

The French against the crisis of democracy: Immigration, Populism, Trump, Europe...



The French against the crisis of democracy: Immigration, Populism, Trump, Europe...

Between the fear of globalization, rejection of immigration, rise of Islamism and populism, in a context of upheaval in the world's order, relations between Europe and the United States are suffering through the most important crisis in their history.

The weakening of the transatlantic relationship, multilateralism, NATO, as well as the divisions within the European Union are all the more threatening as they manifest themselves into a context of the rise of competing models, the first of which are Russia and China.

In 2016, in a context already marked by Islamist attacks, the refugee crisis and the populist upsurge, AJC Europe and the Foundation for Political Innovation organized a day of reflection to draw attention to the erosion of the democratic world. Today, we reiterate the event, two years after the election of Donald Trump, while the refugee crisis continues to have an impact throughout Europe, favoring notably new populist breakthroughs.

To support the second edition of the Sursaut, we asked the polling institute Ifop to carry out an opinion survey in order to understand the public's view of Franco-American relations and of the future of democracies (the survey was conducted in France with a sample of 1,007 people, interviewed from the 10th to the 11th of September 2018).

Main takeaways

The Franco-German friendship is perceived as stronger than ever, and Putin's Russia worries twice the number of French people than Trump's America does.

More than ever, Germany is viewed by the French as "an ally or a safe partner country" (89%) compared to 61% for the United Kingdom and 44% for the United States. The French's judgement of Germany has not been this favorable since 1994.

It should be noted that despite a lower level of confidence, the image of the United Kingdom, more than a year after Brexit, has improved significantly (61%) compared to 2017 (46%). A positive judgment of the US has nonetheless risen by six percentage points since March of 2017 (38%).

Finally, in the case of non-European powers, the French have most confidence in India (41%), ahead of China (32%) and finally Russia (22%), which comes last.

The French do not confuse Trump with Americans.

While a significant proportion of French people still consider the United States as a partner (44%), judgments made on the policies of the American President elicit wide disapproval (80%). Similarly, our survey reveals that 83% of French people have a poor opinion of Donald Trump as president, a number which has increased by eight points since the day after his election (75%).

The United States is firstly considered an ally in the fight against Islamist terrorism (74%). To go up against Russia, barely more than one in two French people (51%) qualify the United States as an ally, and 49% consider the country an “opponent”! In general, to ensure the security of NATO member countries, 50% of French people look to the United States as an ally, and 50% as an opponent.

In terms of economic growth, the French are massively (78%) watching the United States as an “adversary”, both in regards to France (78%) as well as to the European Union as a whole (81%). It is about the fight against global warming that the French are the most numerous to consider the United States as an adversary.

While the French severely judge the President of the United States, they do not confuse him with the American people. In fact, 75% of those surveyed consider that Donald Trump is a president who does not represent the image of Americans. This confirms the friendship that a very broad majority of French respondents (79%) say they feel for Americans. Similarly, the French remain above all convinced of the need to preserve the relationship between Europe and the United States: they are 82% to judge the preservation of this relationship as important in the years to come.

Fragile democracy: migration crisis and populist upsurge.

According to the survey, by comparing the current situation to that of a few years ago, democracy appears more fragile in the United States (64%) than in the EU as a whole (56%), and even less so in France (52%). A large minority (38%) also consider the German democracy as more fragile.

According to respondents, 32% of French people cite that the rise of populism and protest votes in Europe can be explained by immigration, followed by the 23% that cited degradations of living conditions - purchasing power, housing, social insurance, etc., the 12% that cited problems regarding the security of individuals and property - incivility, delinquency, criminality, 13% that cited the integration of those with foreign origins, unemployment (9%), the feeling of social decommissioning (7%) and corruption (4%).

The French believe that those most responsible for the rise in populism in Europe are first and foremost national governments (47%), far ahead of the European Union (33%). The idea that the media could be responsible for poorly informing us is shared by only 20% of respondents.

Contents

- 1 - Methodology.....	1
- 2 - Study results.....	4
- A - <i>The French and the United States</i>	5
Perceived reliability of various allies or partners.....	6
Approval of US policy.....	14
Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues.....	16
Donald Trump's approval rating among the French.....	24
Perceived degree of similarity between Donald Trump and Americans in general.....	26
Perceived importance of maintaining relations between Europe and the United States	28
Goodwill towards Americans.....	30
- B - <i>The rise of populism</i>	32
Perceived strength of democracy in various countries.....	33
Causes of the rise of populism in Europe.....	38
The authority most responsible for the rise in populism.....	41

- 1 -

Methodology

Methodology

This document presents the results of a study conducted by Ifop. It is fully compliant with scientific ethical principles of polling. Its findings reflect the state of public opinion at the time that it was conducted and should not be regarded as a prediction.

