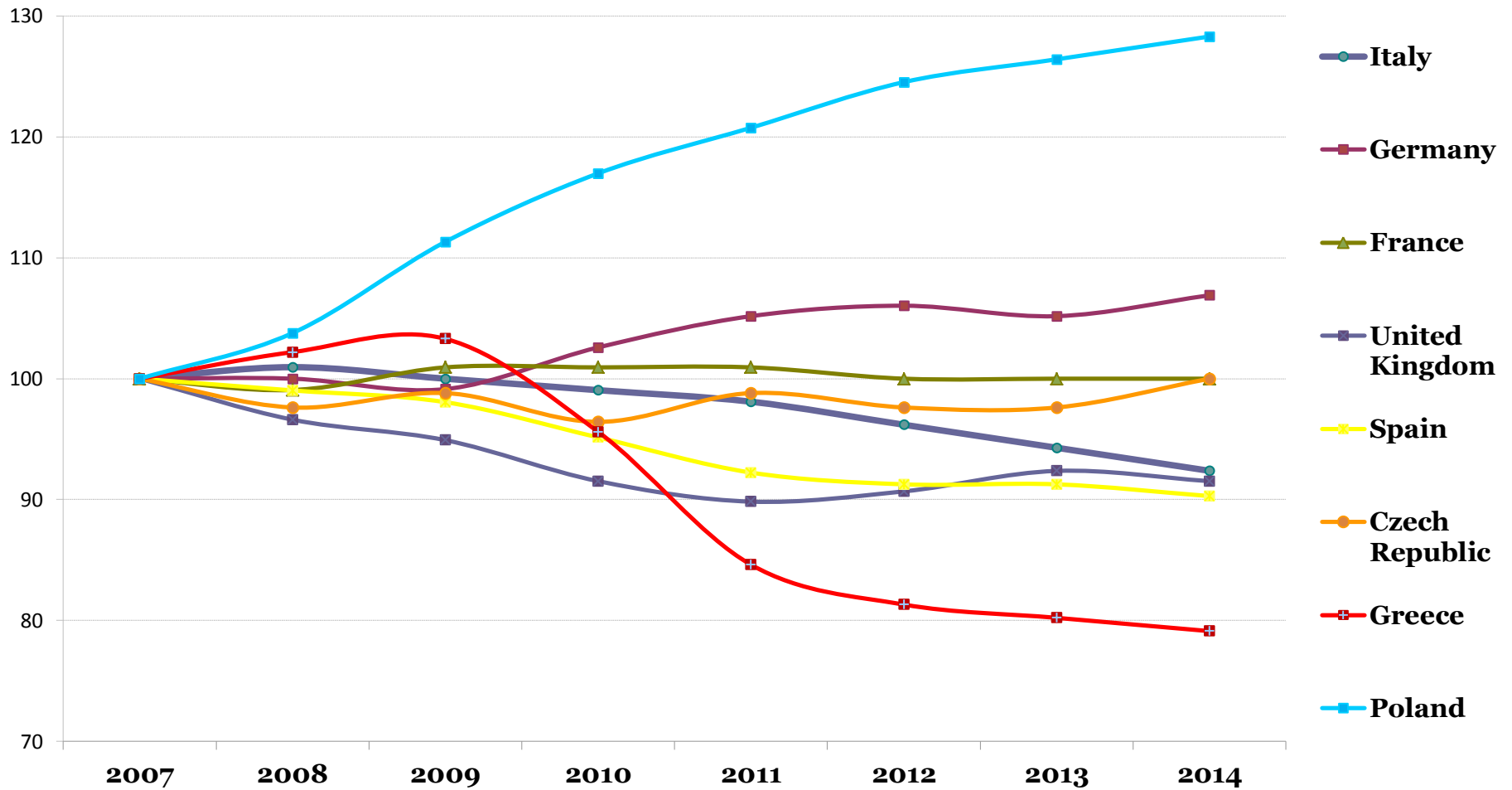


Current populism in South Europe



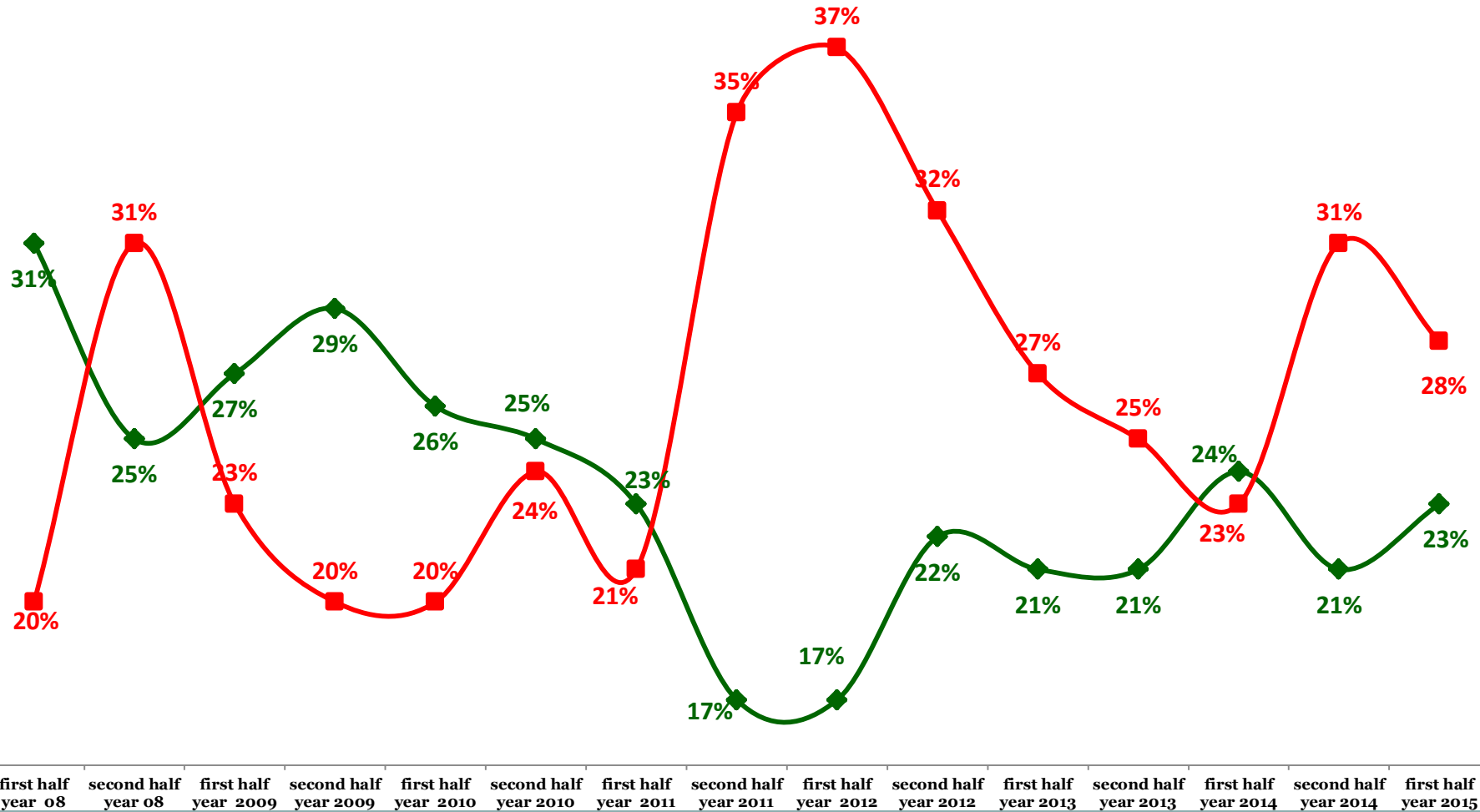
GDP per capita in pps (purchasing power standards)



