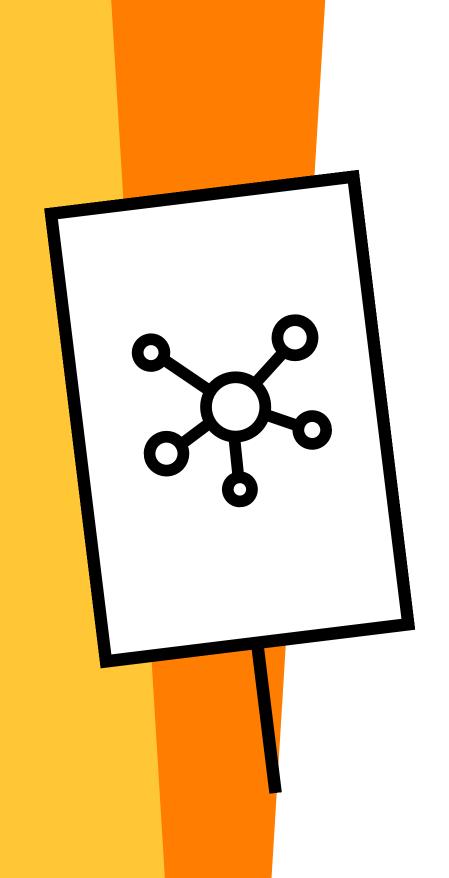
Outlier is Poland, with still a low score, but more positive about the statement. Poland has seen a shift towards a more democratic center election result.







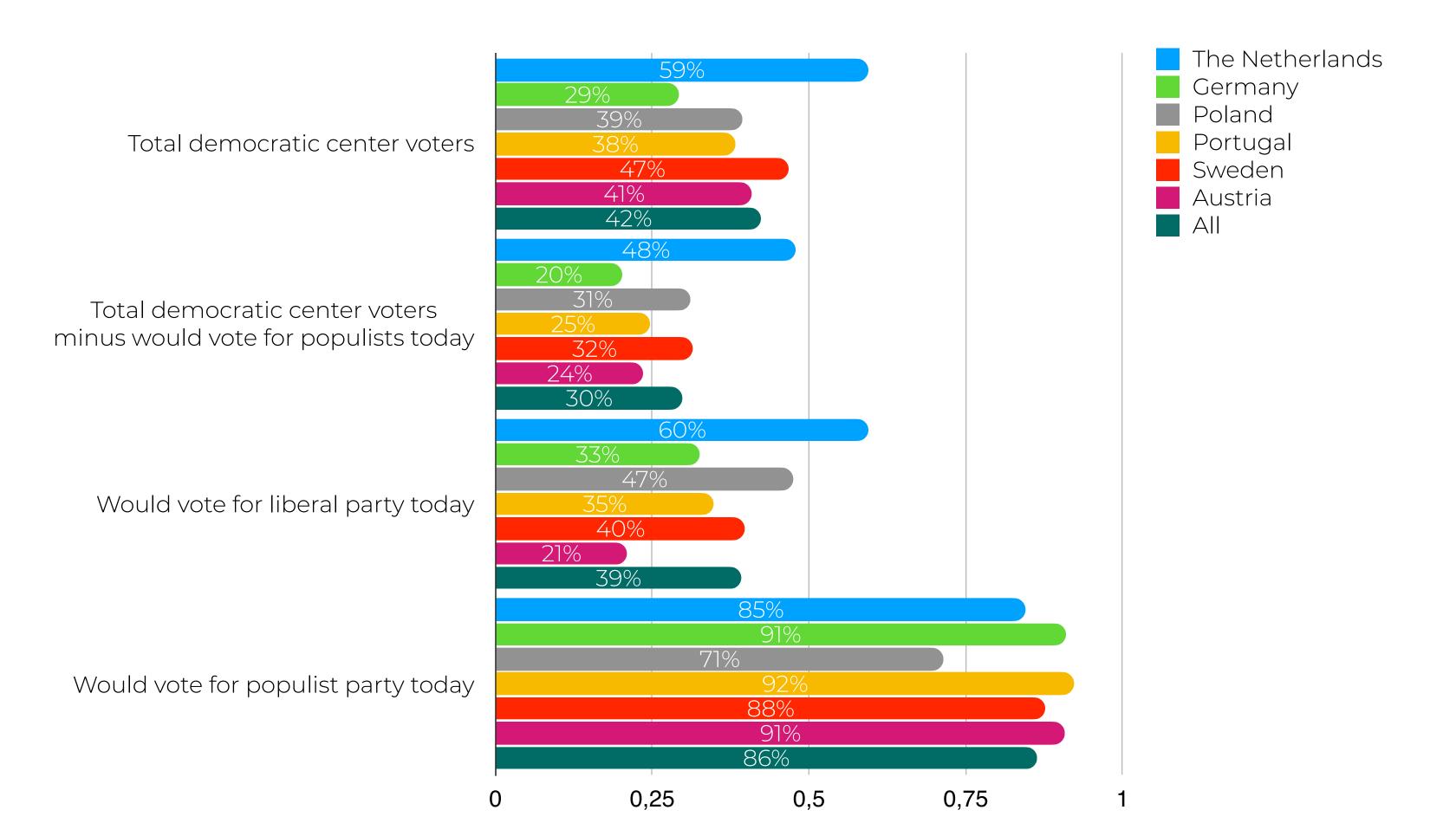




Cooperation with radical right-wing populists

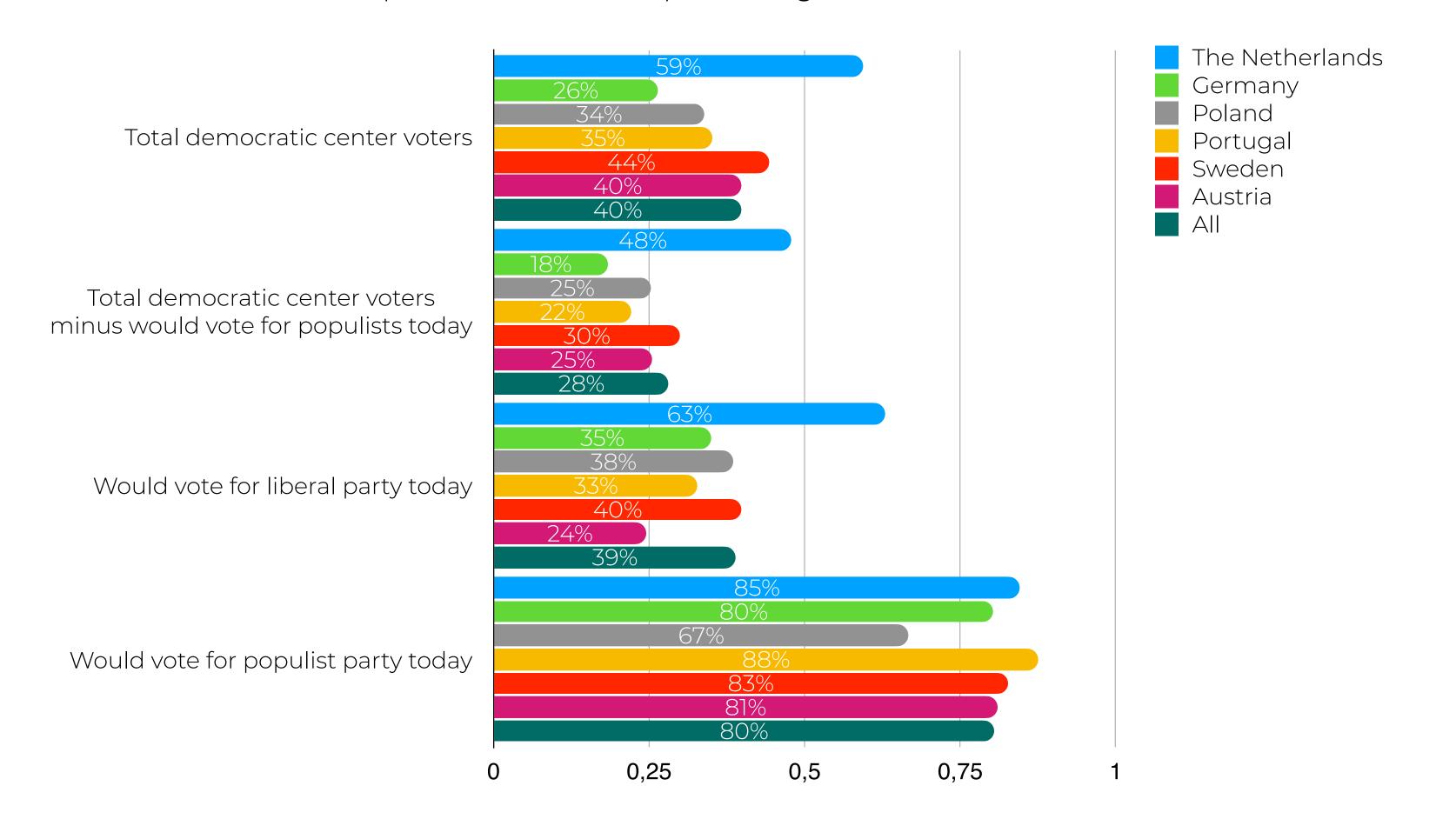
7. I think political parties from the center should cooperate with right-wing populist parties such as ... in a government

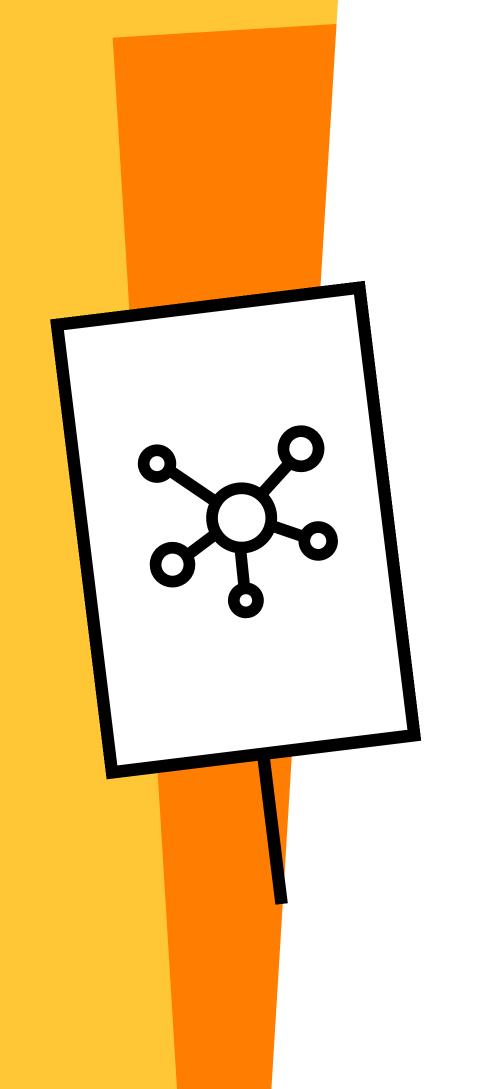
Yes/No question: scores are percentage 'Yes'



8. I would still vote for a party that has gone or wants to go into government with a radical right-wing populist party

Yes/No question: scores are percentage 'Yes'





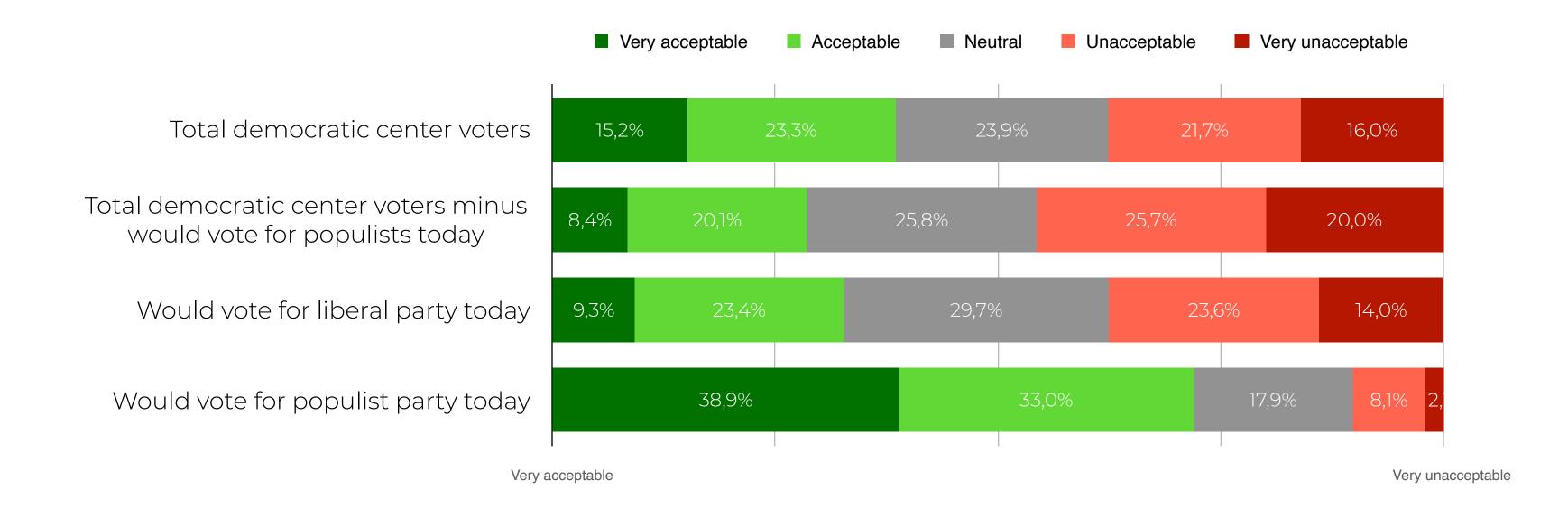
Red lines for cooperating with radical right-wing populists

Imagine the party you voted for is going into government with a right-wing populist party.

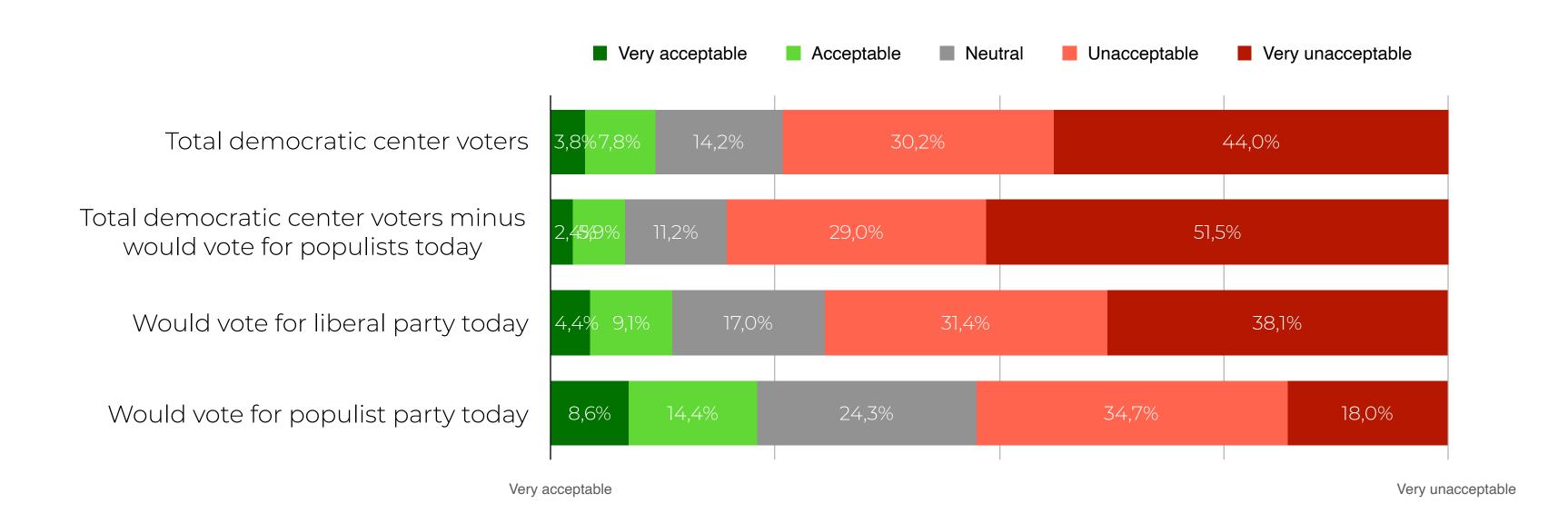
Which of these actions of such a party would be acceptable or unacceptable to you?

Introductory Question

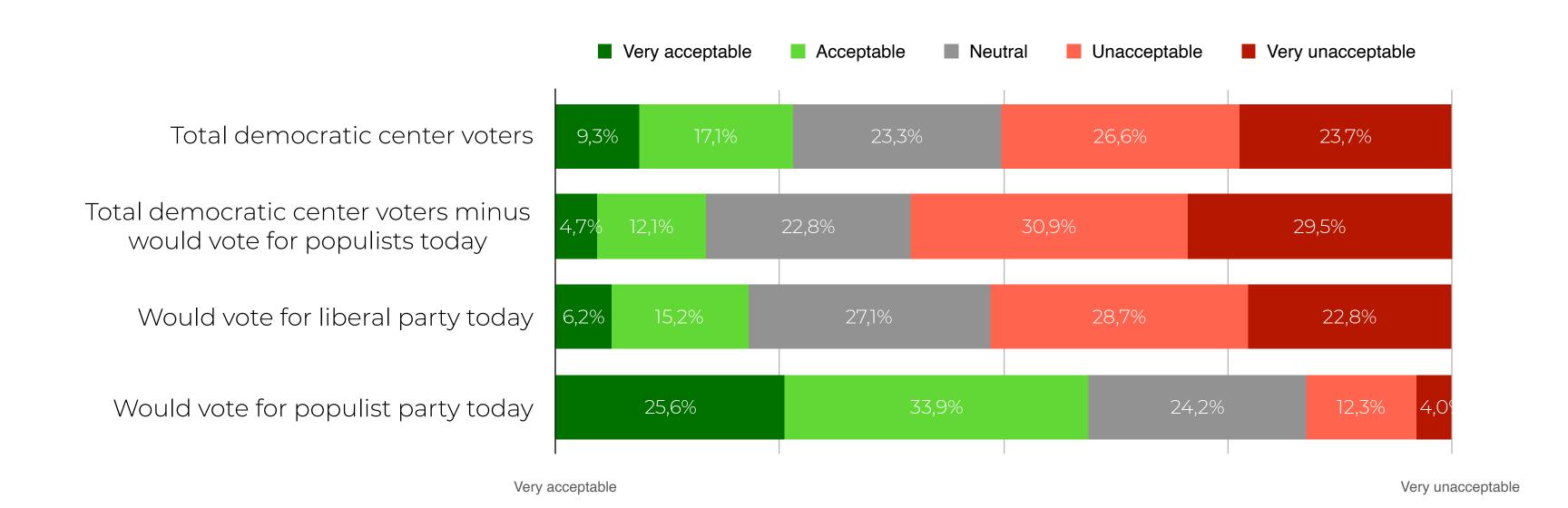
9. They want to close the borders to immigrants.



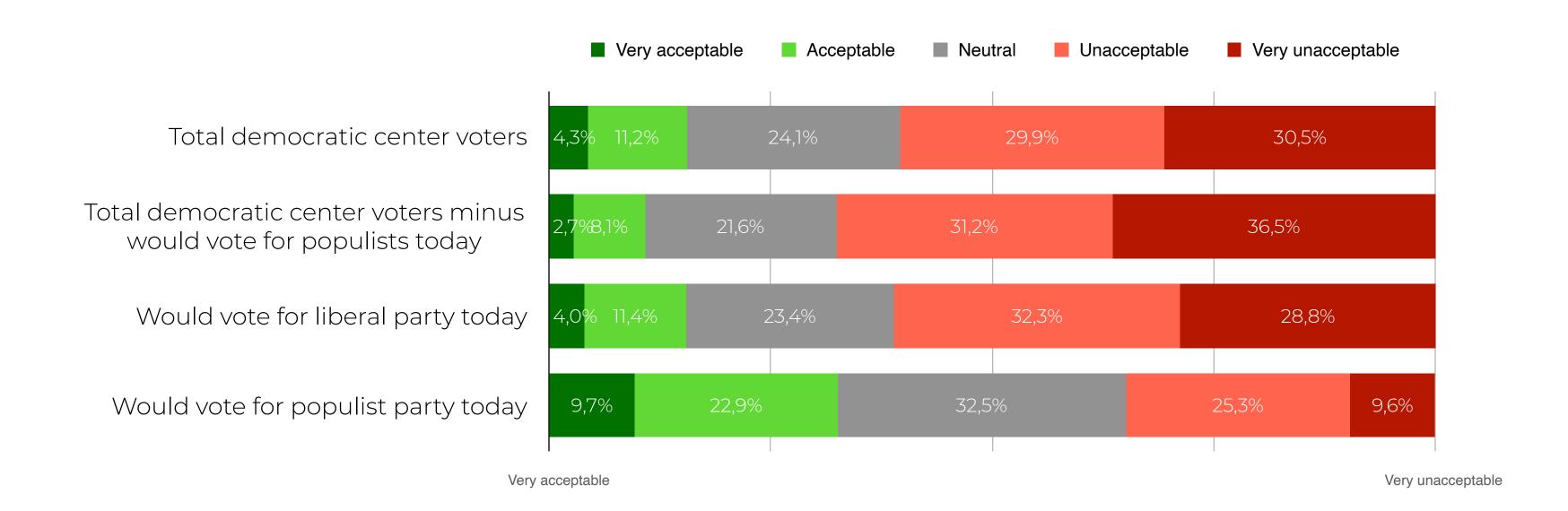
10. They vocally intimidate journalists, for example by saying they are the enemies of the people.



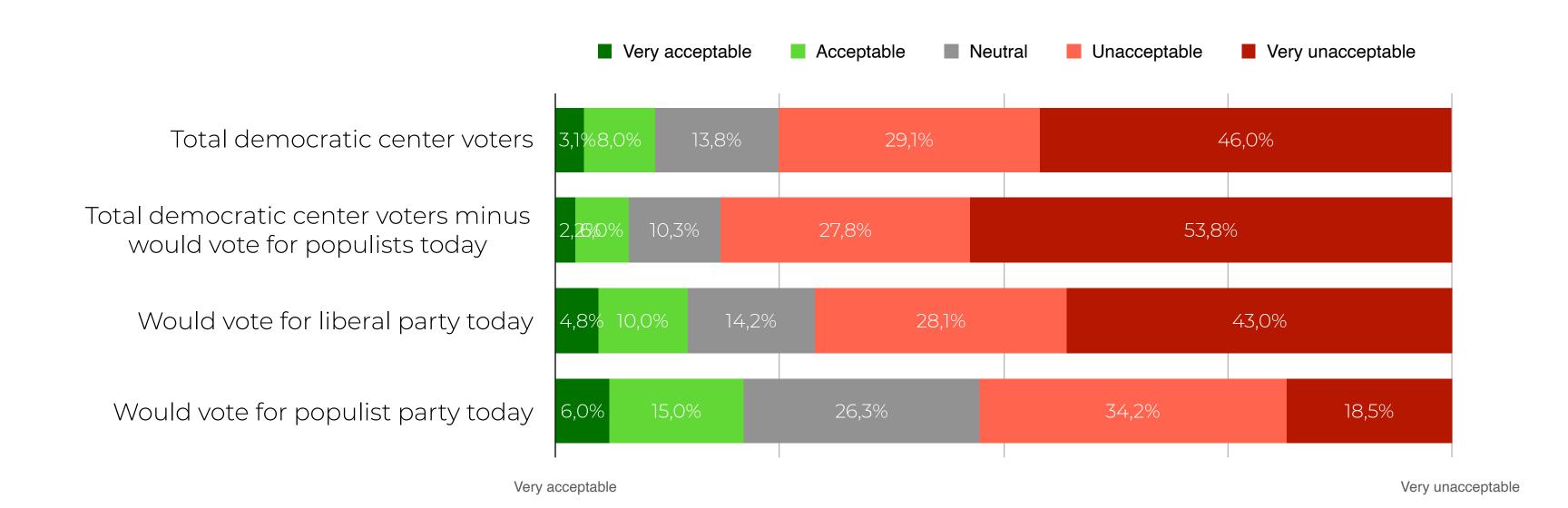
11. They keep portraying immigrants as a threat to our way of life.



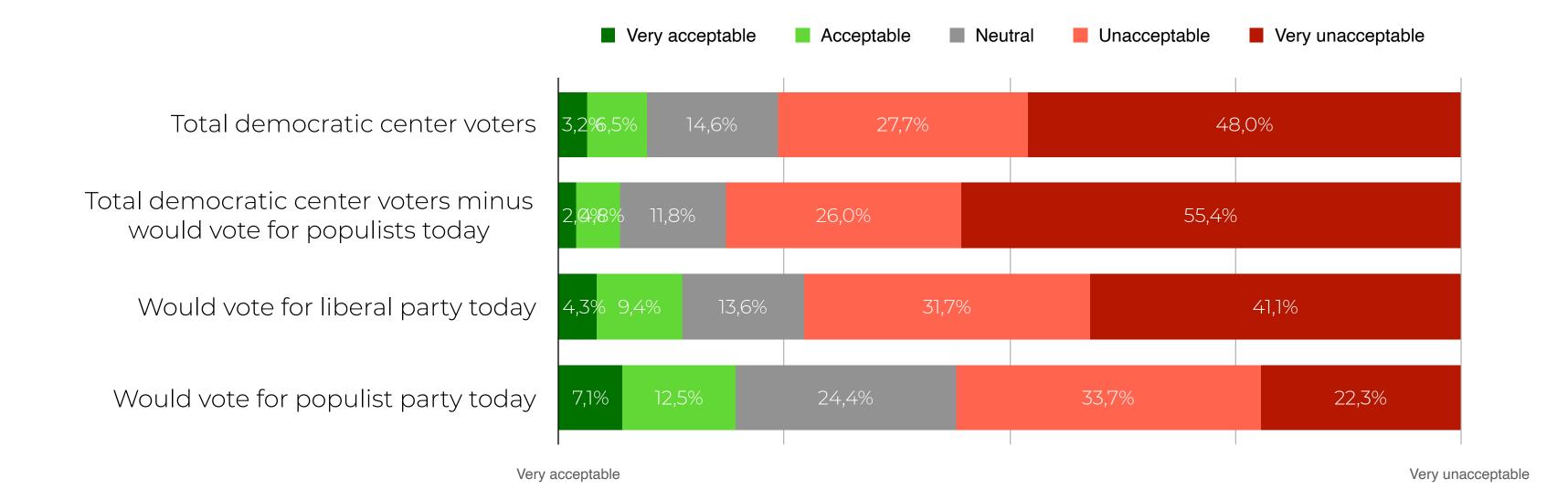
12. They threaten their opponents with legal action.