Ifop's express consent is required for any full or partial publication.

Study conducted by Ifop on behalf of Le Sursaut and the Fondation pour l'innovation politique



Sample The survey was conducted with **1,007** people, constituting a representative sample of the French population aged 18 years and above.



Methodology Sample representativeness was ensured by quota sampling (by respondents' sex, age and occupation) following stratification by region and municipality size.



Collection method Interviews were conducted online by a self-administered questionnaire between the 10th and 11th of September 2018.

Note regarding margins of error

Using statistical theory, it is possible to measure the uncertainty of each result in a survey. This uncertainty is expressed as a confidence interval either side of the observed value in which the real value has a determined probability of occurring. This uncertainty, commonly referred to as the 'margin of error' varies depending on sample size and the observed percentage, as shown in the table below:

95% CONFIDENCE INTERVAL						
Sample size	<i>If the observed percentage is ...</i>					
	5 or 95%	10 or 90%	20 or 80%	30 or 70%	40 or 60%	50%
100	4.4	6.0	8.0	9.2	9.8	10.0
200	3.1	4.2	5.7	6.5	6.9	7.1
300	2.5	3.5	4.6	5.3	5.7	5.8
400	2.2	3.0	4.0	4.6	4.9	5.0
500	1.9	2.7	3.6	4.1	4.4	4.5
600	1.8	2.4	3.3	3.7	4.0	4.1
700	1.6	2.3	3.0	3.5	3.7	3.8
800	1.5	2.1	2.8	3.2	3.5	3.5
900	1.4	2.0	2.6	3.0	3.2	3.3
1000	1.4	1.8	2.5	2.8	3.0	3.1
2000	1.0	1.3	1.8	2.1	2.2	2.2
3000	0.8	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.8	1.8
4000	0.7	0.9	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.6
5000	0.6	0.8	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.4
6000	0.6	0.8	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.4
8000	0.5	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1
10000	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0

Example reading of the table: in a sample of **1,000** people, if the measured percentage is 10%, the margin of error is **1.8**. The real percentage is therefore between 8.2% and 11.8%.

- 2 -

Study results

- A -

The French and the United States

Perceived reliability of various allies or partners

Question: Please indicate whether you consider each of the following countries to be a very reliable, mostly reliable, mostly unreliable or very unreliable ally or partner for France.

- Summary Table – “TOTAL reliable” –

	All French people May 1994 (%)	All French people June 2004 (%)	All French people May 2014 (%)	All French people March 2017 (%)	All French people September 2018 (%)
• Germany.....	65	82	82	81	89
• United Kingdom.....	65	63	68	46	61
• United States.....	70	55	77	38	44
• India.....					41
• China.....					32
• Russia.....	13	38	12	18	22

Perceived reliability of various allies or partners

Question: Please indicate whether you consider each of the following countries to be a very reliable, mostly reliable, mostly unreliable or very unreliable ally or partner for France.

	TOTAL Reliable	Very Reliable	Mostly Reliable	TOTAL Unreliable	Mostly Unreliable	Very unreliable	TOTAL
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
• Germany.....	89	35	54	11	9	2	100
• United Kingdom.....	61	13	48	39	31	8	100
• United States.....	44	9	35	56	40	16	100
• India.....	41	2	39	59	47	12	100
• China.....	32	3	29	68	51	17	100
• Russia.....	22	4	18	78	50	28	100

Perceived reliability of various allies or partners Germany

	TOTAL Reliable	Very Reliable	Mostly Reliable	TOTAL Unreliable	Mostly Unreliable	Very unreliable
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	89	35	54	11	9	2
SEX						
Male	90	40	50	10	8	2
Female	87	30	57	13	10	3
AGE						
Under 35	90	34	56	10	7	3
18-24	91	37	54	9	5	4
25-34	89	31	58	11	9	2
35 and above	88	35	53	12	10	2
35-49	87	35	52	13	9	4
50-64	88	38	50	12	11	1
65 and above	89	33	56	11	9	2
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	90	31	59	10	9	1
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	88	36	52	12	9	3
Paris metropolitan area	86	35	51	14	11	3
REGION						
Paris region						
Outside Paris region	86	34	52	14	11	3
Northeast	89	35	54	11	9	2
Northwest	88	33	55	12	10	2
Southwest	92	39	53	8	7	1
Southeast	87	29	58	13	10	3
	89	36	53	11	8	3
APPROVAL OF US POLICY						
Approve						
Disapprove	67	22	45	33	26	7
	59	10	49	41	32	9
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH						
Positive opinion						
Negative opinion	66	18	48	34	28	6
	60	12	48	40	31	9
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	65	14	51	35	28	7
No	49	11	38	51	39	12

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived reliability of various allies or partners United Kingdom