Expectations on personal economic status: long-term trend

◆ optimists

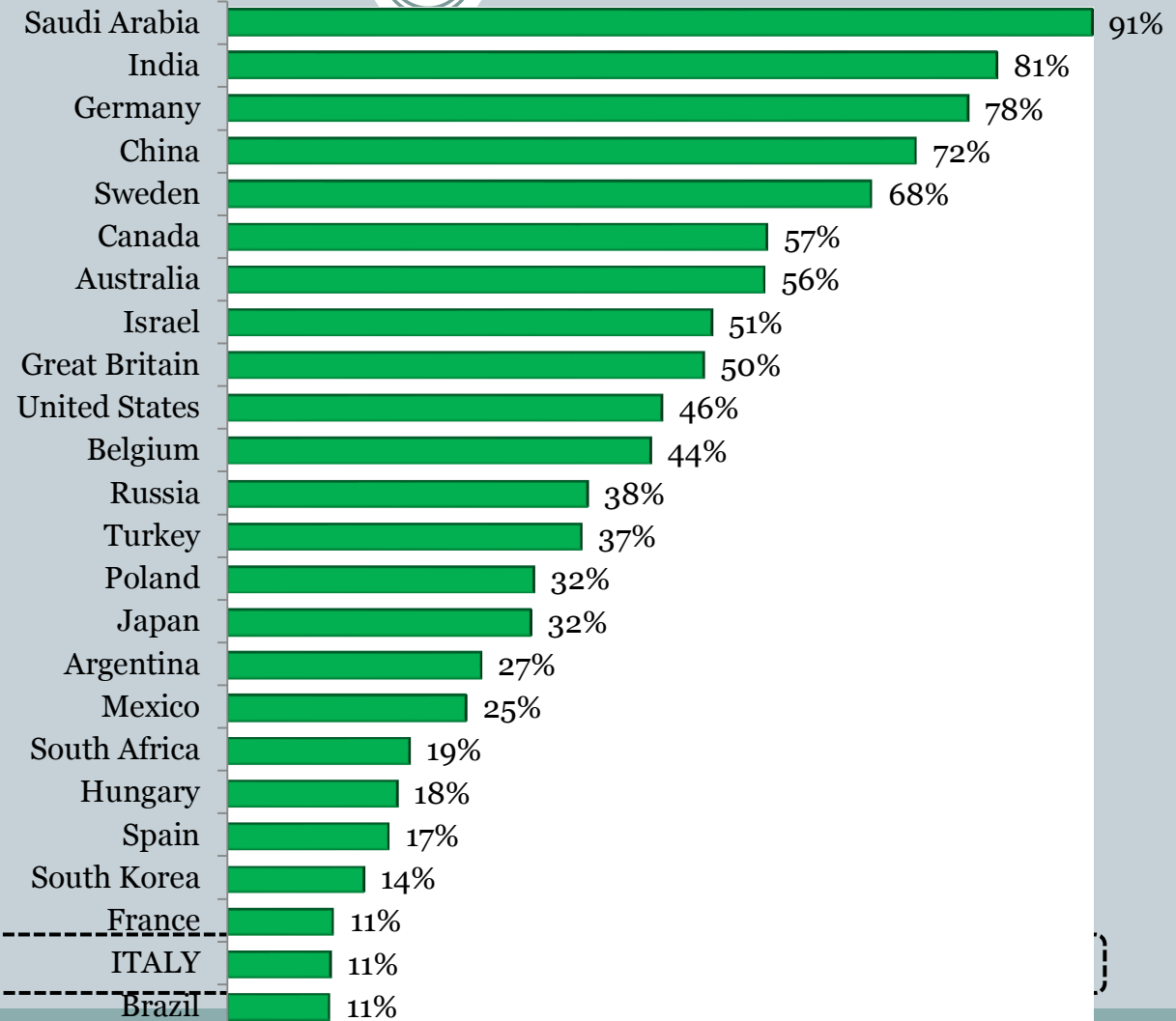
■ pessimists



Source: Ipsos database

Opinion on the economic situation of the country: a comprehensive overview















International sentiment





Q. What percentage of the population do you think are immigrants to this country?















All countries overestimate their level of immigration

% POINT DIFFERENCE		TOO HIGH	AVG. GUESS	ACTUAL
	Italy	+ 23	30	7
	US	+ 19	32	13
	Belgium	+ 19	29	10
	France	+ 18	28	10
	Hungary	+ 14	16	2
	Canada	+ 14	35	21
	Poland	+ 12	14	1.75
	Great Britain	+ 11	24	13
	Spain	+ 11	23	12
	Germany	+ 10	23	13
	Japan	+ 8	10	2
	South Korea	+ 8	10	2
	Sweden	+ 7	23	16
	Australia	+ 7	35	28



