

# 2019 European Elections

The weight of the political electorates  
compared to the electoral weight  
of the parliamentary groups

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# I. DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE WEIGHT OF POLITICAL ELECTORATES AND THE ELECTORAL WEIGHT OF PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

The Fondation pour l'innovation politique wished to reflect on the European elections in May 2019 by assessing the weight of electorates across the European constituency independently of the electoral weight represented by the parliamentary groups comprised post-election.

For example, we have reconstructed a right-wing Eurosceptic electorate by aggregating the votes in favour of right-wing national lists whose discourses are hostile to the European Union. In this case, for instance, this methodology has led us to assign those who voted for Fidesz not to the European People's Party (EPP) **group** but rather to an **electorate** which we describe as the "populist right and extreme right" in which we also include those who voted for the Italian Lega, the French National Rally, the Austrian FPÖ and the Sweden Democrats. Likewise, Slovak SMER voters were detached from the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D) Group and instead categorised as part of an electorate which we describe as the "populist left and extreme left".

## A. The data collected

The electoral results were collected list by list, country by country<sup>1</sup>, from the websites of the national parliaments and governments of each of the States of the Union. We then aggregated these data at the European level, thus obtaining:

- the number of individuals registered on the electoral lists on the date of the elections, or the **registered voters**;
- the number of votes, or **the voters**;
- the number of valid votes in favour of each of the lists, or **the votes cast**;
- the number of invalid votes, or **the blank or invalid votes**.

Due to a multitude of lists receiving only a tiny proportion of the votes, only results above 0.5% of the votes cast at the national level were included in our study. The impact of such a threshold on the results is minimal, given that **more than 97% of the votes cast were counted in our study**. While the remaining 3% represent a total of 5 million votes cast – which is not insignificant – these were in favour of a very large number of politically disparate and electorally marginal groups, none of which therefore cross this threshold of 0.5% of the votes cast at the national level.

This census, which is inevitably imperfect notably due to the difficulties in accurately identifying the political sensibilities of European voters through their votes cast across more than 350 national lists, is intended to be supplemented and amended by whomever wishes to do so, by sharing their remarks, criticism and recommendations with us at the following address: [europenelections@fondapol.org](mailto:europenelections@fondapol.org).

1. As the UK Electoral Commission does not provide any figures in terms of the number of votes for the European elections until August 2019, we calculated the number of votes received by each of the lists in the United Kingdom based on the percentages of the official results of the number of votes cast, the number of voters on the lists in the last general election in the United Kingdom, and the participation figures in the European elections of May 2019.

## **B. List of the identified electorates**

Nine types of electorates have been identified:

- Populist right and extreme right;
- Pro-European right;
- Pro-European centre;
- Pro-European left;
- Populist left and extreme left;
- Environmentalists;
- Regionalists/separatists;
- Atypical/emerging (animal-rights, “pirates”, satirical);
- Unknown

Note that abstention remains very high, with almost 195 million Europeans falling into this category. We also note there were more than 4 million blank and invalid votes, more than the animal-rights, pirate and satirical votes put together.

### **The electorates in the European Union – elections of May 2019**

	% of votes cast	% of registered voters	Number of votes
<b>Populist Right and far Right</b>	23.7	11.8	46,974,152
<b>Pro-European Right</b>	19.7	9.8	39,130,358
<b>Pro-European Centre</b>	12.5	6.2	24,851,301
<b>Environmentalists</b>	9.4	4.7	18,723,127
<b>Pro-European Left</b>	17.8	8.9	35,412,885
<b>Populist Left and far Left</b>	7	3.5	13,805,192
<b>Regionalists/Separatists</b>	2.2	1.1	4,343,807
<b>Animal-rights</b>	0.9	0.5	1,879,443
<b>Satirical</b>	0.5	0.3	1,027,037
<b>“Pirates”</b>	0.3	0.2	657,368
<b>Unknown</b>	3.1	1.6	6,180,351
<b>Below 0.5% at the national level</b>	2.8	1.4	5,575,043
<b>Abstainers</b>	–	49.1	195,087,164
<b>Blank and invalid votes</b>	–	1.0	4,105,247
<b>Votes cast (TOTAL)</b>	–	49.9	198,560,064
<b>Number of registered voters</b>	–	–	<b>397,752,475</b>

## 1. Populist Right Electorate

- Percentage of votes cast: 23.7%
- Percentage of registered voters: 11.8%
- Number of votes: 46,974,152

The “populist right and extreme right” electorate consists of the votes in favour of right-wing and extreme right-wing parties which have an adversarial relationship with the European Union as an institution, or even with the idea of a European Union. The reader will therefore find votes in favour of political parties who are members of the European People’s Party (EPP), such as Viktor Orbán’s Fidesz, within this electorate.

Populist Right Electorate			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
Italy	Lega	9,153,638	C
Poland	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	6,192,780	B
United Kingdom	Brexit Party	5,313,531	C
France	Rassemblement national (RN)	5,286,939	C
Germany	Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)	4,104,453	C
Hungary	Coalition : FIDESZ - Magyar Polgári Szövetség + Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt	1,824,220	B
Italy	Fratelli d'Italia (FdI)	1,723,232	B
Spain	VOX	1,393,684	B
Belgium	Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (N-VA)	954,048	B
Belgium	Vlaams Belang (VB)	811,169	C
France	Le courage de défendre les Français avec Nicolas Dupont-Aignan. Debout la France ! – CNIP	795,708	C
Austria	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ)	650,114	C
Sweden	Sverigedemokraterna (SD)	636,877	C
Poland	Konfederacja KORWIN Braun Liroy Narodowcy	621,188	C
Netherlands	Forum voor Democratie (FvD)	602,507	C
United Kingdom	United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)	554,861	C
Poland	Kukiz'15 (K'15)	503,564	Pro-EU
Czech Republic	ANO 2011	502,343	B
Netherlands	ChristenUnie (CU) - Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij (SGP)	375,660	B
Romania	Alianța Liberalilor și Democraților (ALDE)	372,760	B
Czech Republic	Občanská demokratická strana (ODS)	344,885	B
Denmark	Dansk Folkeparti (O)	296,978	B
Greece	Golden Dawn (XA)	275,734	C
Germany	Familien-Partei Deutschlands (FAM)	273,828	B
France	Ensemble pour le Frexit Union populaire républicaine	265,469	C
Finland	Perussuomalaiset (PS)	253,176	C
Greece	Greek Solution (EL)	236,347	B
Hungary	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom (Jobbik)	220,184	B
Czech Republic	Svoboda a přímá demokracie (SPD)	216,718	C
Netherlands	Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)	194,178	C
France	Ensemble Patriotes et Gilets jaunes : pour la France, sortons de l'Union Les Patriotes européenne !	147,140	C
Bulgaria	Bulgarsko Natsionalno Dvizhenie (VMRO)	143,830	B
Romania	Peter Costea (Independent)	131,021	B