	TOTAL Reliable	Very Reliable	Mostly Reliable	TOTAL Unreliable	Mostly Unreliable	Very unreliable
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	61	13	48	39	31	8
SEX						
Male	62	14	48	38	28	10
Female	60	11	49	40	33	7
AGE						
Under 35	69	18	51	31	24	7
18-24	74	18	56	26	22	4
25-34	67	18	49	33	25	8
35 and above	58	11	47	42	33	9
35-49	68	15	53	32	23	9
50-64	57	9	48	43	33	10
65 and above	47	9	38	53	46	7
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	61	9	52	39	30	9
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	60	14	46	40	31	9
Paris metropolitan area	67	16	51	33	28	5
REGION						
Paris region	66	16	50	34	28	6
Outside Paris region	60	12	48	40	31	9
Northeast	58	12	46	42	31	11
Northwest	65	14	51	35	27	8
Southwest	57	14	43	43	30	13
Southeast	58	11	47	42	36	6
APPROVAL OF US POLICY						
Approve	67	22	45	33	26	7
Disapprove	59	10	49	41	32	9
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH						
Positive opinion	66	18	48	34	28	6
Negative opinion	60	12	48	40	31	9
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	65	14	51	35	28	7
No	49	11	38	31	39	12

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived reliability of various allies or partners United States

	TOTAL Reliable	Very Reliable	Mostly Reliable	TOTAL Unreliable	Mostly Unreliable	Very unreliable
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	44	9	35	56	40	16
SEX						
Male	49	13	36	51	39	12
Female	40	6	34	60	40	20
AGE						
Under 35	52	11	41	48	31	17
18-24	52	10	42	48	26	22
25-34	50	11	39	50	35	15
35 and above	42	8	34	58	43	15
35-49	47	10	37	53	38	15
50-64	40	7	33	60	45	15
65 and above	38	8	30	62	46	16
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	41	6	35	59	42	17
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	45	10	35	55	39	16
Paris metropolitan area	45	9	36	55	40	15
REGION						
Paris region	44	10	34	56	39	17
Outside Paris region	44	9	35	56	40	16
Northeast	46	10	36	54	39	15
Northwest	42	7	35	58	44	14
Southwest	41	10	31	59	36	23
Southeast	46	9	37	54	39	15
APPROVAL OF US POLICY						
Approve	76	26	50	24	18	6
Disapprove	36	5	31	64	45	19
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH						
Positive opinion	76	24	52	24	20	4
Negative opinion	38	6	32	62	44	18
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	47	10	37	53	39	14
No	34	6	28	66	43	23

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived reliability of various allies or partners India

	TOTAL Reliable	Very Reliable	Mostly Reliable	TOTAL Unreliable	Mostly Unreliable	Very unreliable
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	41	2	39	59	47	12
SEX						
Male	46	3	43	54	44	10
Female	36	1	35	64	50	14
AGE						
Under 35	39	4	35	61	50	11
18-24	44	7	37	56	44	12
25-34	36	2	34	64	54	10
35 and above	42	2	40	58	45	13
35-49	36	3	33	64	50	14
50-64	45	1	44	55	41	14
65 and above	44	1	43	56	46	10
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	36	2	34	64	50	14
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	43	3	40	57	47	10
Paris metropolitan area	43	1	42	57	41	16
REGION						
Paris region	41	1	40	59	42	17
Outside Paris region	41	3	38	59	48	11
Northeast	38	1	37	62	51	11
Northwest	43	2	41	57	47	10
Southwest	37	6	31	63	50	13
Southeast	43	3	40	57	45	12
APPROVAL OF US POLICY						
Approve	37	5	32	63	46	17
Disapprove	42	2	40	58	47	11
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH						
Positive opinion	42	4	38	58	43	15
Negative opinion	41	2	39	59	47	12
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	43	2	41	57	47	10
No	32	3	29	68	48	20

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived reliability of various allies or partners China

	TOTAL Reliable	Very Reliable	Mostly Reliable	TOTAL Unreliable	Mostly Unreliable	Very unreliable
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	32	3	29	68	51	17
SEX						
Male	37	5	32	63	48	15
Female	29	2	27	71	52	19
AGE						
Under 35	37	6	31	63	48	15
18-24	39	7	32	61	43	18
25-34	36	5	31	64	50	14
35 and above	31	2	29	69	51	18
35-49	32	5	27	68	48	20
50-64	34	2	32	66	48	18
65 and above	28	-	28	72	58	14
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	29	2	27	71	51	20
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	35	4	31	65	49	16
Paris metropolitan area	31	3	28	69	53	16
REGION						
Paris region	30	3	27	70	53	17
Outside Paris region	33	3	30	67	50	17
Northeast	29	2	27	71	55	16
Northwest	36	4	32	64	47	17
Southwest	29	4	25	71	49	22
Southeast	36	3	33	64	49	15
APPROVAL OF US POLICY						
Approve	34	7	27	66	48	18
Disapprove	32	2	30	68	51	17
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH						
Positive opinion	38	10	28	62	47	15
Negative opinion	32	2	30	68	51	17
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	34	3	31	66	50	16
No	28	3	25	72	51	21

