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UMR 8026 – CNRS

# **The French Presidential Election**

## **Political crisis or new electoral alignment?**

Nicolas Kaciaf

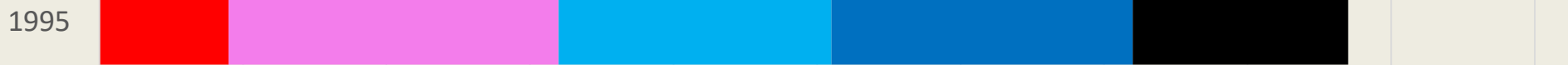
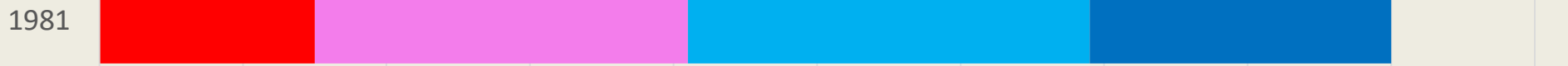
May 2 2017

# Part 1

**A political order in crisis ?**

# 1st rounds of the French presidential election

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%



■ Parti communiste / Parti de gauche

■ Centre

■ Droite gaulliste

■ Parti socialiste (et alliés)

■ Droite libérale

■ FN

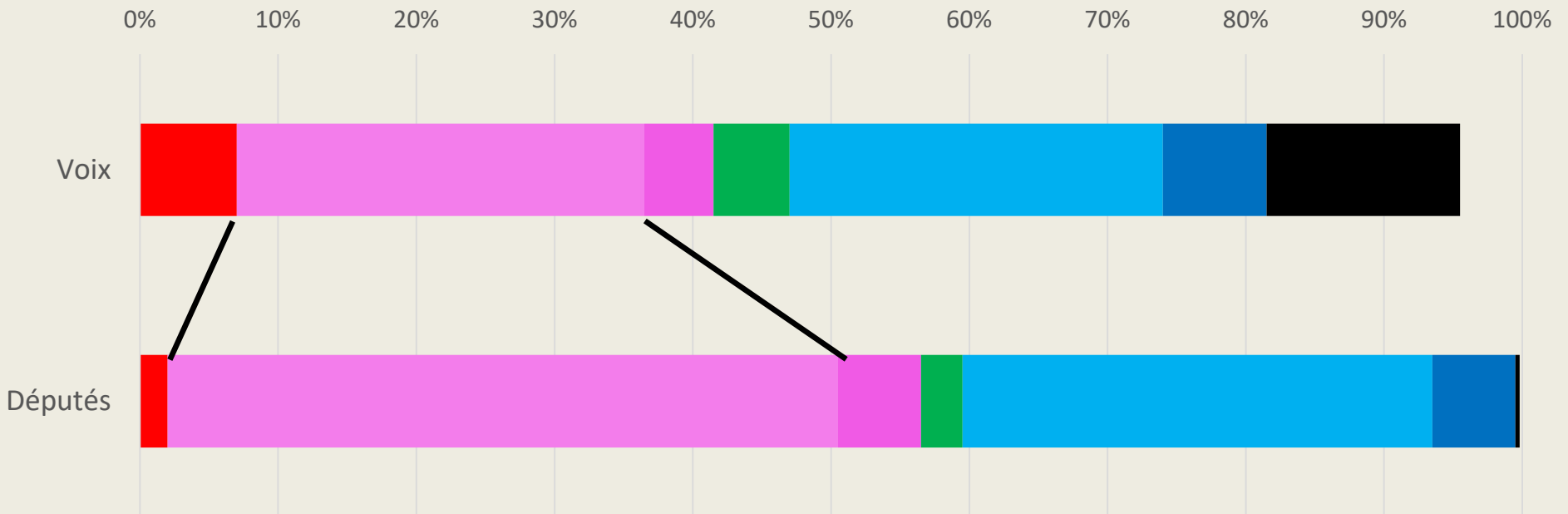
# 1st rounds of the French presidential election

