









Nationalistic populism and its reception in Central Europe Main results of a comparative survey



Methodology:

The surveys were conducted by telephone (AT/CZ/HU/SK) respectively online (SLO) on a representative sample of the population from the age of 18 weighted according to gender, age and education in November/December 2017.

Austria: Sozialwissenschaftliche Studiengesellschaft (SWS) on behalf of Austrian Society for European Politics, Tel SWS 268, 16.11 - 5.12.2017, N=512. Maximum margin of fluctuation: approx. ± 4,3 percent.

Czech Republic: Nielsen Admosphere on behalf of EUROPEUM Prague, 23.-29.11.2017, N=519. Maximum margin of fluctuation: approx. ± 4,3 percent.

Hungary: Závecz Research on behalf of Center for European Neighborhood Studies, Central European University Budapest, 18.-22.12.2017, N=500. Maximum margin of fluctuation: approx. ± 4,3 percent.

Slovakia: FOCUS s.r.o on behalf of Globsec Policy Institute Bratislava, 7.- 13.11.2017, N=1060. Maximum margin of fluctuation: approx. ± 3,0 percent.

Slovenia: CJMMK on behalf of University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, 22.11.-14.12.2017, N=591 (Online). Maximum margin of fluctuation: approx. ± 4,0 percent.

Main results of the survey

EU membership is still an asset

Following the British decision to leave the European Union and Donald Trump's election as President of the United States, voices were heard to interpret this as the beginning of an EU disintegration process and as a starting point for further withdrawals from the Union. However, these hopes, mostly expressed by the nationalist-populist side and also picked up by the media, did not come true. On the contrary:

EU membership in most of the five polled countries is largely undisputed. Contrary to some expectations, Hungarians are the strongest supporters of EU membership, followed by Slovenes, Austrians and Slovaks. By contrast, respondents from the Czech Republic are the most sceptical, with one-third of them speaking in favour of their country leaving the EU.

Against the background of an increasingly unstable global environment, and not least the practical difficulties Britain is facing after the decision to leave the Union, the desire to turn its back on the European Union remains at a low level. Notwithstanding the many challenges and diverging views in the EU capitals, EU membership is regarded as an anchor for stability and economic security, especially for small and medium-sized countries in Central Europe. An equivalent alternative is difficult to offer. Nonetheless, EU-hostile parties continue to receive strong support – a sign that reflects dissatisfaction and mistrust in the ability of the political system and its actors to tackle the challenges ahead.

→ The Czech result reflects a deep disenfranchisement and disillusion with politics in general, illustrated by the recent Czech parliamentary elections where 62% of all votes went to antiestablishment and populist parties.

How do we depict the EU at home?

The way in which the EU is portrayed in the public debate strongly influences people's perception on the Union. A special role and responsibility also belongs to the media, which are instrumental in communicating the messages set by politics. Do they take on the spin of political messages (message control) or do they critically deal with it, formulate different opinions and ask the citizens to form their own opinion?

In our survey people in the five surveyed countries are divided on the question if the European Union is dealt with in a correct manner. While just under half of Slovaks and Czechs say that the EU is depicted too positively, not even one in ten thinks so in Hungary. A maximum of one-third of respondents in all surveyed countries believe that national politics deal fairly with the European Union.

People's perception on the way the EU is dealt with in the national public discourse is far from unanimous. There exist different and quite contradictory narratives used by political actors to draw a picture on how they want the Union to be seen. The fact that only a minority of citizens believes that the EU is depicted fairly, is an indication how emotionalized and polarized the EU debate has become.

→ The example of Hungary shows that even repeated, sometimes extremely EU-critical rhetoric does not necessarily mean that it is unreservedly accepted by the citizens.

Is our country treated fairly by the EU institutions?

By joining the European Union, Member States have deliberately and voluntarily relinquished some of their national sovereignty to the common European level. This partial renunciation or loss (depending on the point of view) regularly leads to tensions when the feeling arises that national interests are neglected or damaged. A topic that is also popular with nationalist-populist actors. Especially "EU institutions" are a target of criticism.

In our survey Czech respondents are the most sceptical: only 2 in 10 are convinced that their country is treated fairly by the EU institutions. More than half of Austrians and Hungarians in contrast do believe that their country is treated correctly. In Slovakia and Slovenia respondents' views are divided.

The United States of Europe will probably remain an illusion for the foreseeable future. For the time being, the Union remains a complex construct in which national and European decision-making structures exist at the same time and whose interaction is difficult for individuals to understand and conflicts of interest can arise. While decisions at local and regional level are still fairly understandable and directly affecting individuals, this is hardly the case with decisions taken by "anonymous" EU institutions.

In addition to differing views on fundamental values, mandatory redistribution rates of asylum seekers, CEE countries having joint the Union in 2004 often perceive themselves as second-class members, social and economic differences still remain. The debate about different quality standards plays here as well. In the case of Austria, EU institutions are often seen as aloof and bureaucratic and always ready to interfere in national affairs.

→ The Slovenian result might reflect frustration with recent developments the country has been facing e.g. during the financial and migration crisis, the Teran wine dispute or the Croatian-Slovenian arbitration process.

Is EU membership favourable for my country?

The European project draws its appeal from its promise to ensure its citizens prosperity, security and stability. Can the EU continue to live up to its expectations in a time of sustained crisis and global upheaval? Populist voices often question this.

Our surveys show that a majority of respondents in all 5 countries associate EU membership, albeit to varying degrees, with benefits. This is especially true for the economic welfare, for the position of the country as a business location and the security.

The positive impact of EU membership on the political weight of the own country, on the other hand, is more disputed.

Hungarians are the ones most positive on the benefits of EU membership in all areas, while Czechs are the most sceptical.

The positive economic effects of EU membership are also acknowledged by otherwise explicitly EU-critical voices. Nevertheless, the impact of the financial and economic crisis, as well as an unequal distribution of wealth, plays into citizens' assessment. The latter could be an explanation for the Czech result: Although economic data are good, not all can reap the fruits.

Despite an ongoing security discourse focusing mainly on the question of migration and questioning the EU's ability to tackle the issue, people do value EU membership when it comes to safeguarding the security of their country against the background of a rather instable global environment.