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived reliability of various allies or partners Russia

	TOTAL Reliable	Very Reliable	Mostly Reliable	TOTAL Unreliable	Mostly Unreliable	Very unreliable
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	22	4	18	78	50	28
SEX						
Male	27	5	22	73	48	25
Female	17	2	15	83	52	31
AGE						
Under 35	26	6	20	74	44	30
18-24	20	4	16	80	50	30
25-34	31	8	23	69	40	29
35 and above	21	3	18	79	51	28
35-49	21	3	18	79	51	28
50-64	20	3	17	80	50	30
65 and above	21	2	19	79	55	24
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	21	4	17	79	50	29
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	22	4	18	78	50	28
Paris metropolitan area	26	3	23	74	46	28
REGION						
Paris region	25	3	22	75	46	29
Outside Paris region	22	4	18	78	50	28
Northeast	23	2	21	77	51	26
Northwest	20	3	17	80	50	30
Southwest	20	7	13	80	49	31
Southeast	22	4	18	78	51	27
APPROVAL OF US POLICY						
Approve	46	10	36	54	38	16
Disapprove	16	2	14	84	53	31
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH						
Positive opinion	50	10	40	50	37	13
Negative opinion	16	2	14	84	52	32
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	23	3	20	77	50	27
No	18	4	14	82	50	32

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Approval of US policy

Question: In general, do you approve or disapprove of US policy?

	All French people September 2018 (%)
TOTAL Approve	20
• Completely approve.....	3
• Mostly approve.....	17
TOTAL disapprove	80
• Mostly disapprove.....	44
• Completely disapprove.....	36
TOTAL	100

Approval of US policy

	TOTAL Approve	Completely approve	Mostly approve	TOTAL disapprove	Mostly disapprove	Completely disapprove
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	20	3	17	80	44	36
SEX						
Male	24	5	19	76	41	35
Female	18	2	16	82	46	36
AGE						
Under 35	27	5	22	73	42	31
18-24	26	7	19	74	41	33
25-34	28	4	24	72	42	30
35 and above	19	3	16	81	44	37
35-49	22	5	17	78	46	32
50-64	18	2	16	82	43	39
65 and above	15	2	13	85	43	42
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	22	2	20	78	45	33
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	19	4	15	81	43	38
Paris metropolitan area	25	3	22	75	43	32
REGION						
Paris region	25	4	21	75	41	34
Outside Paris region	20	3	17	80	44	36
Northeast	21	5	16	79	47	32
Northwest	17	1	16	83	46	37
Southwest	22	3	19	78	45	33
Southeast	20	4	16	80	39	41
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH						
Positive opinion	86	16	70	14	13	1
Negative opinion	7	1	6	93	50	43
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	22	4	18	78	44	34
No	17	1	16	83	41	42

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues

Question: With regard to the following issues, would you say that the United States is mostly an ally or opponent of France?

	Mostly an ally (%)	Mostly an opponent (%)	TOTAL (%)
• Fighting Islamist terrorism.....	74	26	100
• Facing up to Russia.....	51	49	100
• Facing up to China.....	51	49	100
• Security of NATO member countries.....	50	50	100
• Encouraging French economic growth.....	22	78	100
• Encouraging European economic growth...	19	81	100
• Tackling climate change.....	12	88	100

Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues Fighting Islamist terrorism

	Mostly allies country	Mostly opponent country
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	74	26
SEX		
Male	80	20
Female	69	31
AGE		
Under 35	72	28
18-24	67	33
25-34	76	24
35 and above	75	25
35-49	78	22
50-64	68	32
65 and above	81	19
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	77	23
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	75	25
Paris metropolitan area	70	30
REGION		
Paris region	70	30
Outside Paris region	76	24
Northeast	73	27
Northwest	76	24
Southwest	75	25
Southeast	78	22
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	86	14
Disapprove	72	28
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	84	16
Negative opinion	73	27
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS		
Yes	78	22
No	62	38

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues Facing up to Russia

	Mostly allies country	Mostly opponent country
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	51	49
SEX		
Male	59	41
Female	44	56
AGE		
Under 35	53	47
18-24	54	46
25-34	52	48
35 and above	51	49
35-49	60	40
50-64	44	56
65 and above	49	51
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	55	45
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	49	51
Paris metropolitan area	54	46
REGION		
Paris region	55	45
Outside Paris region	51	49
Northeast	45	55
Northwest	56	44
Southwest	48	52
Southeast	52	48
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	72	28
Disapprove	46	54
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	72	28
Negative opinion	47	53
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS		
Yes	54	46
No	43	57