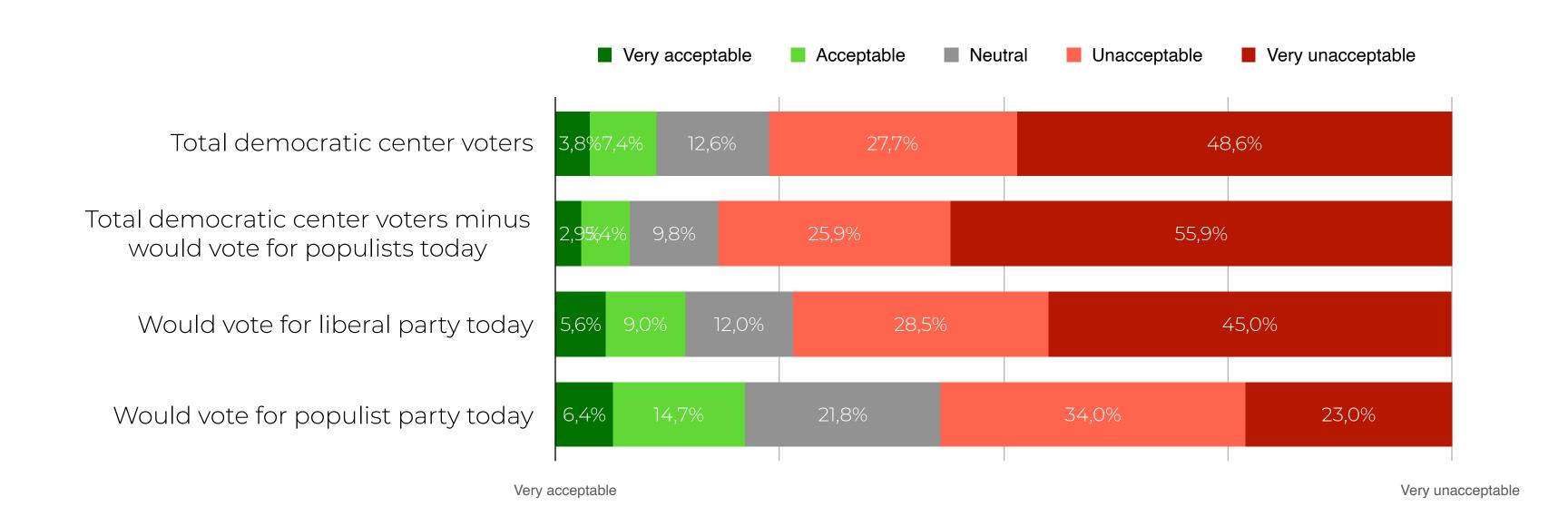
13. They try to bypass the democratic system in order to get their way.



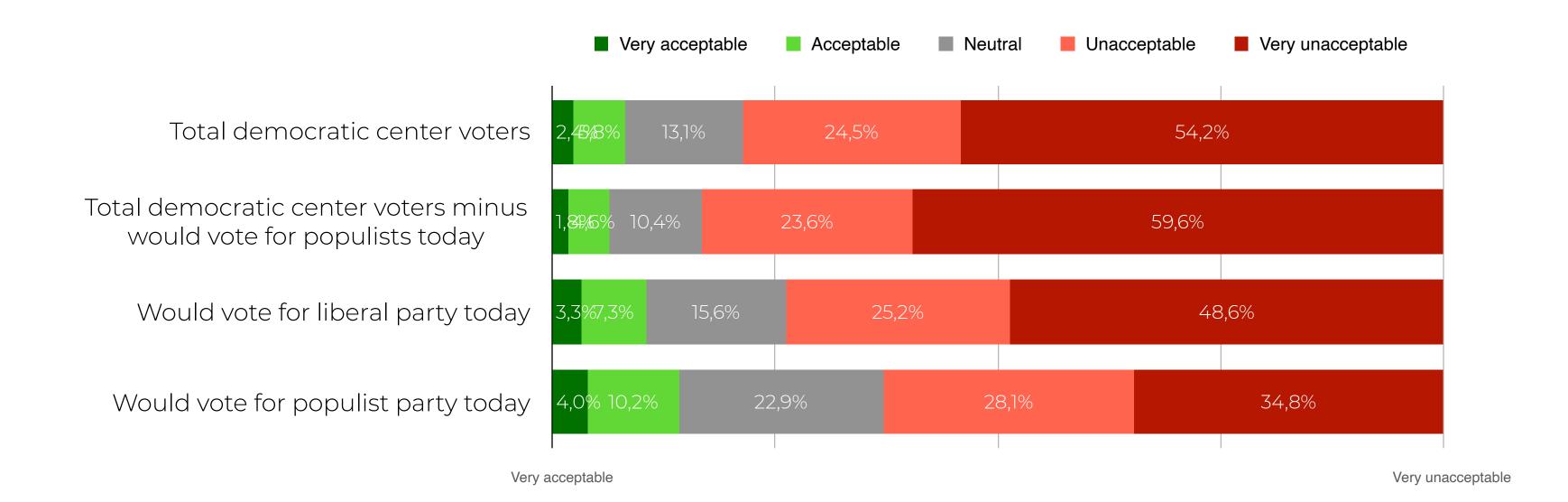
14. They threaten the judiciary.



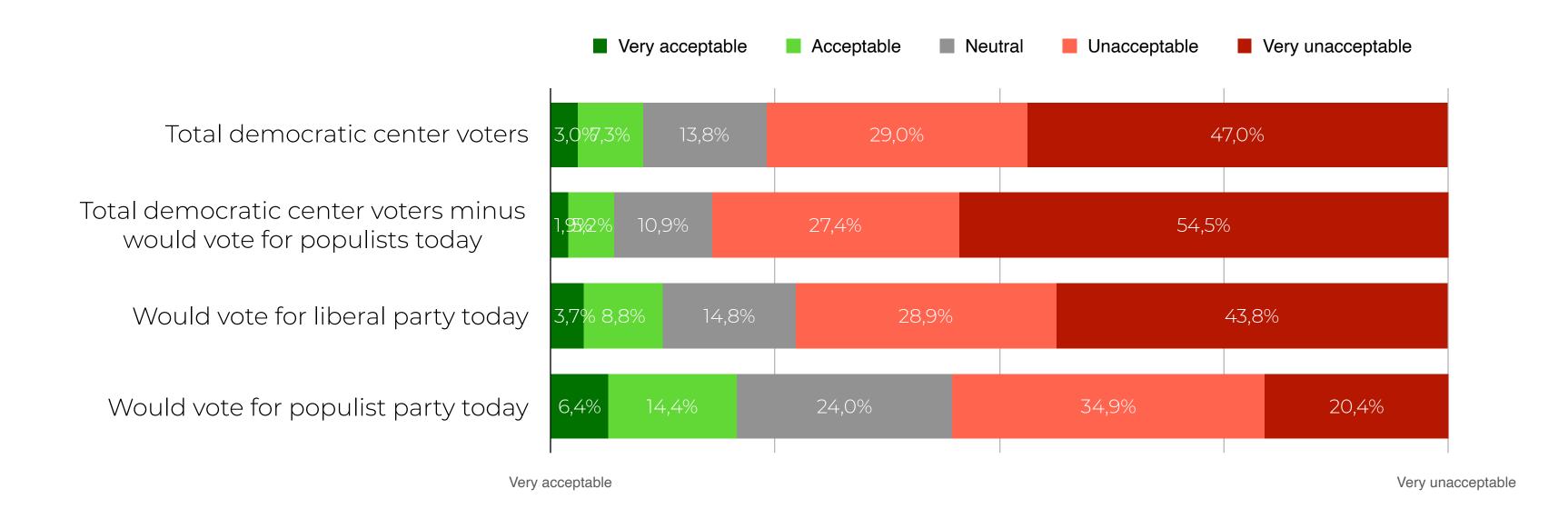
15. They try to erode civil liberties such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion.



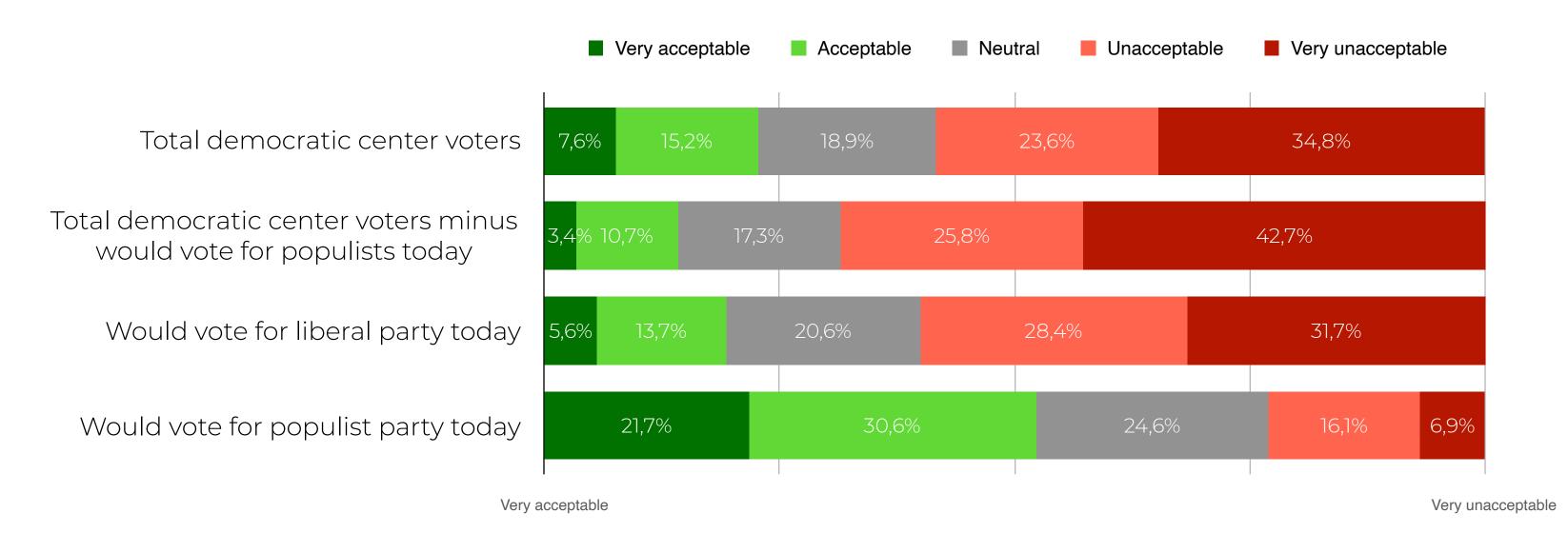
16. They engage in corruption and/or nepotism.



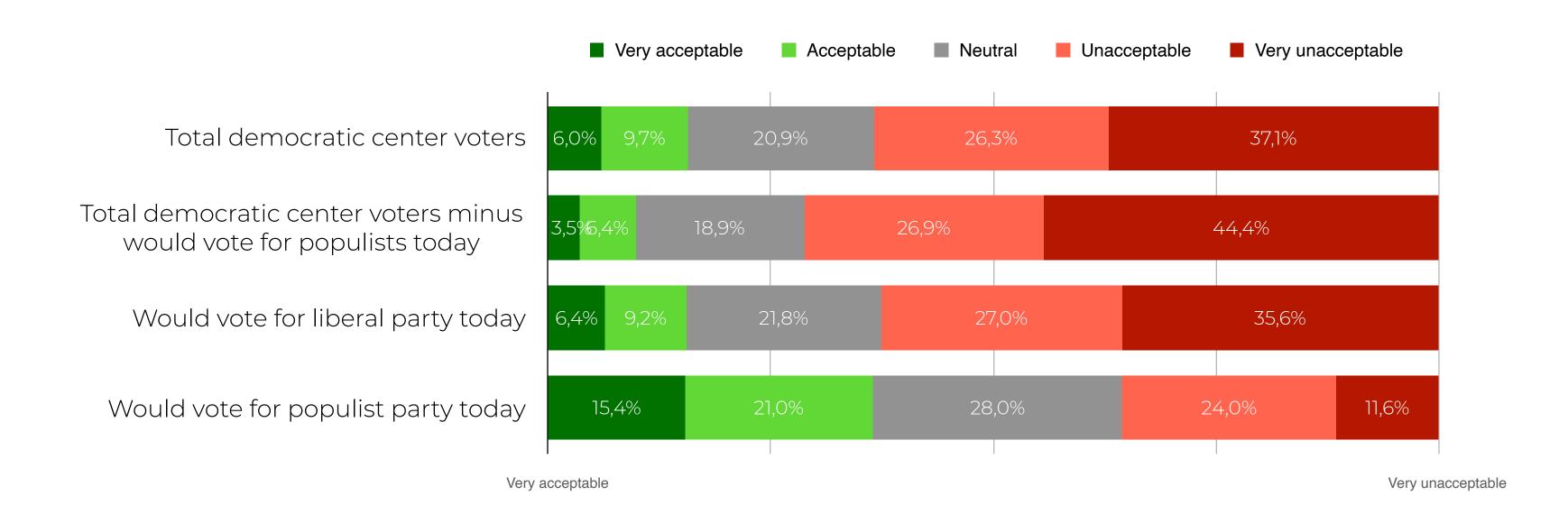
17. They make an attempt to curb free media.



18. They force a state of emergency to pass through legislation - for example to stop immigration - without democratic approval.



19. They try to legislate against minorities such as the LGBTQI community.

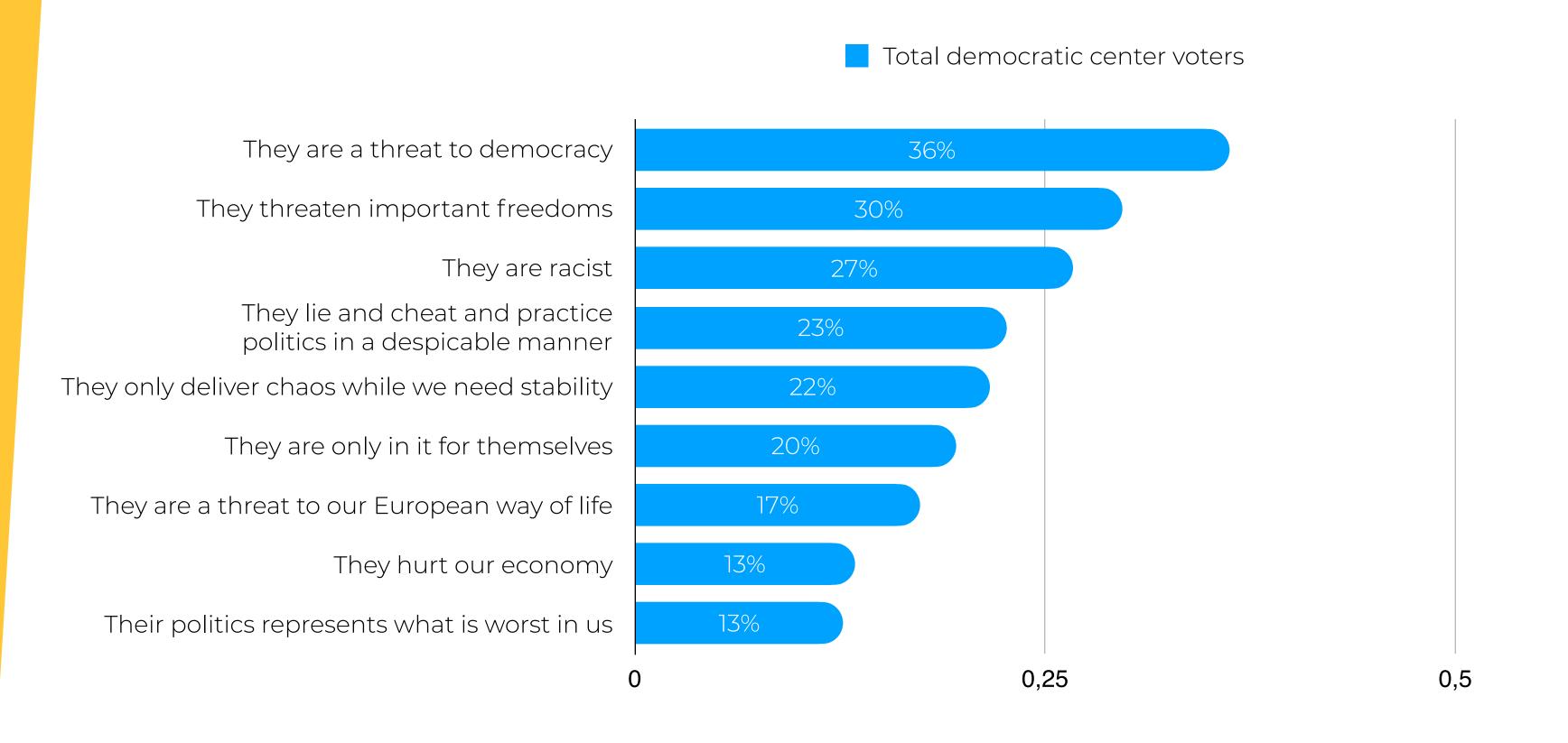


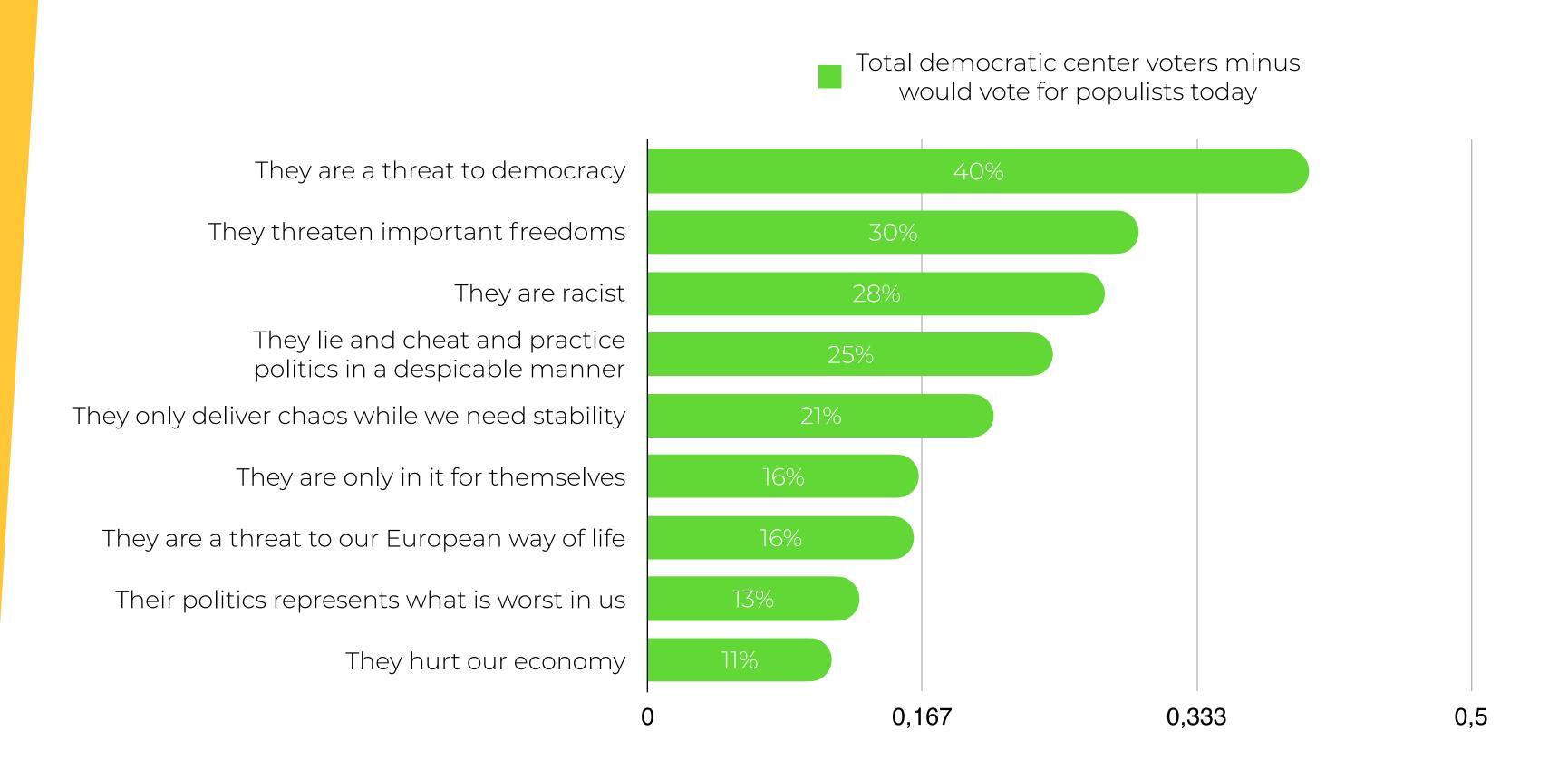
Open Question: answer with a maximum of 2 words