→ When it comes to assessing the impact of EU membership on the political weight of the member states, two views collide: While there is a majority in four surveyed countries that membership in a community of more than 500 million people also strengthens the political standing of the own country, sceptics argue that a small country has no say in European decision making. The latter view is expressed especially in the Czech Republic where a majority thinks that EU membership has negative implications for the political weight of the country.

... and what about my own country's European performance?

People in all five countries think that the politics of their country regarding European matters brings more advantages for the **economic welfare** and is favourable for the country's standing as a **business location** (each strongest in Hungary, weakest in the Czech Republic and Slovenia).

Regarding the impact of national EU politics on the **political weight** of their own country, Czechs are by far the most sceptical, followed by Slovenians whose opinions are divided. A majority of Austrians, Hungarians and Slovaks though do believe that national politics contributes to strengthen the country's political weight.

There is also quite a consensus in all five countries that national politics on EU matters is favourable to ensure the country's **security**. This view is expressed especially in Hungary, while Austrians and Czechs are more cautious in their assessment.

→ The results show that people (with only some minor exceptions regarding the Czech Republic and Slovenia) are convinced that both national EU politics as well as EU membership are decisive to strengthen their own country's standing. While citizens believe that national priorities at the EU level need to be pronounced, EU membership is still valued for its strong voice in the globalised world.

Migration- and asylum politics cast a shadow on the EU's image

EU-sceptics often claim that the European Union has lost the ability to create a sense of unity between its member states. Critics argue that the EU initially had its merits as a common market but then developed into a political form with highly bureaucratic and opaque structures. Especially with regard to the financial crisis and the management of the challenge of migration, the Union is blamed to sharpen differences between the member states and its people. In this context also the question is raised to what extent the EU can still be seen as a bulwark for the protection of democracy and human rights.

In our survey a fairly large majority of respondents in all five countries consider that the European Union (still) plays a positive role when it comes to promote **mutual understanding and cooperation** between the member states, the protection of **democracy and human rights** (both strongest in

Slovakia) und the **security** of the country (strongest in Hungary). Again, the Czech Republic is the country where sceptical views are most frequently pronounced.

However, respondents are clearly negative assessing the EU's **asylum and refugee policies**. More than 8 in 10 Czechs express their dissatisfaction, in all other surveyed countries skeptical views prevail, too.

The result shows that two cornerstones of European integration are largely appreciated, from which the Union derives its raison d'être: the unifying element of peaceful cooperation between the Member States and the EU's global leadership in protecting democracy and human rights. One can assume that the EU is considered as a back-up that can be used in the last resort – especially with regard to growing authoritarian tendencies in its neighborhood.

The lack of a consistent approach to asylum and migration at EU level is clearly reflected in people's assessment. Neither in Austria (which has taken a more open approach to the issue at the time of the survey) nor in the other countries where the reception of refugees was met with opposition from the beginning of the migration challenge, do people value how the EU tackles this issue. This shortcoming benefits nationalist-populist parties to keep the issue on the agenda and thus increase EU skepticism.

→ It is high time for the EU to take away this single issue and lead the EU debate in a broader and more constructive direction.

What about the national self-perception?

The way we see ourselves and are perceived by others often differ from each other. This is also reflected in our survey when people rate their own country in terms of **solidarity** with other EU countries.

More than 7 in 10 Slovenians and Slovaks say that their country shows intra-EU solidarity, in the Czech Republic and Hungary about 6 in 10 share this view. Austrians are those who are most convinced of their country's EU solidarity (nearly 9 in 10).

And in other areas too, respondents from all five countries are convinced that their country plays a predominantly positive role. This is true for the protection of **democracy and human rights**, where Austrians, Czechs and Slovaks give their own country even better marks than the EU.

Equally positive is the perception of the role of one's own country when it comes to **security**, especially among Austrians, Hungarians and Slovaks.

An exception is once again people's assessment of the **asylum and migration** policy: only Slovak respondents say (by a small majority) that they are satisfied how their own country tackles this issue while Austrians are divided on this point. Czechs, Hungarians and Slovenians, on the other hand, are more critical - a result that can be interpreted in two ways: either they consider their country being too strict or too lax.

→ Especially for some Western Member States it might come as a surprise that those countries that are often accused of lack of solidarity, by no means see it this way.

Scapegoat EU?

To blame Brussels for unpopular decisions is a quite common characteristic of the political discourse in many EU countries. Politicians often tend to keep quiet about their own participation in European decision-making as chances are good that there is overall little knowledge on the sharing of competences between the European and national level.

In all five countries, an overwhelming majority believe that the European Union often is used as a scapegoat by our politicians to detract from own shortcomings.

This applies in particular to people in Slovenia, where nine out of ten respondents agree but also in a similar extent to Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians. This view is least pronounced in Austria, where about one third does not believe that national politics could insinuate such a thing.

→ Politicians therefore might be mistaken to force the Brussels blame-game. People are quite well aware that there might be a red herring hiding behind it.

Gap between elites and citizens

Claims that there is a gap between the views of ordinary citizens and the political elites is a recurring paradigm in populist discourse. This gap is particularly perceived regarding migration and refugees but also with regard to advantages of EU integration in general. The so-called elites are blamed to be insensible to the fears and concerns of "the people", to take decisions and force developments that are against the will and consent of the ordinary citizen. Elites would therefore implement a policy in opposition to the interests of the true people and thus against overall national interests.

In all five countries, the view that there is such a gap between elites and population is overwhelming - most in Slovenia, still the weakest in Austria.

→ Due to global societal changes, long-term crisis scenarios, but also political scandals and corruption, trust in politics and institutions is severely damaged. Fears to lose its identity, depopulation in rural regions, the feeling of being left behind and no longer being needed in the labor market are exploited and reinforced by populists for their own ends, to discredit the system of representative democracy and draft a fundamental opposition between the interests of an (international) elite and an imaginary "true" popular will. This strategy proves increasingly successful.

What do people value?