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues Facing up to China

	Mostly an ally country	Mostly an opponent country
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	51	49
SEX		
Male	57	43
Female	46	54
AGE		
Under 35	58	42
18-24	60	40
25-34	57	43
35 and above	49	51
35-49	55	45
50-64	45	55
65 and above	46	54
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	51	49
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	52	48
Paris metropolitan area	50	50
REGION		
Paris region	48	52
Outside Paris region	52	48
Northeast	50	50
Northwest	54	46
Southwest	45	55
Southeast	56	44
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	76	24
Disapprove	45	55
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	78	22
Negative opinion	46	54
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS		
Yes	54	46
No	41	59

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues

The security of NATO member states

	Mostly allies country	Mostly opponent country
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	50	50
SEX		
Male	58	42
Female	43	57
AGE		
Under 35	50	50
18-24	48	52
25-34	51	49
35 and above	50	50
35-49	52	48
50-64	46	54
65 and above	53	47
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	47	53
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	50	50
Paris metropolitan area	55	45
REGION		
Paris region	55	45
Outside Paris region	49	51
Northeast	50	50
Northwest	46	54
Southwest	44	56
Southeast	52	48
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	73	27
Disapprove	44	56
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	73	27
Negative opinion	45	55
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS		
Yes	51	49
No	45	55

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues

Encouraging French economic growth

	Mostly allies country	Mostly opponent country
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	22	78
SEX		
Male	18	82
Female	26	74
AGE		
Under 35	34	66
18-24	36	64
25-34	32	68
35 and above	18	82
35-49	22	78
50-64	17	83
65 and above	13	87
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	18	82
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	23	77
Paris metropolitan area	25	75
REGION		
Paris region	24	76
Outside Paris region	22	78
Northeast	21	79
Northwest	24	76
Southwest	18	82
Southeast	22	78
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	48	52
Disapprove	15	85
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	45	55
Negative opinion	17	83
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS		
Yes	22	78
No	22	78

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues Encouraging European economic growth

	Mostly allies country	Mostly opponent country
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	19	81
SEX		
Male	15	85
Female	22	78
AGE		
Under 35	28	72
18-24	29	71
25-34	28	72
35 and above	15	85
35-49	21	79
50-64	13	87
65 and above	10	90
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	17	83
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	20	80
Paris metropolitan area	19	81
REGION		
Paris region	19	81
Outside Paris region	19	81
Northeast	25	75
Northwest	13	87
Southwest	16	84
Southeast	19	81
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	42	58
Disapprove	13	87
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	41	59
Negative opinion	14	86
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS		
Yes	19	81
No	18	82

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceptions of Franco-American cooperation on various issues Tackling climate change

	Mostly allies country	Mostly opponent country
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	12	88
SEX		
Male	11	89
Female	12	88
AGE		
Under 35	18	82
18-24	18	82
25-34	18	82
35 and above	9	91
35-49	13	87
50-64	8	92
65 and above	6	94
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	10	90
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	12	88
Paris metropolitan area	13	87
REGION		
Paris region	12	88
Outside Paris region	12	88
Northeast	13	87
Northwest	9	91
Southwest	7	93
Southeast	14	86
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	28	72
Disapprove	7	93
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	33	67
Negative opinion	7	93
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS		
Yes	11	89
No	14	86

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Donald Trump's approval rating among the French

Question: Would you say that you personally have a positive or negative opinion of Donald Trump as US president?

	All French people May 2016 <i>Before Donald Trump's election</i>	All French people November 2016 <i>After Donald Trump's election</i>	All French people September 2018
	(%)	(%)	(%)
TOTAL Positive opinion.....	11	13	17
• Very positive opinion.....	3	3	3
• Mostly positive opinion....	8	10	14
TOTAL Negative opinion.....	80	75	83
• Mostly negative opinion...	22	32	29
• Very negative opinion.....	58	43	54
• Don't know.....	9	12	-
TOTAL.....	100	100	100