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A - The anti-liberal Eurosceptic electorate / B - The liberal Eurosceptic electorate / C - The anti-European electorate

Populist Right Electorate (continued)			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
<b>Slovakia</b>	Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko (ĽSNS)	118,995	C
<b>Hungary</b>	Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (MHM)	114,156	C
<b>Belgium</b>	Parti populaire (PP)	113,793	C
<b>United Kingdom</b>	Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	101,984	B
<b>Slovakia</b>	Sloboda a Solidarita (SaS)	94,839	B
<b>Croatia</b>	Coal Hrv. Suverenisti - Coalition Hrvatski suverenisti (HRAST - Pokret za uspješnu Hrvatsku + Hrvatska konzervativna stranka - HKS + Hrvatska stranka prava de. Ante Starrčević - HSP AS + Ujedinjeni hrvatski domoljubi - UHD)	91,546	B
<b>Latvia</b>	Nacionālā Apvienība (NA)	77,591	B
<b>Bulgaria</b>	Coalition Volya	70,830	C
<b>Greece</b>	Elláda, o állos drómos	70,347	B
<b>Greece</b>	Laïkos Orthodoxos Synagermos(LAOS) - Patriotic Radical Union(EM)	69,779	C
<b>Lithuania</b>	Valdemaro Tomaševskio blokas – Krikščioniškų šeimų sąjungos ir Rusų aljanso koalicija	69,347	B
<b>Slovakia</b>	Coalition : Obyčajní Ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti + Nová väčšina - Dohoda (OLaNO + NOVA)	51,834	B
<b>Romania</b>	Partidul România Unită (PRU)	51,787	C
<b>Portugal</b>	Coalition « Basta! » (PPM - PPV/CDC - Chega! (pt))	49,496	B
<b>Croatia</b>	Coalition Neovisni za Hrvatsku + Hrvatska Stranka Prava	46,970	B
<b>Greece</b>	Independents Greeks (ANEL)	45,148	B
<b>Estonia</b>	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond (EKRE)	42,265	B
<b>Lithuania</b>	Visuomeninis rinkimų komitetas "Vytautas Radžvilas: susigrąžinkime valstybę!"	42,228	C
<b>Slovakia</b>	Slovenská národná strana (SNS)	40,330	C
<b>Greece</b>	New Right (ND)	37,540	C
<b>Lithuania</b>	Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas (TT)	34,442	C
<b>Slovakia</b>	SME RODINA - Boris Kollár (SmeR)	31,840	C
<b>Cyprus</b>	National Popular Front (ELAM)	23,167	C
<b>Bulgaria</b>	Natsionalen Front za Spasenie na Bulgaria (NFSB)	22,421	C
<b>Bulgaria</b>	Partiya Ataka (Ataka)	20,906	C
<b>Slovenia</b>	Slovenska Nacionalna Stranka (SNS)	19,347	C
<b>Czech Republic</b>	Koalice Rozumní (ND)	18,715	C
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Parti réformiste d'alternative démocratique (ADR)	12,552	C
<b>Malta</b>	Imperium europa	8,238	C
<b>Slovenia</b>	Domovinska Liga (DOM)	8,184	B
<b>Malta</b>	Moviment Patrijotti Maltin (MPM)	771	C
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>46,974,152</b>	

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## 2. Pro-European Right Electorate

- Percentage of votes cast: 19.7%
- Percentage of registered voters: 9.8%
- Number of votes: 39,130,358

The pro-European right electorate includes the traditional right-wing votes inspired by Christian Democrat and Liberal-Conservative politics. Voters for parties including the German CDU, the Spanish PP, the Polish Civic Platform and the Republicans in France form the core of this electorate.

Pro-European Right Electorate			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
Germany	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (CDU)	8,438,975	Pro-EU
Spain	Partido Popular (PP)	4,519,205	Pro-EU
Poland	Coalition Koalicja Europejska (KE) : Platforma Obywatelska (PO) + Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	4,056,768	Pro-EU
Romania	Partidul Național Liberal (PNL)	2,449,068	Pro-EU
Germany	Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU)	2,355,067	Pro-EU
Italy	Forza Italia (FI)	2,344,465	Pro-EU
France	Union de la droite et du centre (LR et UDI)	1,920,407	Pro-EU
Greece	New Democray (ND)	1,873,137	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Conservative and Unionist Party	1,528,029	Pro-EU
Austria	Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP)	1,305,956	Pro-EU
Portugal	Partido Social Democrata (PSD)	727,207	Pro-EU
Sweden	Moderaterna (M)	698,770	Pro-EU
Netherlands	Christen-Democratisch Appèl (CDA)	669,555	Pro-EU
Belgium	Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams (CD&V)	617,651	Pro-EU
Bulgaria	Coalition Grazhdani za evropeysko razvitie na Balgariya (GERB) + Sayuz na demokratichnite sili	607,194	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Change UK	572,147	Pro-EU
Romania	Partidul Mișcarea Populară (PMP)	522,104	Pro-EU
Ireland	Finn Gaël (FG)	496,459	Pro-EU
Finland	Kansallinen Kokoomus (Kok)	380,460	Pro-EU
Sweden	Kristdemokraterna (KD)	357,856	Pro-EU
Czech Republic	Starostovés (STAN) - Regionálními partnery a TOP 09	276,220	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Tėvynės sąjunga - Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai (TS-LKD)	248,736	Pro-EU
Croatia	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ)	244,076	Pro-EU
Belgium	Centre Démocrate humaniste (CdH)	218,078	Pro-EU
Portugal	CDS - Partido Popular	205,106	Pro-EU