Populist politics and rhetoric discredit the system of parliamentary democracy and seek to replace it with plebiscitary models. Even an independent judiciary is increasingly under pressure while human rights are partly reinterpreted. Oppositional parties, civil society and critical media have to defend themselves against allegations to act against the interests of the people, represent the elites, and being promoted and funded by internationalist players. The question is: how firmly are democratic achievements anchored in society?

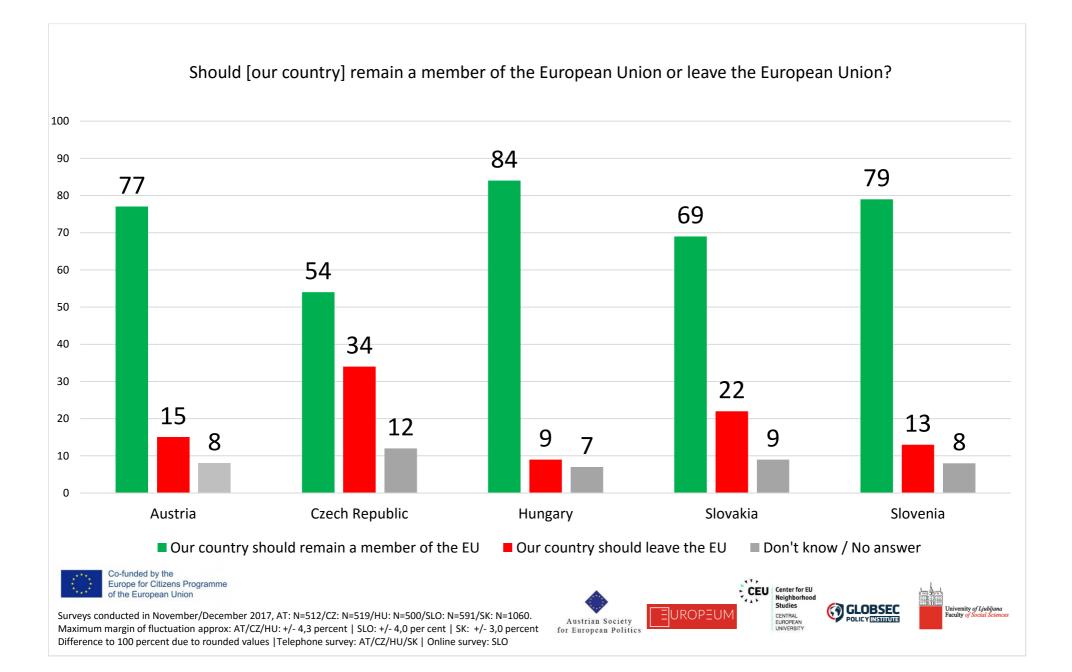
Over 9 in 10 respondents in all five countries unanimously value **democracy and human rights** as well as an independent **justice system**.

Nearly equally high is support for the **oppositional control of the government** and **independent media** and civil society.

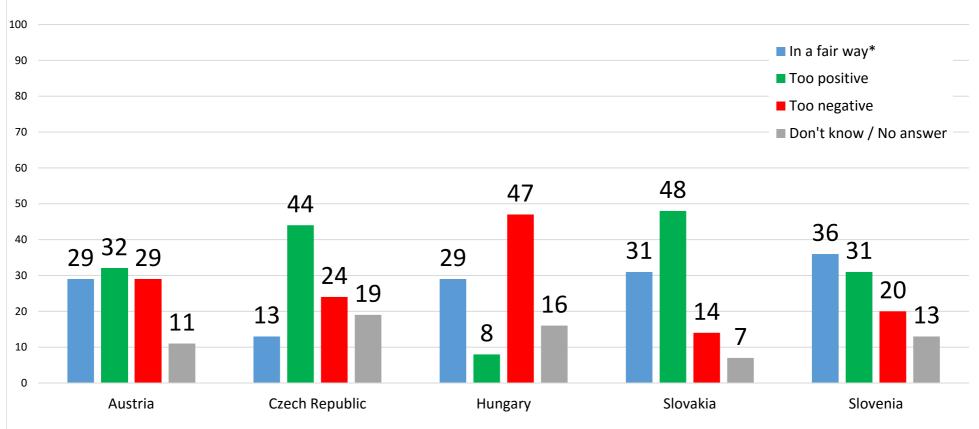
At the same time, people argue for a **strong leader** in politics (strongest in Hungary and Slovenia – weakest in Austria), want a **culturally homogenous society** (strongest in Slovakia, weakest in the Czech Republic), and plead for **national unity** (strongest in Slovenia, weakest in Austria).

Increasing global insecurity, the challenges of digitalisation and new security threats speed the desire for stability and security, clear directions and decisions. At the same time, the lessons learned from history speak for not giving up democratic achievements lightly. The fact that a majority opts for a strong leadership should be used to intensify the European debate and to develop a clear perspective on the future path of European integration.

→ Citizens need to be able to identify themselves with the European Union or will opt for a disintegrational and nationalist concept of Europe.



Do you think that the European Union is depicted in a fair way*, too positive or too negative in the political discussion in our country?





Surveys conducted in November/December 2017, AT: N=512/CZ: N=519/HU: N=500/SLO: N=591/SK: N=1060. Maximum margin of fluctuation approx: AT/CZ/HU: +/- 4,3 percent | SLO: +/- 4,0 per cent | SK: +/- 3,0 percent Difference to 100 percent due to rounded values | Telephone survey: AT/CZ/HU/SK | Online survey: SLO *Hungarian survey: "What do you think, the picture drawn about the EU in the Hungarian political discourse is correct, too positive or too negative?" | *Czech survey: "objective"