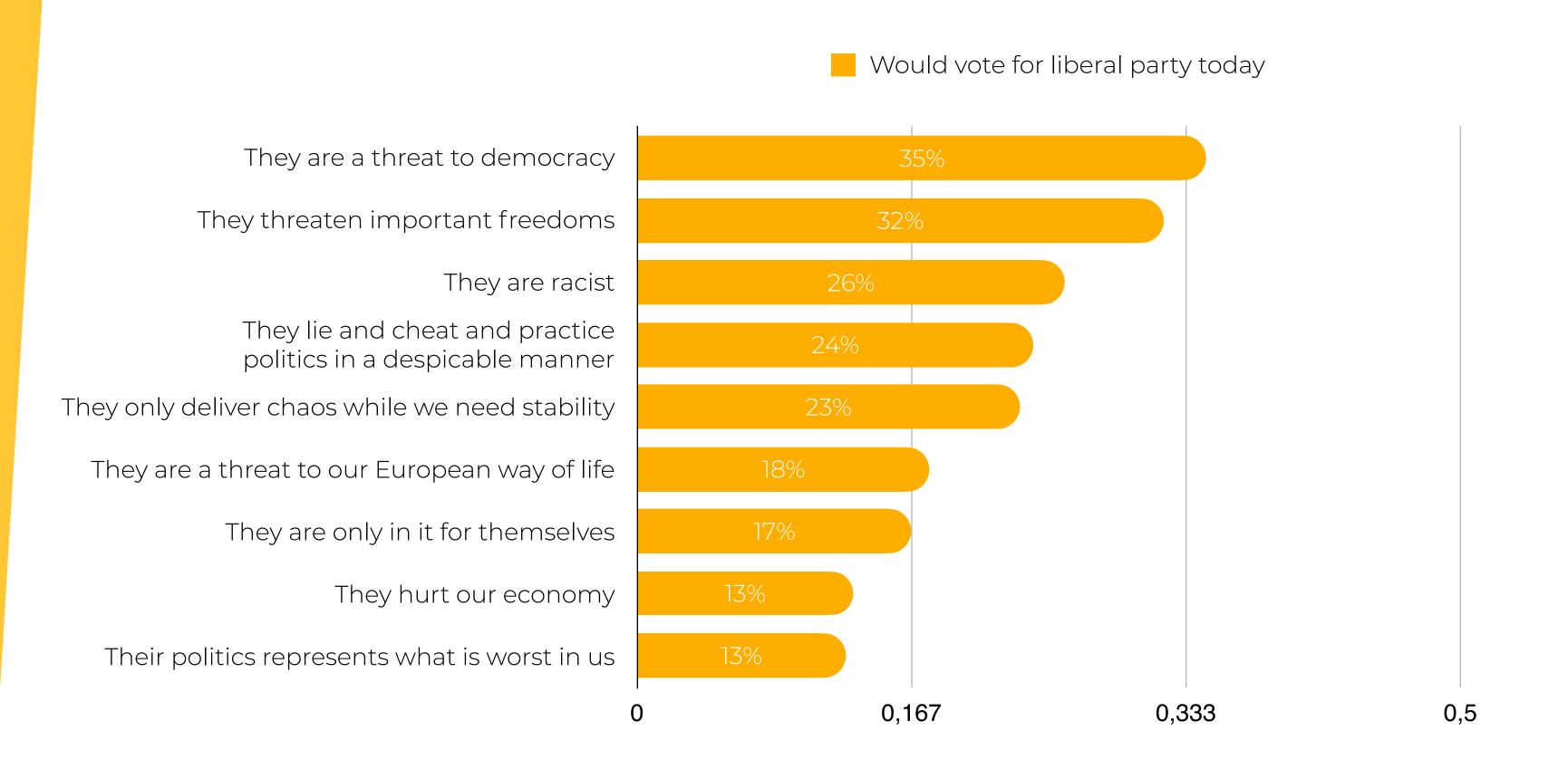
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xenophobia radicality loss of freedom populism undemocratic polarisatie restriction of freedom populism undemocratic hate unfair nazism the racism democracy everything fascism force intolerance immigration populism the racism that racism the racism force intolerance immigration populism the polarization radical fraud inflation corruption racisme radicalization radical fraud inflation lack of democracy i don't have racist extremists money idangerous war unpredictable idangerous war unpredictable intolerance hostility to democracy understanding of democracy extreme hostility to democracy extreme views loss of democracy no freedom
```

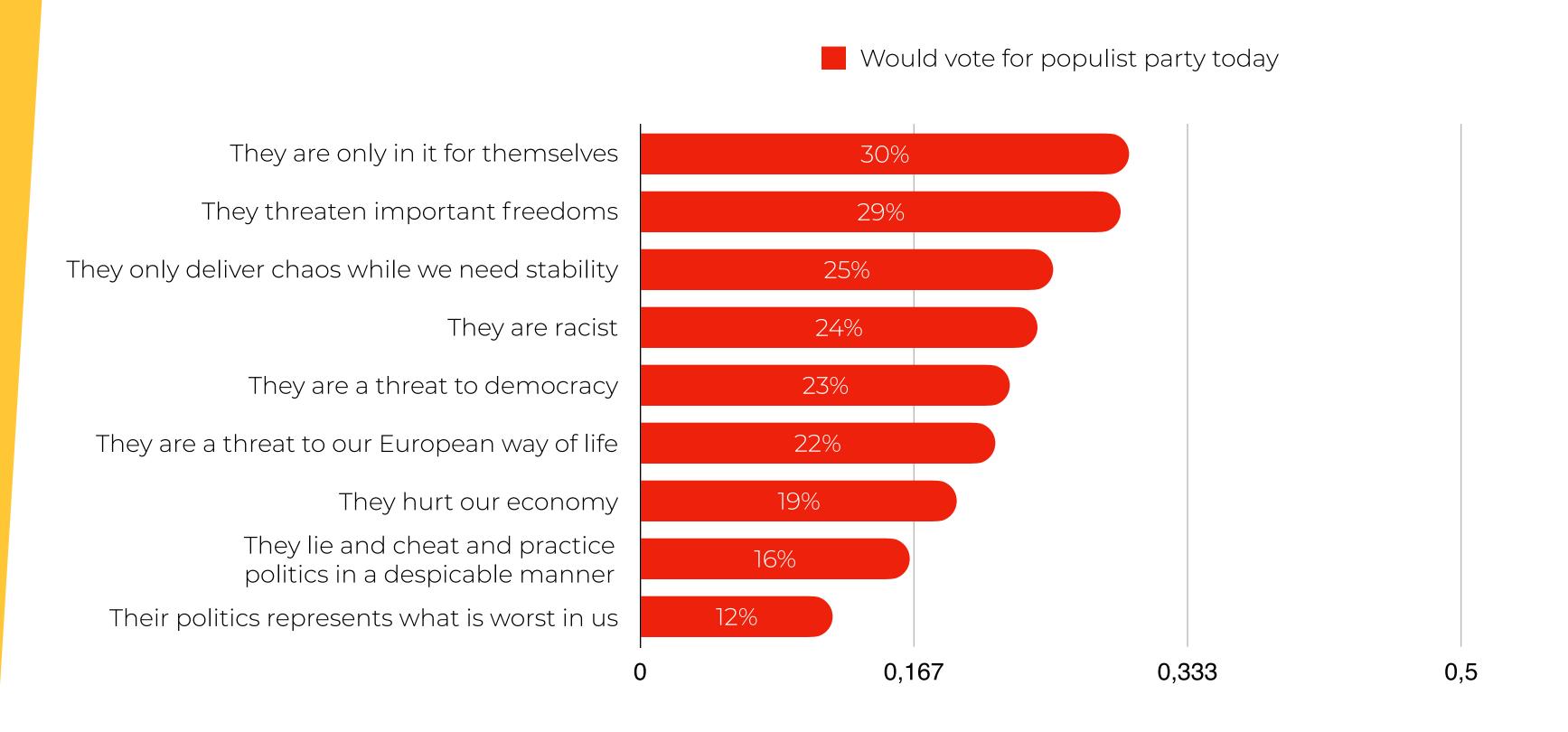
Answer	Frequency
None	71
Nothing	57
Racism	49
Don't know	49
Radicalism	43

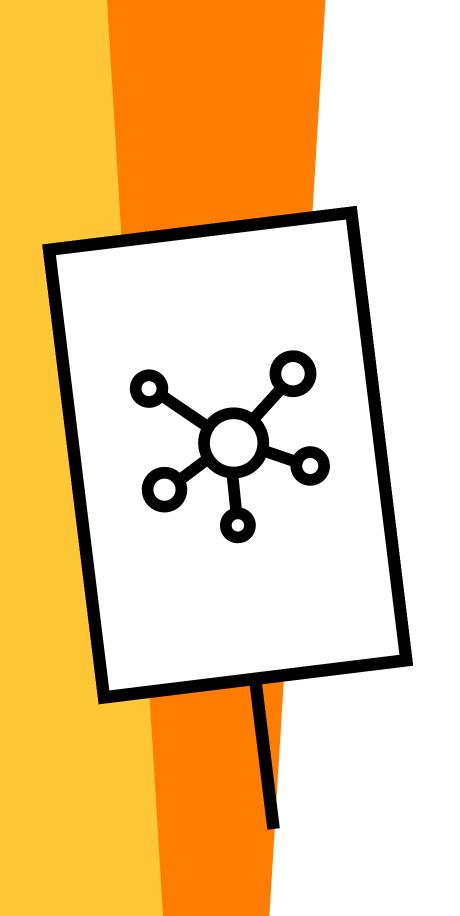
All respondents









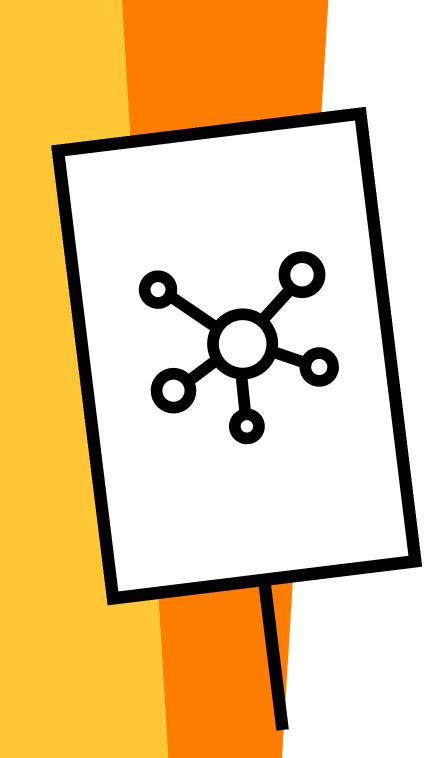


To which communication frames about radical right-wing populists do voters respond to most?

Below you will find a number of statements about radical right-wing populism and politics. You can share your feeling about the statement by sliding between 0-100.

(disagree - agree, unimportant - important)

Introductory Statement



Slider scores

We asked people to share their feelings on a slider from 0-100

We asked respondents two things about each question:

1) how much do you agree?

2) How important is this to you?

Slider scores:

Very high: above 75

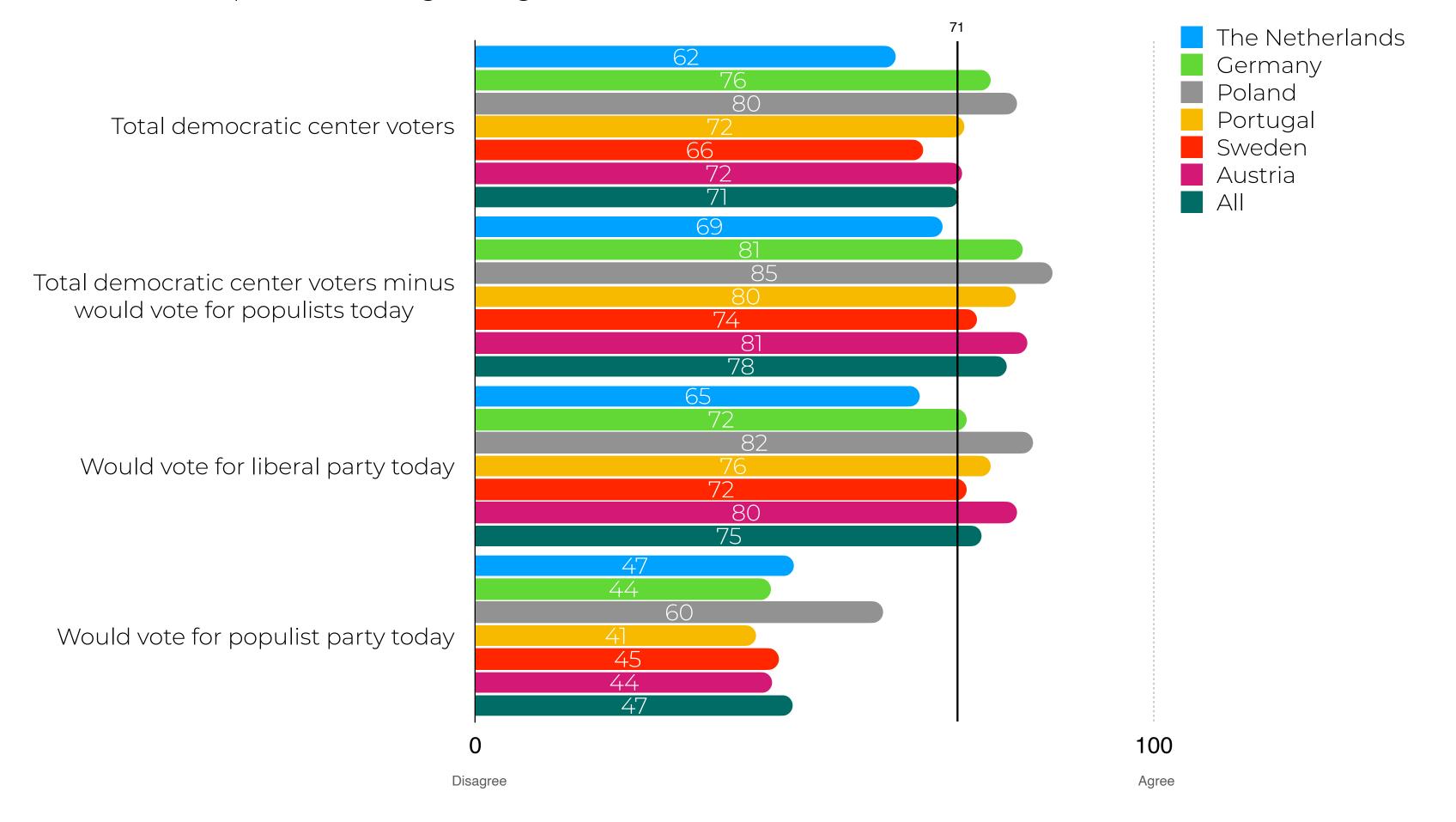
High: above 70

Average: 66-70

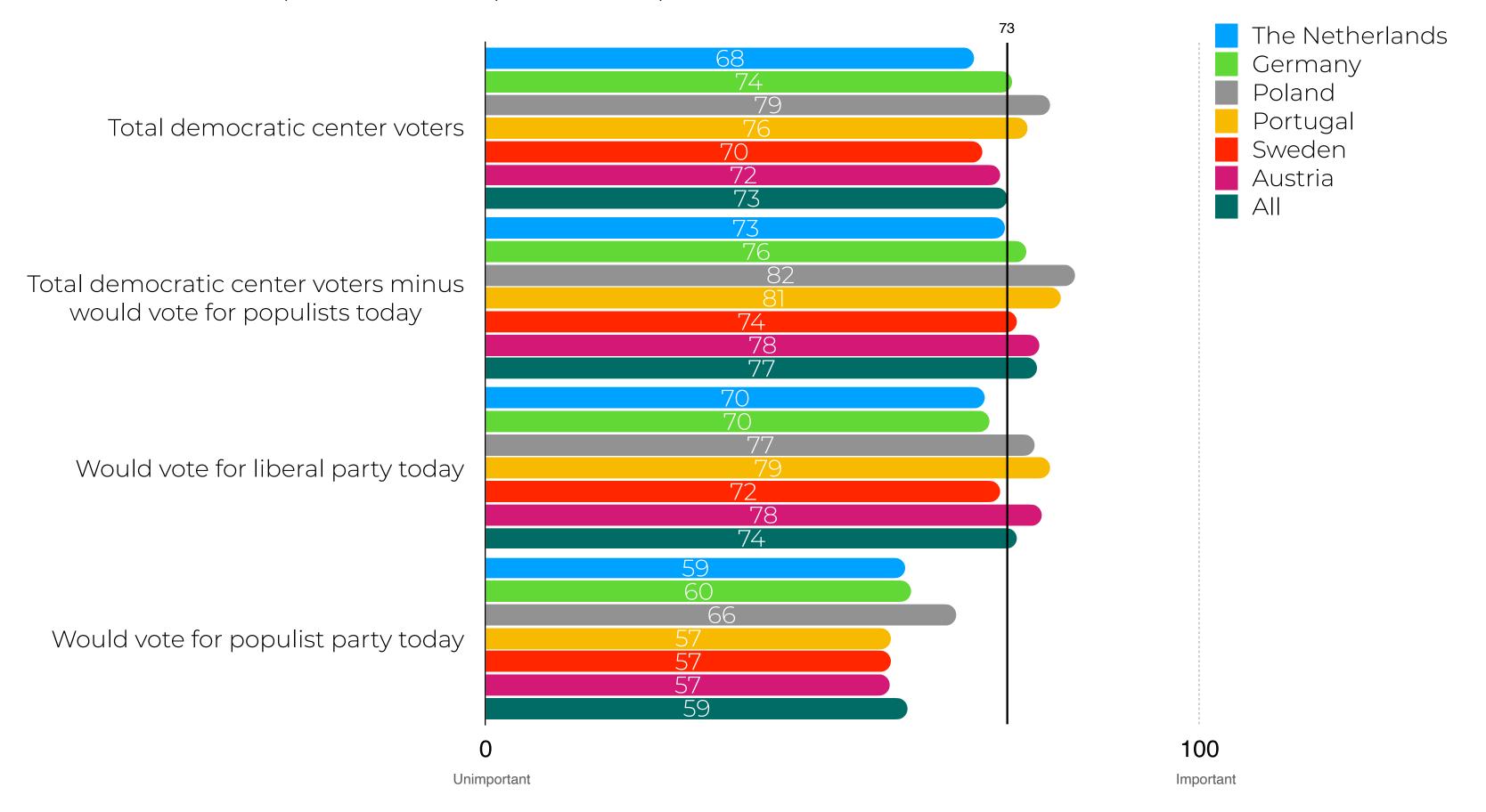
Low: 61-65

Very low: below 61

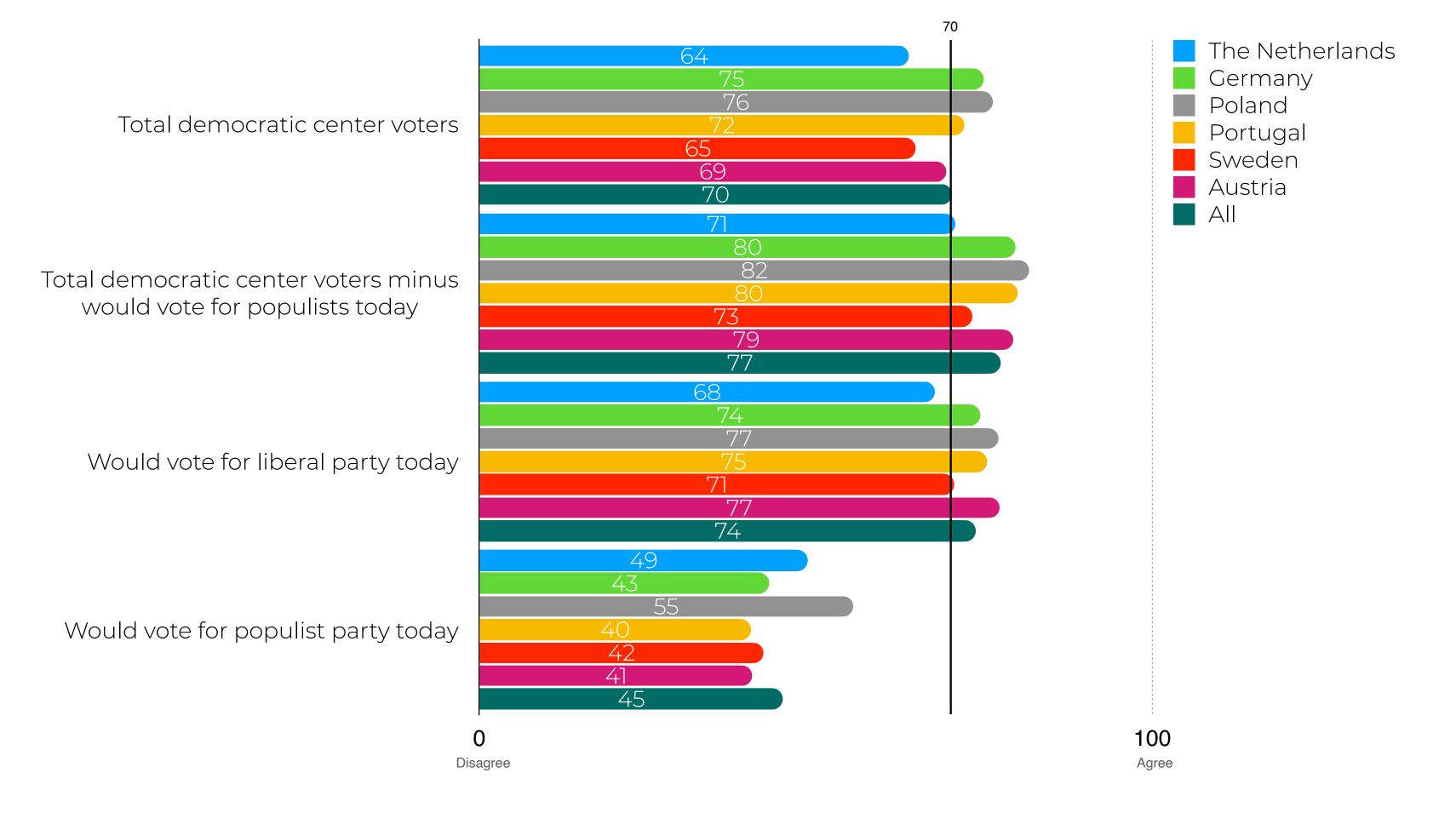
22. They claim to represent the people, but they are only in it for themselves and their own interests.



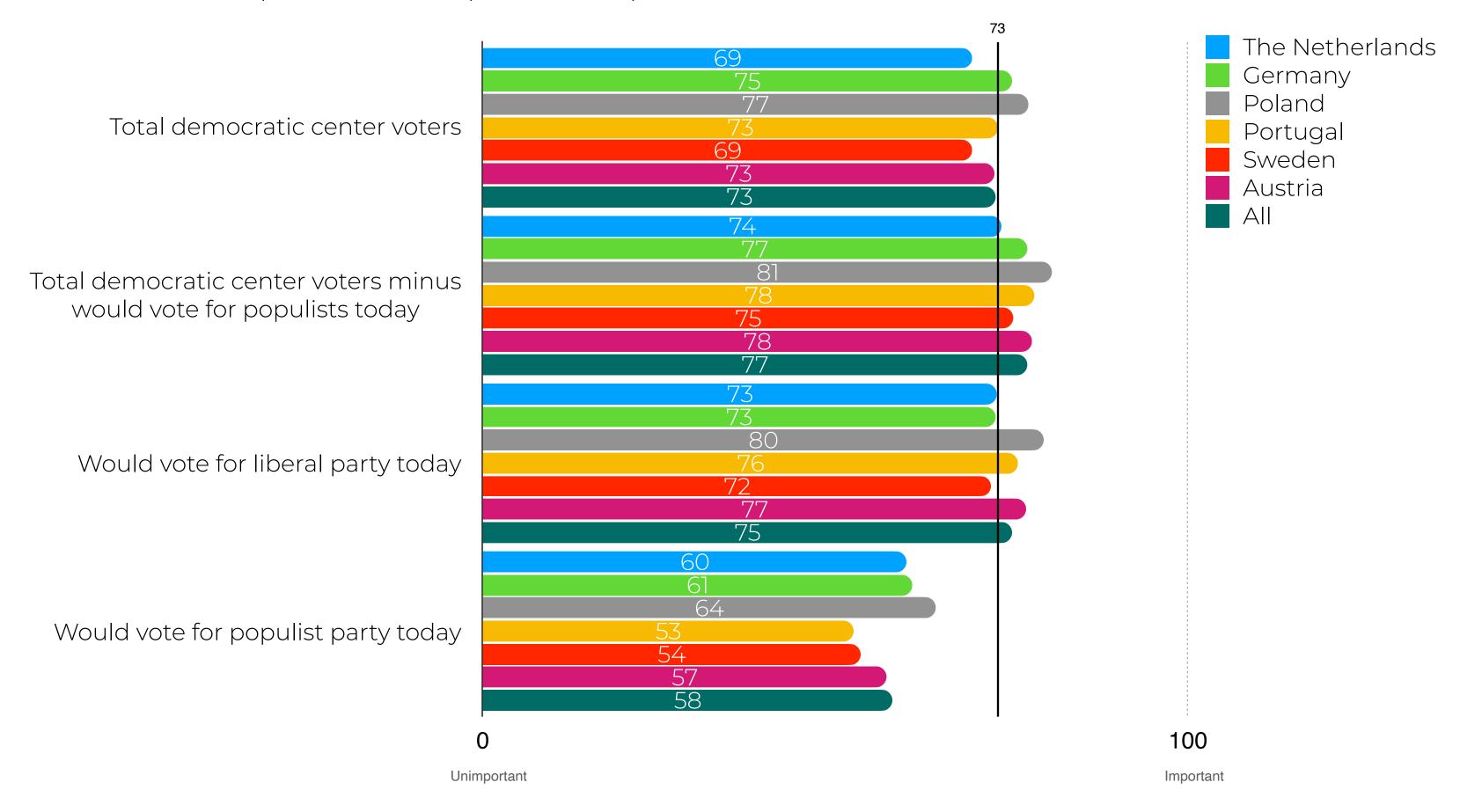
22. They claim to represent the people, but they are only in it for themselves and their own interests.



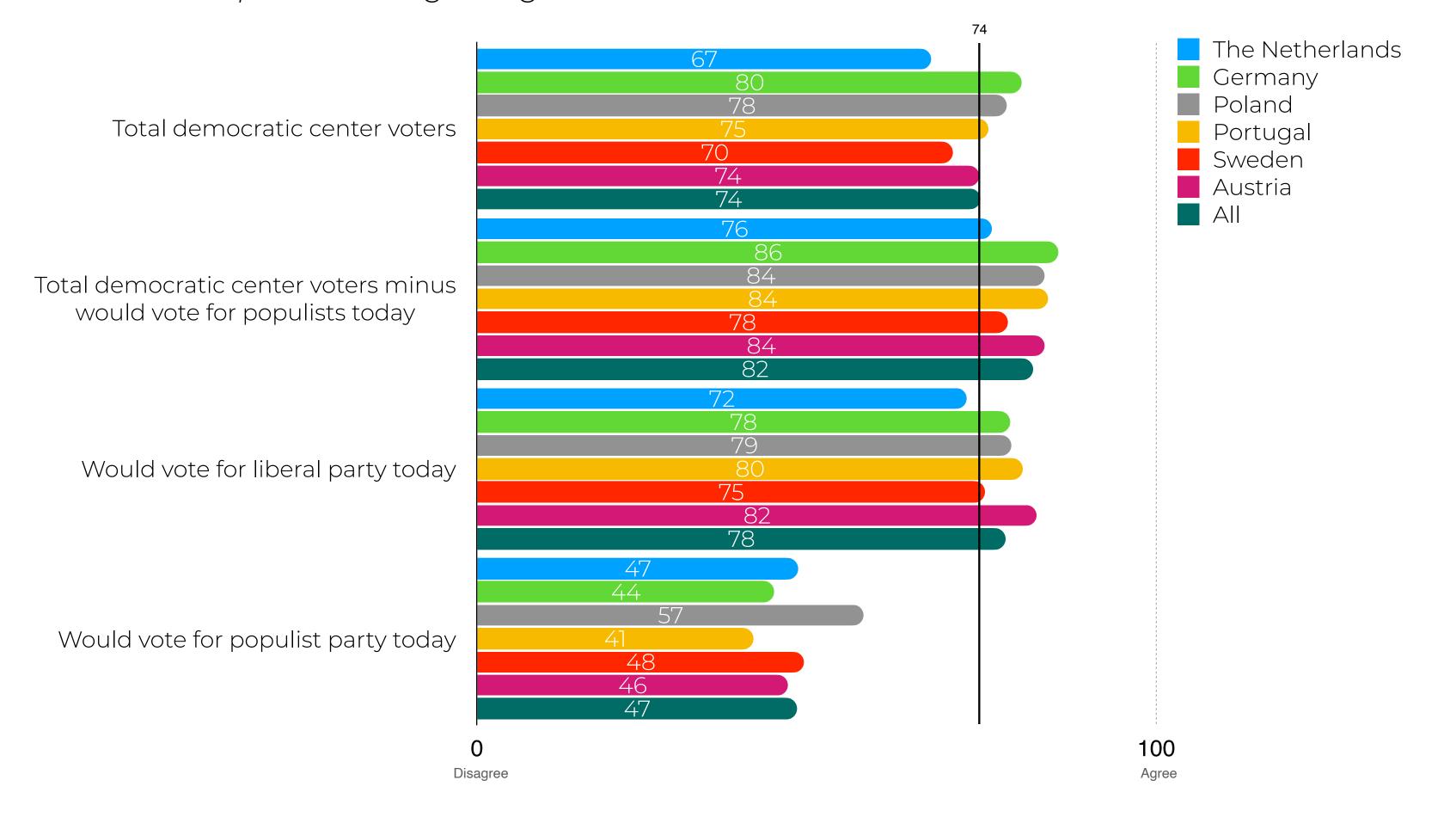
23. They claim to represent the people, but they only represent an angry and vocal minority.



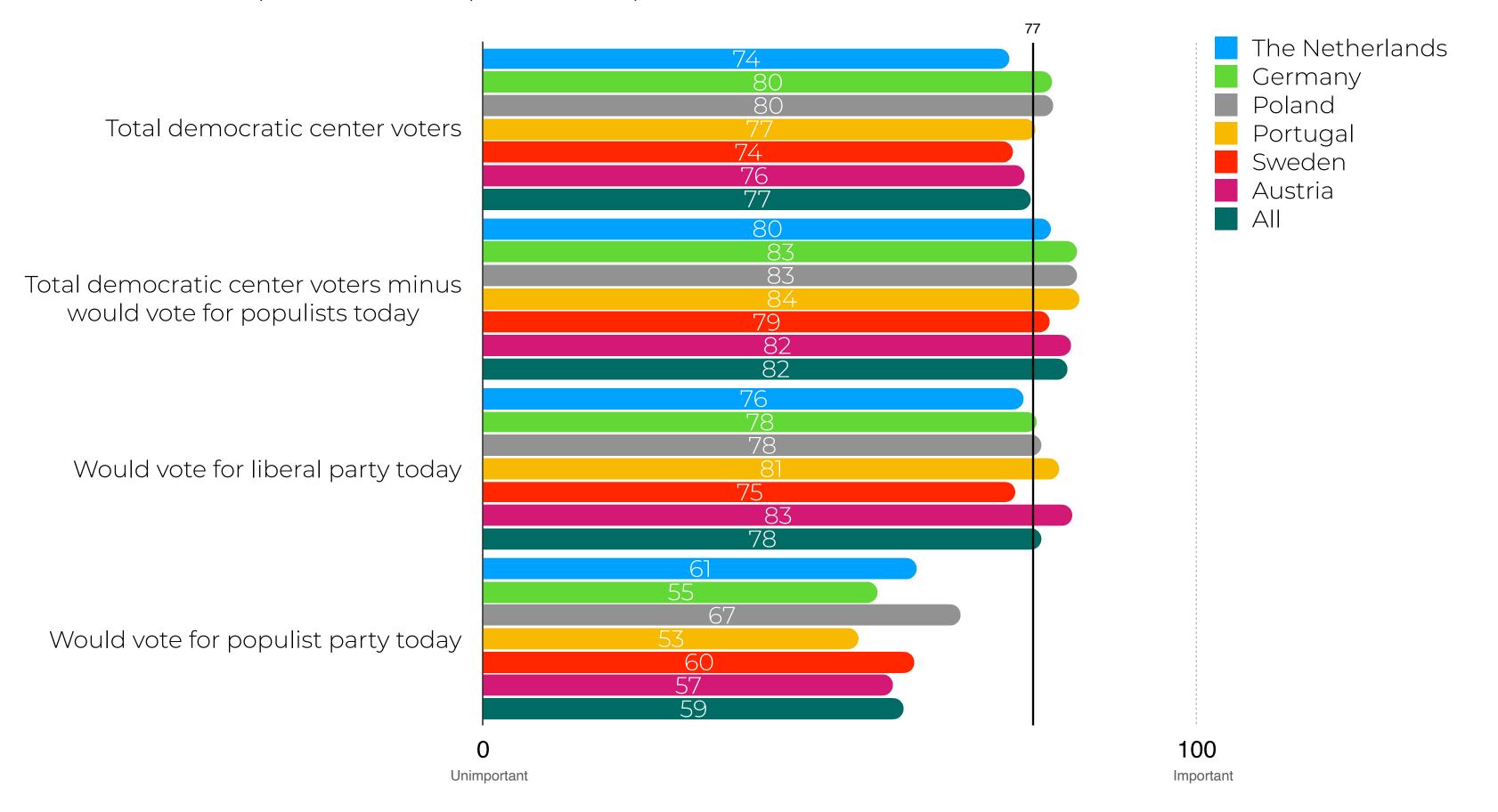
23. They claim to represent the people, but they only represent an angry and vocal minority.



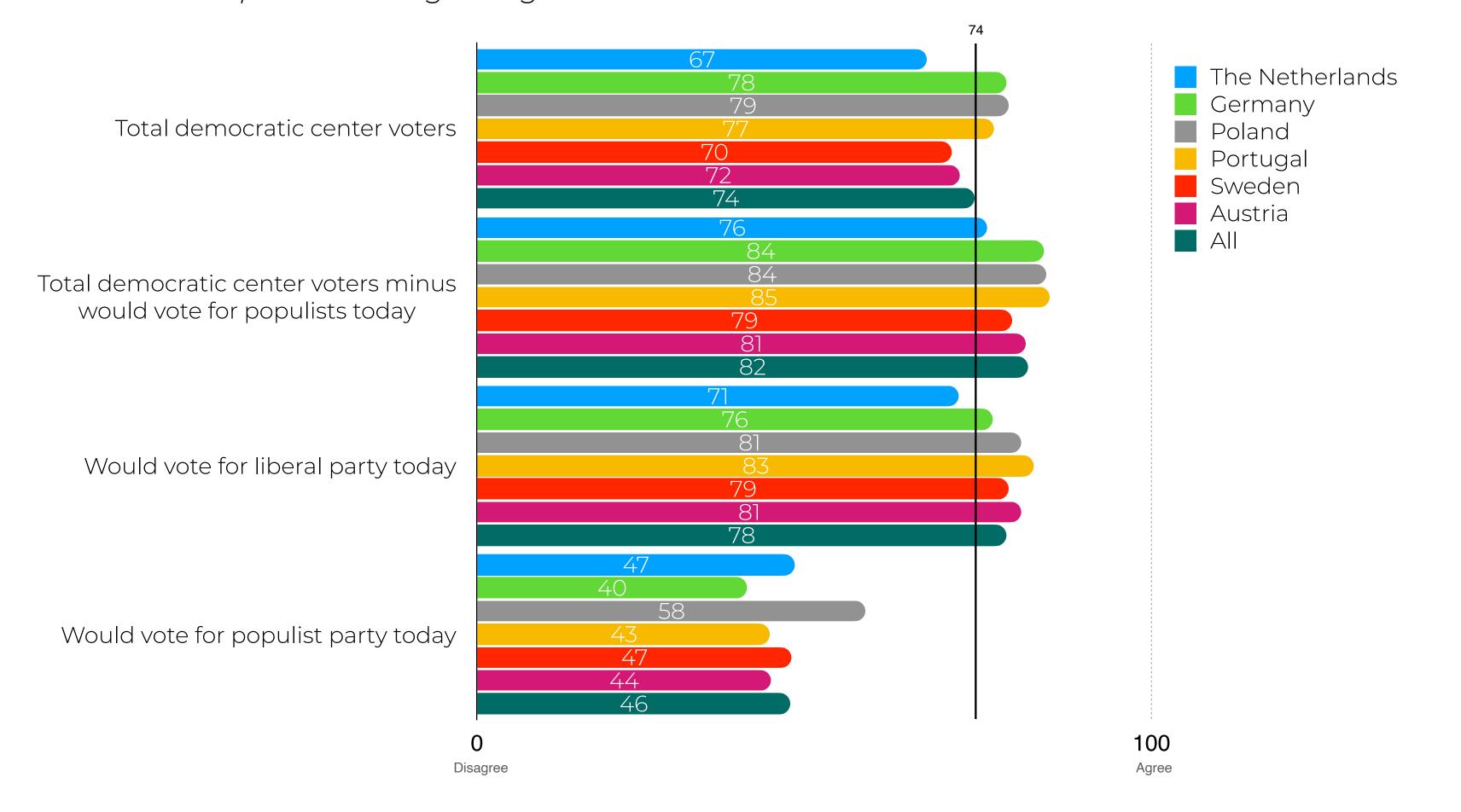
24. The rise of radical right-wing populism is a threat to democracy.



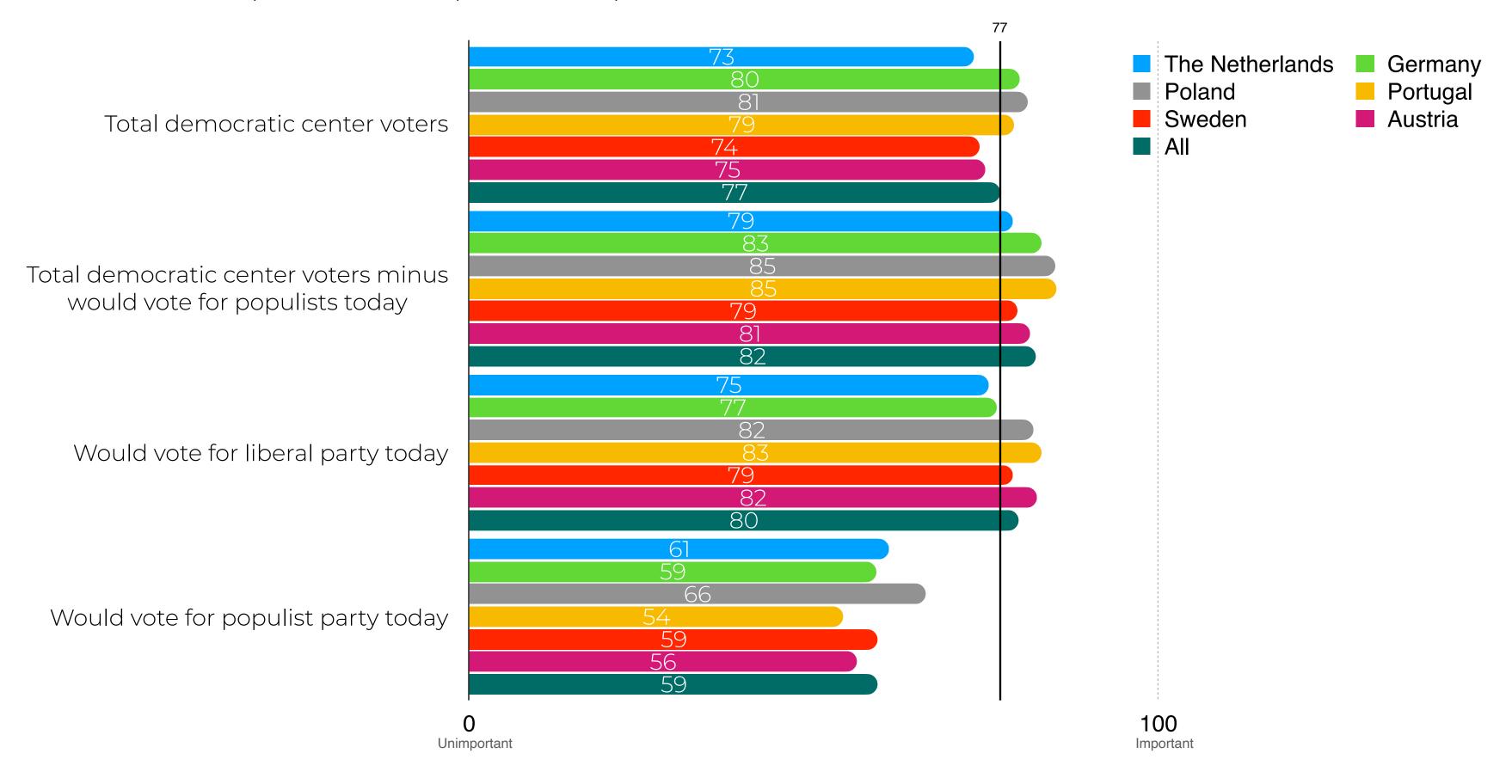
24. The rise of radical right-wing populism is a threat to democracy.



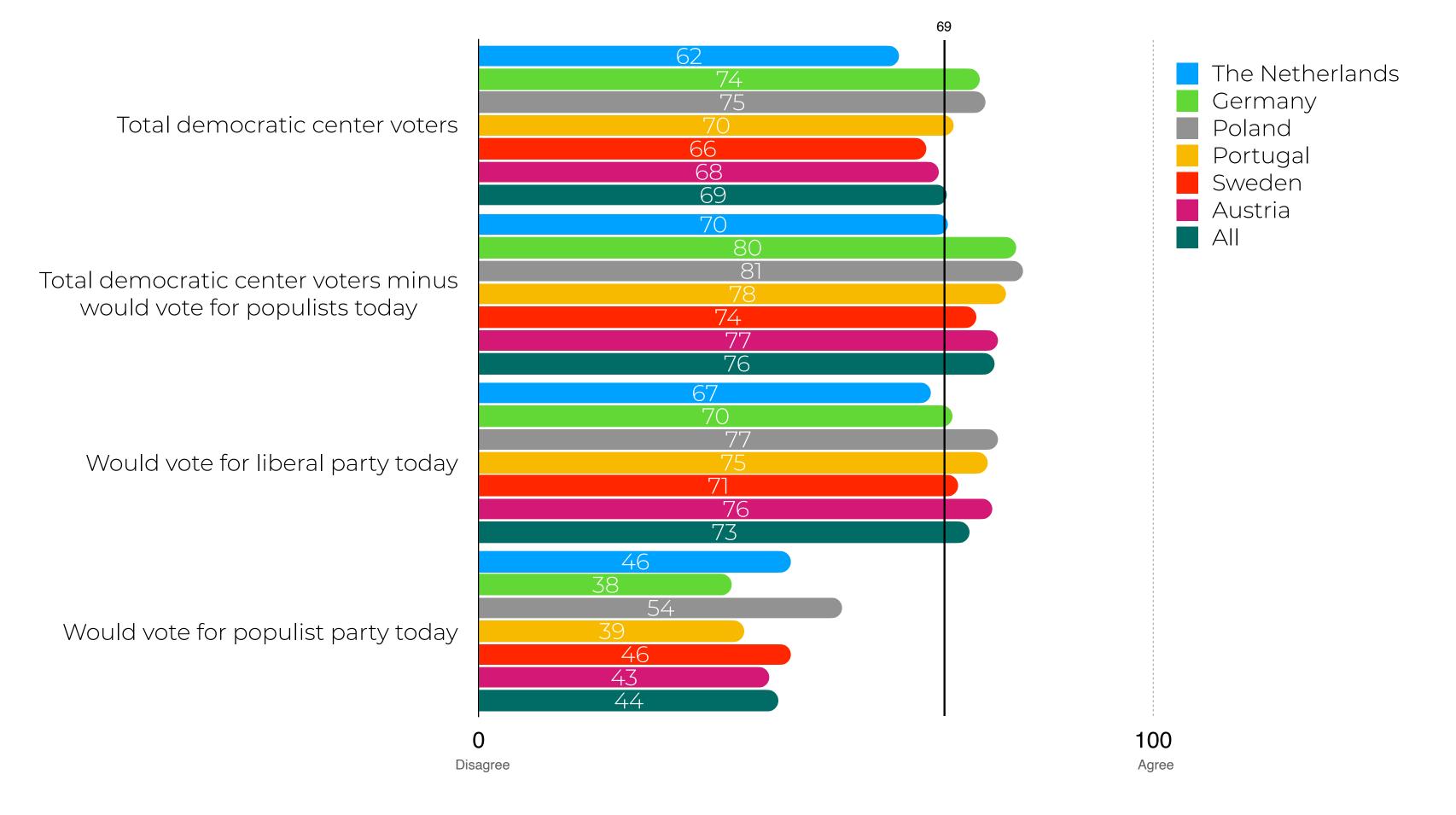
25. The rise of radical right-wing populism is a threat to our freedoms.



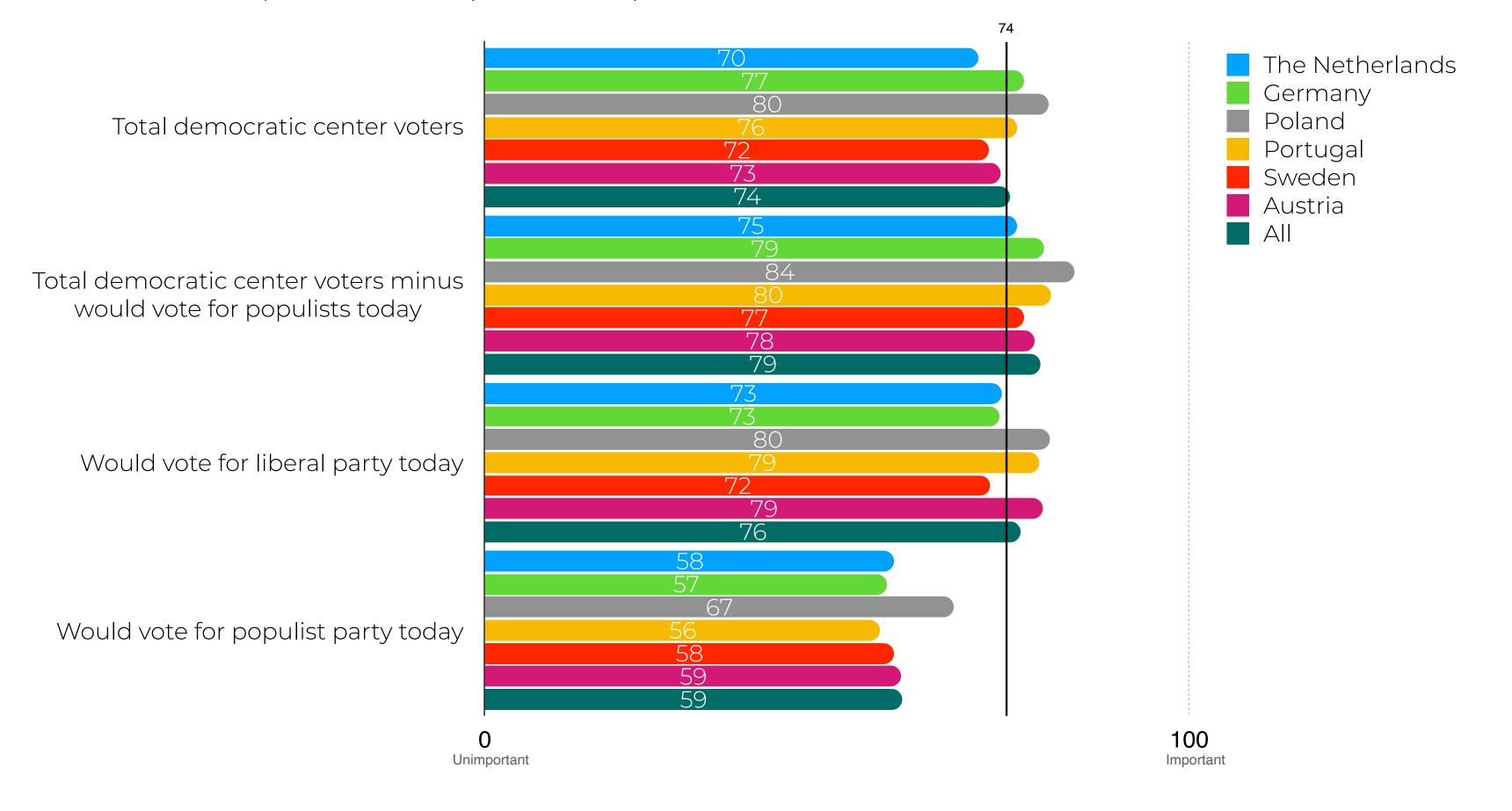
25. The rise of radical right-wing populism is a threat to our freedoms.



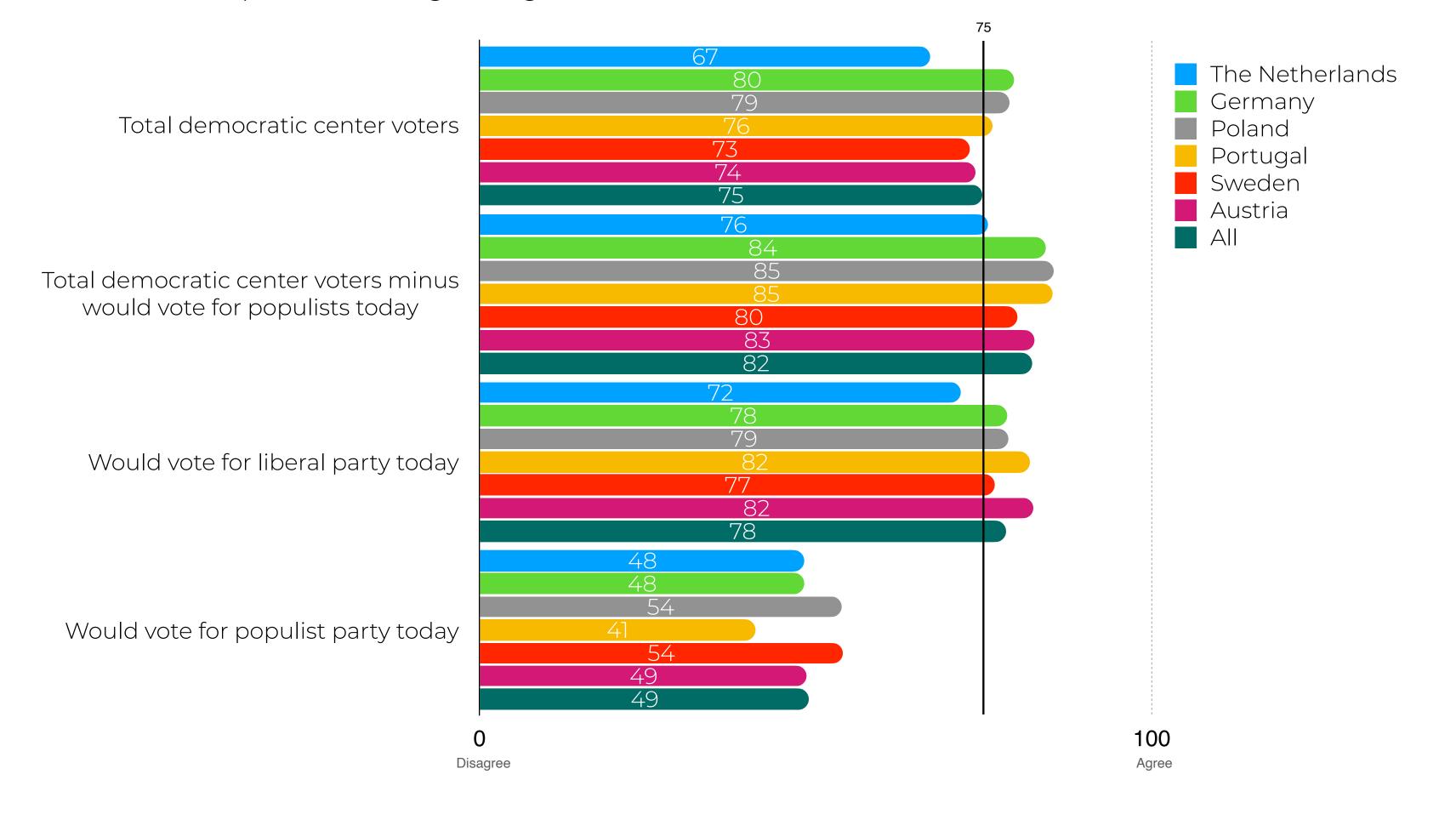