Pro-European Right Electorate (continued)			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
<b>Czech Republic</b>	Křesťanská a demokratická unie (KDU) – Československá strana lidová (CSL)	171,723	Pro-EU
<b>Denmark</b>	Det Konservative Folkeparti	170,544	Pro-EU
<b>Slovenia</b>	Coalition : Slovenska demokratska stranka (SDS) + Slovenska ljudska stranka (SLS)	126,534	Pro-EU
<b>Latvia</b>	Vienotība (V)	124,193	Pro-EU
<b>Slovakia</b>	Coalition : Progresívne Slovensko (PS) + SPOLU - občianska demokracia)	99,128	Pro-EU
<b>Malta</b>	Partit Nazzjonalista (PN)	98,611	Pro-EU
<b>Slovakia</b>	Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie (KDH)	95,588	Pro-EU
<b>Finland</b>	Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit (KD)	89,204	Pro-EU
<b>Lithuania</b>	Aušra Maldeikienė (Independent)	82,005	Pro-EU
<b>Cyprus</b>	Democratic Rally (DISY)	81,539	Pro-EU
<b>Slovenia</b>	Nova Slovenija (N.Si)	53,621	Pro-EU
<b>Slovakia</b>	Strana mad'arskej komunity - Magyar Közösség Pártja (SMK-MKP)	48,929	Pro-EU
<b>Croatia</b>	Marijana Petir (Independent)	47,358	Pro-EU
<b>Slovakia</b>	Kresťanská únia (KU)	37,974	Pro-EU
<b>Estonia</b>	Isamaa (I)	34,188	Pro-EU
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Chrëschtlech-Sozial Vollekspartei (CSV)	29,874	Pro-EU
<b>Slovakia</b>	Most-Híd	25,562	Pro-EU
<b>Latvia</b>	Jaunā konservatīvā partija (JKP)	20,595	Pro-EU
<b>Slovakia</b>	Kresťanská demokracia (KD)	20,374	Pro-EU
<b>Lithuania</b>	Lithuania First, Artūras Paulauskas	16,850	Pro-EU
<b>Belgium</b>	Christlich Soziale Partei (CSP)	14,247	Pro-EU
<b>Slovakia</b>	Narodna Koalicia	7,145	Pro-EU
<b>Malta</b>	Alleanza Bidla (AB)	1,186	Pro-EU
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Déi Konservativ	690	Pro-EU
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>39,130,358</b>	

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### 3. Pro-European Centre Electorate

- Percentage of votes cast: 12.5%
- Percentage of registered voters: 6.2%
- Number of votes: 24,851,301

This electorate consists of votes in favour of lists defending the social market economy, values focused on individual freedoms and a vision of a federally inspired Europe. The voters of The Republic on the move! in France and Citizens in Spain alone represent almost a third of this electorate.

Pro-European Centre Electorate			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
France	La République en marche (LREM), Mouvement démocrate (Modem), Agir La droite constructive (agir), le mouvement radical	5,079,015	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Liberal Democrats	3,413,866	Pro-EU
Spain	Ciudadanos-Partido de la Ciudadanía (C's)	2,731,825	Pro-EU
Germany	Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)	2,028,594	Pro-EU
Romania	Coalition 2020 : Uniunea Salvați România (USR) - Partidul Libertății, Unității și Solidarității (PLUS)	2,028,236	Pro-EU
Italy	Più Europa (+Eu)	822,764	Pro-EU
Germany	Freie Wähler (FW)	806,703	Pro-EU
Netherlands	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)	805,100	Pro-EU
Belgium	Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten (Open VLD)	678,051	Pro-EU
Denmark	Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti (V)	648,203	Pro-EU
Spain	Coalition por una Europa Solidaria : Partido Nacionalista Vasco (EAJ) + Coalición Canaria (CC) + Compromiso por Galicia (CxG) + Atarrabia Taldea - Proposta per les Illes Balears (El Pi) + Demòcrates Valencians (DV)	633,090	Pro-EU
Belgium	Mouvement réformateur (MR)	470,654	Pro-EU
Sweden	Centerpartiet (C)	447,641	Pro-EU
Netherlands	Democraten 1966 (D66)	389,692	Pro-EU
Hungary	Momentum Mozgalom (MM)	344,512	Pro-EU
Bulgaria	Movement of Rights and Freedom (DPS)	323,510	Pro-EU
Austria	Das Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum (NEOS)	319,024	Pro-EU
Denmark	Danmarks social-liberale parti (B)	277,929	Pro-EU
Ireland	Fianna Fáil (FF)	277,740	Pro-EU
Germany	Volt Europa (Volt)	249,098	Pro-EU
Finland	Suomen Keskusta (Kesk)	247,477	Pro-EU
Sweden	Liberalerna (L)	171,419	Pro-EU
Bulgaria	Bulgarie démocratique (BD) : Demokrati za silna Bălgarija (DSB) - Zelena Partija - Yes, Bulgaria	118,484	Pro-EU
Finland	Svenska Folkpartiet i Finland (SFP)	115,962	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Darbo partija (DP)	113,243	Pro-EU
Netherlands	Volt Europa (Volt)	106,004	Pro-EU
Slovakia	Progresívne Slovensko (PS) - občianska demokracia (SPOLU)	99,127	Pro-EU
Estonia	Eesti Reformierakond (ER)	87,160	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI)	86,427	Pro-EU



Pro-European Centre Electorate (continued)			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
Lithuania	Lietuvos Respublikos liberalų sąjūdis (LRLS)	83,083	Pro-EU
Greece	Enosi Kentroon (EK)	82,084	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Lista Marjana Šarca (LMŠ)	74,431	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Lietuvos Centro Partija (LCP)	64,595	Pro-EU
Portugal	Aliança (A)	61,753	Pro-EU
Denmark	Liberal Alliance (l)	60,693	Pro-EU
Latvia	Attīstībai/Par! (AP)	58,763	Pro-EU
Czech Republic	Hlas	56,449	Pro-EU
Croatia	Coalition Amsterdamska koalicija : Hrvatski laburisti (HL) + Primorsko goranski savez (PGS) + Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika (HSU) + Istarski demokratski sabor (IDS) + Hrvatska seljačka stranka (HSS) + Građansko-liberalni savez (GLAS) + Demokrati	55,929	Pro-EU
Croatia	Most nezavisnih lista (MOST)	50,257	Pro-EU
Estonia	Eesti Keskerakond (KESK)	47,799	Pro-EU
Portugal	Iniciativa Liberal (IL)	29,120	Pro-EU
Croatia	Hrvatska narodna stranka (HNS)	27,958	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Demokratska stranka upokojeencev Slovenije (DeSUS)	27,329	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Lietuvos laisvės sąjunga (LLS)	24,143	Pro-EU
Latvia	Latvijas Reģionu apvienība (LRA)	23,581	Pro-EU
Luxembourg	Demokratesch Partei (DP)	21,941	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Stranka (SAB)	19,369	Pro-EU
Croatia	Coalition Pametno - Unija Kvarnera (UK)	15,074	Pro-EU
Estonia	Eesti 200 (E200)	10,700	Pro-EU
Cyprus	Democratic Front (DF)	10,673	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Stranka modernega centra (SMC)	7,823	Pro-EU
Malta	Partit Demokratiku (PD)	5,276	Pro-EU
Belgium	Partei für Freiheit und Fortschritt (PFF)	4,684	Pro-EU
Belgium	Vivant	4,550	Pro-EU
Luxembourg	Volt Luxembourg	2,694	Pro-EU
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>24,851,301</b>	

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## 4. Pro-European Left Electorate

- Percentage of votes cast: 17.8%
- Percentage of registered voters: 8.9%
- Number of votes: 35,412,885

The pro-European left electorate includes votes for lists in favour of increased European integration. Voters for certain national parties that are members of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D) in the European Parliament, such as the Slovak SMER, have been grouped into an electorate that we are calling the “populist left”. Votes for the Slovak party are thus classified as being part of the “populist left and the extreme left” electorate.