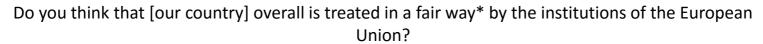


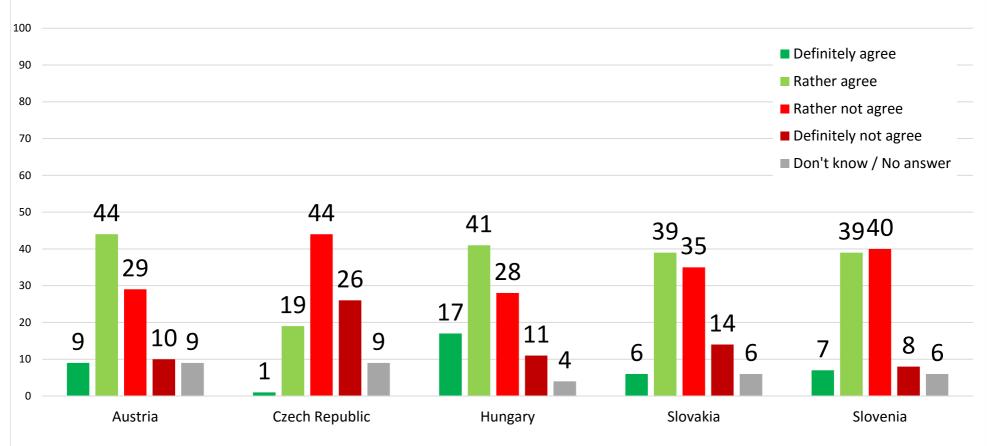














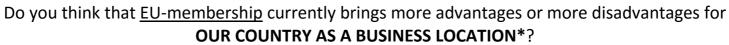
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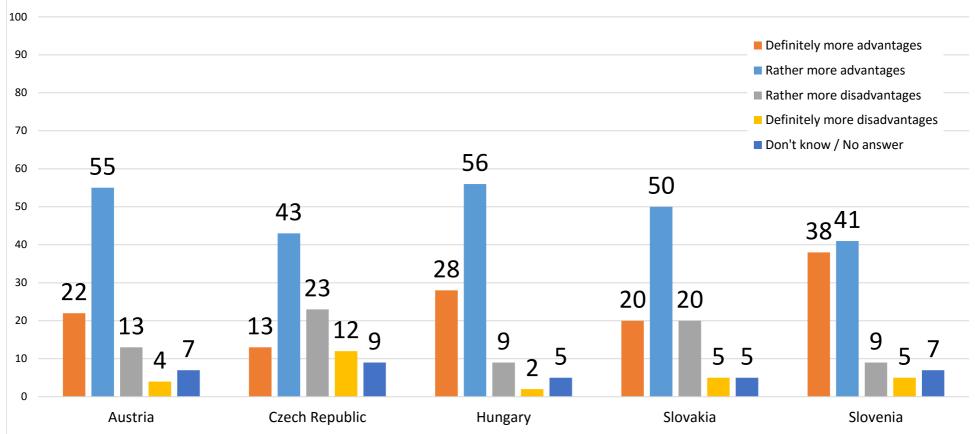














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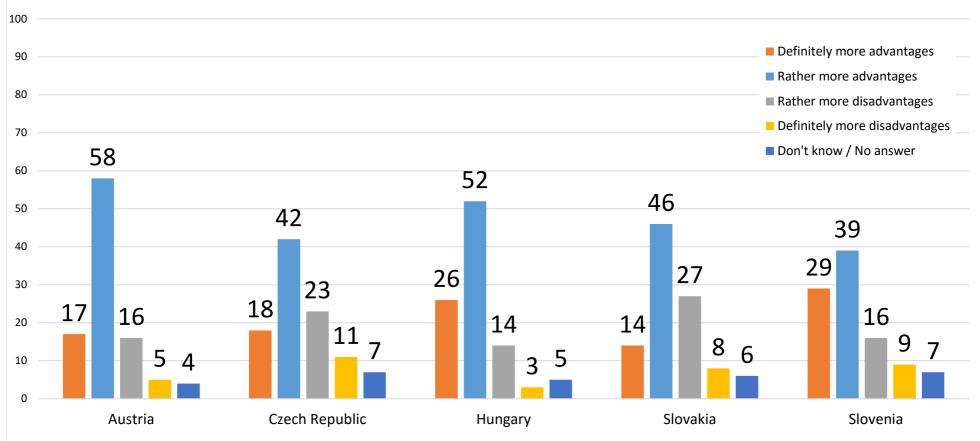














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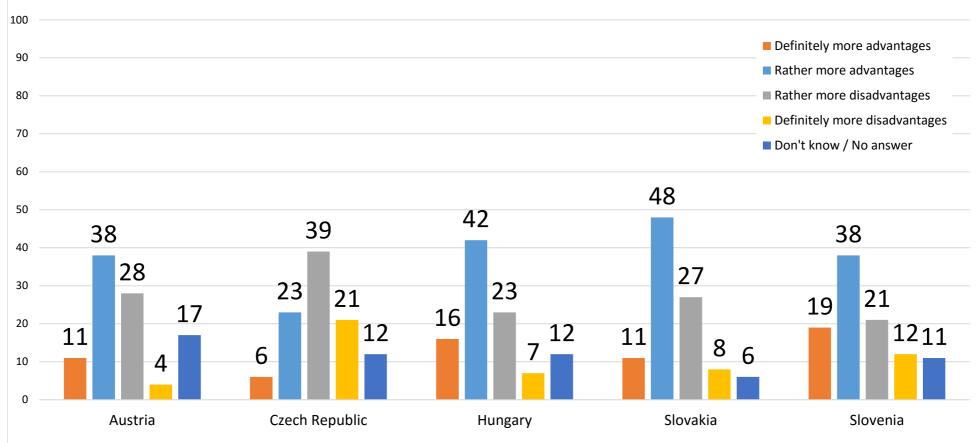














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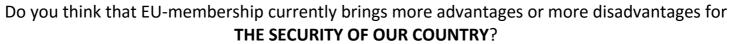