26. The rise of extreme right-wing populism threatens our prosperity and economic future.



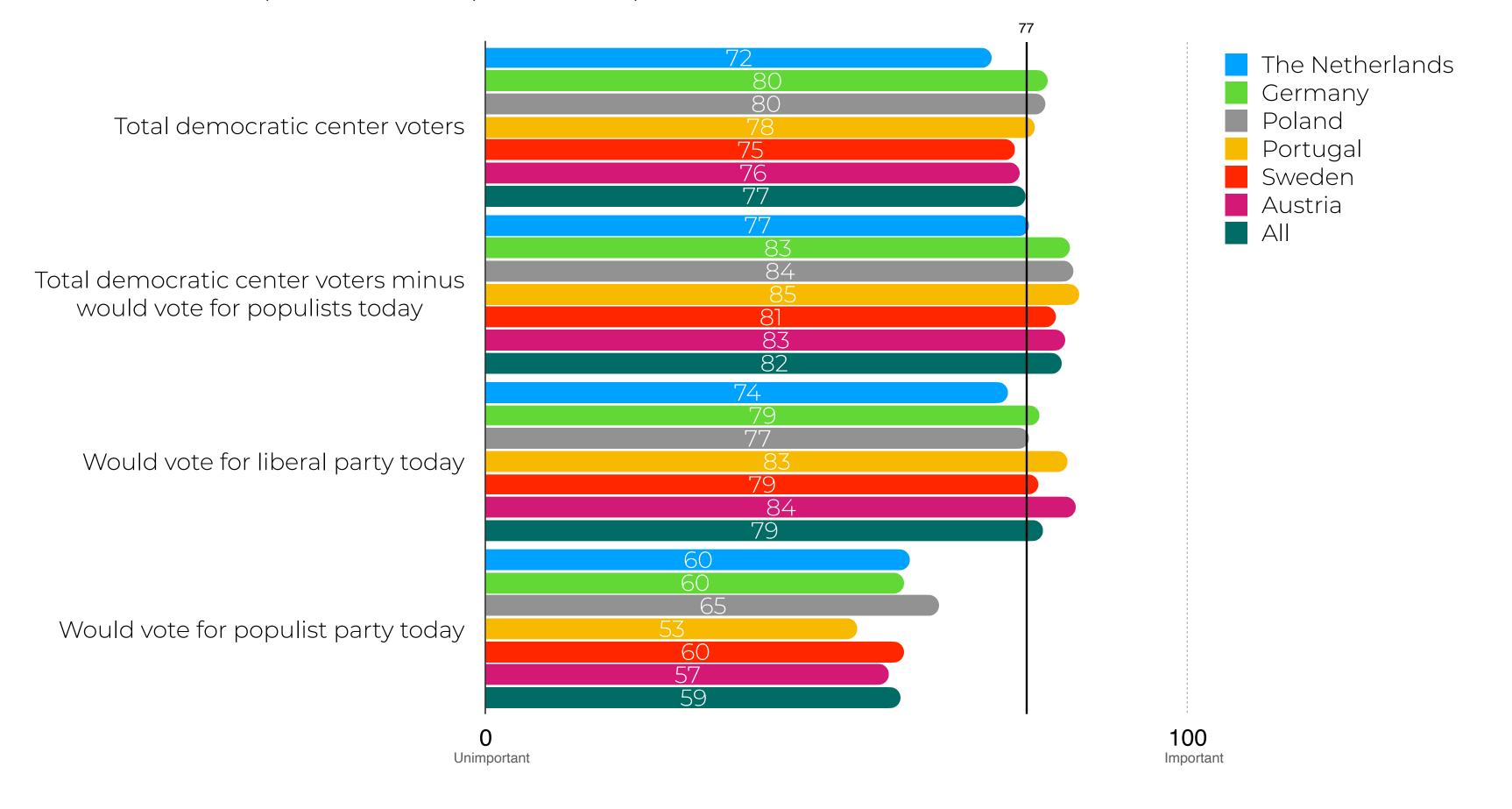
26. The rise of extreme right-wing populism threatens our prosperity and economic future.



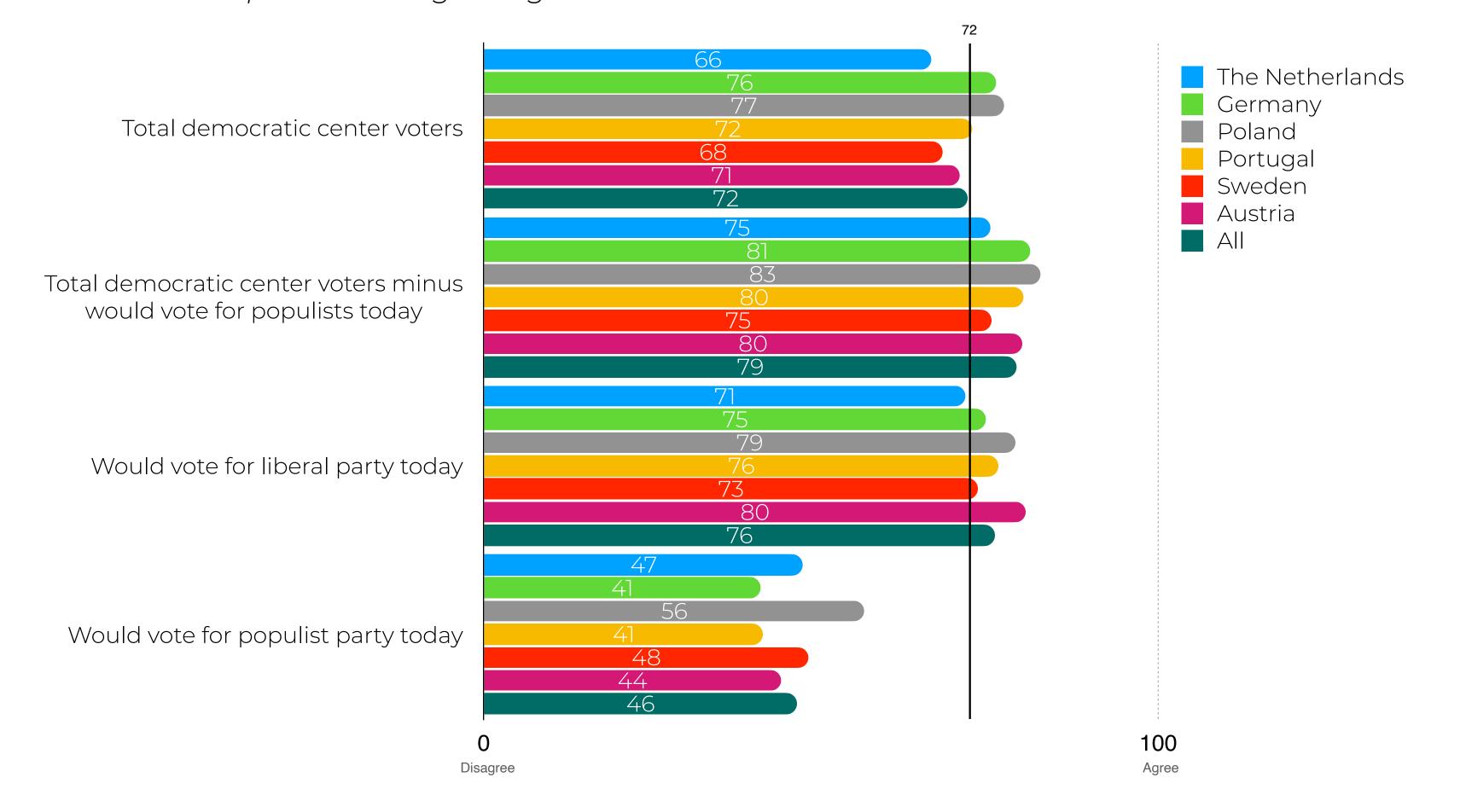
27. I don't want my children to live in a country where the extreme right is in charge.



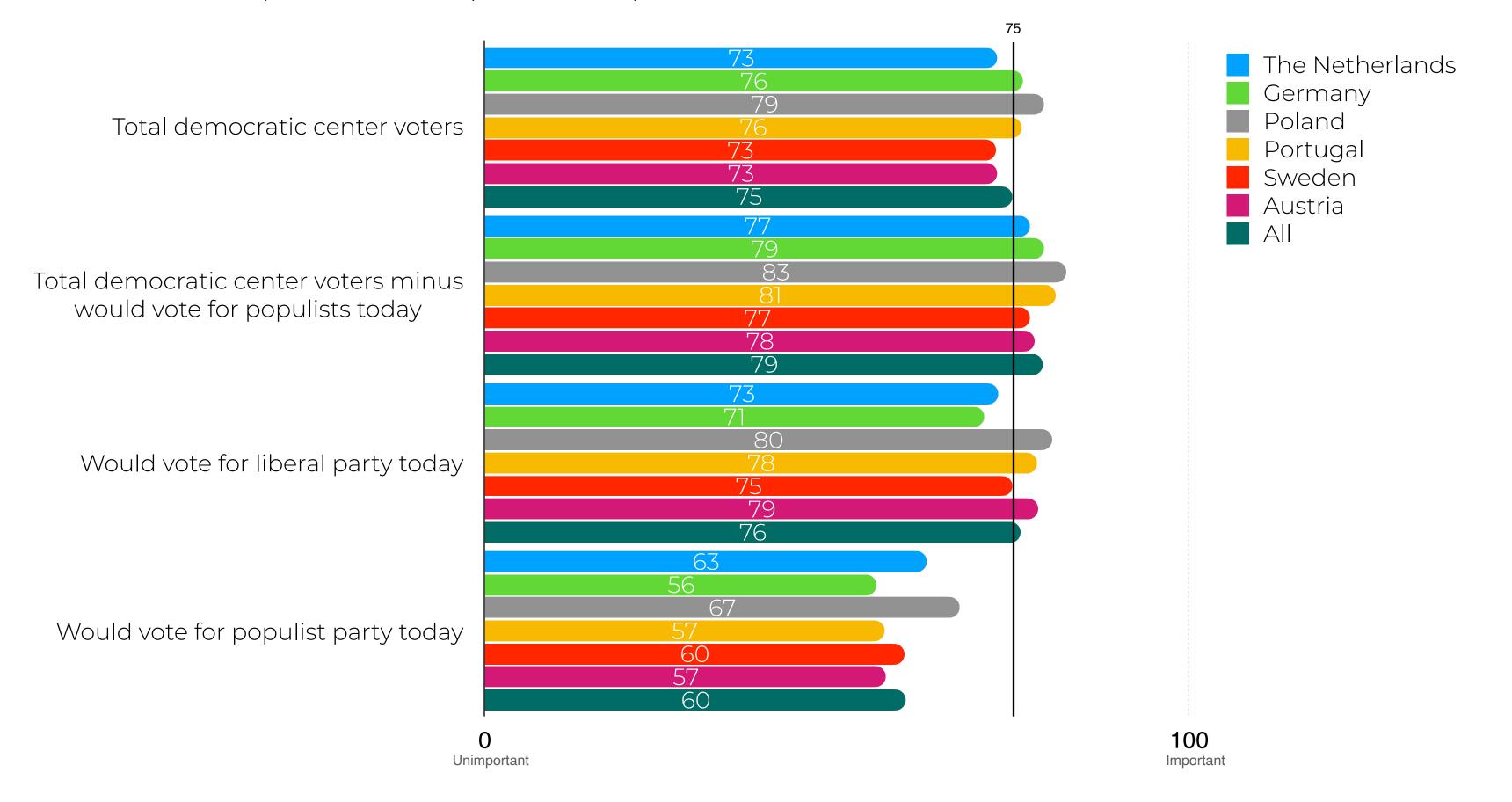
27. I don't want my children to live in a country where the extreme right is in charge.



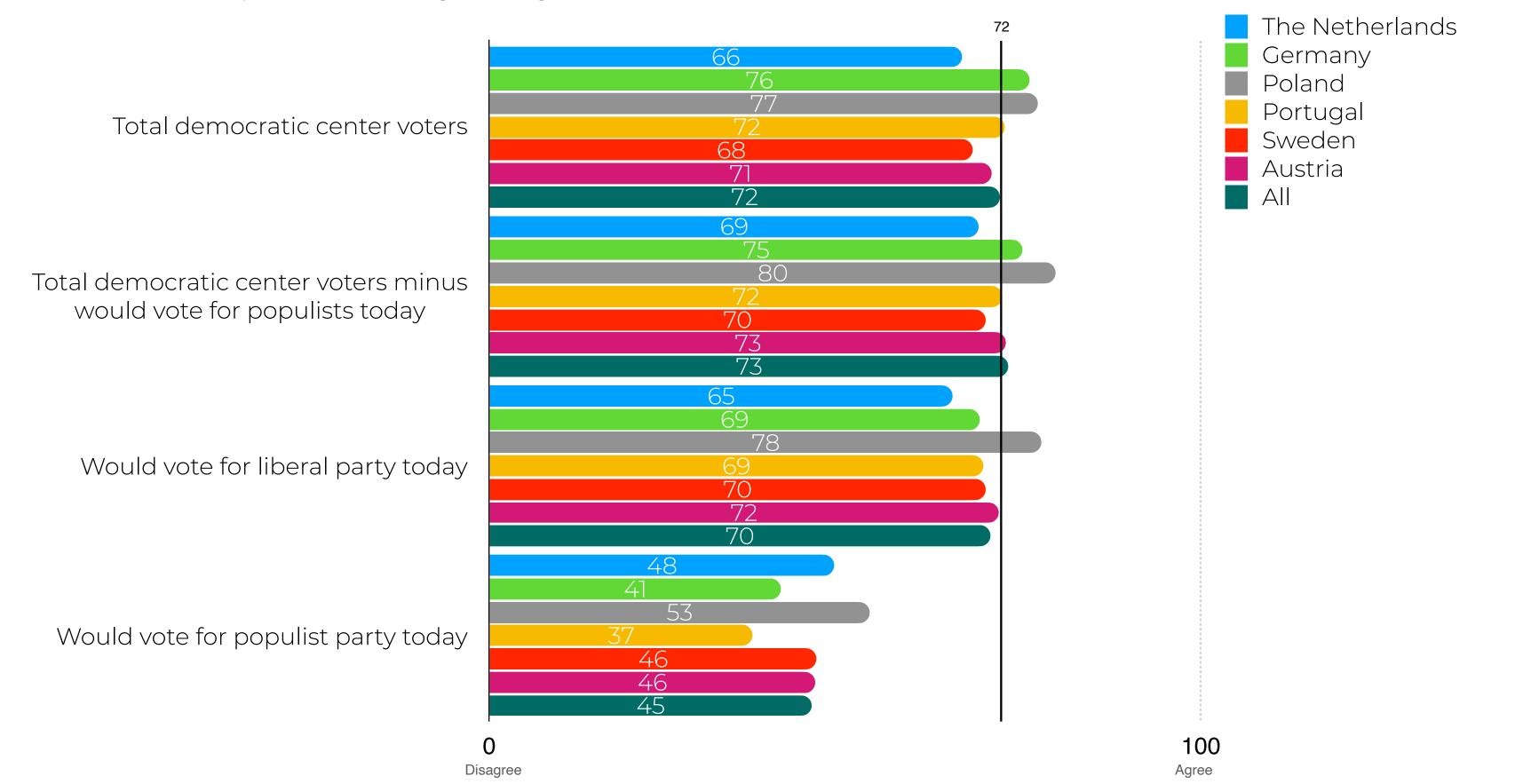
28. They only deliver more chaos, while we need stability.



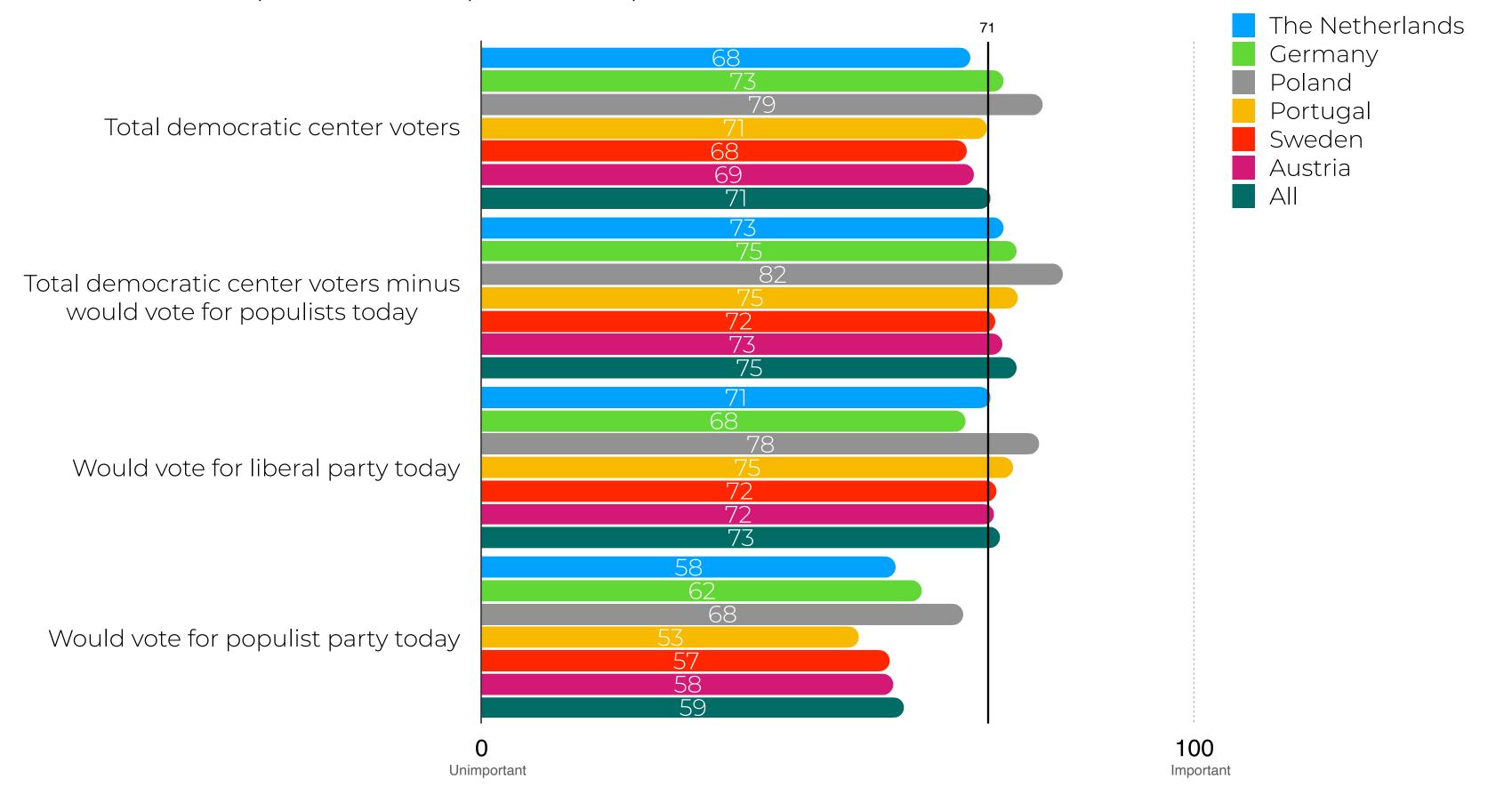
28. They only deliver more chaos, while we need stability.



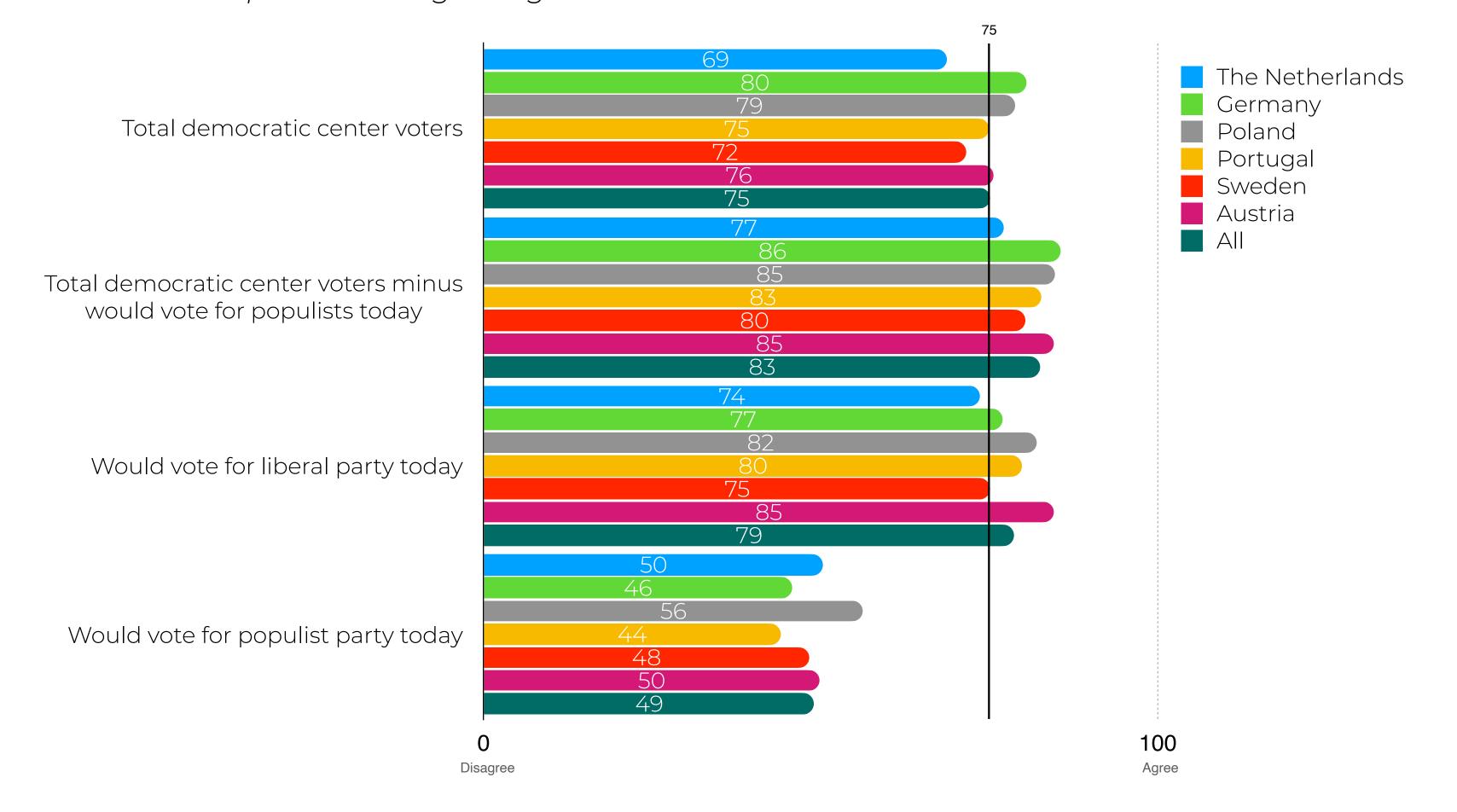
29. A government led by extreme right-wing parties will be too weak to make us competitive on the global stage, especially against rising powers such as China.



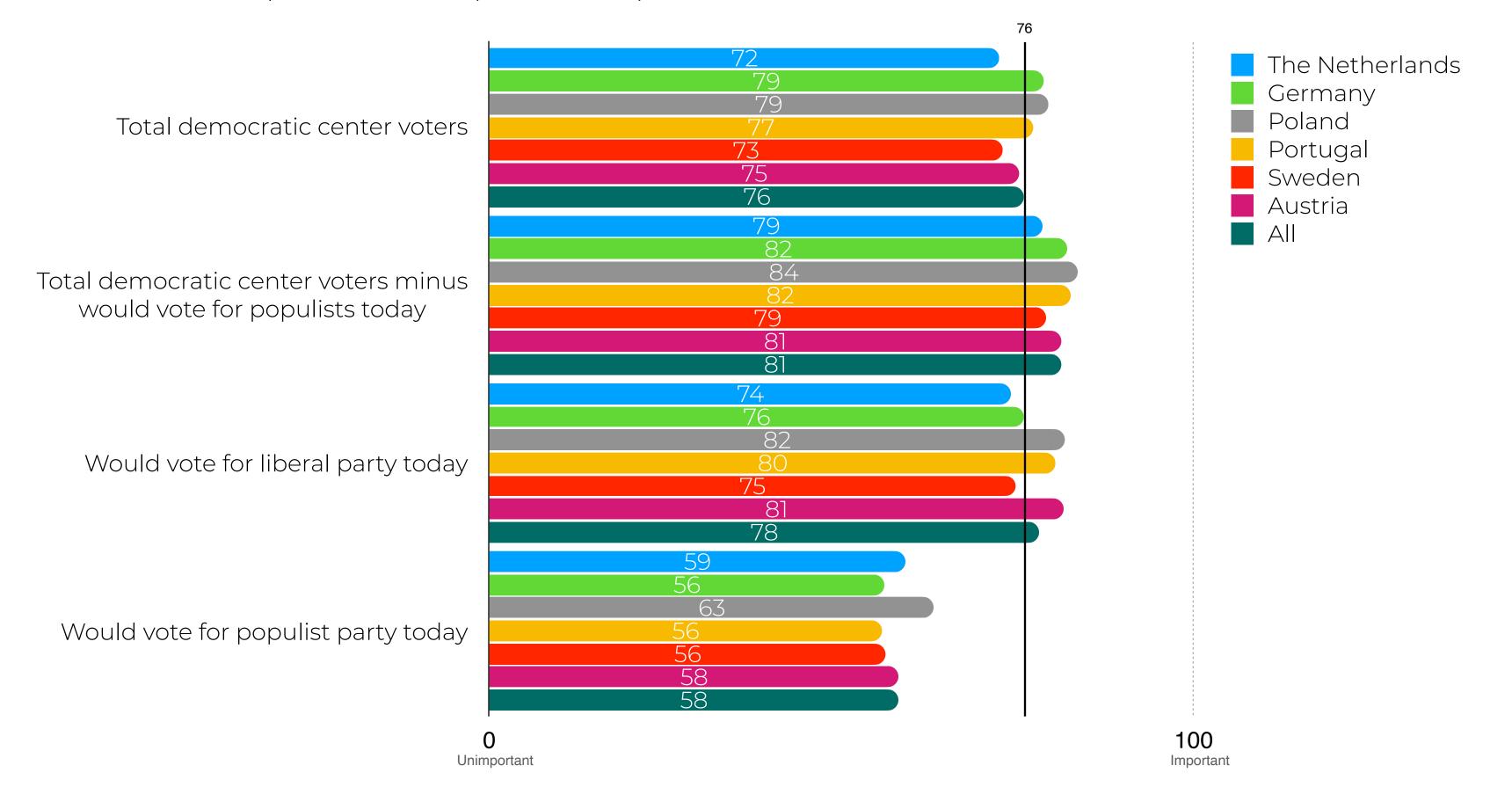
29. A government led by extreme right-wing parties will be too weak to make us competitive on the global stage, especially against rising powers such as China.



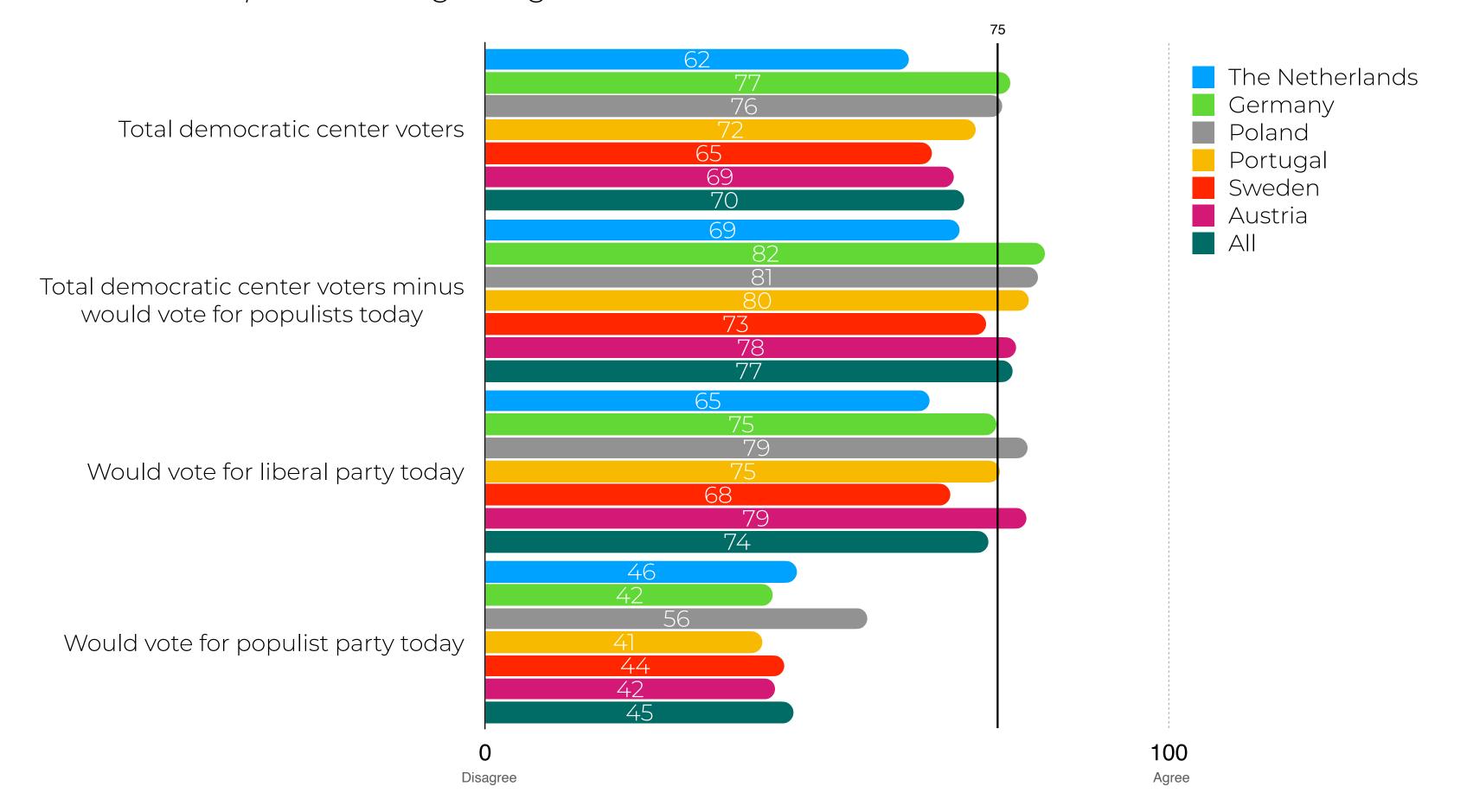
30. They increase polarization and hate in our societies.



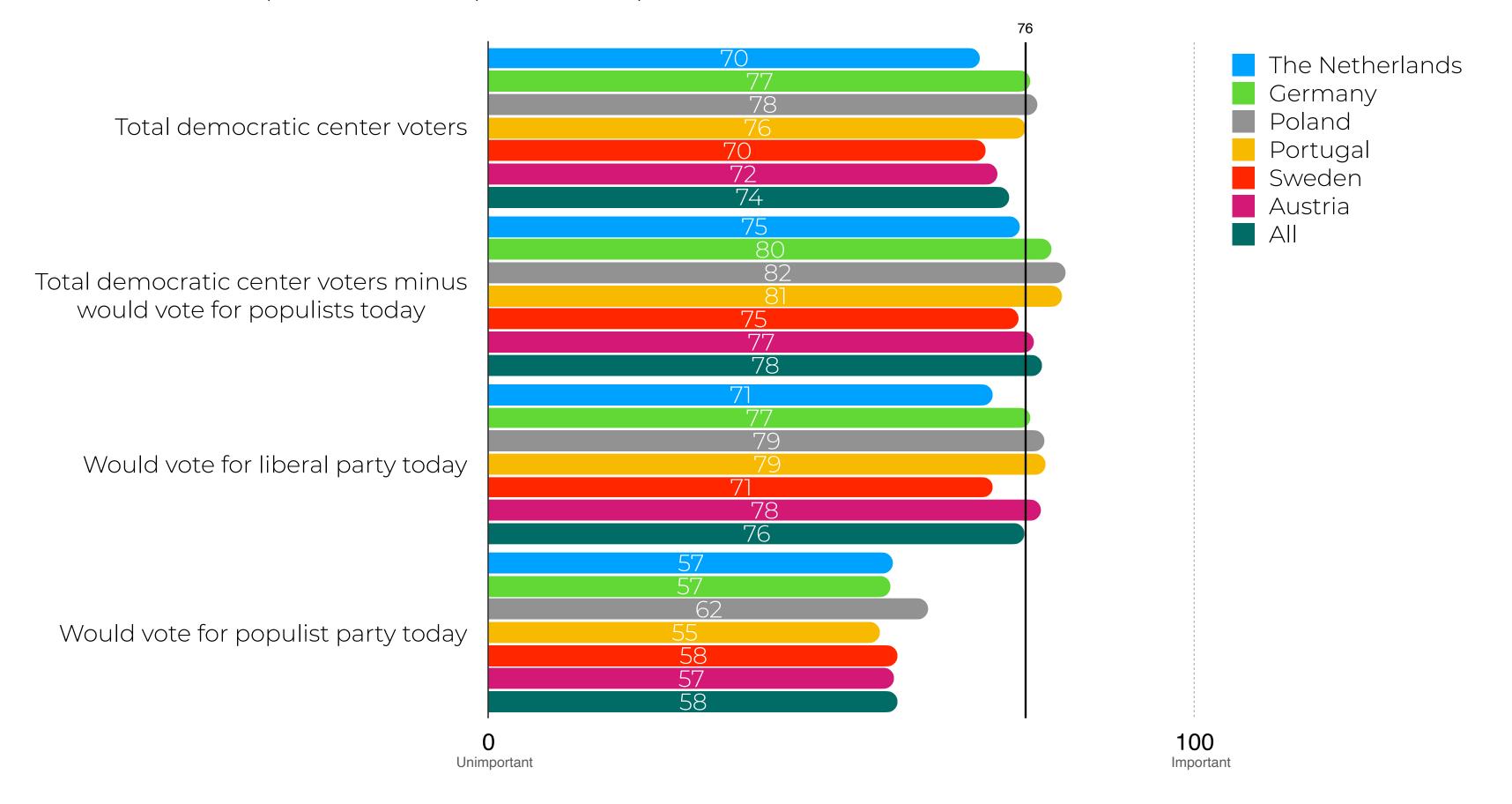
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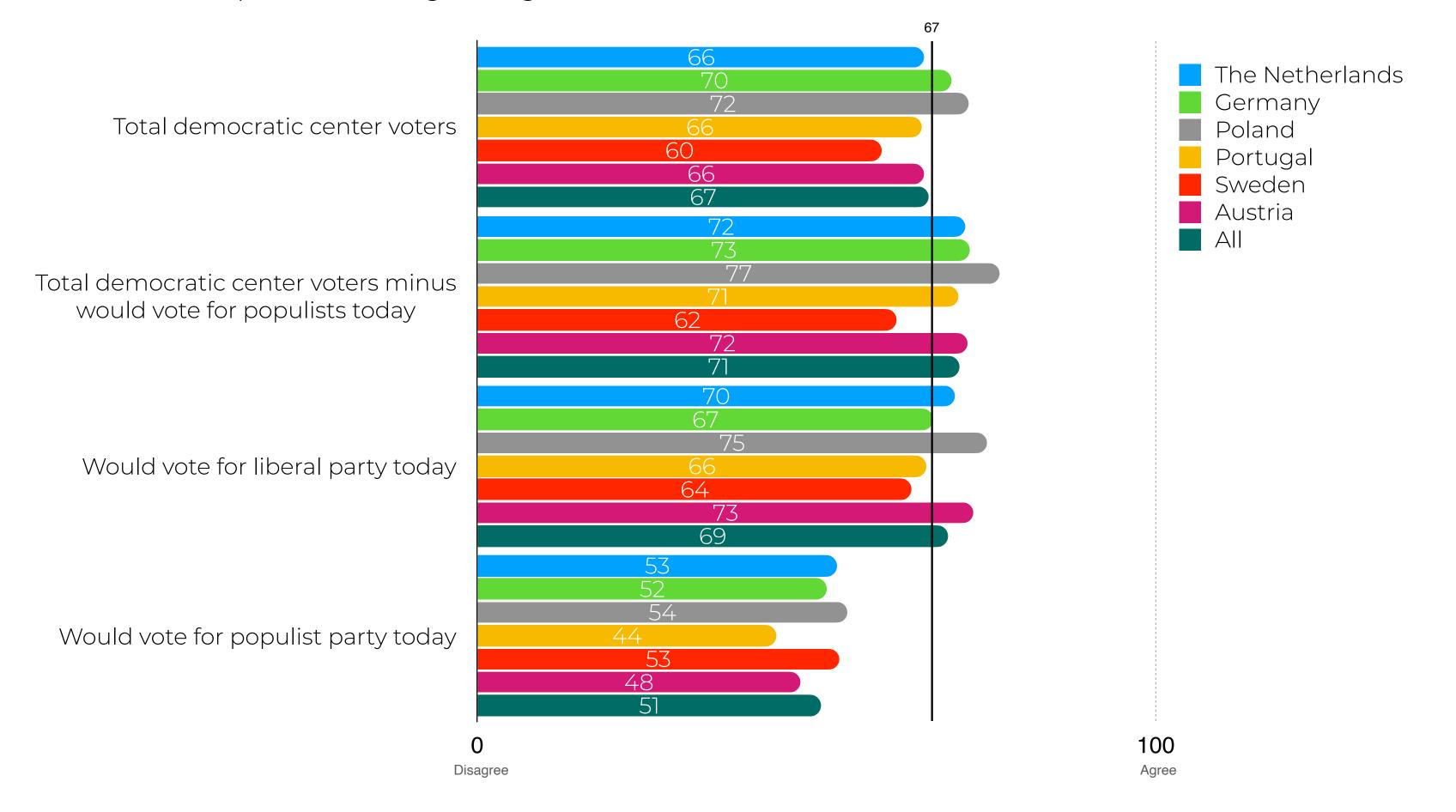
31. They will destroy our open societies and turn them into closed ones.



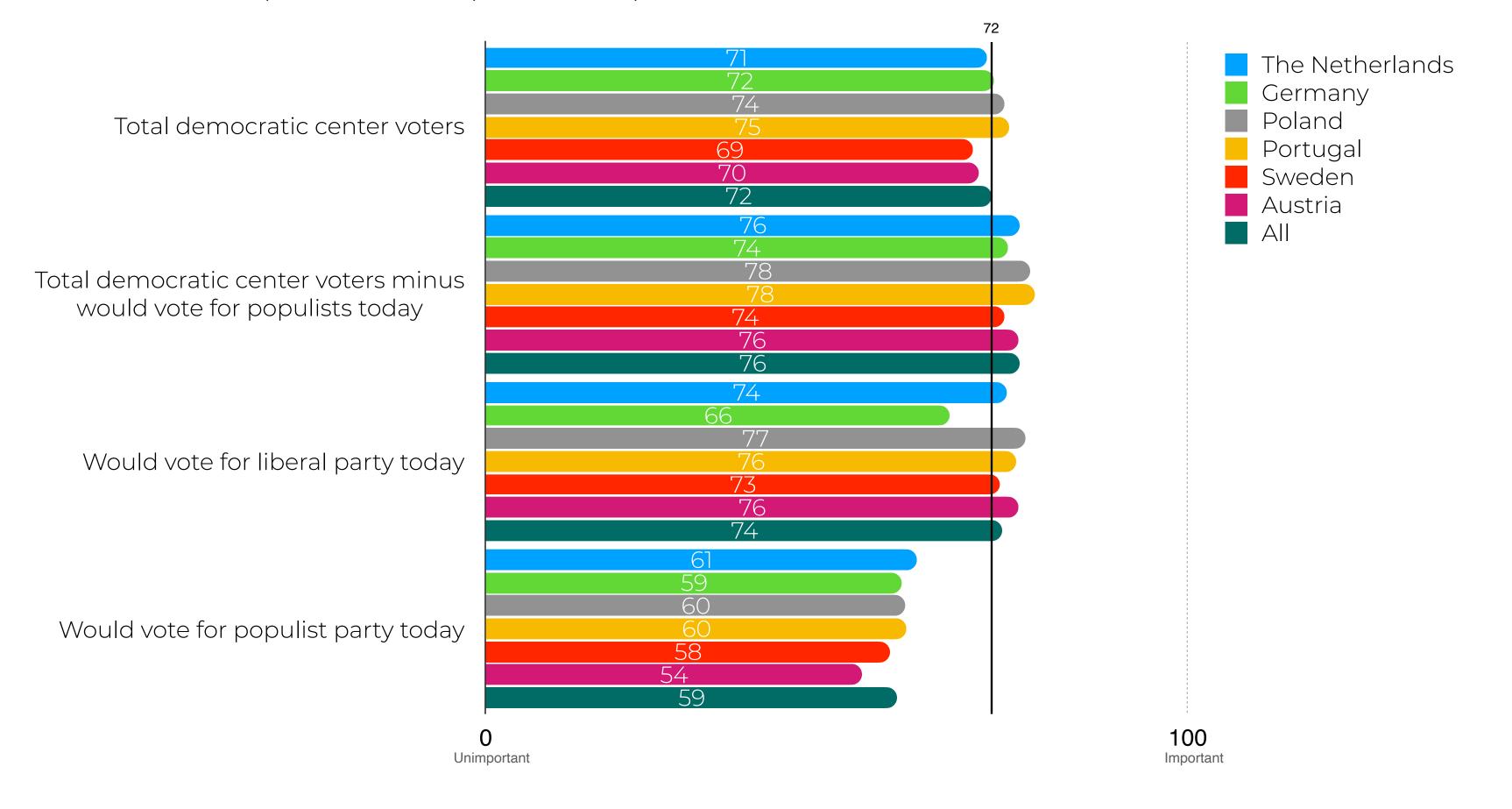
31. They will destroy our open societies and turn them into closed ones.



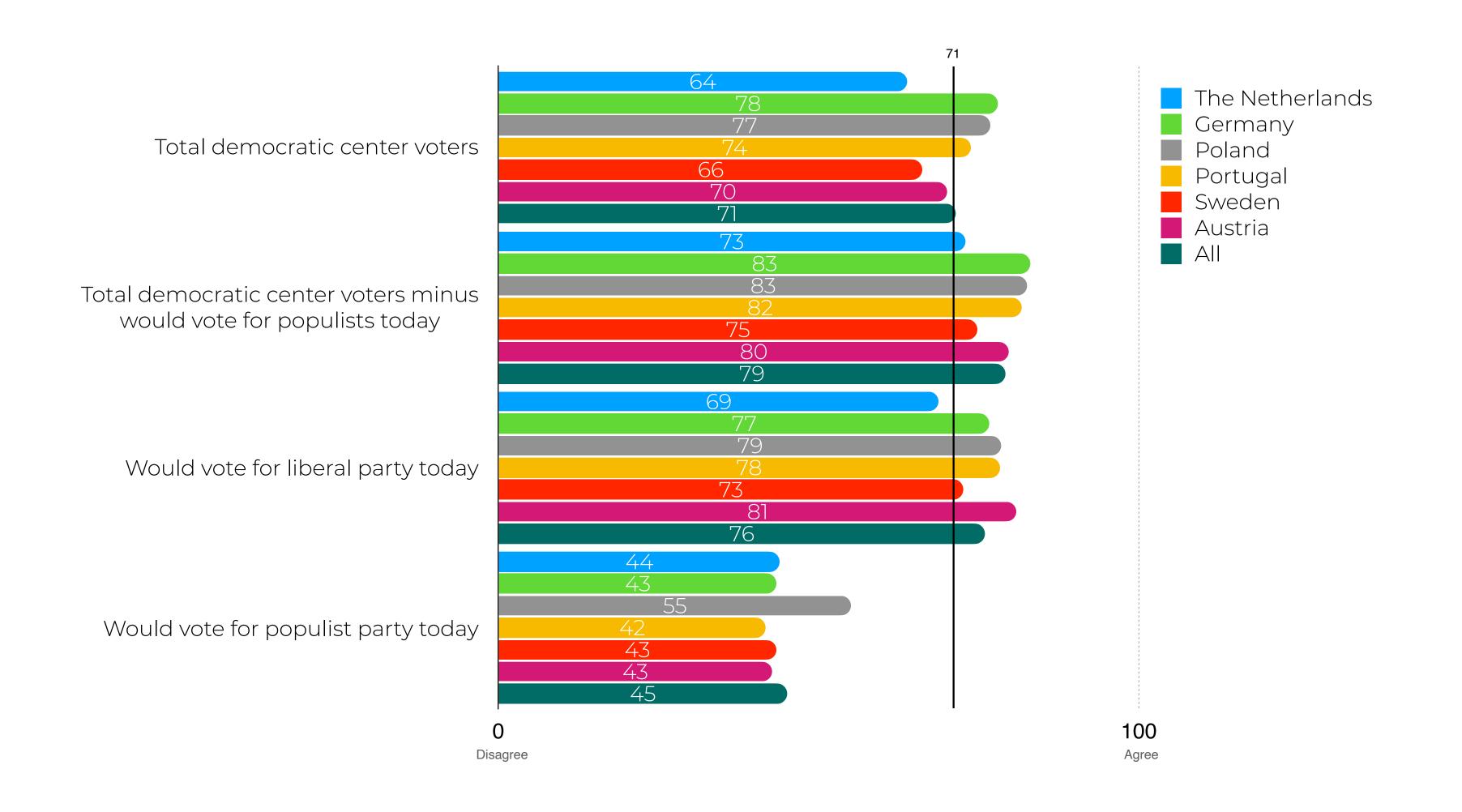
32. They will reverse highly necessary measures to fight climate change and stop global warming.



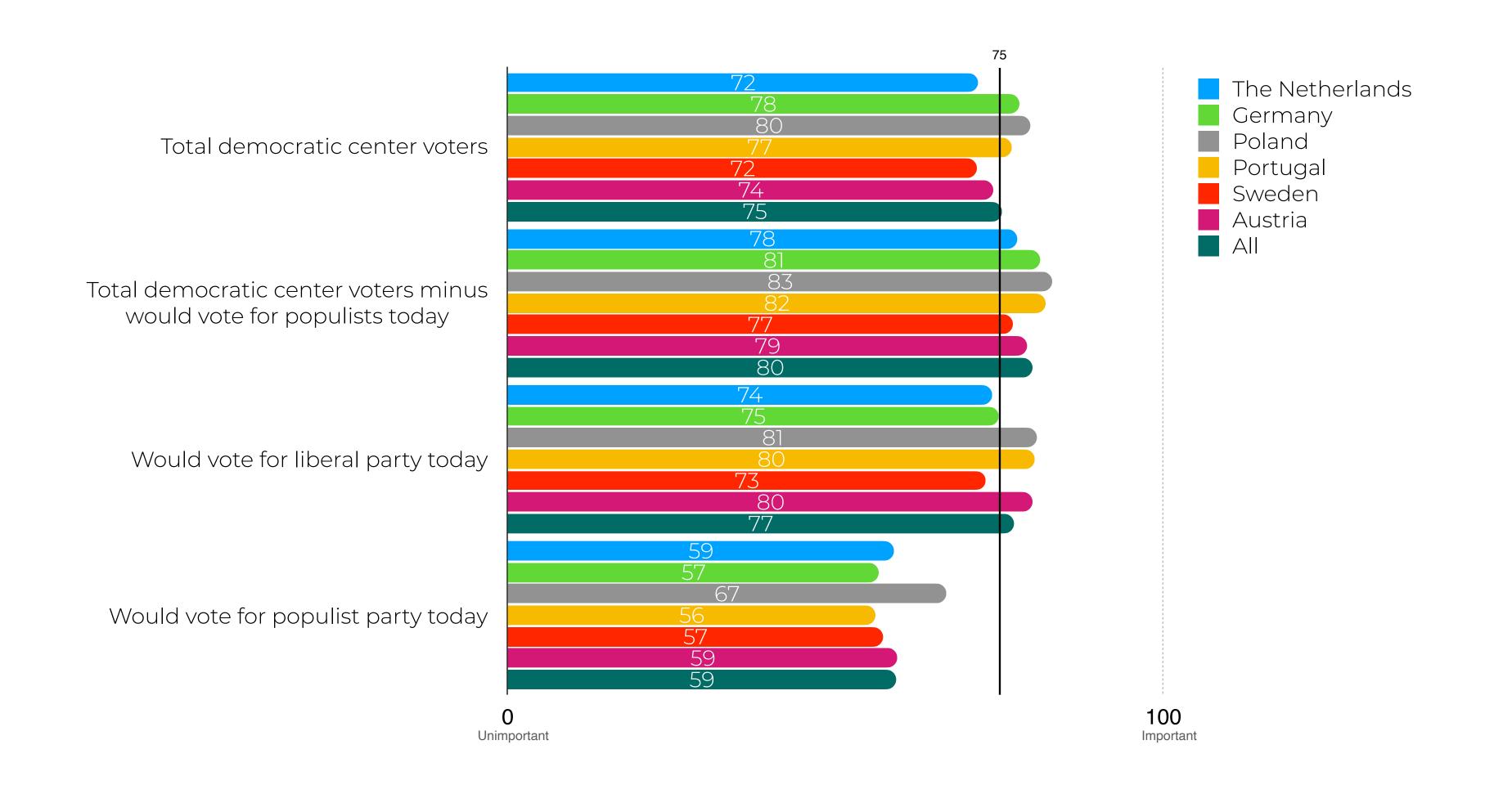
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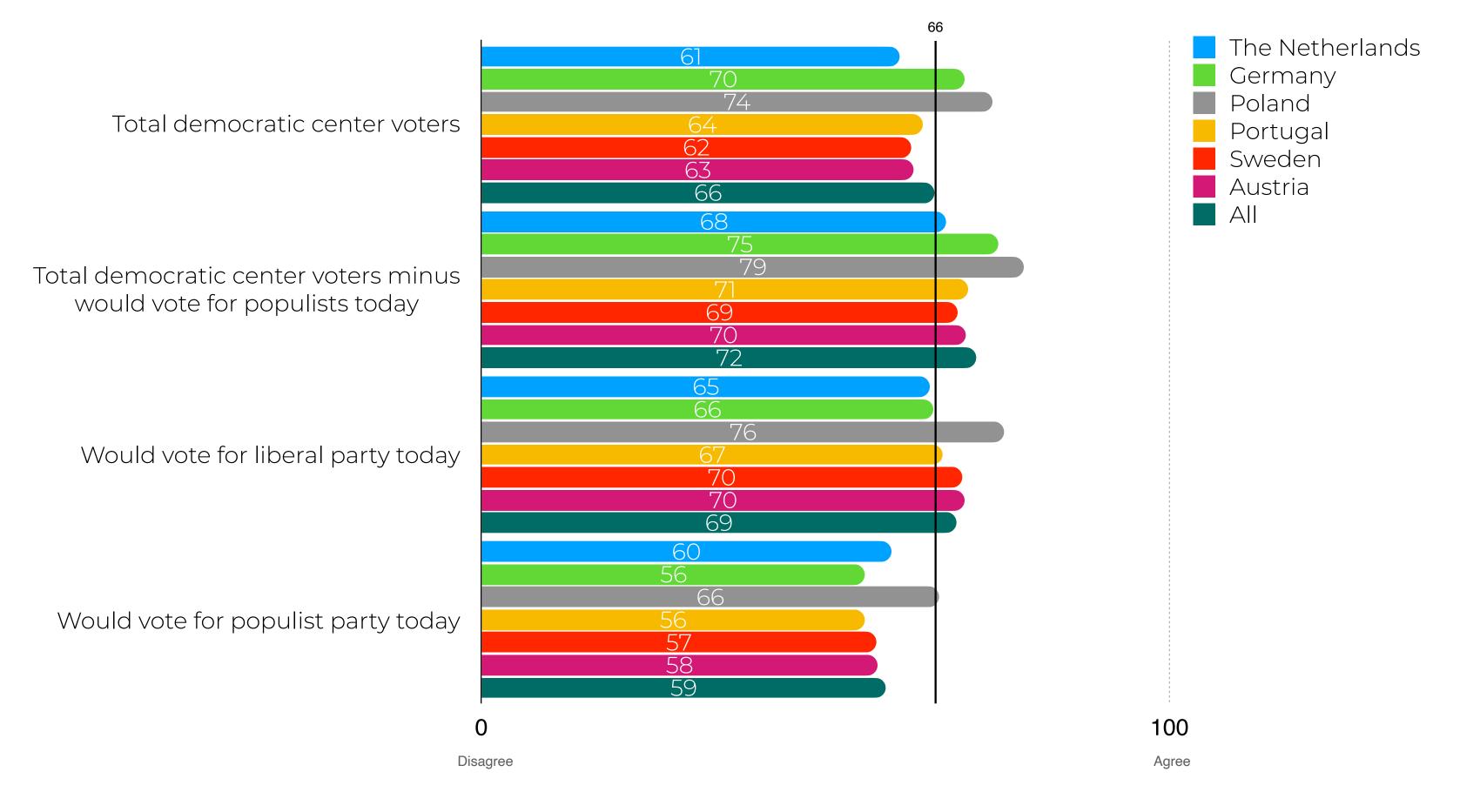
33. They threaten the rule of law.



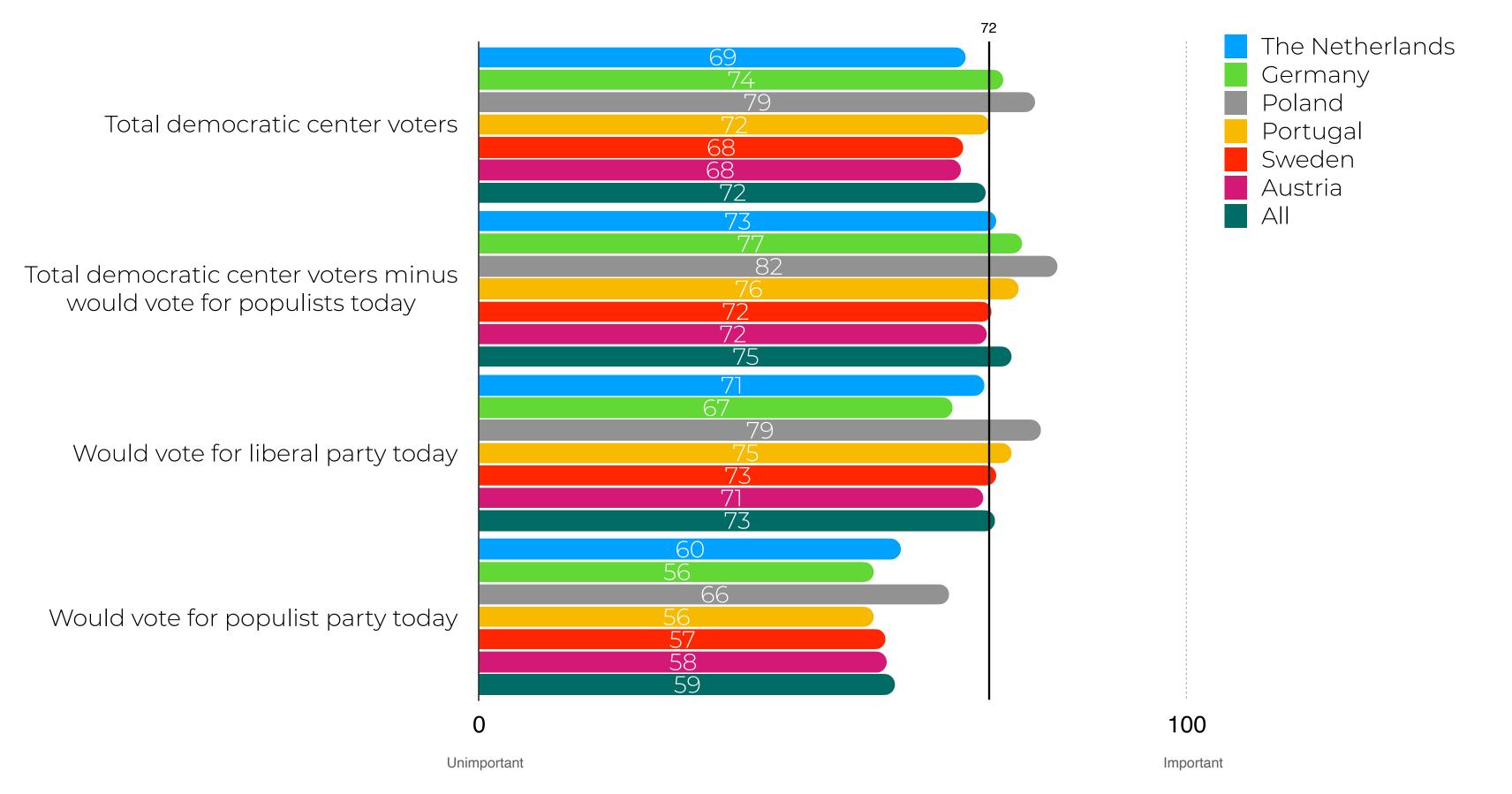
33. They threaten the rule of law.



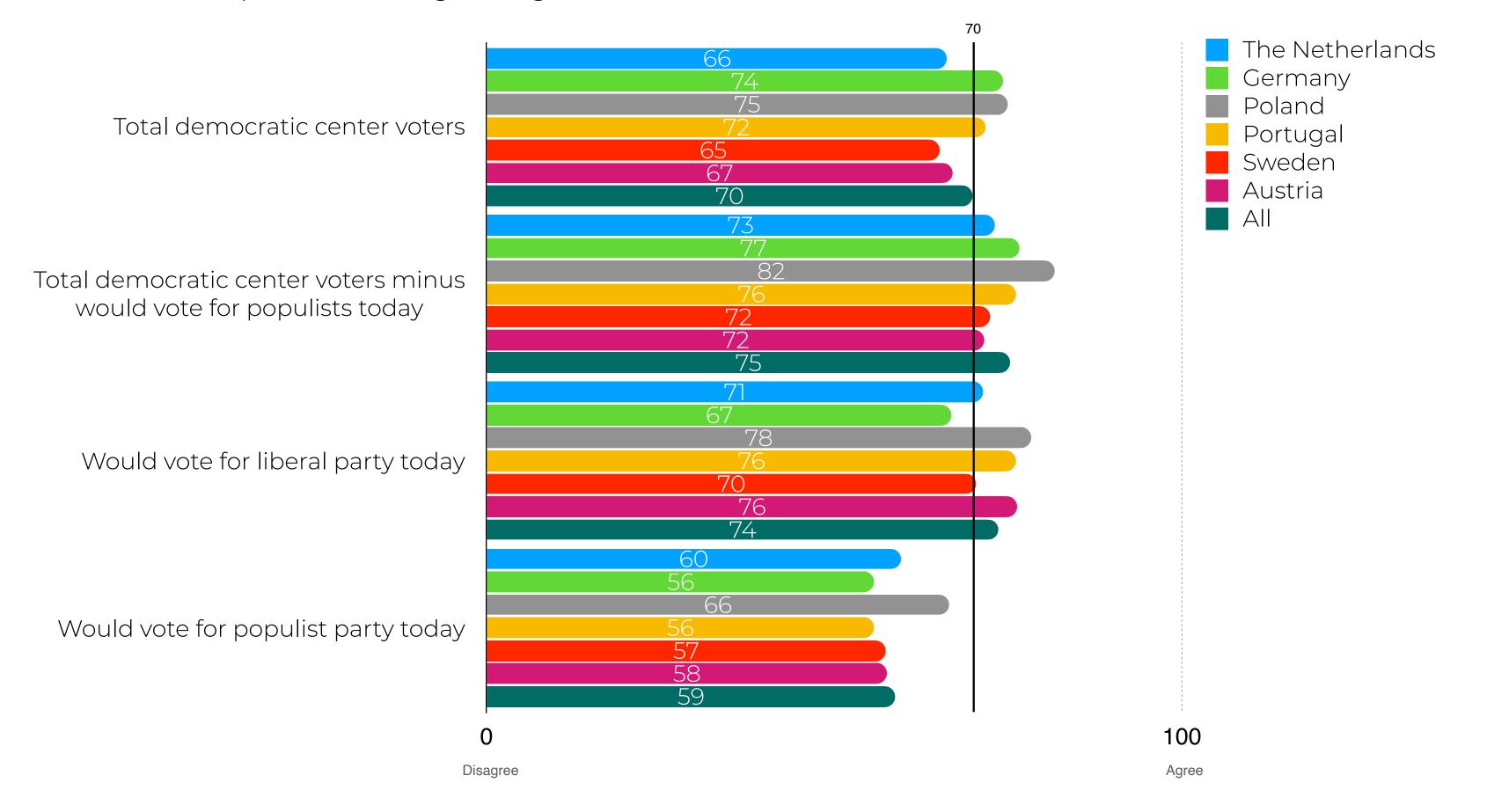
34. Their policies will make everything more expensive and Europe will its lose economic position in the world.



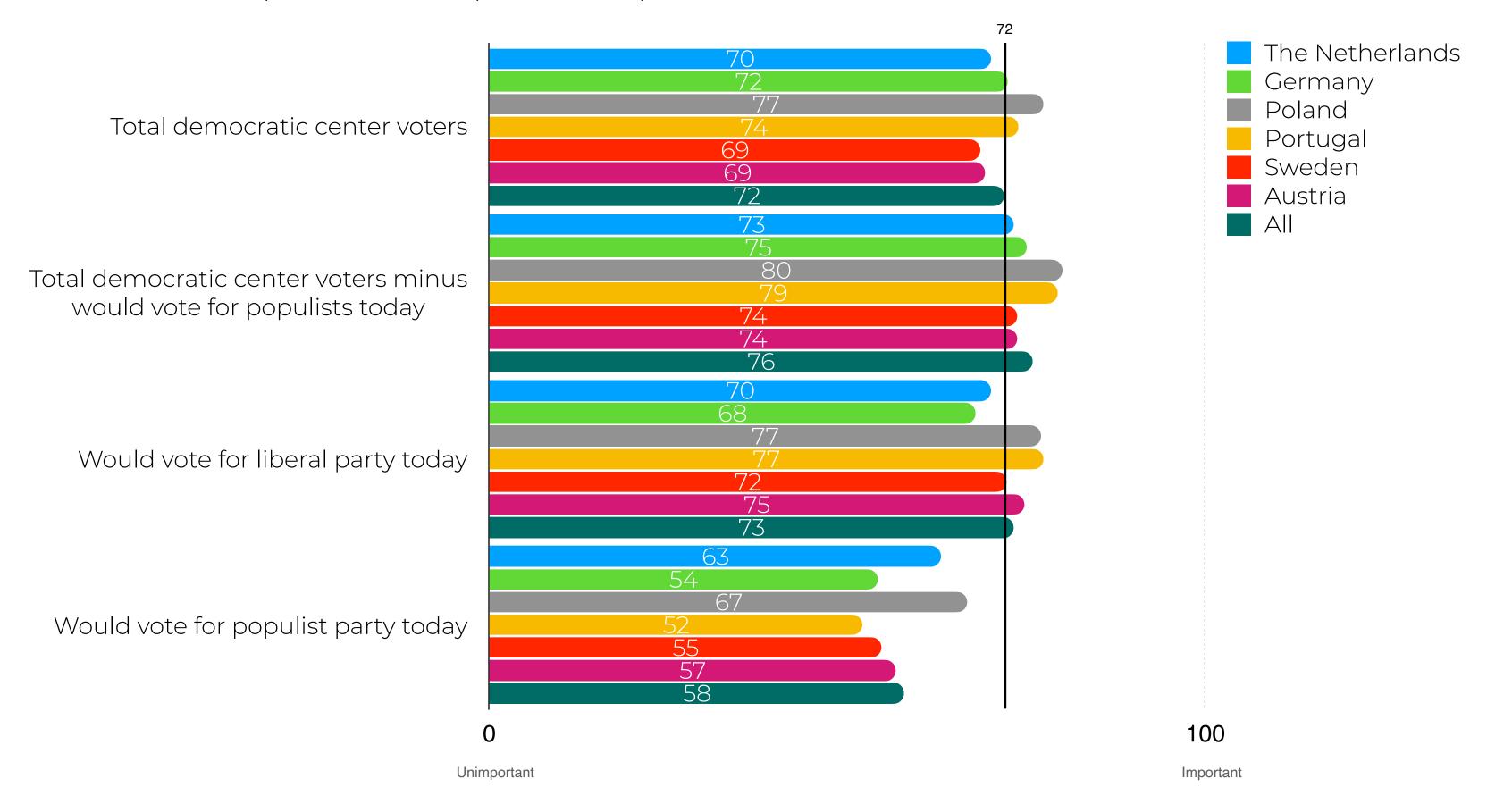
34. Their policies will make everything more expensive and Europe will its lose economic position in the world.



35. Their policies are irresponsible and most of the times impossible to enact.

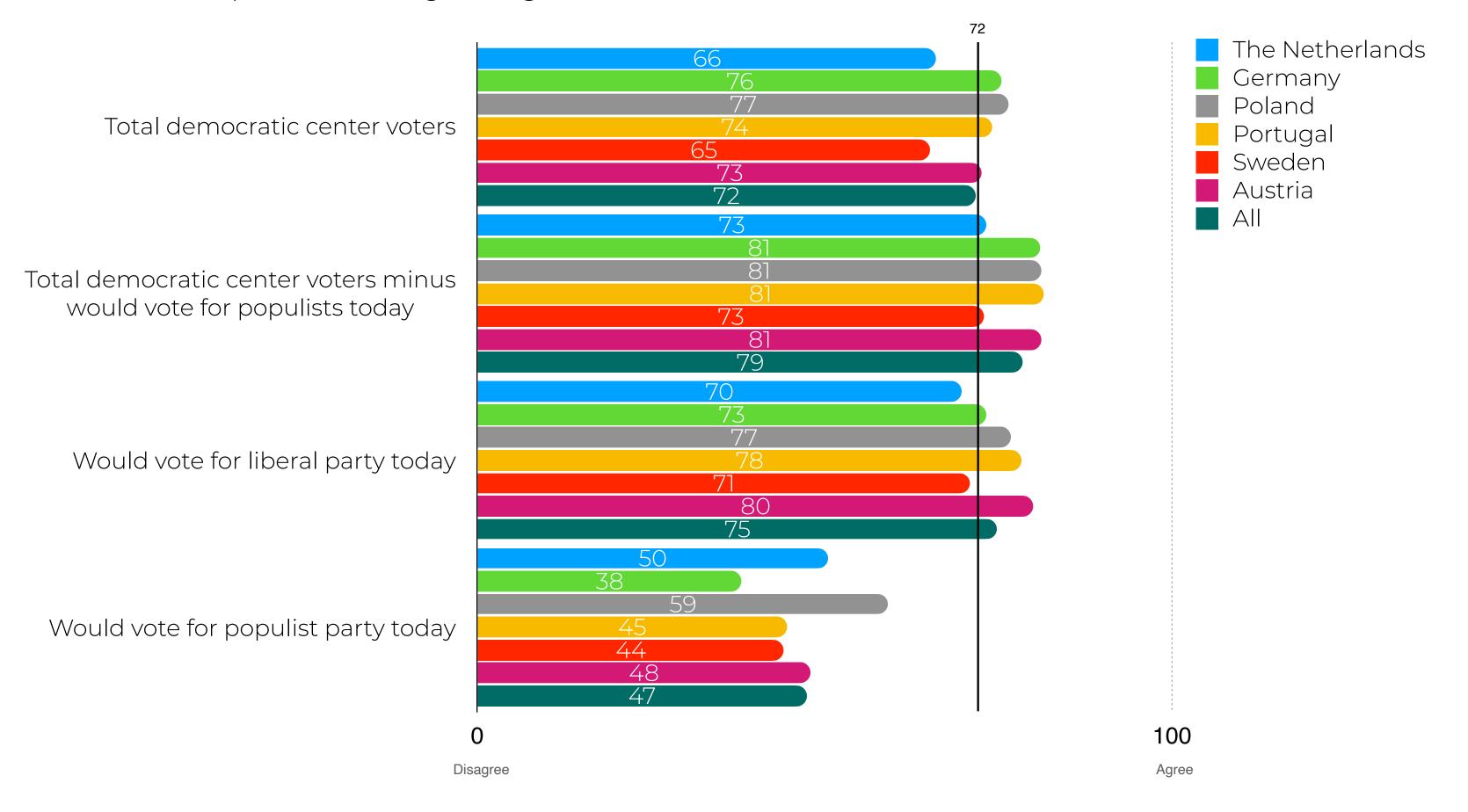


35. Their policies are irresponsible and most of the times impossible to enact.



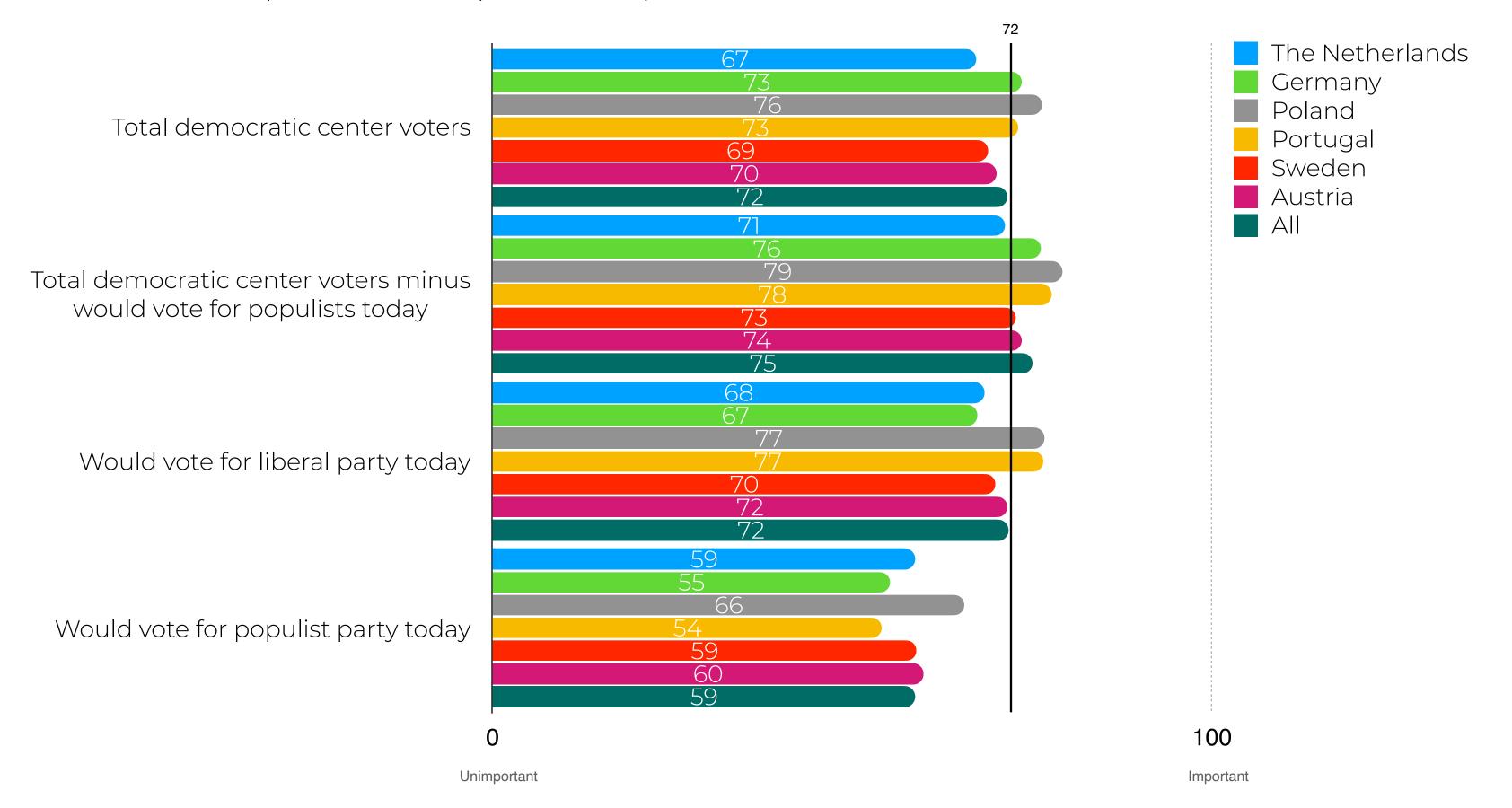
36. They complain about everything, but they never deliver results.

Slider question: disagree-agree score on a scale of 0 to 100



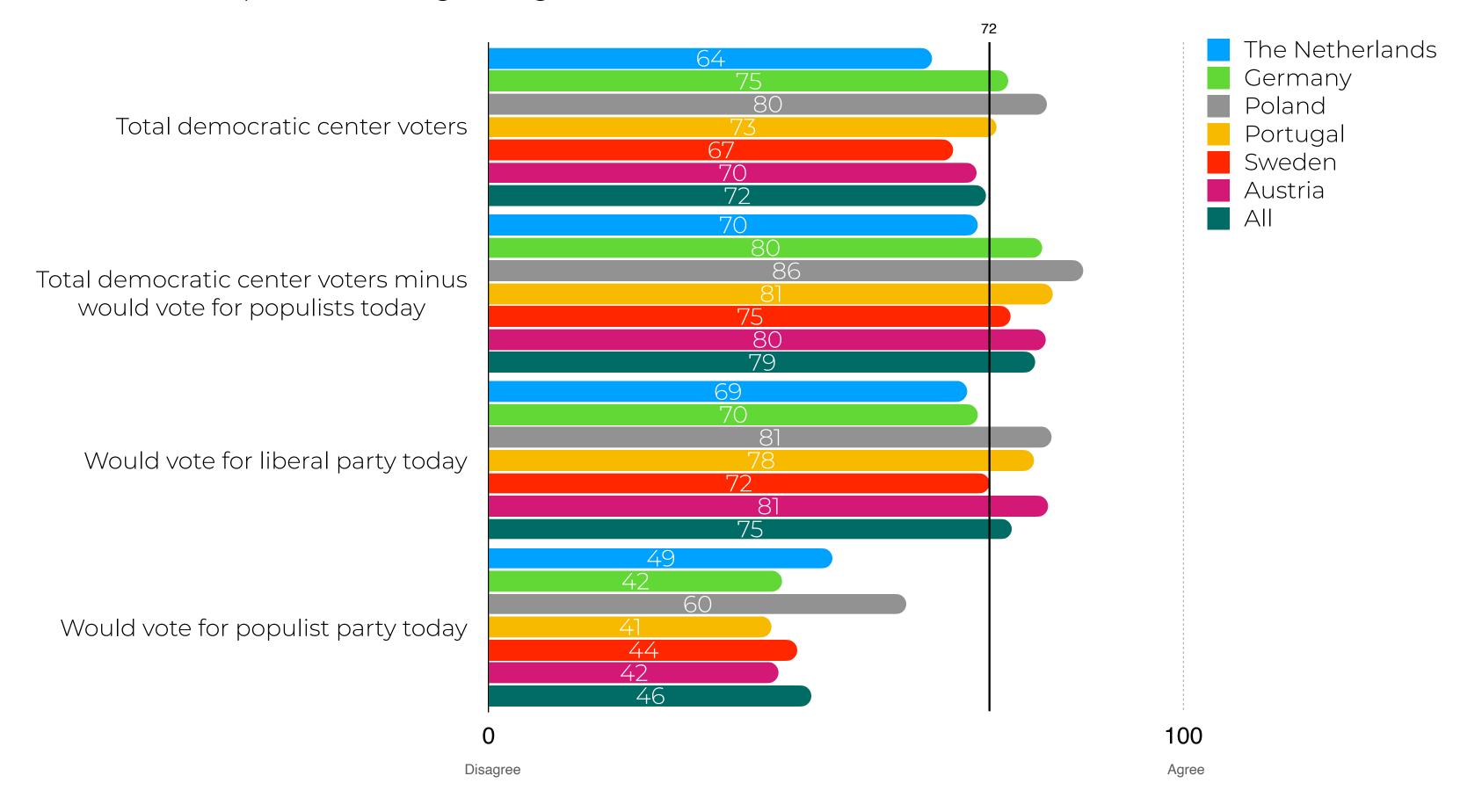
36. They complain about everything, but they never deliver results.

Slider question: unimportant-important score on a scale of 0 to 100