Pro-European Left Electorate			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
Spain	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)	7,369,789	Pro-EU
Italy	Partito Democratico (PD)	6,050,351	Pro-EU
Germany	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)	5,916,882	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Labour Party (Lab.)	2,371,557	Pro-EU
France	Europe écologie - Les Verts (EELV)	1,403,170	Pro-EU
Poland	Koalicja Europejska (KE) : Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)	1,193,167	Pro-EU
Portugal	Partido Socialista (PS)	1,106,345	Pro-EU
Netherlands	Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)	1,045,274	Pro-EU
Sweden	Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti (SAP)	974,589	Pro-EU
Austria	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ)	903,151	Pro-EU
Poland	Wiosna	826,975	Pro-EU
France	Génération-s (G-s)	741,772	Pro-EU
Belgium	Parti socialiste (PS)	655,812	Pro-EU
Denmark	Socialdemokratiet (A)	592,645	Pro-EU
Romania	PRO România (PRO)	583,916	Pro-EU
Hungary	Demokratikus Koalíció (DK)	557,081	Pro-EU
Bulgaria	Koalicija za Balgarija (KB) : Balgarska Socialisticheska Partija (BSP) + Partija Balgarski Socialdemokrati (PBS) + Zemedelski Sayuz « Aleksandar Stamboliyski » (ZS-AS) + Graždansko Obединenie « Roma » + Dviženie za Socialen Humanizim + Komunisticheska Partija na Balgarija (KPB)	474,160	Pro-EU
Greece	Kinima Allagis (KINAL) : Panellínio Sosialistikó Kínima (PASOK) -Dimokratiki Aristera (DIMAR) - Kínima Dimokratón Sosialistón (KIDISO)	436,726	Pro-EU
Belgium	Socialistische Partij Anders (sp.a)	434,002	Pro-EU
Finland	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (SDP)	267,603	Pro-EU
Hungary	Párbeszéd Magyarorszáért Párt (PM) – Magyar Szocialista Párt(MSZP)	229,551	Pro-EU
Croatia	Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske (SDP)	200,976	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija (LSDP)	200,105	Pro-EU
Malta	Partit Laburista (PL)	141,267	Pro-EU
Czech Republic	Česká strana sociálně demokratická (ČSSD)	93,664	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Socialni demokrati (SD)	89,936	Pro-EU
Greece	To Potámi	85,934	Pro-EU
Latvia	Sociāldemokrātiskā Partija "Saskaņa" (SDPS)	82,604	Pro-EU
Estonia	Sotsiaaldemokraatik Erakond (SDE)	77,375	Pro-EU
Ireland	The Irish Labour Party (LAB)	52,753	Pro-EU
Cyprus	Dimokratiko Komma (DIKO)	38,756	Pro-EU
Portugal	Nós, Cidadãos! (NC)	34,672	Pro-EU
Cyprus	Kinima Sosialdimokraton (EDEK)	29,715	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Lietuvos socialdemokratų darbo partija (LSDDP)	29,706	Pro-EU
Croatia	Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka (SDSS)	28,597	Pro-EU
Croatia	Stranka antikorupcije, razvoja i transparentnosti (START)	21,744	Pro-EU
Croatia	Bandić Milan 365 - Stranka rada i solidarnosti (BM 365)	21,175	Pro-EU
Ireland	Social Democrats (SD)	20,331	Pro-EU
Luxembourg	Lëtzebuenger Sozialistesesch Aarbechterpartei (LSAP)	15,352	Pro-EU
Latvia	Progresīvie	13,705	Pro-EU
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>35,412,895</b>	

## 5. Populist Left and the Extreme Left Electorate



- Percentage of votes cast: 7%
- Percentage of registered voters: 3.5%
- Number of votes: 13,805,192

This electorate consists of voting for lists developing a leftist discourse inspired by socialism or communism, one more radical than that of the Social Democrats. This electorate's stance vis-à-vis the European Union has been classified on a case-by-case basis: while many of these votes express strong criticism of the European Union, which may even be rejected, others confirm to be pro-European, such as the votes in favour of the Portuguese party LIVRE.

Populist Left and the Extreme Left Electorate			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
Germany	DIE LINKE	2,056,049	A
Romania	Partidul Social Democrat (PSD)	2,040,765	A
Spain	Coalition Unidas Podemos Cambiar Europa (Unidas Podemos + Izquierda Unida + Catalunya en Comú + Barcelona en Comú)	1,882,381	A
France	La France insoumise (LFI)	1,428,548	A
Greece	Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	1,343,595	Pro-EU
France	Parti communiste français (PCF)	564,949	A
Italy	La Sinistra (SL)	465,092	A
Belgium	Parti du travail de Belgique (PTB)	566,274	A
Portugal	Bloco de Esquerda (BE)	325,534	A
Greece	Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	302,603	C
Sweden	Vänsterpartiet (V)	282,300	A
Italy	Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI)	234,232	A
Portugal	Coligação Democrática Unitária (CDU)	228,157	A
Ireland	Sinn Féin (SF)	196,001	Pro-EU
Netherlands	Socialistische Partij (SP)	185,224	A
France	Lutte ouvrière (LO)	176,339	A
Greece	European Realistic Disobedience Front (MeRA25)	169,635	A
Poland	Lewica Razem (LR)	168,745	A
Czech Republic	Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy (KSČM)	164,624	A
Slovakia	Sociálna demokracia (SMER-SD)	154,996	A
Denmark	Enhedslisten de Rød-Grønne (Ø)	151,903	A
Finland	Vasemmistoliitto (Vas)	126,063	A
Denmark	Folkebevægelsen mod EU (N)	102,101	C
Ireland	Luke Flanagan independent	85,034	A
Cyprus	Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)	77,241	Pro-EU
Netherlands	DENK	60,669	A
Portugal	LIVRE	60,575	Pro-EU
Ireland	Solidarity–People Before Profit (SPBP)	38,771	A
Greece	Front of the Greek Anticapitalist Left (ANTARSYA)	36,361	A
Slovenia	LEVICA	30,983	A
Austria	Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (KPÖ)	30,087	A
Portugal	Partido Comunista dos Trabalhadores Portugueses (PCTP)	27,222	A
Slovakia	Komunistická strana Slovenska (KSS) - Labour Party (VZDOR)	6,124	A
Luxembourg	Déi Lénk	6,102	A
Luxembourg	Kommunistesch Partei vu Lëtzebuerg (KPL)	1,405	Pro-EU
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>13,776,684</b>	

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A - The anti-liberal Eurosceptic electorate / B - The liberal Eurosceptic electorate / C - The anti-European electorate

## 6. Environmentalist Electorate

- Percentage of votes cast: 9.4%
- Percentage of registered voters: 4.7%
- Number of votes: 18,723,127

This electorate groups the votes in favour of the ecological lists stricto sensu. The weight of this electorate (9.4%) does not correspond exactly to the electoral weight of the Greens / EFA group in the European Parliament (9.9% of seats and 10.2% of votes cast), insofar as the latter includes some elected animal-rights lists and “pirates”, classified here in an electorate that we refer to as atypical/ emerging.