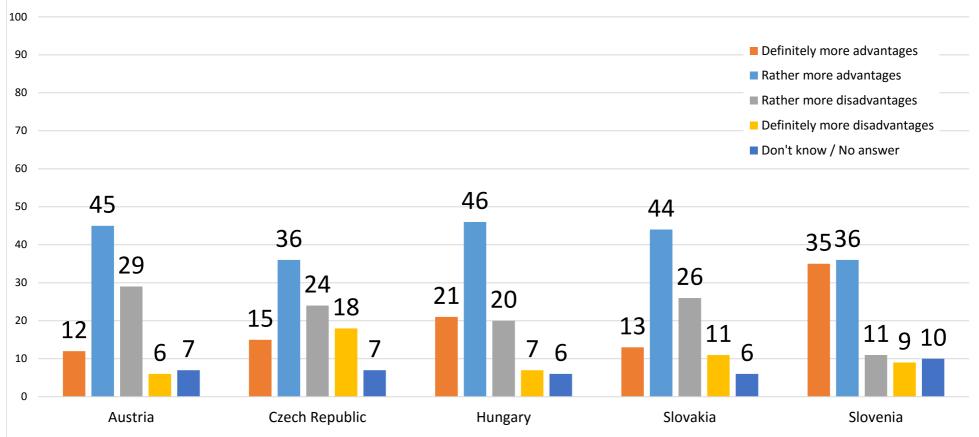














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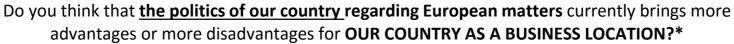


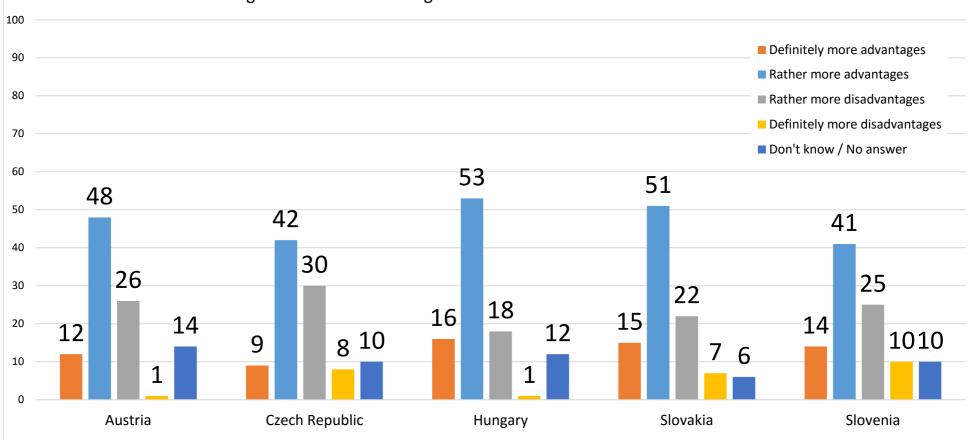














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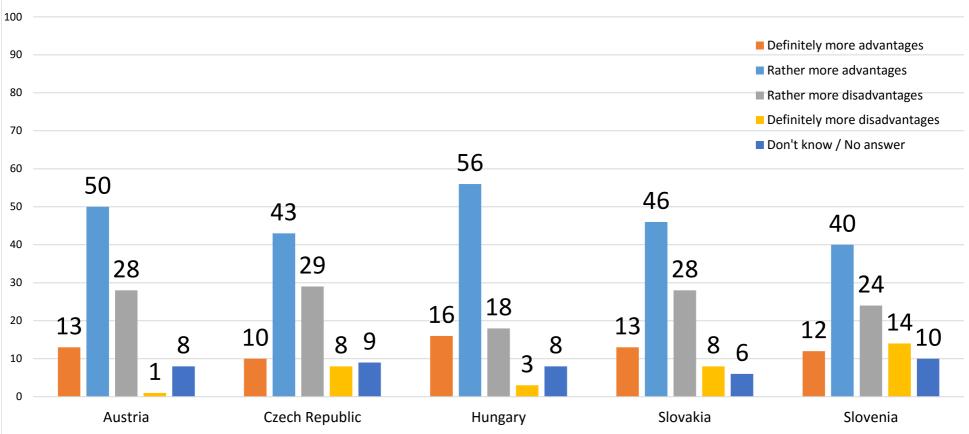








Do you think that **the politics of our country regarding European matters** currently brings more advantages or more disadvantages for **THE ECONOMIC WELFARE OF OUR COUNTRY?***





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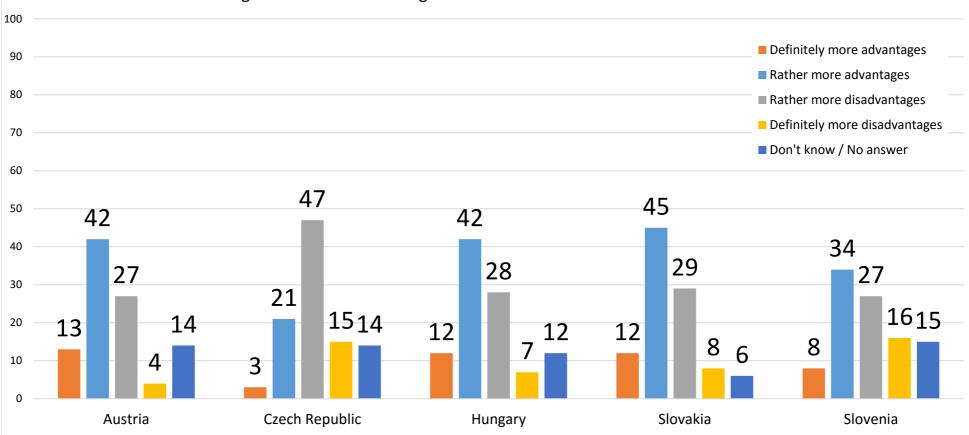














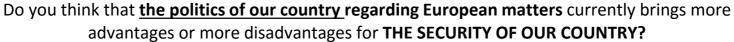
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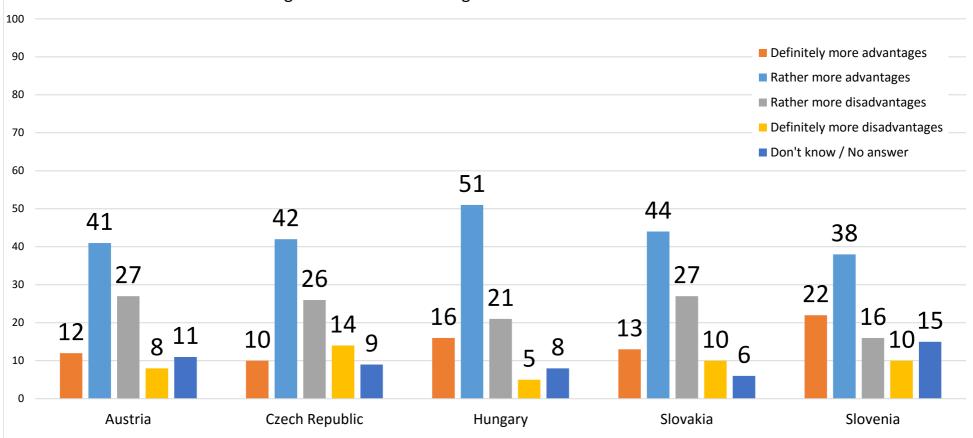