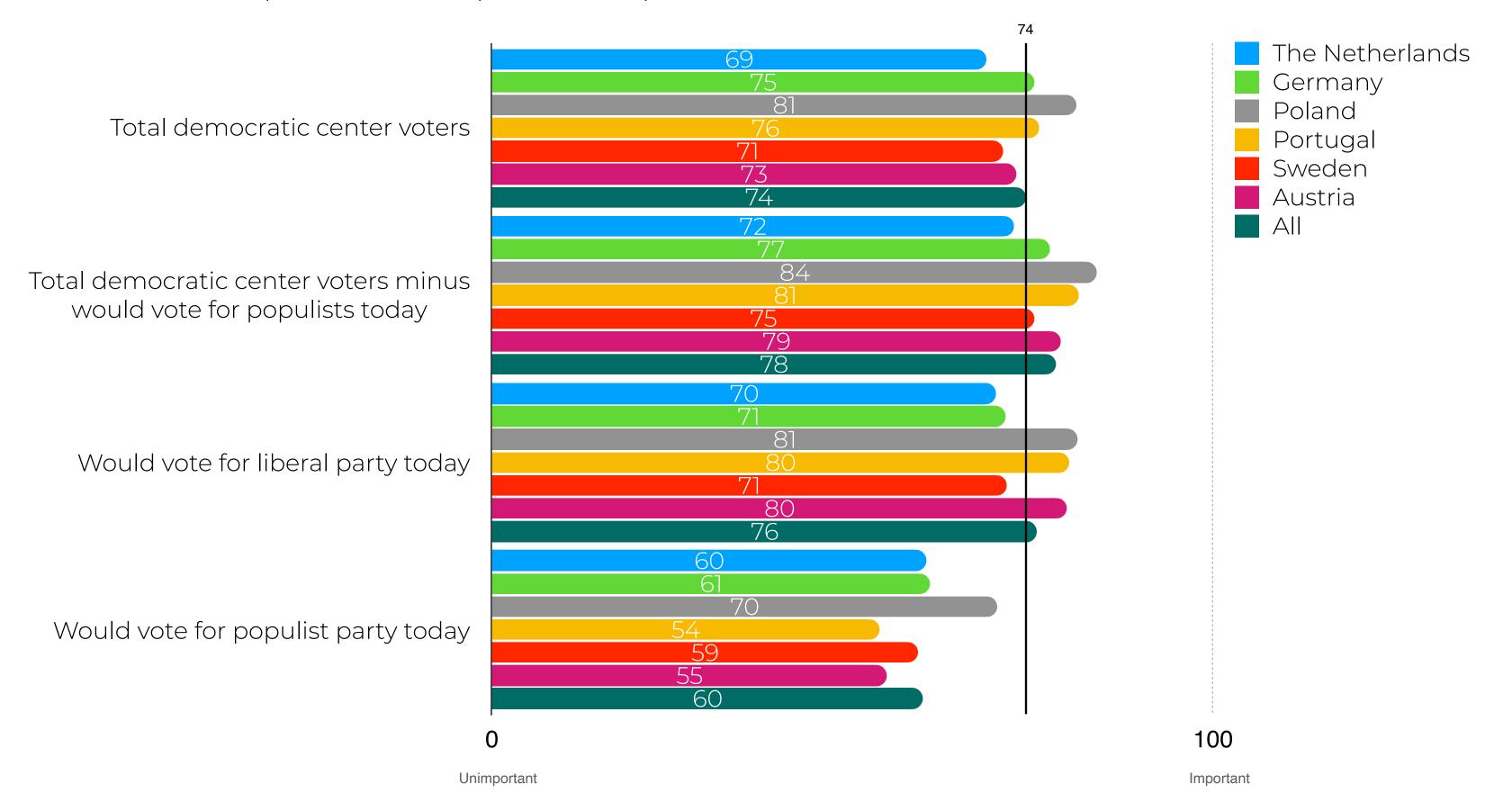
37. They care more about power than about people.

Slider question: disagree-agree score on a scale of 0 to 100



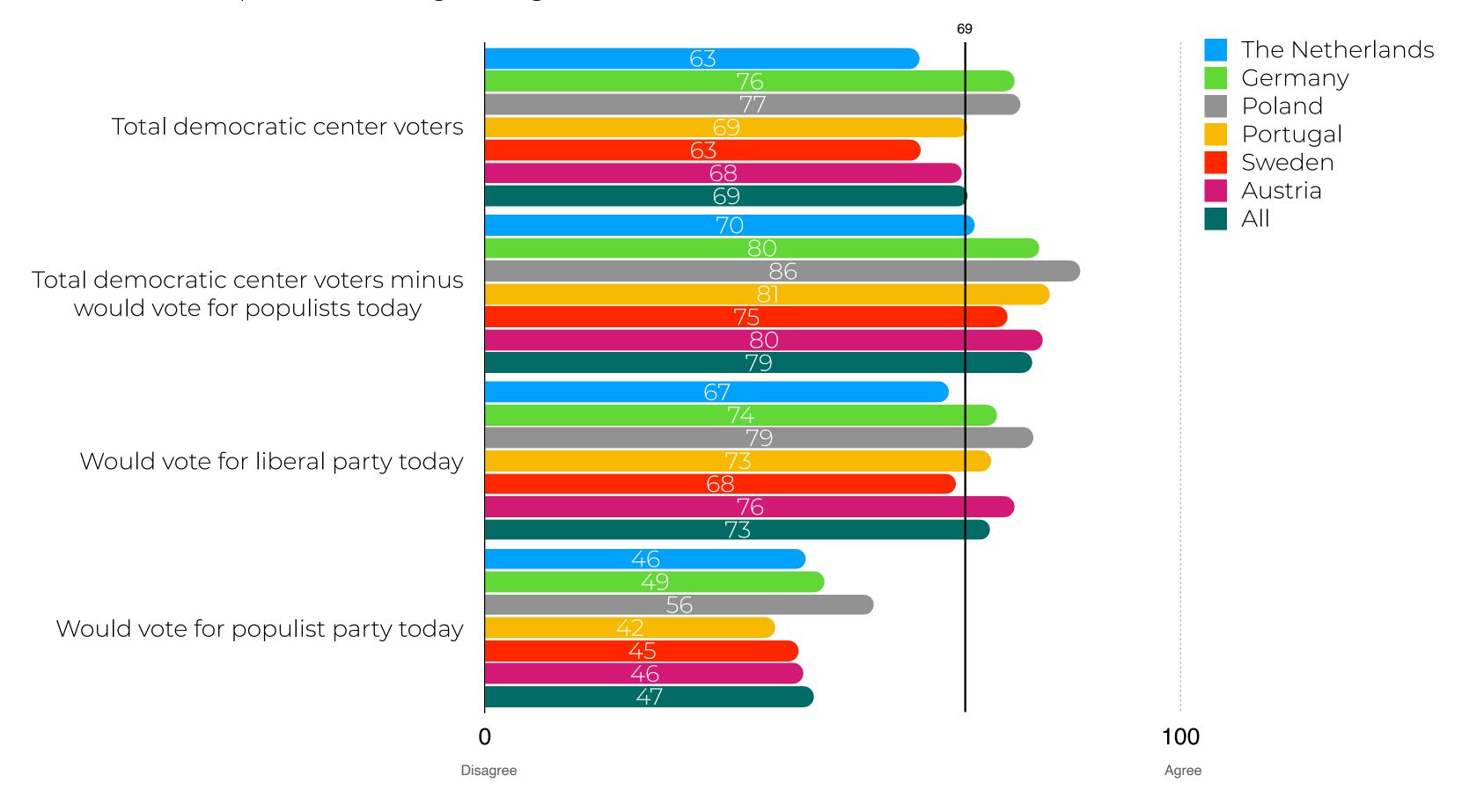
37. They care more about power than about people.

Slider question: unimportant-important score on a scale of 0 to 100



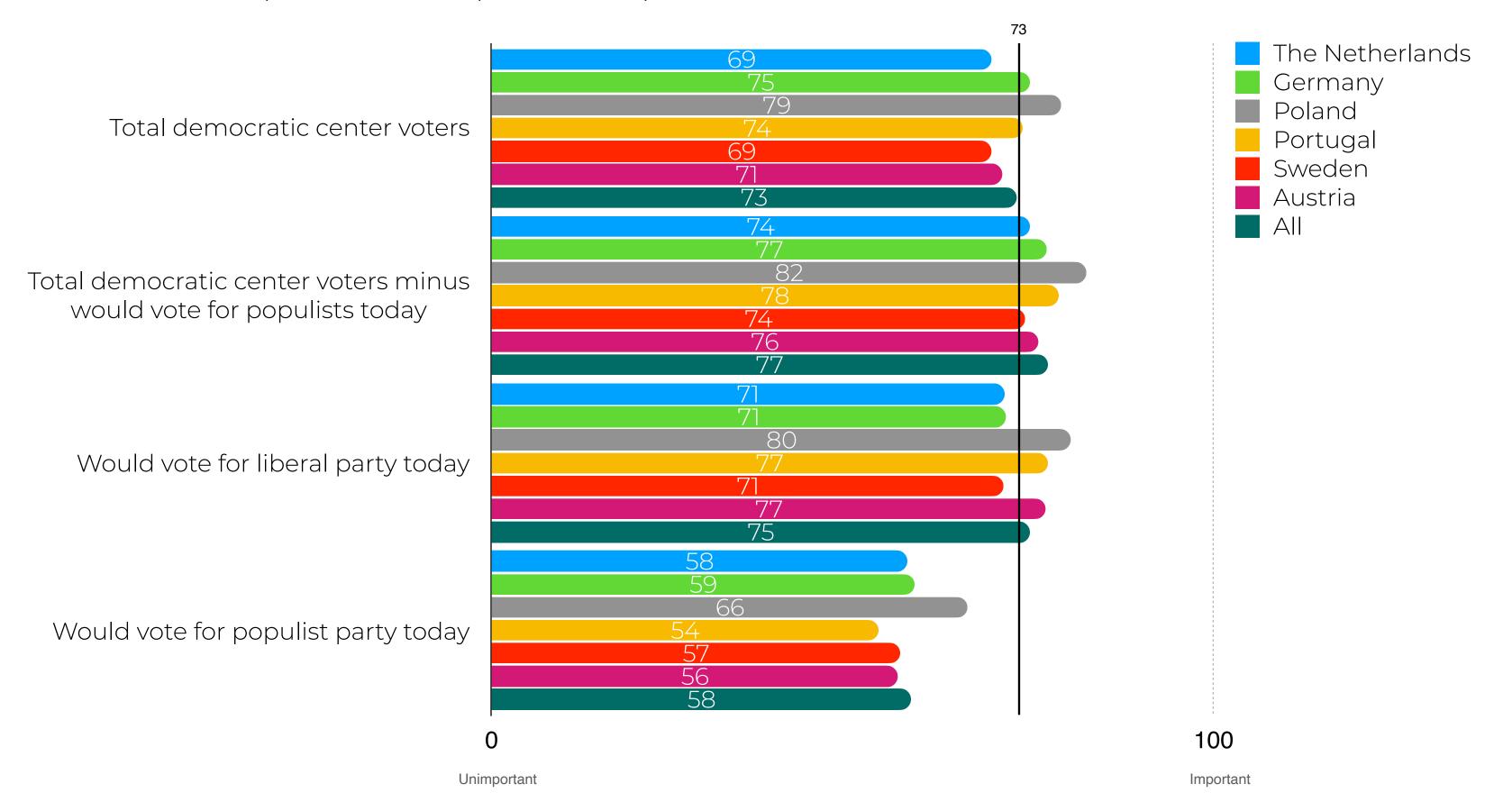
38. They will alienate us from our international alliances and partners.

Slider question: disagree-agree score on a scale of 0 to 100



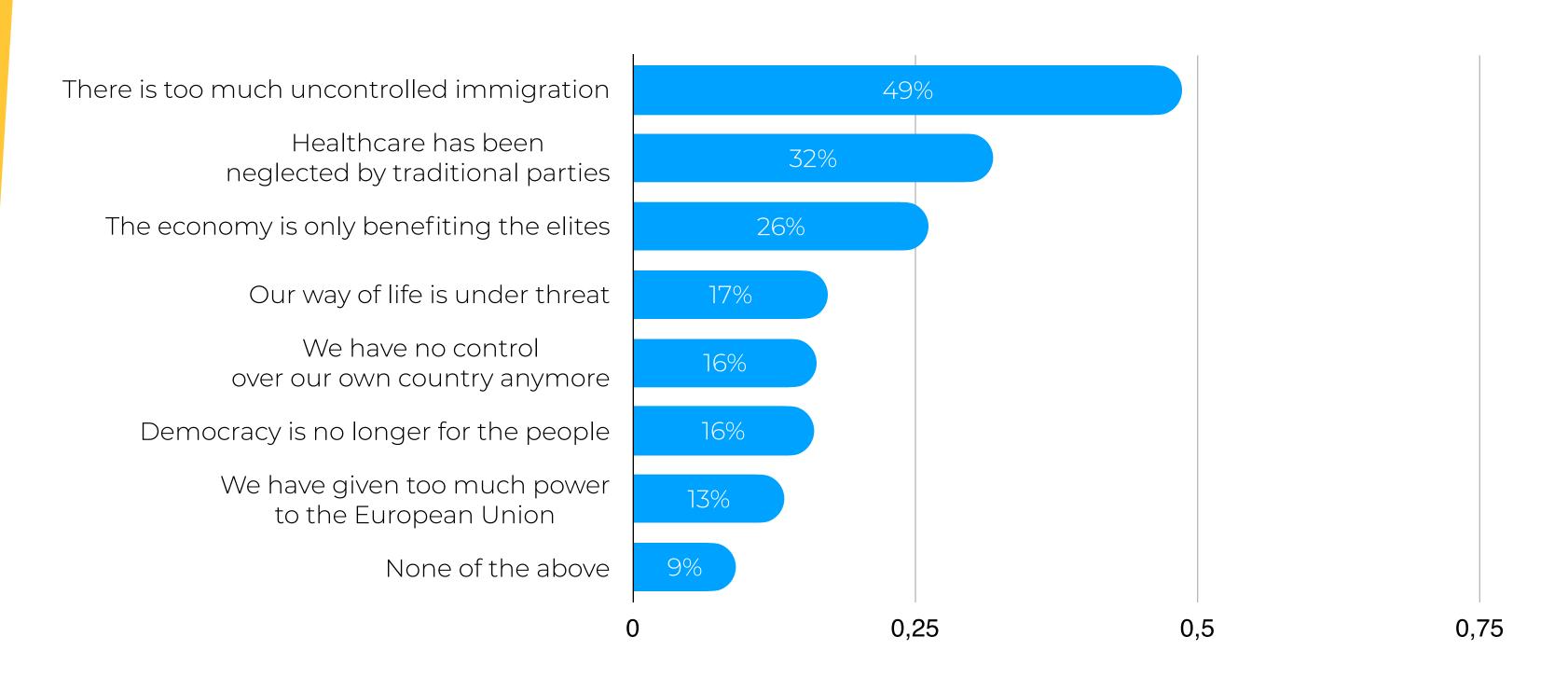
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Slider question: unimportant-important score on a scale of 0 to 100

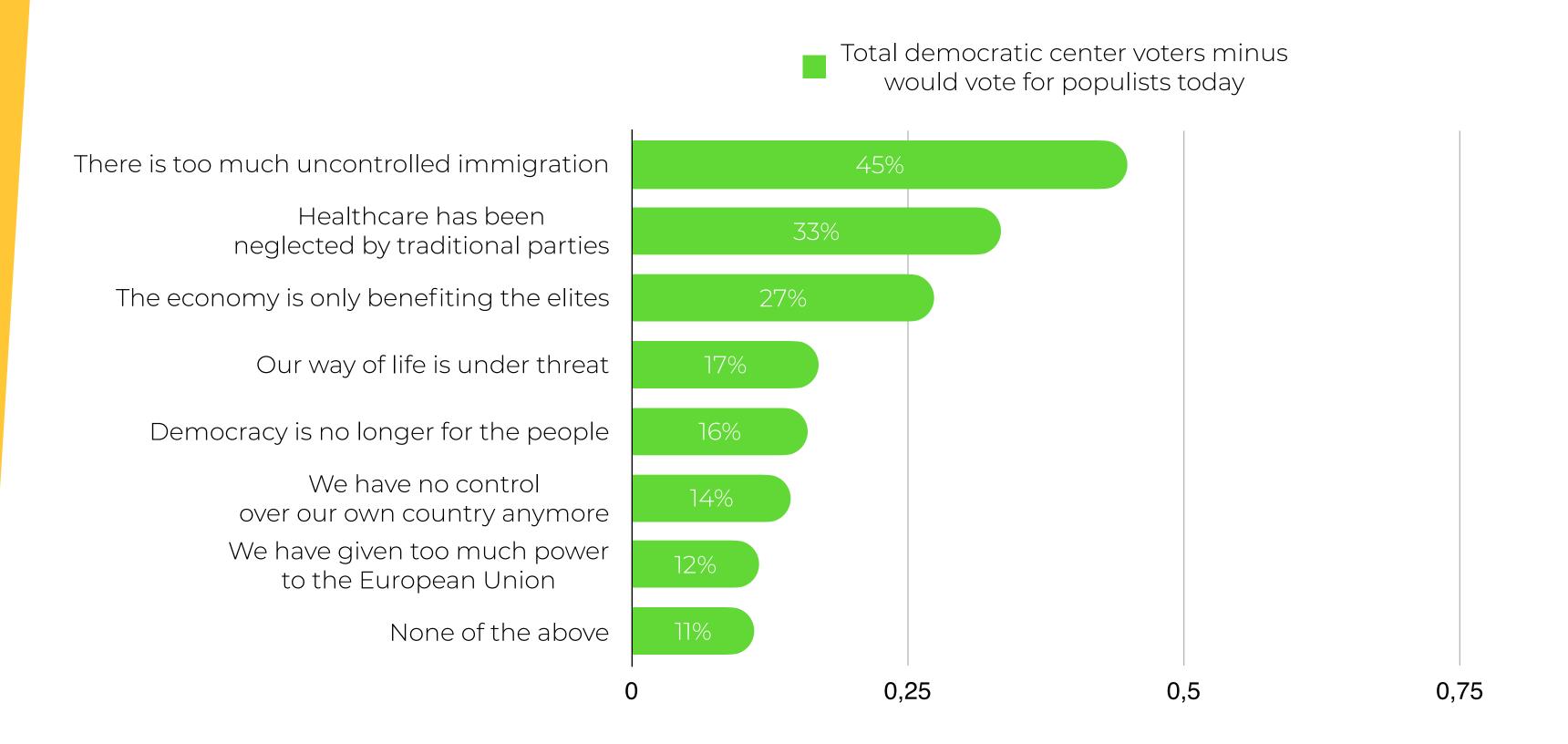


Which of these do you agree are important issues? Choose a maximum of 2 from the following options

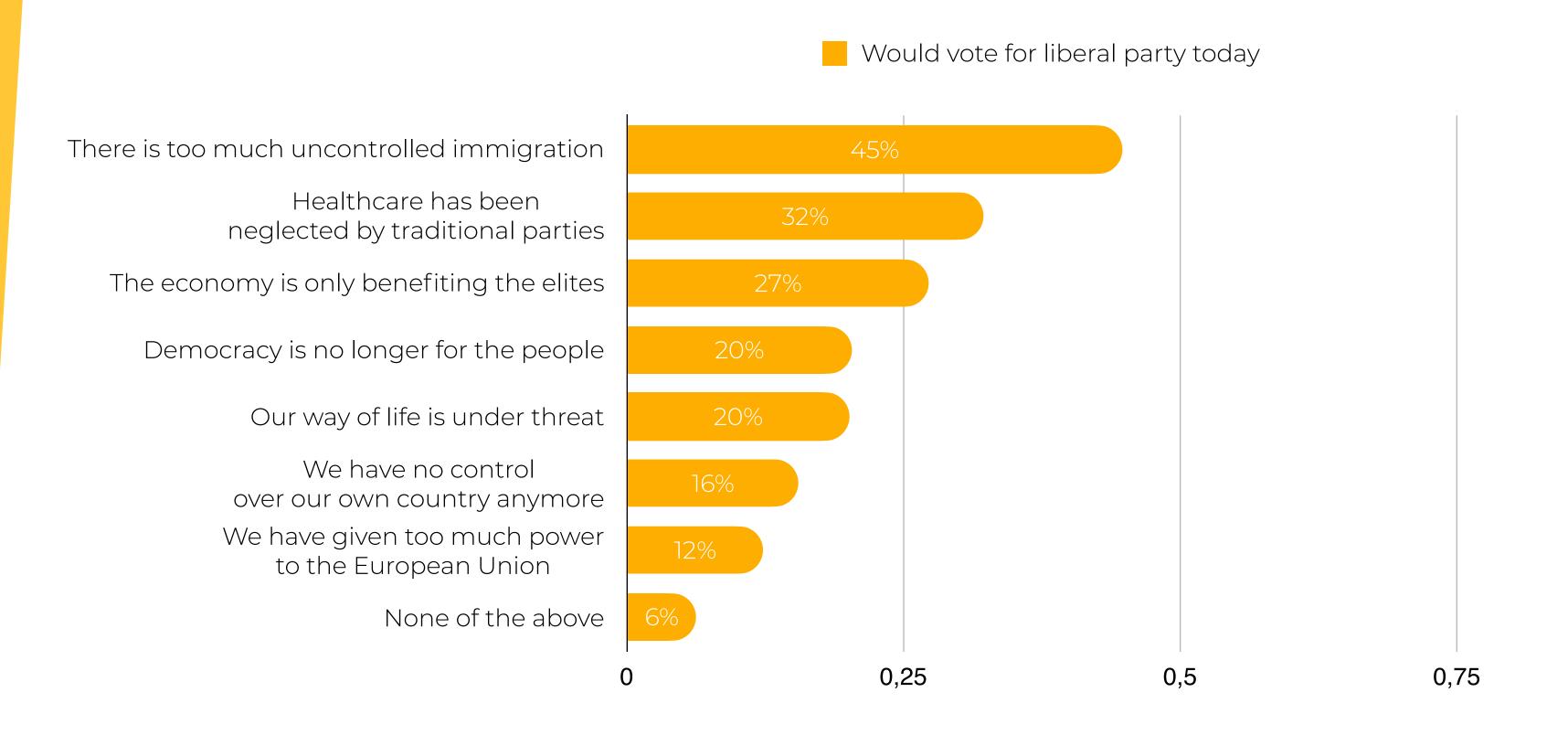
Total democratic center voters



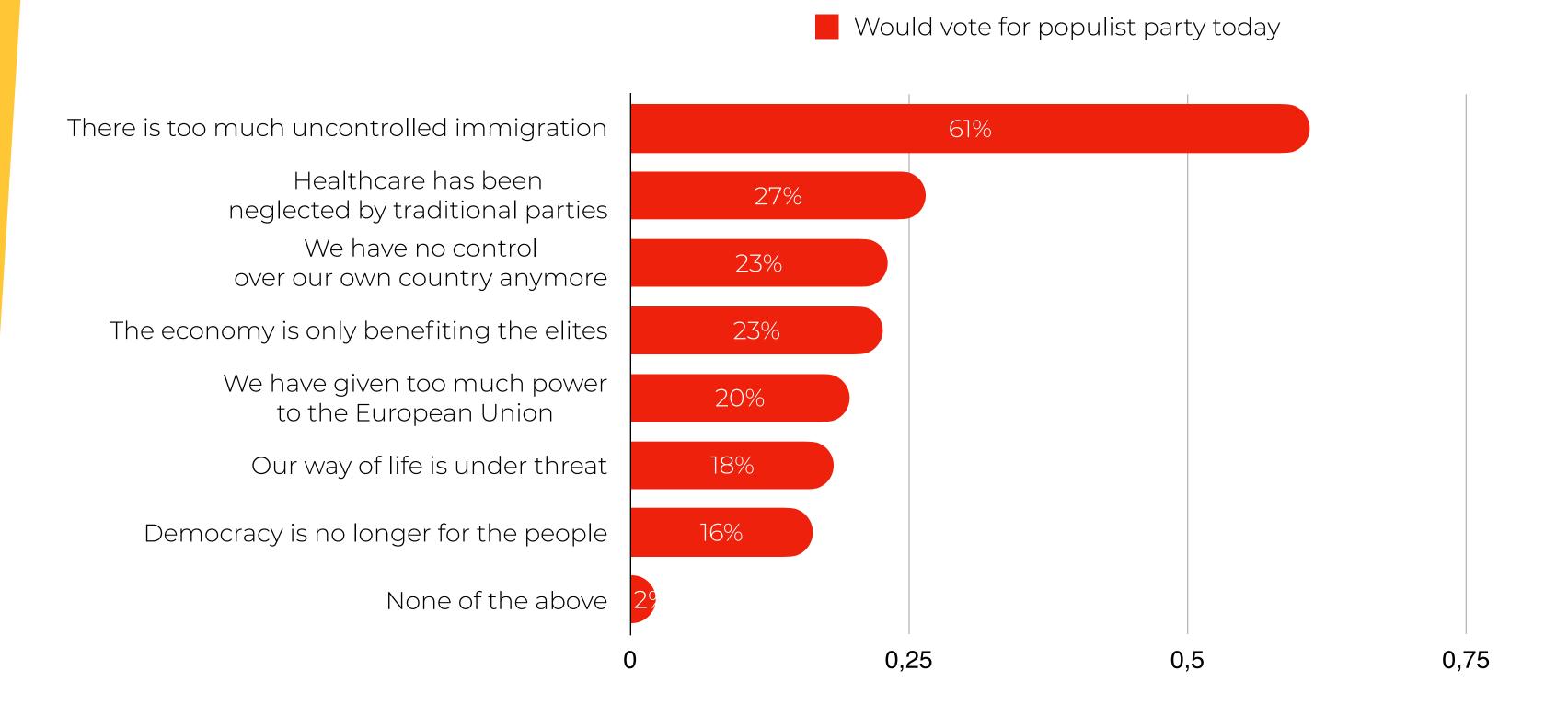
Which of these do you agree are important issues? Choose a maximum of 2 from the following options



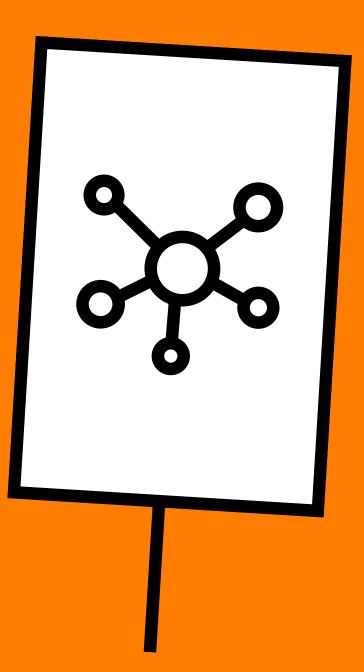
Which of these do you agree are important issues? Choose a maximum of 2 from the following options



Which of these do you agree are important issues? Choose a maximum of 2 from the following options



Data



6. When the far right comes into power, I fear that future generations:	Total center voters	Votes populist now	Not populist now	Liberal
Will live in a polarized and hateful society	54,5%	38,1%	59,7%	53,9%
Will no longer live in a democracy	40,6%	24,5%	45,2%	40,6%
Will have less freedom	33,9%	25,5%	36,1%	35,0%
Will have a very different way of life than we do	29,5%	55,0%	22,4%	27,1%
Will face economic hardship	22,9%	28,7%	20,9%	21,9%
Will have less opportunities	18,6%	28,1%	15,7%	21,6%

	'Yes'	Total center voters	Votes populist now	Not populist now	Liberal
7	Do you think political parties from the center should cooperate with right-wing populist parties in a government?	42,3%	86,3%	29,8%	39,2%
8	Would you still vote for a party that has gone or wants to go into government with a radical right-wing populist party?	39,8%	80,4%	28,2%	38,9%

	Which of these actions of a right-wing populist party	Total center voters		Votes populist now		Not pop	ot populist now		eral
	would be acceptable or unacceptable to you?	(Very) acceptable	(Very) unacceptable	(Very) acceptable	(Very) unacceptable	(Very) acceptable	(Very) unacceptable	(Very) acceptable	(Very) unacceptable
9	They want to close the borders to immigrants	38,5%	37,6%	71,9%	10,2%	28,6%	45,6%	32,7%	37,6%
10	They vocally intimidate journalists, for example by saying they are the enemies of the people	11,6%	74,2%	23,0%	52,6%	8,3%	80,4%	13,5%	69,5%
11	They keep portraying immigrants as a threat to our way of life	26,4%	50,3%	59,5%	16,3%	16,8%	60,4%	21,4%	51,5%