Q. Out of every 100 people of working age about how many do you think are unemployed and looking for work?

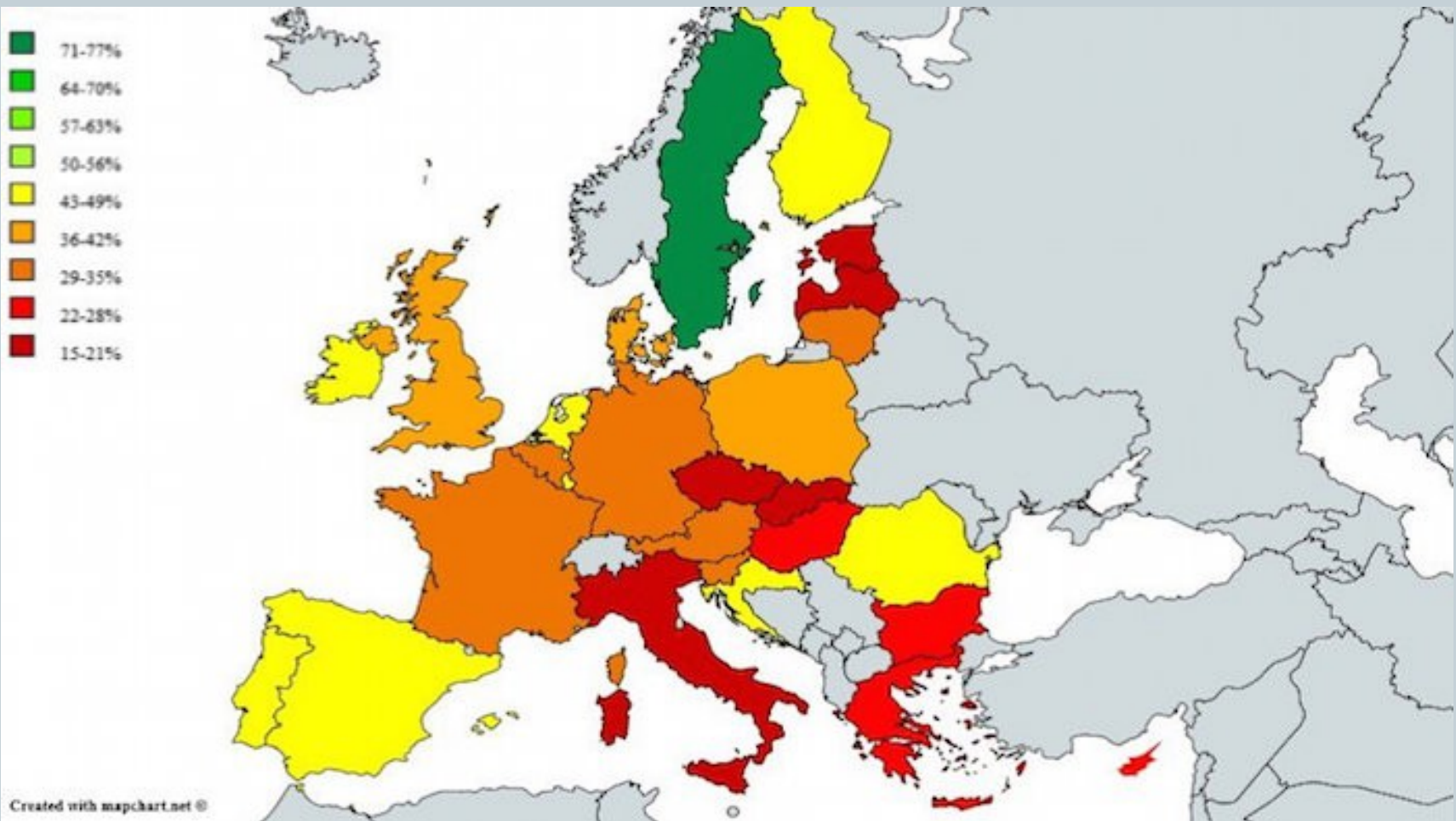
Unemployment levels are hugely overestimated in every country

% POINT DIFFERENCE		TOO HIGH	AVG. GUESS	ACTUAL
	Italy	+ 37	49	12
	South Korea	+ 28	32	4
	Hungary	+ 28	39	11
	US	+ 26	32	6
	Poland	+ 25	34	9
	Belgium	+ 23	31	8
	Spain	+ 21	46	25
	France	+ 20	29	9
	Australia	+ 17	23	6
	Great Britain	+ 17	24	7
	Sweden	+ 16	24	8
	Canada	+ 16	23	7
	Japan	+ 15	19	4
	Germany	+ 14	20	6