Donald Trump's approval rating among the French

	TOTAL Positive opinion	Very Positive opinion	Mostly positive opinion	TOTAL Negative opinion	Mostly Negative opinion	Very negative opinion
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	17	3	14	83	29	54
SEXALTOGETHER						
SEX	21	4	17	79	28	51
Male	13	1	12	87	30	57
Female						
AGE	20	4	16	80	28	52
Under 35	21	5	16	79	25	54
18-24	19	3	16	81	31	50
25-34	16	2	14	84	29	55
35 and above	19	4	15	81	28	53
35-49	17	2	15	83	28	55
50-64	11	1	10	89	32	57
65 and above						
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	15	1	14	85	30	55
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	16	3	13	84	29	55
Paris metropolitan area	22	3	19	78	28	50
REGION						
Paris region	21	3	18	79	27	52
Outside Paris region	16	2	14	84	29	55
Northeast	18	4	14	82	33	49
Northwest	13	1	12	87	30	57
Southwest	16	1	15	84	25	59
Southeast	18	3	15	82	27	55
APPROVAL OF US POLICY						
Approve	71	12	59	29	23	6
Disapprove	3	-	3	97	30	67
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	18	3	15	82	28	54
No	11	-	11	89	32	57

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived degree of similarity between Donald Trump and Americans in general

Question: In your opinion, is Donald Trump a president who is ...?

	All French people September 2018 (%)
• Unlike most Americans and they are unlike Donald Trump.....	75
• Like most Americans and they are like Donald Trump.....	25
TOTAL	100

Perceived degree of similarity between Donald Trump and Americans in general

	Unlike most Americans and they are unlike Donald Trump	Like most Americans and they are like Donald Trump
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	75	25
SEX		
Male	69	31
Female	80	20
AGE		
Under 35	74	26
18-24	73	27
25-34	75	25
35 and above	75	25
35-49	73	27
50-64	71	29
65 and above	81	19
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	78	22
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	74	26
Paris metropolitan area	73	27
REGION		
Paris region	75	25
Outside Paris region	75	25
Northeast	73	27
Northwest	77	23
Southwest	72	28
Southeast	75	25
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	49	51
Disapprove	82	18
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	40	60
Negative opinion	82	18
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS		
Yes	79	21
No	59	41

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived importance of maintaining relations between Europe and the United States

Question: Some people believe that relations between Europe and Donald Trump's United States are currently in serious crisis. Do you think it is important or not important to maintain these relations in future years?

	All French people September 2018 (%)
TOTAL Important	82
• Very important.....	29
• Quite important.....	53
TOTAL Not important.....	18
• Not very important.....	13
• Not at all important.....	5
TOTAL	100

Perceived importance of maintaining relations between Europe and the United States

	TOTAL Important	Very important	Quite important	TOTAL Not important	Not very important	Not at all important
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	82	29	53	18	13	5
SEX						
Male	84	35	49	16	11	5
Female	80	23	57	20	15	5
AGE						
Under 35	76	24	52	24	17	7
18-24	74	28	46	26	18	8
25-34	78	21	57	22	16	6
35 and above	84	31	53	16	12	4
35-49	80	30	50	20	14	6
50-64	84	30	54	16	11	5
65 and above	88	33	55	12	10	2
URBAN UNIT SIZE						
Rural municipalities	81	26	55	19	15	4
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	82	29	53	18	13	5
Paris metropolitan area	82	31	51	18	13	5
REGION						
Paris region	82	31	51	18	13	5
Outside Paris region	82	28	54	18	13	5
Northeast	82	30	52	18	13	5
Northwest	79	27	52	21	16	5
Southwest	85	30	55	15	14	1
Southeast	83	27	56	17	10	7
APPROVAL OF US POLICY						
Approve	89	36	53	11	9	2
Disapprove	80	27	53	20	14	6
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH						
Positive opinion	93	35	58	7	7	-
Negative opinion	79	27	52	21	15	6
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS						
Yes	85	33	52	15	11	4
No	68	11	57	32	22	10

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Goodwill towards Americans

Question: Regardless of Donald Trump, would you say that you feel benevolent towards Americans?

	All French people September 2018 (%)
• Mostly yes.....	79
• Mostly no.....	21
TOTAL	100

Goodwill towards Americans

	Mostly yes	Mostly no
	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	79	21
SEX		
Male	79	21
Female	79	21
AGE		
Under 35	74	26
18-24	72	28
25-34	75	25
35 and above	81	19
35-49	77	23
50-64	79	21
65 and above	87	13
URBAN UNIT SIZE		
Rural municipalities	79	21
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	81	19
Paris metropolitan area	73	27
REGION		
Paris region	73	27
Outside Paris region	80	20
Northeast	78	22
Northwest	79	21
Southwest	86	14
Southeast	81	19
APPROVAL OF US POLICY		
Approve	83	17
Disapprove	78	22
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH		
Positive opinion	86	14
Negative opinion	78	22

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

- B -

The rise of populism

Perceived strength of democracy in various countries

Question: Compared to the situation several years ago, would you say that democracy is weaker, stronger, or neither weaker nor stronger in each of the following countries or territorial units?