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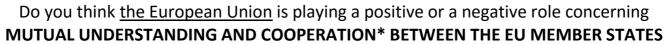


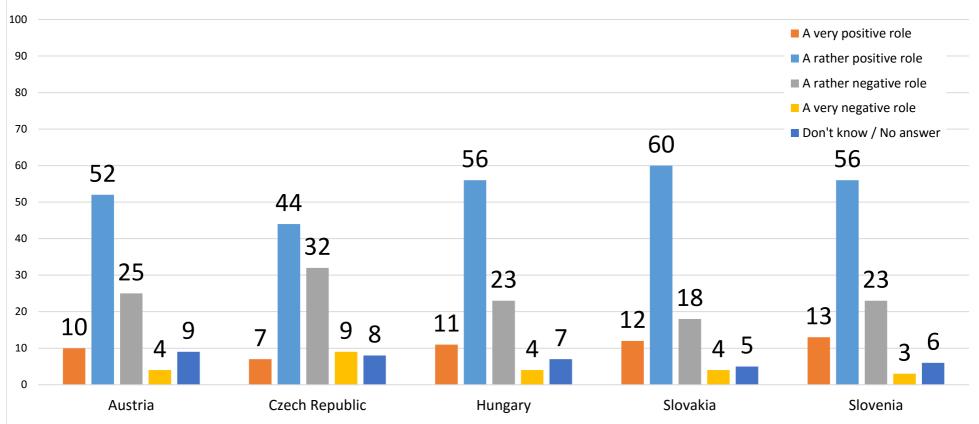














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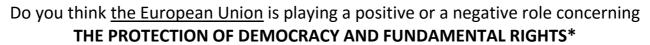


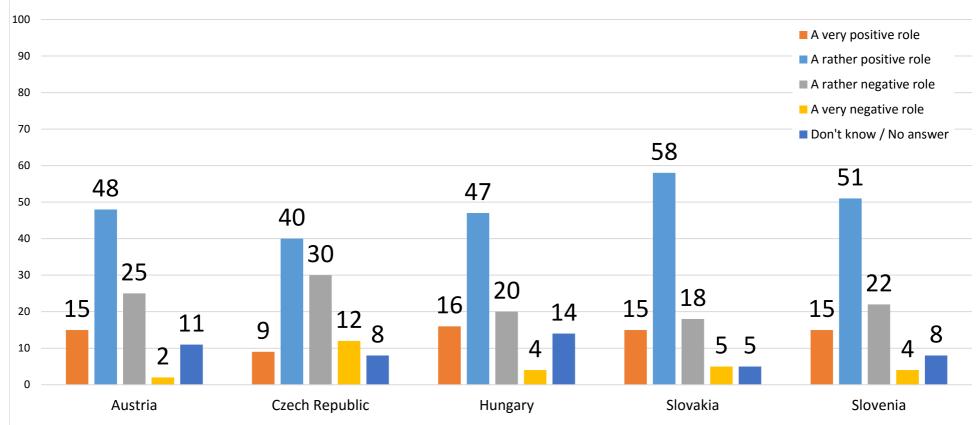














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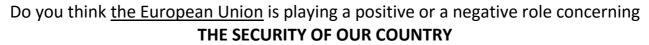


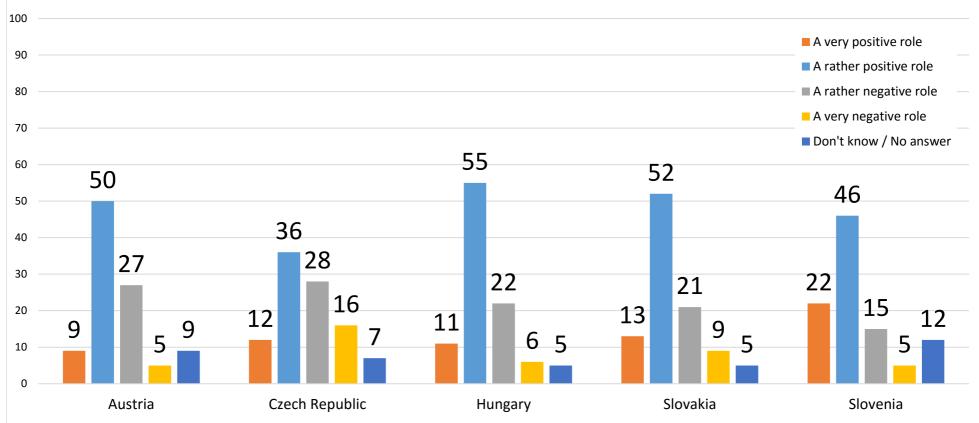














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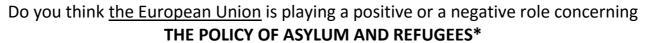