Deception

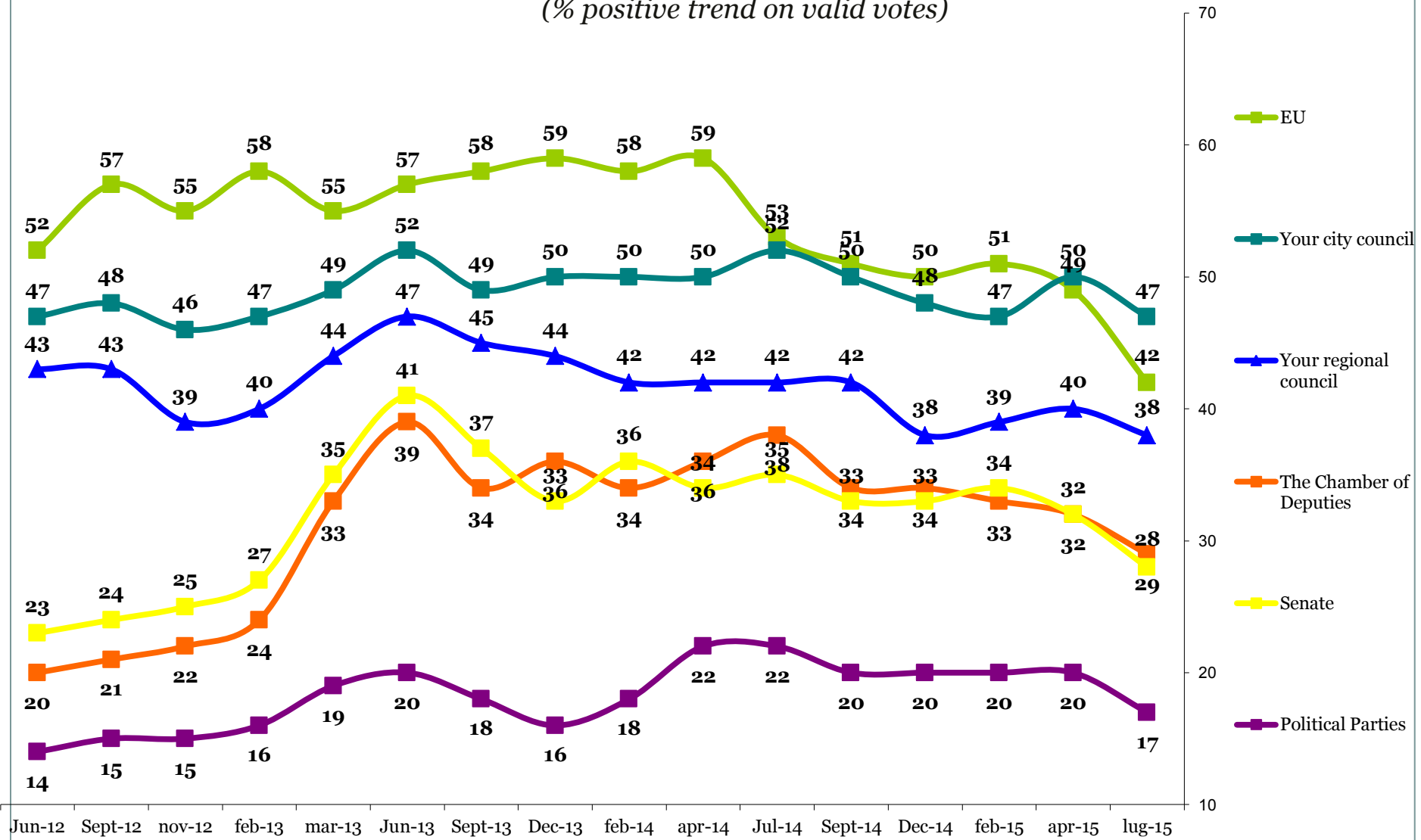


Attitudes of the people towards migration



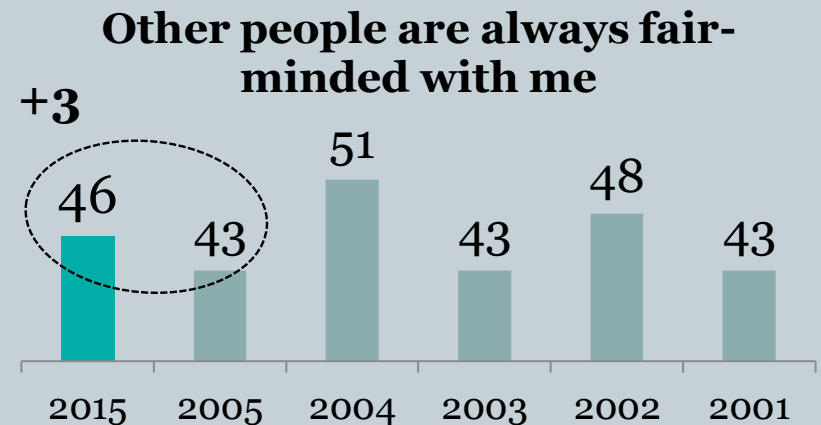
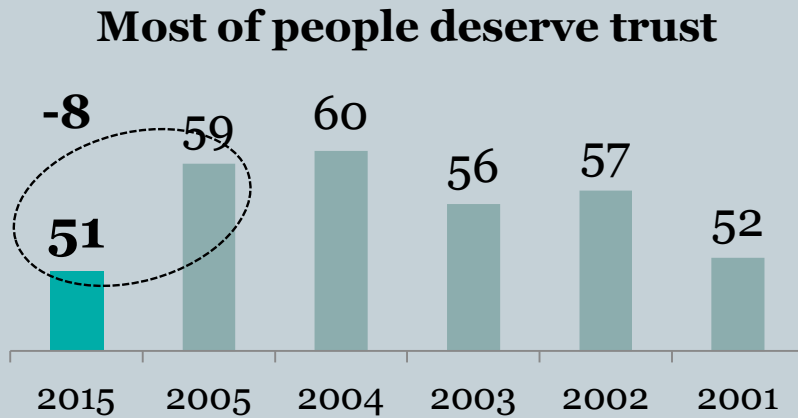
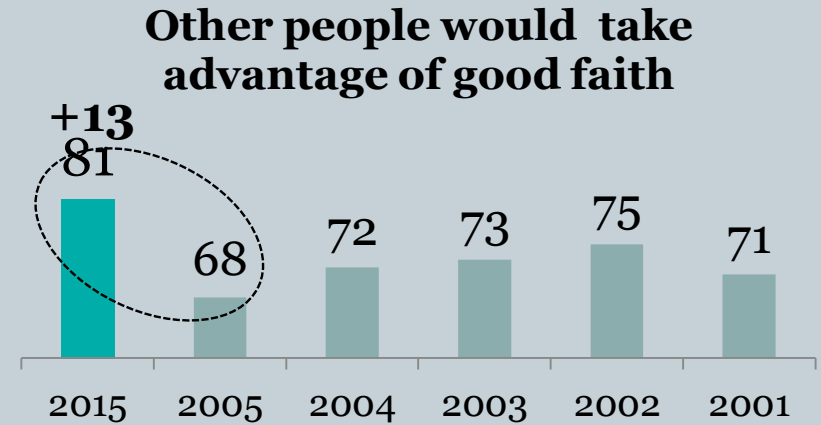
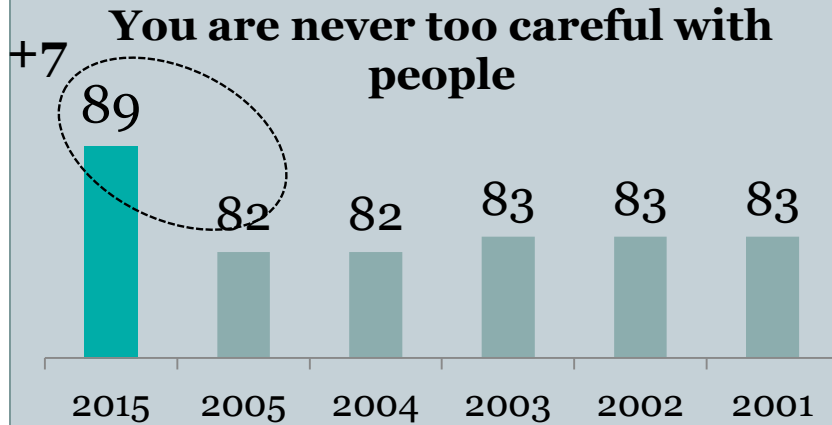
Trust in government and society institutions