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

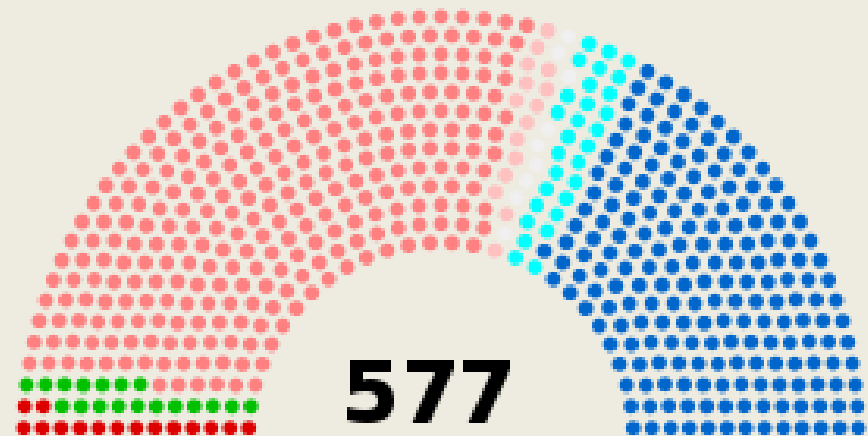
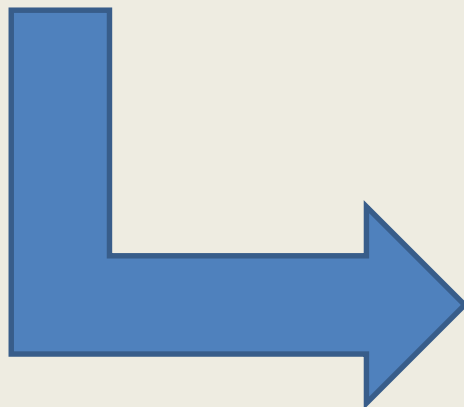


- Parti communiste / Parti de gauche
- Parti socialiste (et alliés)
- Centre
- Droite libérale
- Droite gaulliste
- FN

# Legislative election in 2012

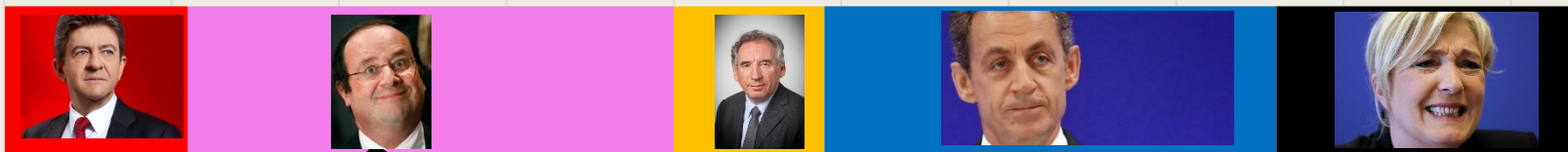


■ Front de gauche ■ PS ■ Autre gauche ■ Verts ■ UMP ■ Autre droite ■ FN



0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

2012



24 %

15 %

47 %

17 %

59 %

14 %

2017



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

1er février 2017



23-avr-17



## Part 2

# **A quadripartition of the electoral space**

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

2017







*Left*

*Right*

**Cultural liberalism**  
(new rights, tolerance, open-minded)



**Jean-Luc  
Mélenchon**  
(19 %)



**Emmanuel  
Macron**  
(24 %)

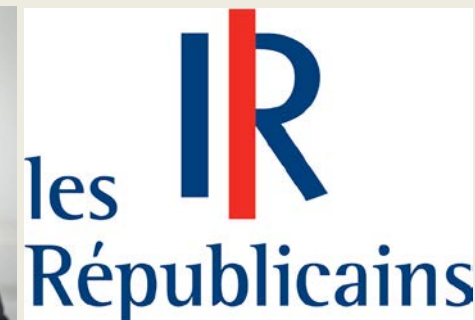
**En Marche !**

*Protections from the State*

*Free market*



**Marine Le Pen**  
(21 %)



**François Fillon**  
(20 %)

**Cultural conservatism**  
(Order, national identity, security)

**Liberalism**

Unemployed (≈31-32 %)  
Student (≈31 %)  
18-24 y.o. (≈29-30 %)  
No religion (≈28 %)  
Low middle class (≈26 %)  
Less than 1250 € (≈25 %)  
Worker (≈24-25 %)  
25-34 y.o. (≈24 %)