12	They threaten their opponents with legal action	15,5%	60,4%	32,5%	35,0%	10,8%	67,6%	15,5%	61,1%
13	They try to bypass the democratic system in order to get their way	11,1%	75,1%	21,0%	52,7%	8,1%	81,5%	14,7%	71,0%
14	They threaten the judiciary	9,7%	75,7%	19,6%	56,0%	6,8%	81,4%	13,7%	72,8%
15	They try to erode civil liberties such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion	11,2%	76,2%	21,1%	57,0%	8,3%	81,8%	14,5%	73,5%
16	They engage in corruption and/or nepotism	8,2%	78,7%	14,2%	62,9%	6,4%	83,2%	10,5%	73,8%
17	They make an attempt to curb free media	10,3%	75,9%	20,8%	55,3%	7,1%	82,0%	12,5%	72,7%
18	They force a state of emergency to pass through legislation - for example to stop immigration - without democratic approval	22,8%	58,4%	52,3%	23,1%	14,2%	68,5%	19,3%	60,0%
19	They try to legislate against minorities such as the LGBTQI community	15,7%	63,4%	36,4%	35,5%	9,9%	71,3%	15,6%	62,6%

	Which of these actions of a right-wing populist party	Total cen	ter voters	Votes populist now		Not populist now		Lib	eral
	would be acceptable or unacceptable to you?	(Very) acceptable	(Very) unacceptable	(Very) acceptable	(Very) unacceptable	(Very) acceptable	(Very) unacceptable	(Very) acceptable	(Very) unacceptable
9	They want to close the borders to immigrants	38,5%	37,6%	71,9%	10,2%	28,6%	45,6%	32,7%	37,6%
11	They keep portraying immigrants as a threat to our way of life	26,4%	50,3%	59,5%	16,3%	16,8%	60,4%	21,4%	51,5%
18	They force a state of emergency to pass through legislation - for example to stop immigration - without democratic approval	22,8%	58,4%	52,3%	23,1%	14,2%	68,5%	19,3%	60,0%
19	They try to legislate against minorities such as the LGBTQI community	15,7%	63,4%	36,4%	35,5%	9,9%	71,3%	15,6%	62,6%
12	They threaten their opponents with legal action	15,5%	60,4%	32,5%	35,0%	10,8%	67,6%	15,5%	61,1%
10	They vocally intimidate journalists, for example by saying they are the enemies of the people	11,6%	74,2%	23,0%	52,6%	8,3%	80,4%	13,5%	69,5%
15	They try to erode civil liberties such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion	11,2%	76,2%	21,1%	57,0 %	8,3%	81,8%	14,5%	73,5%
13	They try to bypass the democratic system in order to get their way	11,1%	75,1%	21,0%	52,7 %	8,1%	81,5%	14,7%	71,0%
17	They make an attempt to curb free media	10,3%	75,9%	20,8%	55,3%	7,1 %	82,0%	12,5%	72,7%
14	They threaten the judiciary	9,7%	75,7%	19,6%	56,0%	6,8%	81,4%	13,7%	72,8%
16	They engage in corruption and/or nepotism	8,2%	78,7%	14,2%	62,9%	6,4%	83,2%	10,5%	73,8%

21. What is the biggest issue you have with radical right-wing parties and politics?	Total center voters	Votes populist now	Not populist now	Liberal
They are a threat to democracy	36,2%	22,5%	40,1%	34,6%
They threaten important freedoms	29,7%	29,3%	29,8%	32,0%