Environmental Electorate			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
Germany	Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen (GRÜNE)	7,677,071	Pro-EU
France	Europe Écologie Les Verts (EELV)	3,055,023	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Green Party (GP)	2,032,763	Pro-EU
Italy	Europe verte (EV)	609,678	Pro-EU
Netherlands	GroenLinks	599,283	Pro-EU
Austria	Die Grünen - Die Grüne Alternative (GRÜNE)	532,193	Pro-EU
Belgium	Groen	525,908	Pro-EU
Belgium	"Ecologistes Confédérés pour l'Organisation de Luttes Originales (ECOLO)"	492,330	Pro-EU
Sweden	Miljöpartiet de Gröna (MP)	478,258	Pro-EU
France	Urgence écologie	412,136	Pro-EU
Spain	Coalition Unidas Podemos Cambiar Europa(PODEMOS-IU)	376,476	Pro-EU
Germany	Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei (ÖDP)	369,869	Pro-EU
Denmark	Socialistisk Folkeparti (F)	364,895	Pro-EU
Finland	Vihreä liitto	292,892	Pro-EU
Ireland	Green Party (GP)	190,755	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Lietuvos Valstiečių ir Žaliųjų Sąjunga (LVŽS)	158,190	Pro-EU
Denmark	Alternativet (Å)	92,964	Pro-EU
Hungary	La politique peut être différente (LMP)	75,498	Pro-EU
Spain	Coalicion Verde-Europa Ciudadana / CE-EC	65,504	Pro-EU
Spain	Recortes cero -Los verdes - Grupo verde europeo	50,002	Pro-EU
Greece	Ecologist Greens (OP)	49,418	Pro-EU
Austria	Liste Pilz - JETZT	39,234	Pro-EU
Spain	Verde Europeo Volt Europa	32,432	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Lietuvos žaliųjų partija	28,562	Pro-EU
Luxembourg	Déi Gréng/Les Verts	27,416	Pro-EU
Latvia	Zaļo un Zemnieku Savienība (ZZS)	25,252	Pro-EU
Croatia	Coalition Zelena ljevica (Možemo! - politička platforma + Nova ljevica + Održivi razvoj Hrvatske - ORaH)	19,313	Pro-EU
Czech Republic	Demokratická Strana Zelených (DSZ)	14,339	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Stranka mladih - Zeleni Evrope (SMS-ZELENI)	10,706	Pro-EU
Cyprus	Citizens Alliance-Movement of Ecologist (Symmaxia-Ecologist)	9,232	Pro-EU
Slovakia	Strana zelených (SZS)	7,845	Pro-EU
Estonia	Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised (EER)	5,824	Pro-EU
Malta	Alternattiva Demokratika - the Green Party (AD)	1,866	Pro-EU
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>18,723,127</b>	

## 7. Regionalist/Separatist Electorate



- Percentage of votes cast: 2.2%
- Percentage of registered voters: 1.1%
- Number of votes: 4,343,807

With more than 4 million votes, the regionalist/separatist electorate is mainly concentrated in Spain (Free for Europe, with 1,018,435 votes for the independence of Catalonia, and Republics Now! attaining 834,749 separatist votes across numerous regions of Spain), Scotland (Scottish National Party with more than 600,000 votes) and Romania (Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania, 476,777 votes).

Regionalist/Separatist Electorate			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
Spain	Coalition Ahora Repúblicas : Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)- Euskal Herria Bildu (Bildu) - El Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG)	1,252,139	Pro-EU
Spain	Lliures per Europa / JUNTS	1,018,435	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Scots National Party (SNP)	604,989	Pro-EU
Romania	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România	476,777	Pro-EU
Spain	Compromiso per Europa : Compromís - En Marea - Chunta Aragonesista - Partido Castellano - Coalición Caballas - Nueva Canarias - Más per Mallorca - Coalición por Melilla - Iniciativa del Pueblo Andaluz - Izquierda Andaluista - Verdes de Europa	296,491	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Plaid Cymru (PC)	167,668	Pro-EU
Belgium	Démocrate fédéraliste indépendant (DéFI)	144,555	Pro-EU
Italy	Südtiroler Volkspartei / Partito popolare sudtirolese (SVP)	141,353	Pro-EU
Ireland	Independents 4 Change (I4C)	124,085	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Sinn Féin (SF)	107,169	Pro-EU
Belgium	Pro Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft (ProDG)	5,360	Pro-EU
Cyprus	Jasmine movement	4,786	Pro-EU
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>4,343,807</b>	

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## 8. Atypical and/or emerging Electorates

- Percentage of votes cast: 1.7%
- Percentage of registered voters: 0.9%
- Number of votes: 3,563,848



Here we have combined votes in favour of animal-rights lists (0.9% of votes cast, 0.5% of total votes cast and 1,879,443 votes), “pirates” (0.3% of votes cast, 0.2% of total votes cast and 657,368 votes) and satirical lists (0.5% of votes cast, 0.3% of total votes cast and 1,027,037 votes).

Electorate of the Animal-rights		
Country	Party	Number of cast votes
<b>Germany</b>	Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz	542,226
<b>France</b>	Parti animaliste (PA)	490,074
<b>Spain</b>	Partido animalista contra el maltrato animal (PACMA)	295,546
<b>Netherlands</b>	Partij voor de Dieren (PvdD)	220,938
<b>Portugal</b>	Pessoas-Animais-Natureza (PAN)	168,501
<b>Italy</b>	Partito animalista italiano (PAI)	159,344
<b>Cyprus</b>	Animal Party Cyprus (APC)	2,208
<b>Belgium</b>	DierAnimal	606
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1,879,443</b>

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Electorate of the "Pirates"		
Country	Party	Number of cast votes
<b>Czech Republic</b>	Česká pirátská strana (Piráti)	330,844
<b>Germany</b>	Piratenpartei Deutschland (Piraten)	243,302
<b>Greece</b>	Komma Peiraton Elladas (LAE)	31,648
<b>Sweden</b>	Piratpartiet (PP)	26,526
<b>Finland</b>	Piraattipuolue	12,579
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Piratepartei Lëtzebuerg (PPL)	12,469
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>657,368</b>

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Electorate of the Satirical		
Country	Party	Number of cast votes
<b>Germany</b>	Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative (DIE PARTEI)	899,079
<b>Hungary</b>	Magyar Kétfarkú Kutya Párt(MKKP)	90,912
<b>Czech Republic</b>	ANO, vytrollíme europarlament	37,046
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1,027,037</b>

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## 9. The “Unknown” category



- Percentage of votes cast: 3.1%
- Percentage of registered voters: 1.6%
- Number of votes: 6,180,351

The “Unknown” category includes votes in favour of lists whose political orientation is difficult to identify. The best known case, and the only quantitatively significant one, is that of the 5-star Movement (M5S) in Italy (4,552,527 votes). In general, these votes favour lists that promote the causes or interests of particular social groups, e.g. the “Feminist Initiative” in Sweden, or retirees’ interest in lists such as “50+” in the Netherlands.