**Jean-Luc  
Mélenchon (19 %)**



**Emmanuel Macron  
(24 %)**

« Winner of globalization » (≈39 %)  
High middle class (≈33-37 %)  
Higher university degree (≈33-35%)  
More than 3000 € (≈32 %)  
Student (≈30 %)  
18-24 y.o. (≈29-30 %)  
Paris urban district (≈29 %)

**Free Market**

**Protections from the State**

Worker (≈37-40 %)  
« Loser of globalization » (≈34 %)  
Less than 1250 € (≈32 %)  
Graduates < BAC (≈30 %)  
Employee (≈30-32 %)  
1250-2000 € (≈29-30 %)  
35-49 y.o. (≈26-29 %)  
Private-sector wage-earner (≈26-27 %)  
Unemployed (≈26 %)



**Marine Le Pen  
(21 %)**



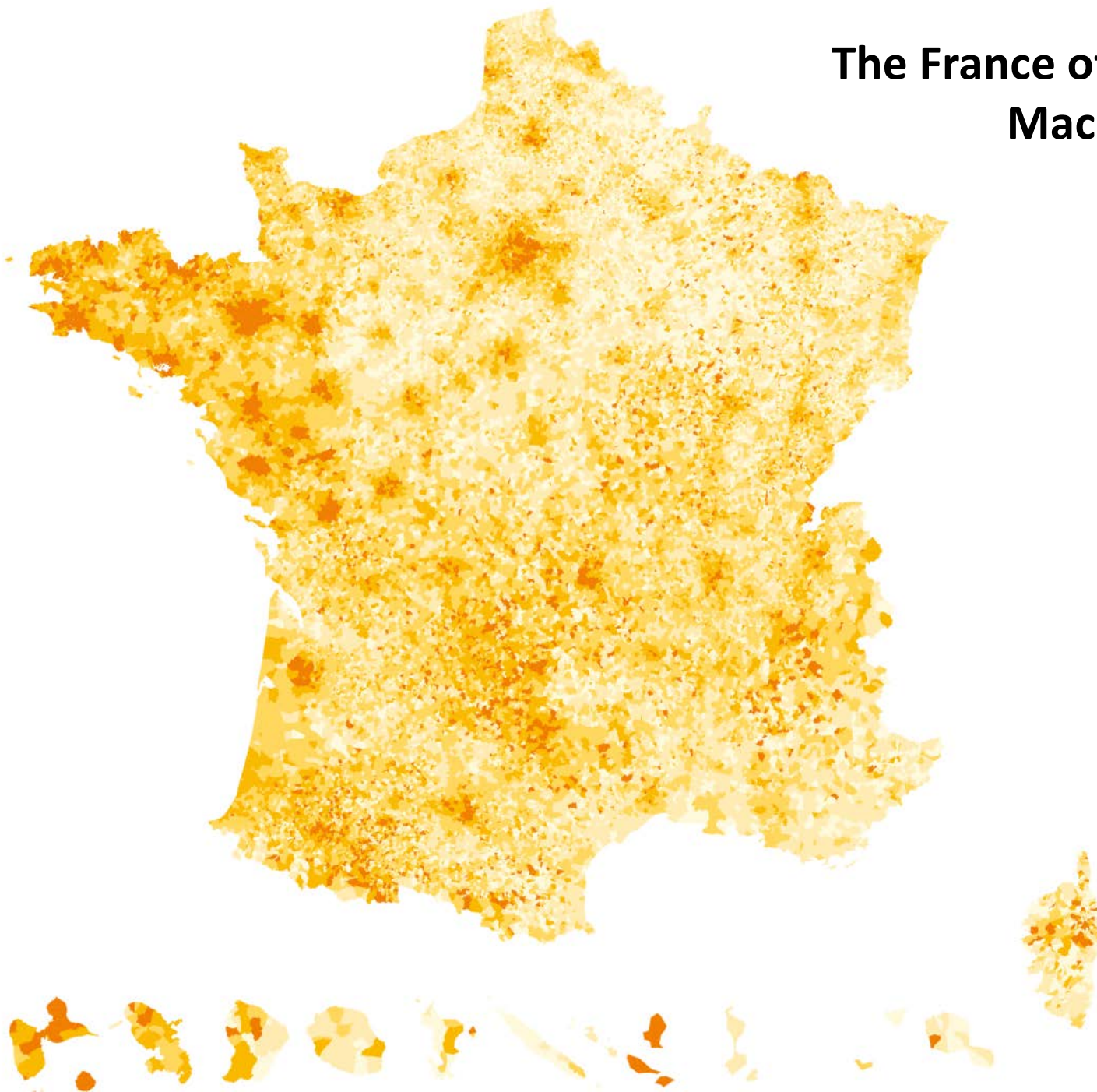
**François Fillon  
(20 %)**

Catholic pratiquant régulier (≈51 %)  
More than 65 y.o. (≈39-41 %)  
Corporate executive (≈29 %)  
Higher university degree (≈26 %)  
« Winner of globalization » (≈26 %)  
More than 3000 € (≈25 %)  
Paris urban district (≈25 %)