(% positive trend on valid votes)



The others and us: a difficult world

% Strongly + quite agree



Trust in political parties

■ I trust ■ I do not trust

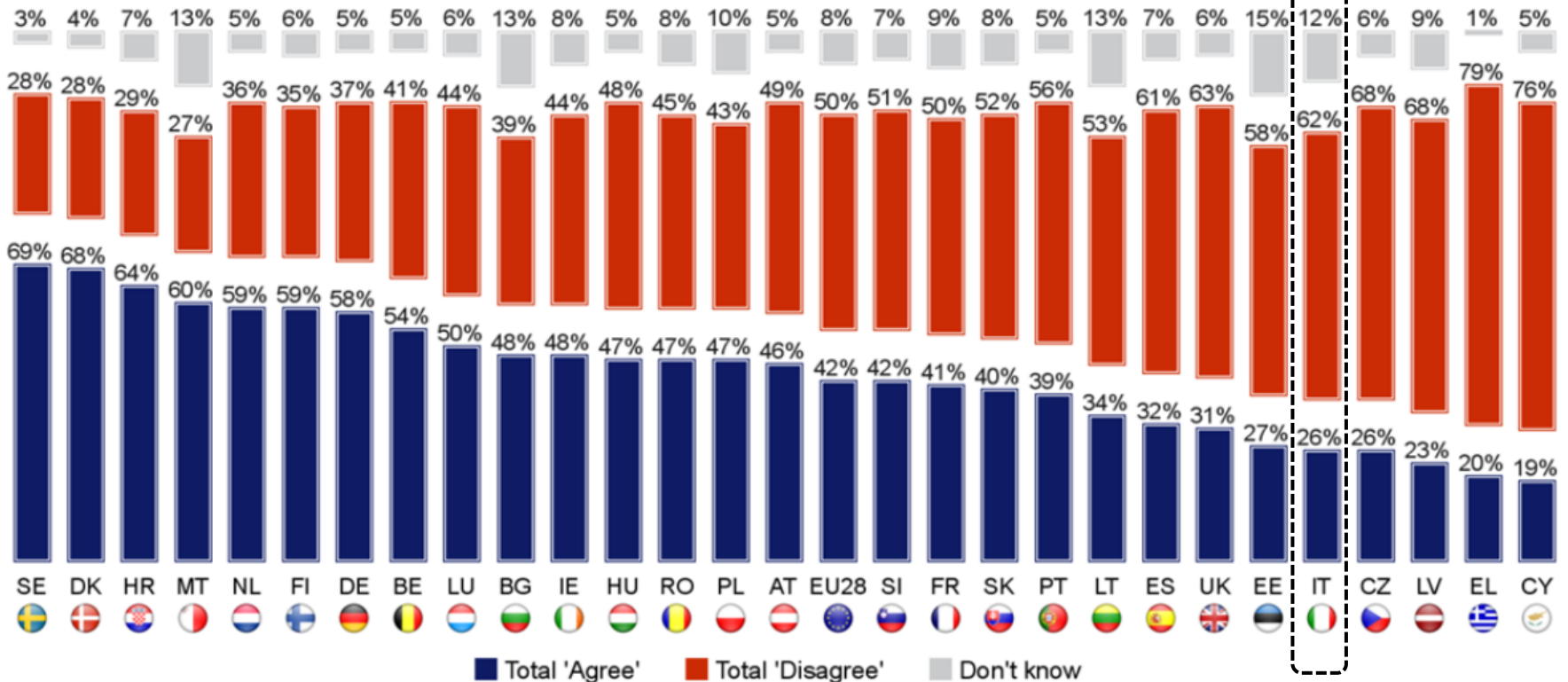


My voice counts in Europe



D72.1. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

My voice counts in the EU



Italy as 'anomaly'