The "Unknown" category			
Country	Party	Number of cast votes	
Italy	Movimento 5 stelle (M5S)	4,552,527	C
Netherlands	50 PLUS	215,199	Pro-EU
France	Alliance jaune, la révolte par le vote	121,209	Pro-EU
Romania	George-Nicolae Simion (Independent)	117,141	Pro-EU
United Kingdom	Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	101,984	Pro-EU
Romania	Gregoriana Carmen Tudoran (Independent)	100,669	Pro-EU
Greece	Plefsi Eleftherias (PE)	90,927	Pro-EU
Croatia	Mislav Kolakušić (Independent)	84,765	Pro-EU
Poland	Polska Fair Play (PFP)	74,013	Pro-EU
Croatia	Živi zid	60,847	A
Ireland	Peter Casey (Independent)	56,650	Pro-EU
Romania	Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României (UNPR)	54,942	Pro-EU
Romania	PRO România (PRO)	53,351	Pro-EU
Greece	Polites tou ilia Psinaki	51,398	Pro-EU
Lithuania	Prezidento Rolando Pakso judėjimas (PRPJ)	50,410	Pro-EU
Greece	Eleftheri Patridas (EP)	41,269	Pro-EU
Greece	Party of Friendship, Equality and Peace (KIEP)	40,211	Pro-EU
Greece	Dimiourgia, Xana! (DX)	39,217	Pro-EU
Sweden	Feministiskt initiativ (FI)	32,143	Pro-EU
Greece	Rural Party of Greece (A.K.E.)	32,014	Pro-EU
Spain	Iniciativa Feminista	29,276	Pro-EU
Latvia	Latvijas Krievu savienība (LKS)	29,546	Pro-EU
Greece	Hellenic Assembly (ESY)	29,509	Pro-EU
Estonia	Independents	23,621	Pro-EU
Czech Republic	Vědci pro Českou republiku	19,492	B
Finland	Seitsemän tähden liike ( ti)	16,065	Pro-EU
Czech Republic	Koalice Svobodní (RČ)	15,492	C
Czech Republic	Evropa společně	12,587	Pro-EU
Slovakia	Korektura (K)	8,460	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Povezimo SE (PS)	7,980	Pro-EU
Slovakia	Doma Dobre	6,124	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Gibanje Zedinjena Slovenija (ZSI)	3,288	Pro-EU
Estonia	Elurikkuse Erakond (EE)	2,951	Pro-EU
Slovenia	Dobra Drzava (DD)	2,544	Pro-EU
Malta	Independents	2,530	Pro-EU
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>6,180,351</b>	

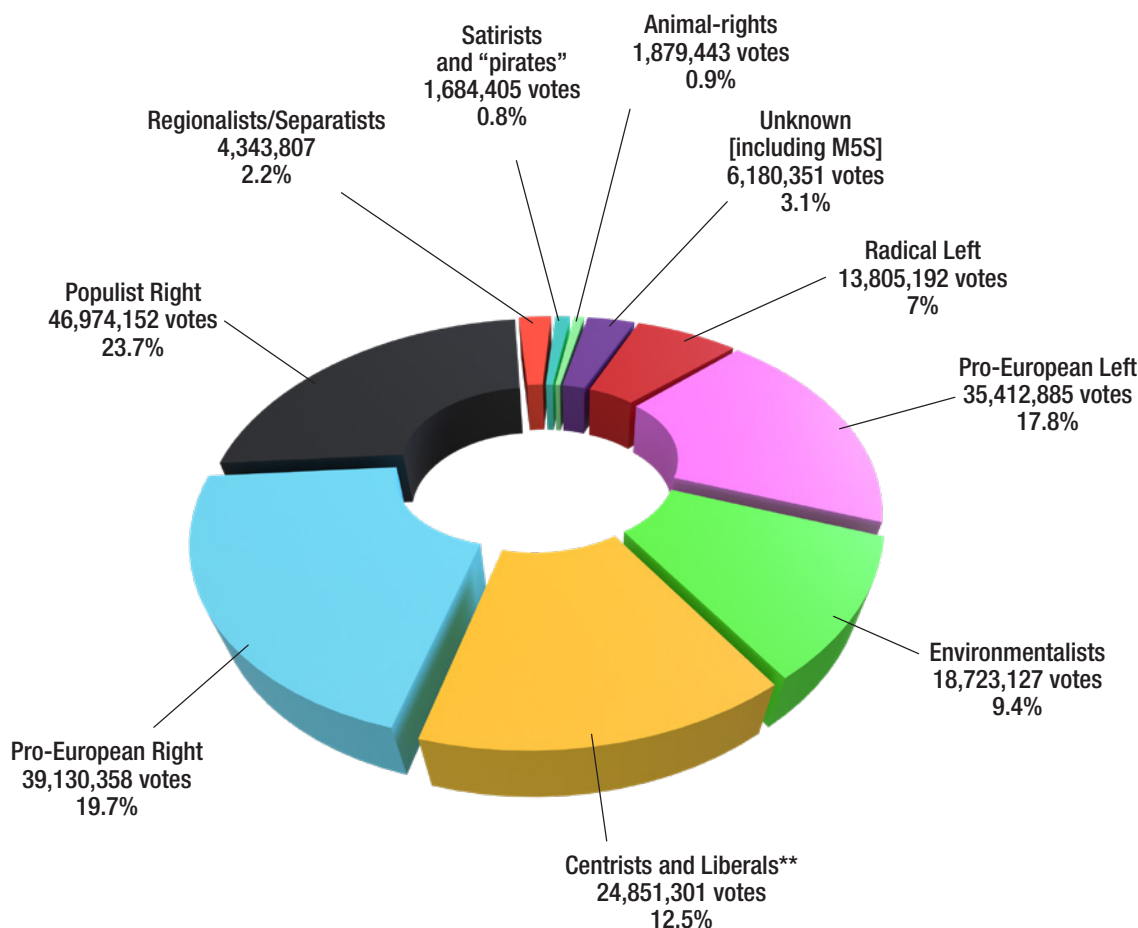
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A - The anti-liberal Eurosceptic electorate / B - The liberal Eurosceptic electorate / C - The anti-European electorate

## II. COMPARING THE WEIGHT OF THE POLITICAL ELECTORATES WITH THE ELECTORAL WEIGHT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

The comparison between the weight of the electorates and the electoral weight of the parliamentary groups is enlightening. The parliamentary groups bring together parties with different and sometimes even contradictory positions. We have favoured an approach based on the political sensibilities of the electorates. Our choice reveals significant differences between the weight of the electorates and the weight of the parliamentary groups.