	Weaker (%)	Stronger (%)	Neither weaker nor stronger (%)	TOTAL (%)
• United States.....	64	12	24	100
• European Union as a whole.....	56	13	31	100
• France.....	52	13	35	100
• Germany.....	38	26	36	100

Perceived strength of democracy in various countries United States

	Weaker (%)	Stronger (%)	Neither weaker nor stronger (%)
ALTOGETHER	64	12	24
SEX			
Male	63	13	24
Female	66	11	23
AGE			
Under 35	52	21	27
18-24	58	23	19
25-34	49	19	32
35 and above	69	9	22
35-49	64	12	24
50-64	74	8	18
65 and above	67	7	26
URBAN UNIT SIZE			
Rural municipalities	64	10	26
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	66	12	22
Paris metropolitan area	61	15	24
REGION			
Paris region	63	13	24
Outside Paris region	65	12	23
Northeast	64	13	23
Northwest	62	11	27
Southwest	71	7	22
Southeast	65	14	21
APPROVAL OF US POLICY			
Approve	37	36	27
Disapprove	71	6	23
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH			
Positive opinion	30	43	27
Negative opinion	71	6	23
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS			
Yes	65	12	23
No	60	13	27

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived strength of democracy in various countries European Union as a whole

	Weaker (%)	Stronger (%)	Neither weaker nor stronger (%)
ALTOGETHER	56	13	31
SEX			
Male	59	13	28
Female	54	13	33
AGE			
Under 35	45	21	34
18-24	42	22	36
25-34	47	20	33
35 and above	61	10	29
35-49	53	14	33
50-64	64	9	27
65 and above	65	7	28
URBAN UNIT SIZE			
Rural municipalities	55	13	32
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	55	14	31
Paris metropolitan area	65	10	25
REGION			
Paris region	64	10	26
Outside Paris region	55	14	31
Northeast	52	14	34
Northwest	52	15	33
Southwest	62	15	23
Southeast	56	13	31
APPROVAL OF US POLICY			
Approve	58	22	20
Disapprove	56	11	33
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH			
Positive opinion	56	24	20
Negative opinion	56	11	33
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS			
Yes	57	13	30
No	54	15	31

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived strength of democracy in various countries France

	Weaker (%)	Stronger (%)	Neither weaker nor stronger (%)
ALTOGETHER	52	13	35
SEX			
Male	51	14	35
Female	52	13	35
AGE			
Under 35	46	18	36
18-24	49	17	34
25-34	45	18	37
35 and above	54	12	34
35-49	51	14	35
50-64	57	11	32
65 and above	52	10	38
URBAN UNIT SIZE			
Rural municipalities	54	12	34
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	51	14	35
Paris metropolitan area	51	12	37
REGION			
Paris region	52	11	37
Outside Paris region	52	14	34
Northeast	53	13	34
Northwest	52	13	35
Southwest	58	12	30
Southeast	48	16	36
APPROVAL OF US POLICY			
Approve	59	20	21
Disapprove	50	12	38
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH			
Positive opinion	58	23	19
Negative opinion	50	12	38
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS			
Yes	50	14	36
No	56	13	31

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Perceived strength of democracy in various countries Germany

	Weaker (%)	Stronger (%)	Neither weaker nor stronger (%)
ALTOGETHER	38	26	36
SEX			
Male	43	23	34
Female	33	28	39
AGE			
Under 35	29	30	41
18-24	26	26	48
25-34	31	33	36
35 and above	41	24	35
35-49	37	23	40
50-64	41	28	31
65 and above	46	20	34
URBAN UNIT SIZE			
Rural municipalities	36	25	39
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	38	27	35
Paris metropolitan area	40	24	36
REGION			
Paris region	39	24	37
Outside Paris region	38	26	36
Northeast	40	27	33
Northwest	34	28	38
Southwest	42	25	33
Southeast	37	24	39
APPROVAL OF US POLICY			
Approve	41	37	22
Disapprove	37	23	40
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH			
Positive opinion	43	37	20
Negative opinion	37	23	40
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS			
Yes	37	27	36
No	41	22	37

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Causes of the rise of populism in Europe

Question: In your opinion, which of the following issues is the most likely explanation for the rise of populism and protest voting in Europe? Please rank your answers first and second.