- Narrative of inefficient country, pathological abnormality and continuous stagnation
- Abnormal historical development – absence of bourgeois revolution, lack of state-building process, unification without unity ('Italy without Italians')
- Existence of 'two Italies', myth of anti-fashism, role of the Catholic Church
- Collaps of the First Republic and 20 years of Berlusconi strengthened the narrative of 'permanent political crisis'

Long tradition of Italian populism

- It's not a new phenomenon
 - fascist regime used many populist attributes
- Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque first post-war populist actor in Europe
- Similar language of Giannini and Grillo



Structural factors



- **Collapse of the bipolar party model**
 - Fall of Berlusconi IV marked the end of ‘fragmented bipolarism’
 - Enhanced by the caretaker Monti’s government
 - De-structured party system opened political space for newcomers and caused high electoral volatility without changing the voting system

Silvio Berlusconi

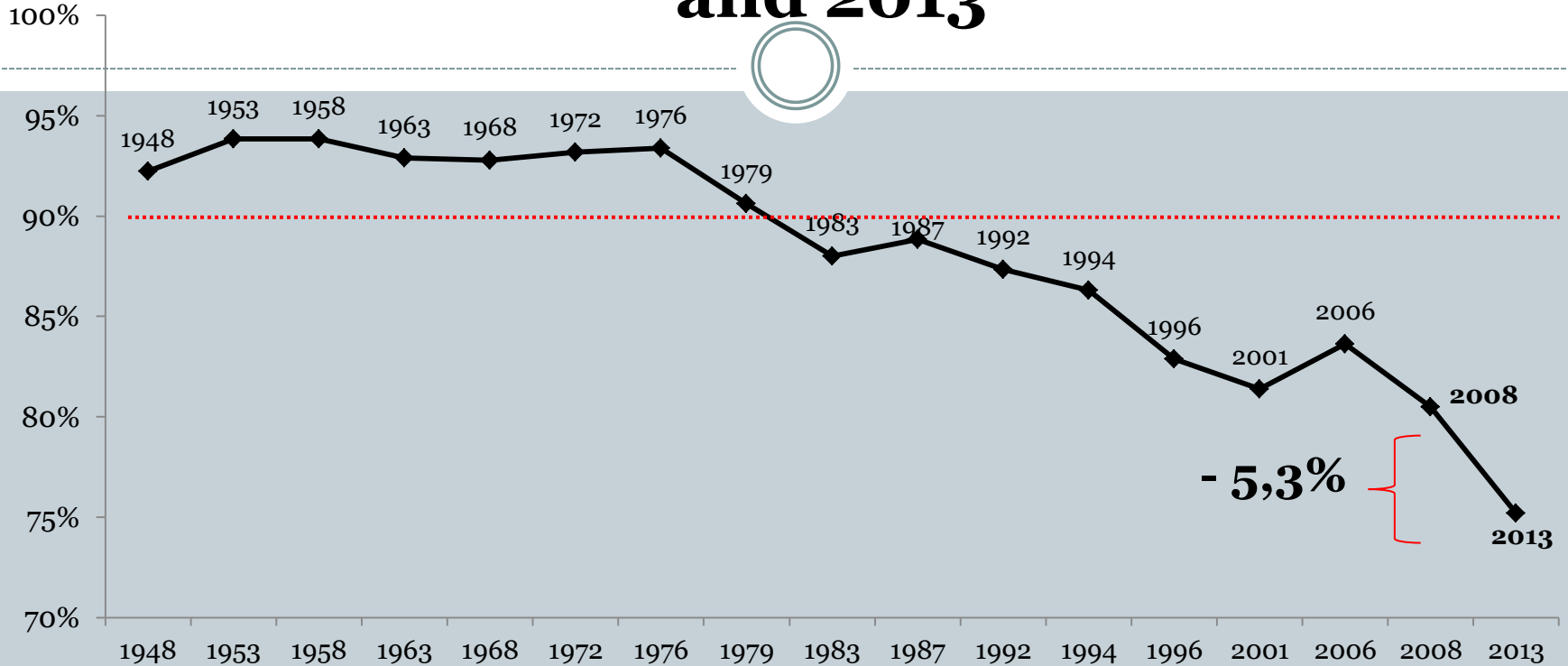


Social de-legitimization of political elite

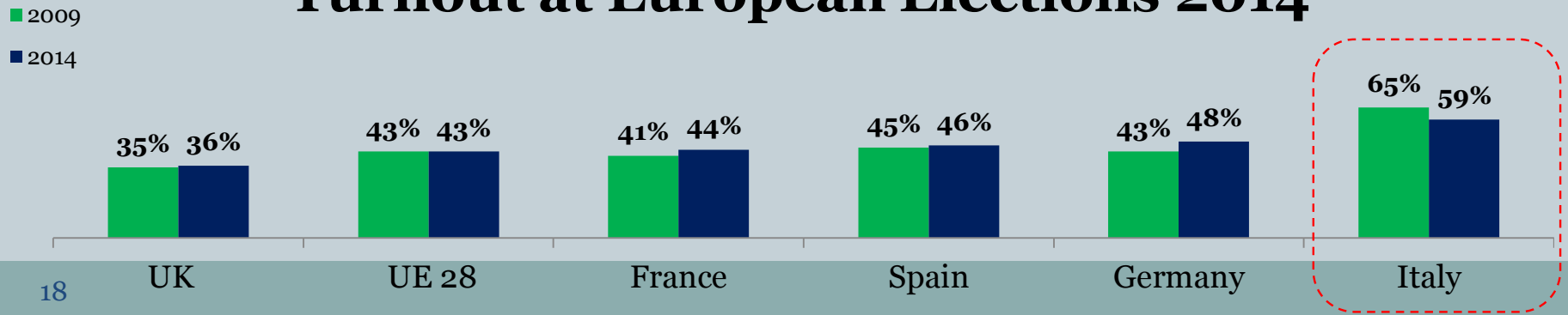


- Repeated scandals of established political parties, even those originally protest and anti-establishment (LN and IDV)
- Loss of voters' confidence (2011 – 12% trusted political parties)
- Strengthening of the climate of anti-establishment and anti-politics
- Declining interest in the elections

Turnout at General Elections between 1948 and 2013



Turnout at European Elections 2014



The Italian political offer

the main political parties



Partito Democratico (Democratic Party) is a Centre-left political party which is currently the main governing party.