**Weight of the European electorates**  
 By applying a national threshold at 0.5%\*  
 Results expressed in number of votes and % of votes cast



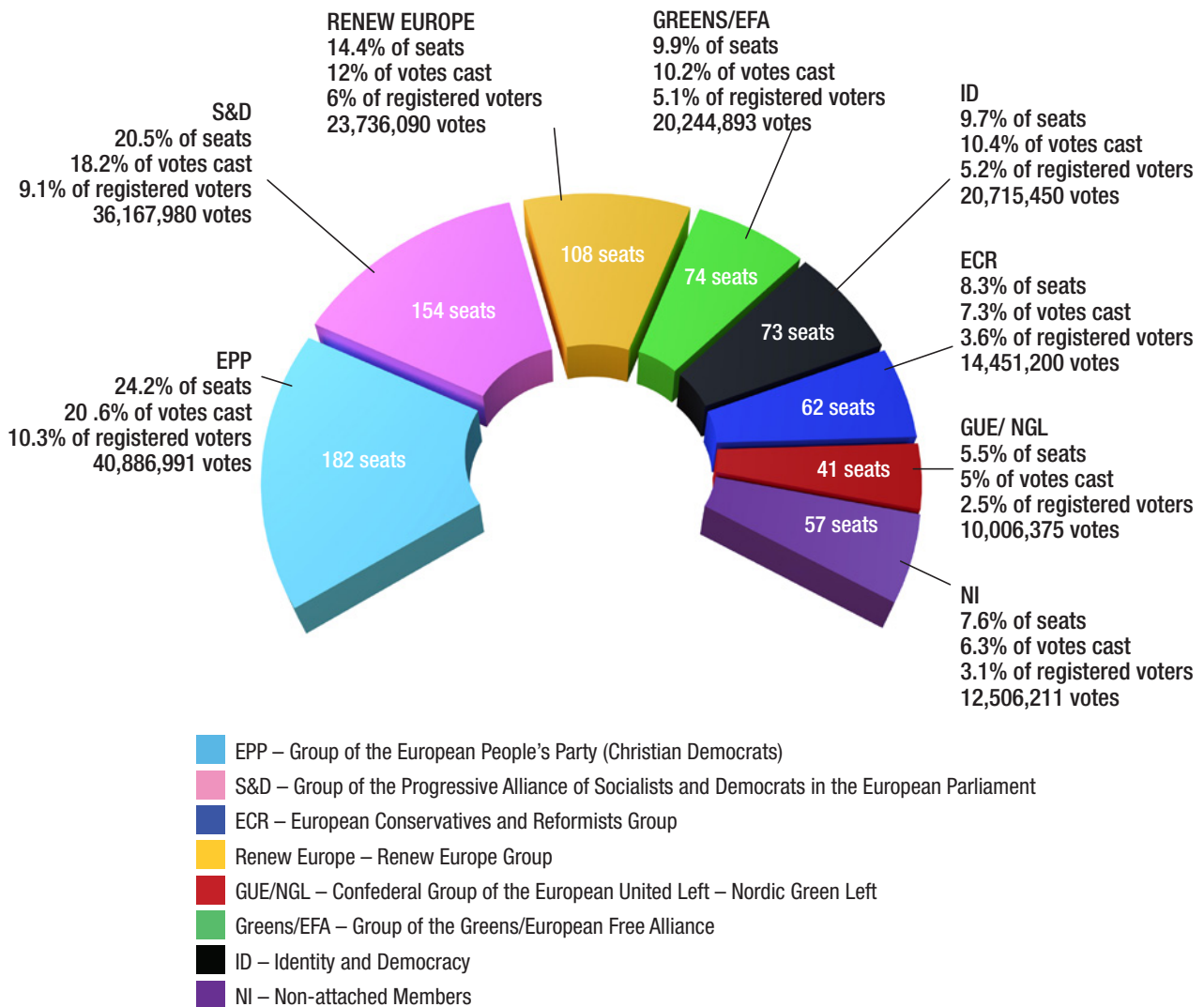
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\*All votes for lists/parties/candidates which reached 0.5% of the votes cast nationally were counted. With this threshold, 97% of the votes cast throughout the European Union are identified and represented here.

\*\*In this paper, the term "liberal" refers to economic liberalism.



## Electoral weight of the parliamentary groups in 2019-2024\*



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The centrist-liberal electorate has a lower share of votes cast (12.5%) than the share of Renew Europe political group has seats in the European Parliament (14.4%).

Atypical and/or emerging electorates, composed of animal-rights, “pirate” and satirical lists, which represent 3,563,848 votes, thus have no weight in the European Parliament. The multitude of small, unrepresented national parties therefore renders a considerable number of votes invisible.

\* The thresholds and methods applied at the national level by European states to designate their deputies in Parliament mean that not all votes are taken into account. We have calculated that Members of the European Parliament represent exactly 90% of the votes cast across the European Union, so 10% of voters do not see their vote represented in the European Parliament.

### III. QUANTIFYING AND QUALIFYING THE EUROSCEPTIC VOTE

This work aims notably to quantify the number and share of voters who see their views reflected in a discourse which is markedly hostile towards the European Union. In the European elections in 2019, according to our definitions and classification, there were 99 Eurosceptic lists that exceeded the threshold of 0.5% of votes cast. This represents 32.6% of the votes cast, i.e. 64,748,735 votes and 16.2% of registered European voters.

In contrast, those who voted for national lists in favour of the European Union represent 67.4% of the votes cast, i.e. 133,811,329 votes, corresponding to 33.6% of those registered.