	First choice (%)	All references (%)
• Immigration.....	32	45
• Decline in living conditions (purchasing power, housing, social insurance, etc.).....	23	42
• Security issues affecting people and property (antisocial behaviour, delinquency, crime, etc.).....	12	32
• Problems with integration of people of foreign origin.....	13	28
• Unemployment.....	9	25
• Perceived decline in social status.....	7	16
• Corruption.....	4	10
• TOTAL	100	(*)

(*) Total exceeds 100 since respondents were able to give two answers

Causes of the rise of populism in Europe

First choice

	Immigration	Decline in living conditions (purchasing power, housing, social insurance, etc.)	Security issues affecting people and property (antisocial behaviour, delinquency crime, etc.)	Problems with integration of people of foreign origin	Unemployment	Perceived decline in social status	Corruption
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	32	23	13	12	9	7	4
SEX							
Male	36	18	16	11	8	7	4
Female	29	26	10	13	11	7	4
AGE							
Under 35	25	23	10	13	14	10	5
18-24	28	22	8	12	15	11	4
25-34	24	23	11	14	13	9	6
35 and above	35	22	14	12	7	6	4
35-49	22	28	15	15	9	6	5
50-64	36	20	11	13	9	7	4
65 and above	49	18	16	8	4	5	-
URBAN UNIT SIZE							
Rural municipalities	36	24	9	14	7	7	3
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	32	22	13	12	10	7	4
Paris metropolitan area	28	23	15	11	9	8	6
REGION							
Paris region							
Outside Paris region	29	22	14	13	9	8	5
Northeast	33	23	12	12	9	7	4
Northwest	29	22	15	13	12	5	4
Southwest	37	27	9	11	7	6	3
Southeast	31	24	13	8	7	10	7
	34	19	13	15	9	7	3
APPROVAL OF US POLICY							
Approve	38	14	15	11	10	6	6
Disapprove	31	24	12	13	9	7	4
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH							
Positive opinion	42	13	17	10	8	6	4
Negative opinion	31	24	12	13	9	7	4
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS							
Yes	33	23	14	13	7	6	4
No	31	21	10	10	15	9	4

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

Causes of the rise of populism in Europe

All references

	Immigration	Decline in living conditions (purchasing power, housing, social insurance, etc.)	Security issues affecting people and property (antisocial behaviour, delinquency crime, etc.)	Problems with integration of people of foreign origin	Unemployment	Perceived decline in social status	Corruption
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
ALTOGETHER	45	42	32	28	25	16	10
SEX							
Male	50	36	29	35	23	17	10
Female	41	48	36	22	27	16	11
AGE							
Under 35	40	42	29	21	34	20	14
18-24	40	40	27	21	36	20	16
25-34	39	43	31	21	33	20	13
35 and above	47	42	33	31	22	15	9
35-49	36	49	33	26	27	19	11
50-64	48	42	33	31	22	14	10
65 and above	60	34	35	36	16	12	6
URBAN UNIT SIZE							
Rural municipalities	46	48	36	23	24	16	8
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	46	40	31	30	26	16	11
Paris metropolitan area	41	42	34	29	23	17	14
REGION							
Paris region	43	43	34	28	22	18	13
Outside Paris region	46	42	32	28	26	16	10
Northeast	46	37	34	28	29	16	10
Northwest	51	46	29	24	24	16	10
Southwest	38	50	33	31	22	16	10
Southeast	45	40	32	31	26	16	10
APPROVAL OF US POLICY							
Approve	56	30	35	30	21	15	14
Disapprove	43	46	32	28	26	17	9
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH							
Positive opinion	58	29	32	35	19	13	14
Negative opinion	43	45	32	27	26	17	10
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS							
Yes	45	42	35	29	23	16	10
No	46	41	21	24	35	19	13

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

The authority most responsible for the rise in populism in Europe

Question: Which of the various powers below would you say is most responsible for the rise of populism and protest voting in Europe?

	All French people September 2018 (%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National governments, which are insufficiently effective at solving their citizens' problems..... 	47
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The European Union, which is insufficiently effective at solving Europeans' problems..... 	33
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The media, which misinforms us and does not tell us what is really happening..... 	20
TOTAL	100

The authority most responsible for the rise in populism in Europe

	National governments, which are insufficiently effective at solving their citizens' problems (%)	The European Union, which is insufficiently effective at solving Europeans' problem (%)	The media, which misinforms us and does not tell us what is really happening (%)
ALTOGETHER	47	33	20
SEX			
Male	48	34	18
Female	47	32	21
AGE			
Under 35	44	26	30
18-24	40	20	40
25-34	46	31	23
35 and above	49	35	16
35-49	54	27	19
50-64	51	33	16
65 and above	39	48	13
URBAN UNIT SIZE			16
Rural municipalities	47	37	21
Urban municipalities outside the Paris region	48	31	21
Paris metropolitan area	46	33	
REGION			
Paris region	49	31	20
Outside Paris region	47	33	20
Northeast	44	37	19
Northwest	50	31	19
Southwest	48	35	17
Southeast	47	31	22
APPROVAL OF US POLICY			
Approve	38	36	26
Disapprove	50	32	18
DONALD TRUMP'S POPULARITY AMONG THE FRENCH			
Positive opinion	37	35	28
Negative opinion	50	32	18
GOODWILL TOWARDS AMERICANS			
Yes	47	34	19
No	48	30	22

(*) Sample lower than 40 individuals: these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low numbers