Forza Italia is a political party founded by Silvio Berlusconi in 2013 and it belongs to the Centre-right coalition.



Lega Nord is a political party based on a territorial and autonomist nature. Led by Matteo Salvini, its current secretary, LN becomes a national and anti-European party.



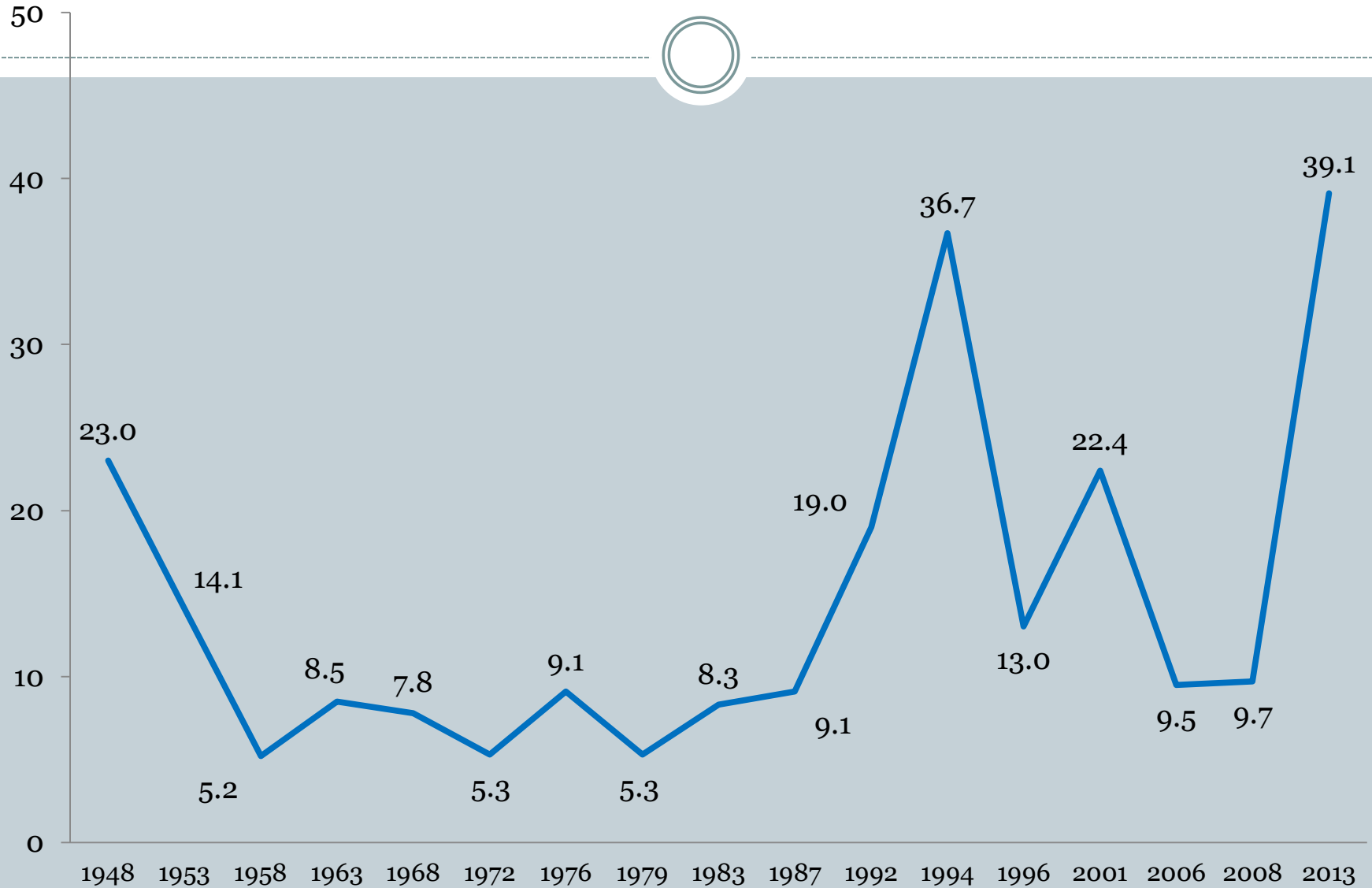
Movimento 5 Stelle is a political movement founded in 2009 by Beppe Grillo, a comedian. M5S defines itself as an organisation without a political orientation (right or left). Nowadays, it is the main opposition party to the Renzi government.