They are racist	26,7%	24,2%	27,8%	25,9%
They lie and cheat and practice politics in a despicable manner	22,6%	16,4%	24,6%	24,1%
They only deliver chaos while we need stability	21,7%	25,2%	21,0%	23,2%
They are only in it for themselves	19,6%	29,8%	16,5%	16,7%
They are a threat to our European way of life	17,4%	21,6%	16,2%	17,8%
They hurt our economy	13,4%	19,3%	11,2%	13,1%
Their politics represents what is worst in us	12,7%	11,7%	12,8%	12,7%

	Frames		iter voters	rs Votes populist now		Not populist now		Liberal	
	Frames	Agree	Important	Agree	Important	Agree	Important	Agree	Important
22	They claim to represent the people, but they are only in it for themselves and their own interests	71,2	73,1	46,7	59,0	78,2	77,2	74,7	74,4
23	They claim to represent the people, but they only represent an angry and vocal minority	70,2	72,8	45,1	58,1	77,4	77,1	73,8	75,0
24	The rise of radical right-wing populism is a threat to democracy	74,1	76,8	47,1	58,9	81,8	81,9	77,8	78,2
25	The rise of radical right-wing populism is a threat to our freedoms	73,8	77,0	46,4	59,3	81,6	82,2	78,5	79,6
26	The rise of extreme right-wing populism threatens our prosperity and economic future	69,4	74,5	44,4	59,2	76,5	78,9	72,8	76,1
27	I don't want my children to live in a country where the extreme right is in charge	74,8	76,9	49,0	59,1	82,1	82,1	78,2	79,4
28	They only deliver more chaos, while we need stability	71,7	75,0	46,4	59,8	79,0	79,3	75,8	76,0
29	A government led by extreme right-wing parties will be too weak to make us competitive on the global stage, especially against rising powers such as China	66,9	71,4	45,3	59,2	73,0	75,0	70,4	72,7
30	They increase polarization and hate in our societies	75,1	75,9	49,0	58,0	82,5	81,1	78,7	78,0
31	They will destroy our open societies and turn them into closed ones	70,0	73,8	45,0	57,9	77,1	78,3	73,6	75,9
32	They will reverse highly necessary measures to fight climate change and stop global warming	66,5	72,0	50,6	58,6	71,1	76,0	69,3	73,6
33	They threaten the rule of law	71,4	75,3	45,0	59,2	79,1	80,0	75,9	77,1
34	Their policies will make everything more expensive and Europe will its lose economic position in the world	65,8	71,6	43,9	58,7	72,0	75,3	69,0	72,9
35	Their policies are irresponsible and most of the times impossible to enact	69,9	71,9	45,7	58,0	76,9	75,8	73,6	73,2
36	They complain about everything, but they never deliver results	71,7	71,5	47,4	58,7	78,5	75,1	74,8	71,8
37	They care more about power than about people	71,5	74,0	46,4	59,7	78,7	78,2	75,2	75,6
38	They will alienate us from our international alliances and partners	69,4	72,7	47,2	58,1	75,8	77,0	72,6	74,5

	Frames	Total cer	nter voters	Votes populist now		Not populist now		Liberal	
	Flailles	Agree	Important	Agree	Important	Agree	Important	Agree	Important