**Conservatism**

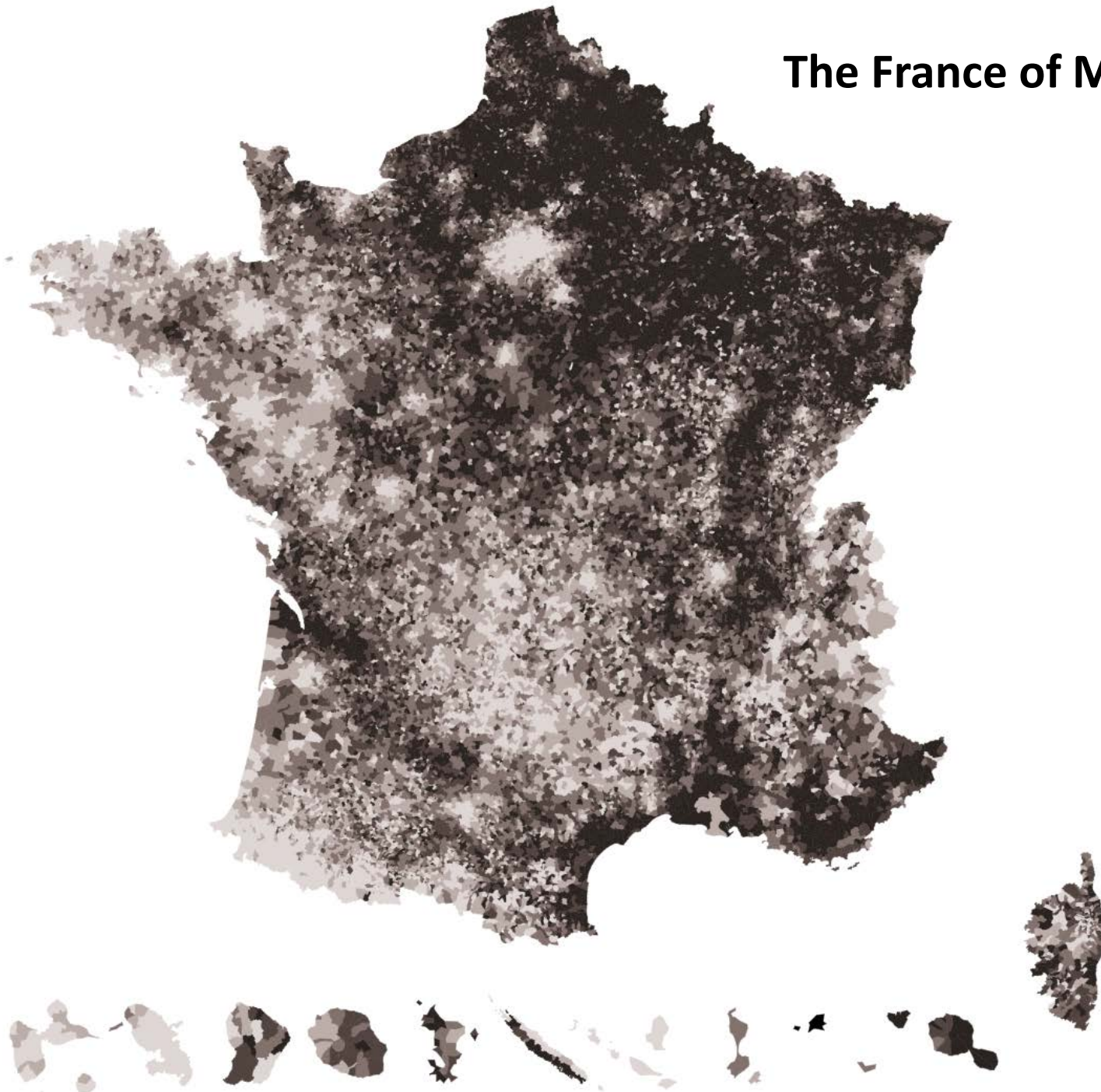
*(Order, national identity, security)*

# The France of Emmanuel Macron

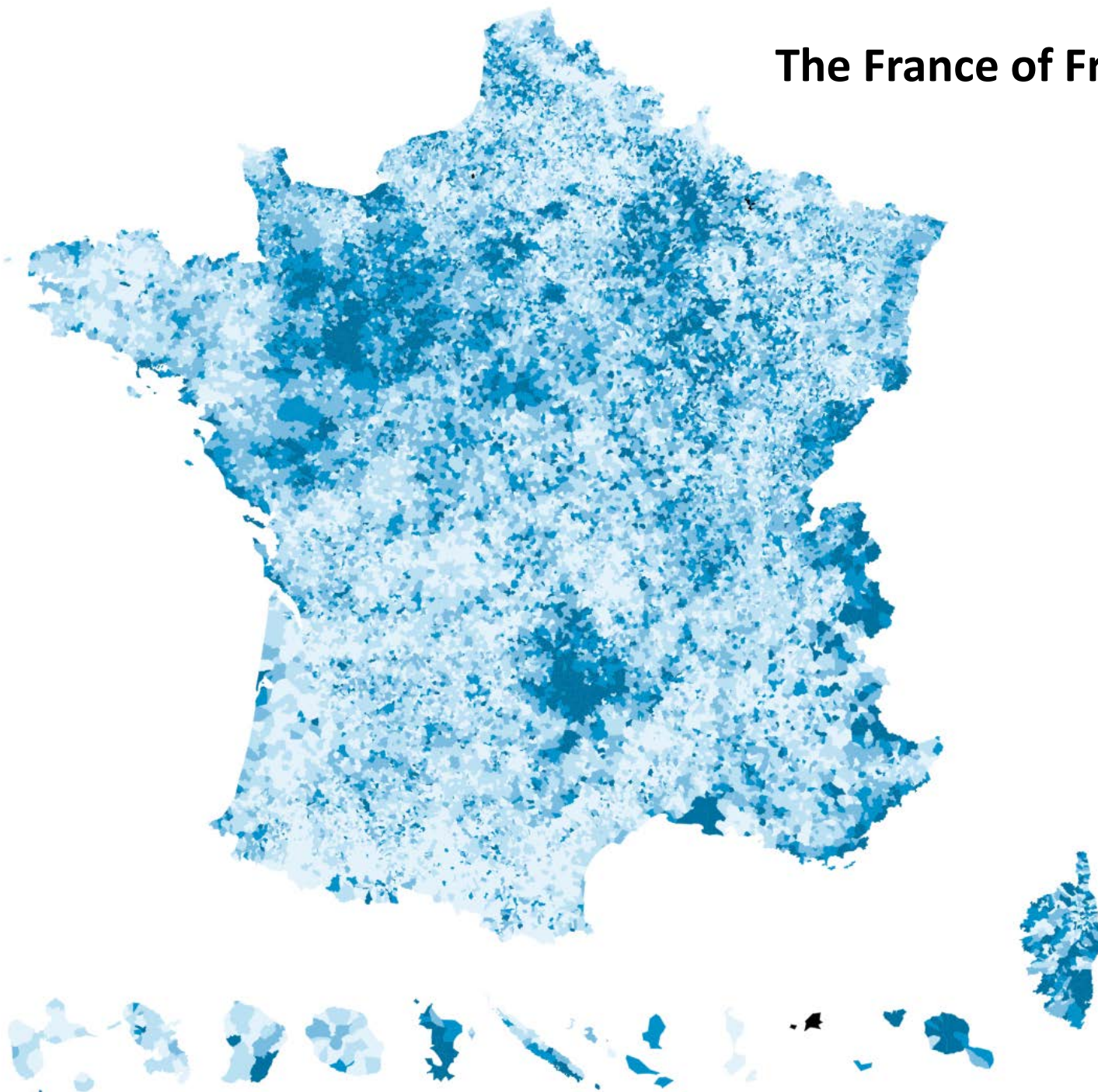