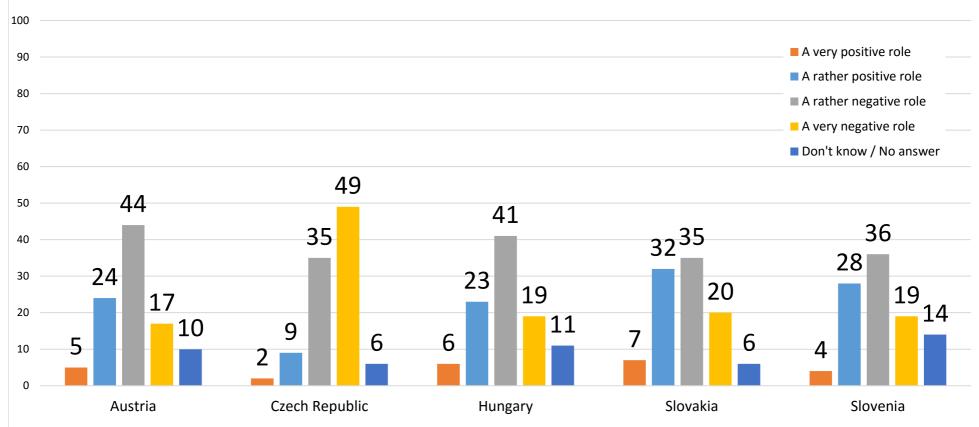














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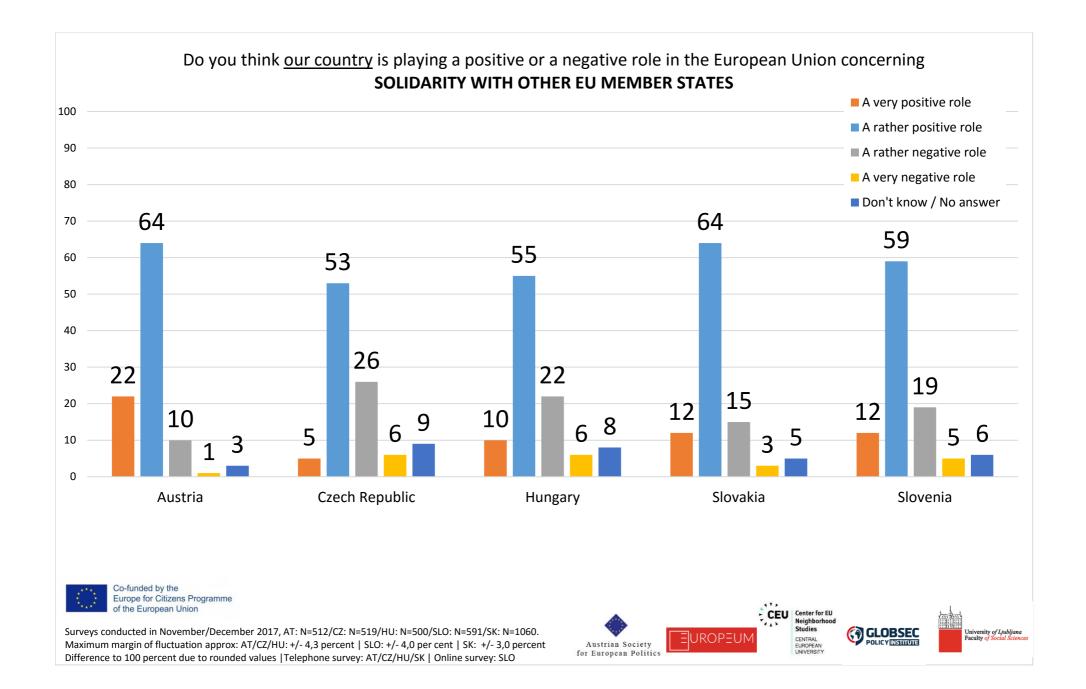


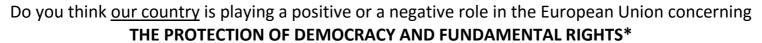


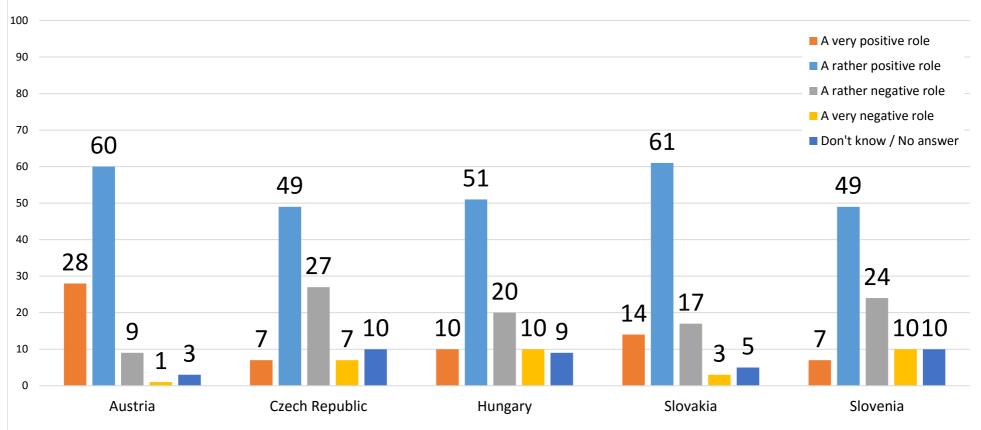














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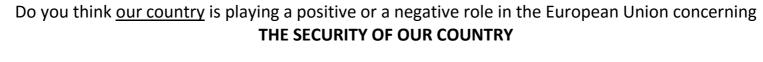