27	I don't want my children to live in a country where the extreme right is in charge	74,8	76,9	49,0	59,1	82,1	82,1	78,2	79,4
30	They increase polarization and hate in our societies	75,1	75,9	49,0	58,0	82,5	81,1	78,7	78,0
24	The rise of radical right-wing populism is a threat to democracy	74,1	76,8	47,1	58,9	81,8	81,9	77,8	78,2
25	The rise of radical right-wing populism is a threat to our freedoms	73,8	77,0	46,4	59,3	81,6	82,2	78,5	79,6
33	They threaten the rule of law	71,4	75,3	45,0	59,2	79,1	80,0	75,9	77,1
28	They only deliver more chaos, while we need stability	71,7	75,0	46,4	59,8	79,0	79,3	75,8	76,0
37	They care more about power than about people	71,5	74,0	46,4	59,7	78,7	78,2	75,2	75,6
22	They claim to represent the people, but they are only in it for themselves and their own interests	71,2	73,1	46,7	59,0	78,2	77,2	74,7	74,4
26	The rise of extreme right-wing populism threatens our prosperity and economic future	69,4	74,5	44,4	59,2	76,5	78,9	72,8	76,1
31	They will destroy our open societies and turn them into closed ones	70,0	73,8	45,0	57,9	77,1	78,3	73,6	75,9
36	They complain about everything, but they never deliver results	71,7	71,5	47,4	58,7	78,5	75,1	74,8	71,8
23	They claim to represent the people, but they only represent an angry and vocal minority	70,2	72,8	45,1	58,1	77,4	77,1	73,8	75,0
38	They will alienate us from our international alliances and partners	69,4	72,7	47,2	58,1	75,8	77,0	72,6	74,5
35	Their policies are irresponsible and most of the times impossible to enact	69,9	71,9	45,7	58,0	76,9	75,8	73,6	73,2
32	They will reverse highly necessary measures to fight climate change and stop global warming	66,5	72,0	50,6	58,6	71,1	76,0	69,3	73,6
29	A government led by extreme right-wing parties will be too weak to make us competitive on the global stage, especially against rising powers such as China	66,9	71,4	45,3	59,2	73,0	75,0	70,4	72,7
34	Their policies will make everything more expensive and Europe will its lose economic position in the world	65,8	71,6	43,9	58,7	72,0	75,3	69,0	72,9

Sometimes the extreme right fights for issues which people feel have either been neglected or not delivered on by traditional parties. Which of these do you agree are important issues?	Total center voters	Votes populist now	Not populist now	Liberal
There is too much uncontrolled immigration	48,7 %	61,0%	44,9%	44,8%
Healthcare has been neglected by traditional parties	31,9%	26,6%	33,4%	32,2%
The economy is only benefiting the elites	26,2%	22,7%	27,4%	27,3%
Our way of life is under threat	17,3%	18,3%	17,0%	20,1%
We have no control over our own country anymore	16,3%	23,1%	14,5%	15,6%
Democracy is no longer for the people	16,0%	16,4%	16,0%	20,3%
We have given too much power to the European Union	13,4%	19,7%	11,5%	12,3%
None of the above	9,2%	2,3%	11,1%	6,3%

The End