The vote in 2013 compared with year 2008

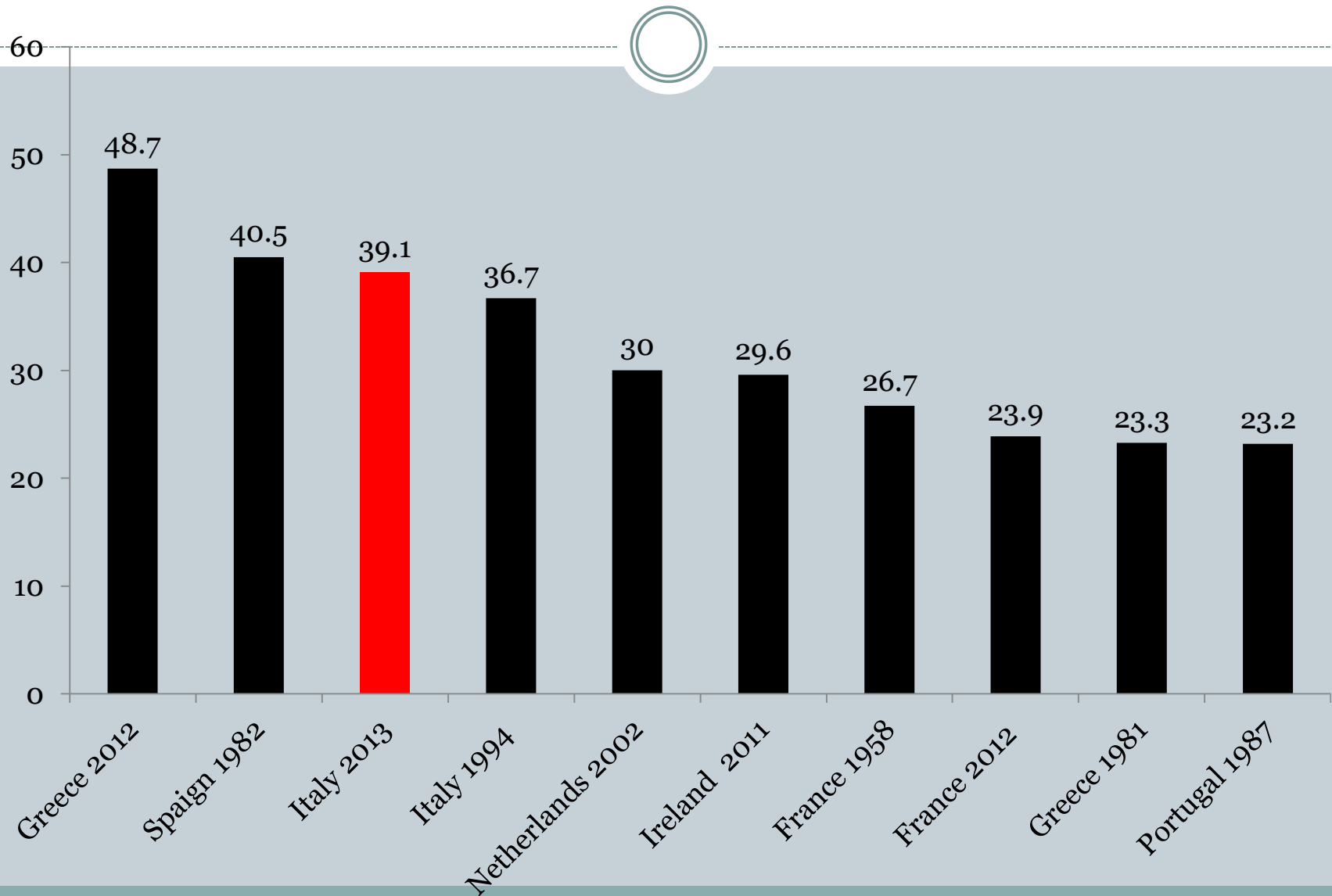
– variance in absolute values

CAMERA	TOTALE ITALIA	
	2013	scarto dal 2008
RIVOLUZIONE CIVILE *	765.054	-1.953.268
SEL	1.090.802	
PD	8.642.700	-3.452.606
SVP	146.804	-914
CENTRO DEMOCRATICO	167.201	
CON MONTI PER L'ITALIA	2.823.814	
UDC	608.292	-1.441.937
FLI	159.454	
LEGA NORD	1.390.156	-1.634.387
PDL	7.332.121	-6.297.343
FRATELLI D'ITALIA	666.001	
GRANDE SUD - MPA	148.570	-261.929
LA DESTRA	220.312	-664.649
PENSIONATI	55.050	
ALTRI CENTRO DESTRA	110.890	
MOVIMENTO 5 STELLE BEPPEGRILLO.IT	8.688.545	
FARE PER FERMARE IL DECLINO	380.937	
LISTA AMNISTIA GIUSTIZIA LIBERTA'	64.744	
ALTRE LISTE	541.076	-599.641
TOTALE VALIDI	34.002.523	-2.454.731
<i>BIANCHE + NULLE</i>	<i>1.269.017</i>	<i>-148.298</i>
<i>ASTENUTI</i>	<i>11.634.803</i>	<i>2.467.558</i>
<i>ELETTORI</i>	<i>46.906.343</i>	<i>-135.471</i>

Voting volatility between 1948 and 2013



The third general election in Europe for its volatility since 1945



Five Star Movement and Beppe Grillo



M5S is strengthening its consensus which seems other than a «bubble» created by the reactions against judicial investigations, by reaffirming the idea that the Movimento is the only incorruptible political institution. Actually, this is reinforced by some particularly rewarding choices such as the presence of a young, skilled, expert and proposal-making leadership. Moreover, choosing to take part in TV talk shows makes young exponents more visible. Finally, the proposal of a citizenship income achieved a strong consensus by those people who more exposed to the economic crisis.

«*Damn, you are the leader!*». This is what Beppe Grillo said during a press conference jokingly with Luigi Di Maio, considered as the future leader of the Movimento 5 Stelle by many people.

Waiting to know who's going to lead the movement, the young Member of Parliament is at the top of the list at the moment.



Example of the Eternal City



- 37 years old Virginia Raggi became the youngest mayor and the first woman in the office
- Lawyer well connected to the old political establishment
- Praised by mainstream media
- Criticized by grassroots activists
- Attracted moderate voters from centre and centre-right (60%)



LEGA NORD and Matteo Salvini



The growth of the Lega Nord has stopped: today it does not succeed in broadening its consensus among the moderate electorate, who appears frightened by its amazing language, by the word «ruspa» ('bulldozer') and by the words used against the bishops. In addition, the Italians are partially changing their attitudes with regards to immigration.

The «*other*» Matteo, who was labelled as the true opposer to Renzi by many people, stops his growth. The language chosen by Matteo Salvini seems to strike less, probably due to the emotions generated by the recent images of the refugees and the unexpected decisions of Europe (and of Germany) on this topic.



Shift towards migration/muslim issues