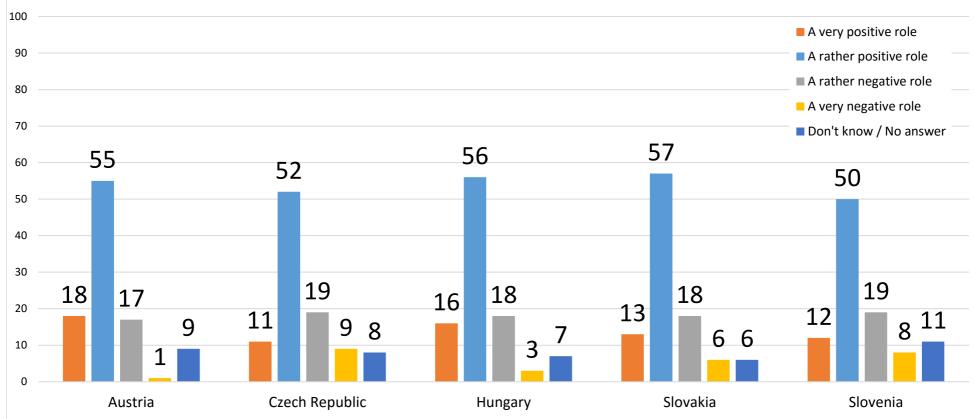




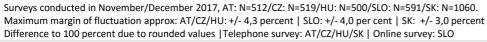












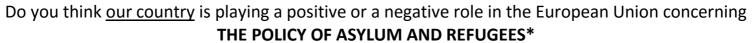


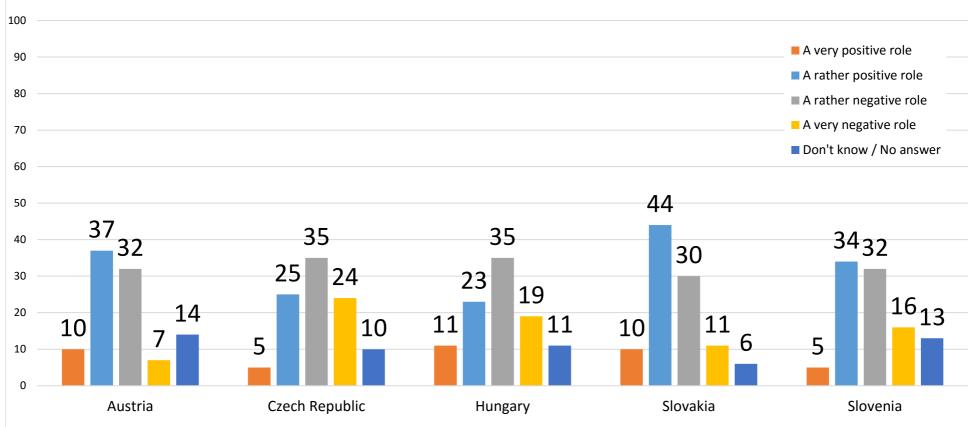














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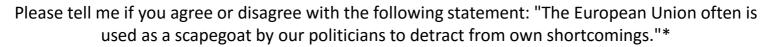


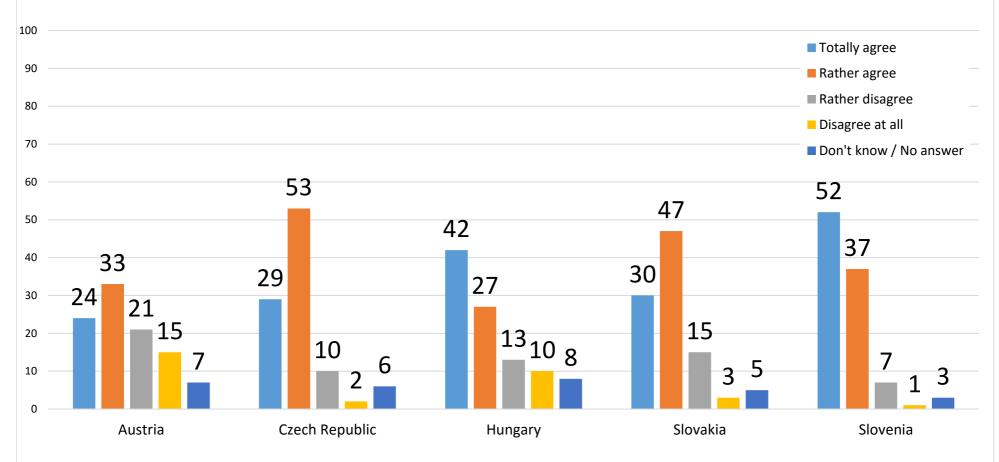














Surveys conducted in November/December 2017, AT: N=512/CZ: N=519/HU: N=500/SLO: N=591/SK: N=1060. Maximum margin of fluctuation approx: AT/CZ/HU: +/- 4,3 percent | SLO: +/- 4,0 per cent | SK: +/- 3,0 percent Difference to 100 percent due to rounded values | Telephone survey: AT/CZ/HU/SK | Online survey: SLO *Hungarian survey: "to cover their mistakes"

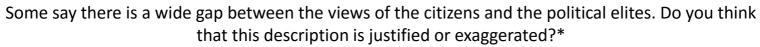


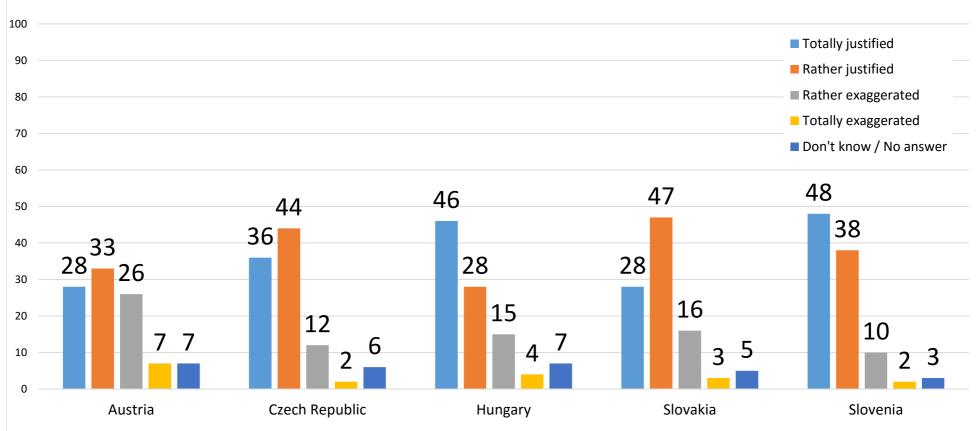














Surveys conducted in November/December 2017, AT: N=512/CZ: N=519/HU: N=500/SLO: N=591/SK: N=1060. Maximum margin of fluctuation approx: AT/CZ/HU: +/- 4,3 percent | SLO: +/- 4,0 per cent | SK: +/- 3,0 percent Difference to 100 percent due to rounded values | Telephone survey: AT/CZ/HU/SK | Online survey: SLO * Hungarian survey: "Do you agree with the following statement? There is a huge gap between citizens' and political elites' views/attitudes." (totally agree / rather agree / rather disagree / totally disagree)