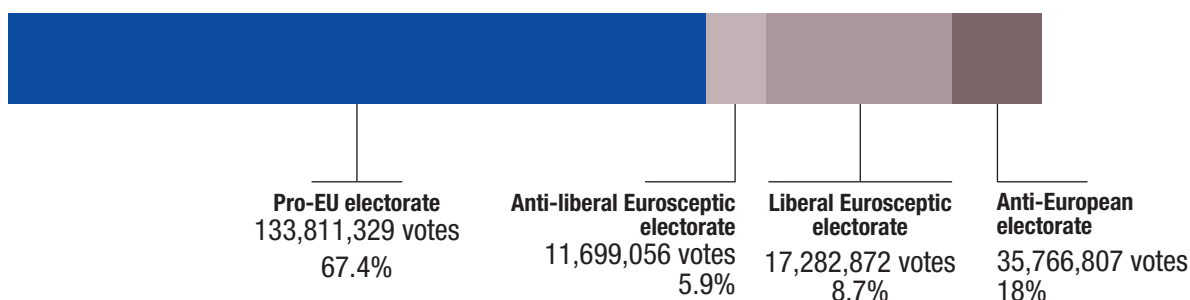
Nevertheless, the reality of the “Eurosceptic” electorate is particularly complex, including votes in favour of a multitude of lists corresponding to different political positions. Disparate and divided between separatists, nationalists, outsiders, left-wing and right-wing, liberals and statist, the lists hostile to Europe convey messages that range from repeated criticism of the European Union to plans to leave it. The number and diversity of these lists reflect the variety, in content and intensity, of critical views towards Europe. Furthermore, in the European Parliament, the representatives elected by these voters with varied motives are dispersed across political groups which often have varying ideologies. Some of these elected representatives do not belong to any group and are found among the “non-attached members”. For all these reasons, we felt it was necessary to distinguish between the Eurosceptic vote and the anti-European vote, even though we subsequently aggregated them to measure the electoral potential of the Eurocritical opinion.

- **The anti-liberal Eurosceptic electorate (A)** brings together voters who voted in favour of lists proposing radical reform of the European Union. These anti-liberals advocate for the strengthening of solidarity, equality and direct democracy in a discourse that can, however, go as far as rejecting the European Union.
- **The liberal Eurosceptic electorate (B)** brings together voters who have voted in favour of lists proposing more flexible, less restrictive European integration, respect for national sovereignty and the principle of subsidiarity or even a strong defence of national and European borders.
- **The anti-European electorate (C)** brings together the voters who voted in favour of lists covering both the themes of the anti-liberal Eurosceptic vote and those of the liberal Eurosceptic vote: defence of state sovereignty, national identity, and social chauvinism. The anti-European electorate is a party that wants to or has already considered leaving the European Union, or abandoning some of its policies, for example the euro.

Lastly, it is necessary to highlight the electoral weakness of parties explicitly accepting to exit the European Union. Most of the political groups known to be hostile towards the European Union are in fact engaged in a process of Europeanisation, as evidenced by their support for the euro or, at the very least, by the clear moderation of their criticism of the euro. The so-called anti-European parties only acquire real electoral support at the cost of significantly reducing their hostility to the European Union.

## Weight of the Euro-critic vote in the European elections of May 2019

Results expressed in number of votes and % of votes cast



<p><b>A – Anti-liberal Eurosceptic electorate</b></p> <p>Die Linke (Germany), PSD (Romania), Podemos (Spain), LFI (France), PCF (France), LS (Italia), PTB (Belgium), BE (Portugal), V (Sweden), PC (Italia), CDU (Portugal), PVDA (Belgium), SP (Netherlands), LO (France), MeRA25 (Greece), LR (Poland), KSČM (Czech Republic), SMER (Slovakia), Ø (Denmark), Vas. (Finland), PE (Greece), Denk (Netherlands), SPBP (Ireland), ANTARSYA (Greece), Levica (Slovenia), KPÖ (Austria), PCTP (Portugal), VZDOR (Slovakia), Lénk (Luxemburg).</p>	<p>11,699,056 votes</p> <p>5.9% of votes cast</p> <p>2.9% of registered voters</p>
<p><b>B – Liberal Eurosceptic electorate</b></p> <p>PiS (Poland), Fidesz-KDNP (Hungary), Fdl (Italia), The Conservatives (United Kingdom), VOX (Spain), N-VA (Belgium), ANO 2011 (Czech Republic), ALDE (Romania), ODS (Czech Republic), O (Denmark), FAM (Germany), EL (Greece), Jobbik (Hungary), Cy-SGP (Netherlands), VMRO – BND (Bulgaria), P. Costea (Romania), DUP (United Kingdom), SaS (Slovakia), HRAST-HKS-HSP AS – UHD (Croatia), NA (Latvia), Route alternative (Greece), T. Valdemaro (Lithuania), OL'aNO (Slovakia), Basta! (Portugal), NHR – HSP (Croatia), ANEL (Greece), EKRE (Estonia), VEDCI (Czech Republic), DOM (Slovenia).</p>	<p>17,282,872 votes</p> <p>8.7% of votes cast</p> <p>4.3% of registered voters</p>
<p><b>C – Anti-European electorate</b></p> <p>Lega (Italia), Brexit (United Kingdom), RN (France), M5S (Italia), AfD (Germany), VB (Belgium), DIF – CNIP (France), FPÖ (Austria), SD (Sweden), Confederation (Poland), FvD (Netherlands), UKIP (United Kingdom), KKE (Greece), XA (Greece), Frexit (France), PS (Finland), SPD (Czech Republic), PVV (Netherlands), Jaunes-Patriotes (France), L'SNS (Slovakia), MHM (Hungary), PP (Belgium), N (Denmark), Volya (Bulgaria), LAOS-EM (Greece), ZZ (Croatia), PRU (Romania), RADŽVILAS (Lithuania), SNS (Slovakia), ND (Nouvelle Right, Greece), TT (Lithuania), Sme Rodina (Slovakia), ELAM (Cyprus), NFSB (Bulgaria), Ataka (Bulgaria), SNS (Slovenia), ND (Czech Republic), RC (Czech Republic), ADR (Luxemburg), Imperium Europa (Malta), MPM (Malta).</p>	<p>35,766,807 votes</p> <p>18% of votes cast</p> <p>9% of registered voters</p>

## KEY POINTS

Considering Europe as a constituency, the analysis of the European elections in May 2019 reveals the following results:

**64,748,735 voters voted for Eurosceptic lists, both on the right and on the left. This represents 32.6% of the votes cast and 16.2% of all voters registered on the electoral lists.**

**The vote in favour of the populist right represented 46,974,152 votes, i.e. 23.7% of the votes cast and 11.8% of the registered voters.**

**The pro-Europeans, right-wing, left-wing, environmentalists and other lists attracted 133,811,329 voters, or 67.4% of votes cast and 33.6% of voters registered.**

**Within the vote in favour of the pro-European lists, the centre and right-wing electorate received 63,981,659 votes and represented 32.2% of the votes cast and 16% of the total number of registered voters, i.e. almost double the electorate of the pro-European left: 34,412,885 votes, 17.8% of votes cast and 8.9% of the total number of registered votes.**

**Environmentalist lists accounted for less than one-tenth of the votes cast (9.4%) with 18,723,127 votes, or 4.7% of those registered.**

**Abstention, though in decline, remains very high. It includes 195 million voters. Blank and invalid votes represent more than 4 million votes.**



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