# The France of Marine Le Pen

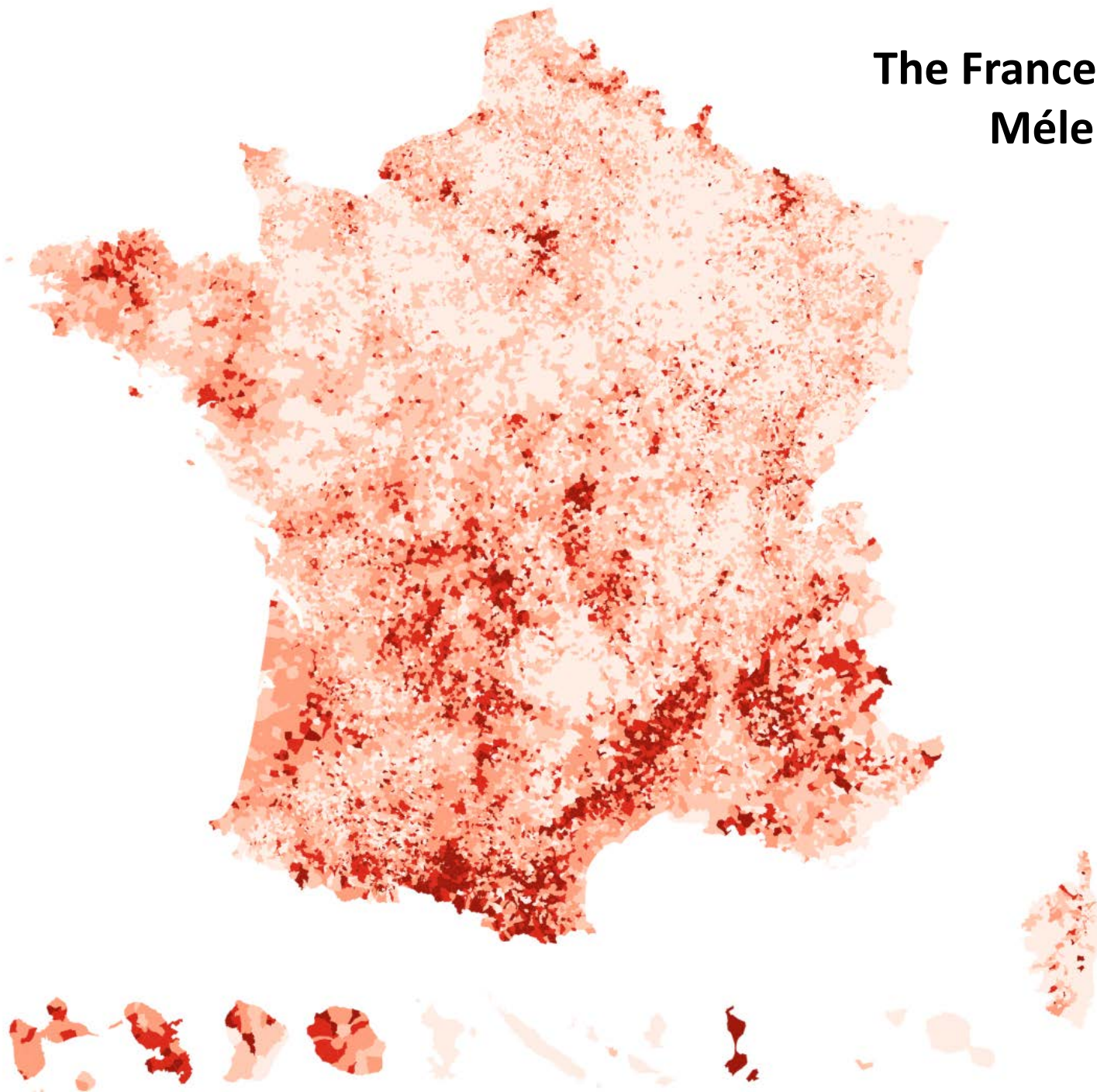


# The France of François Fillon





# The France of Jean-Luc Mélenchon



*Liberalism*

Welfare  
Social inequality  
Salaries and purchasing power  
Unemployment  
Health



**Jean-Luc  
Mélenchon (19 %)**



**Emmanuel Macron  
(24 %)**

Unemployment  
Health / Welfare  
European Union  
Education  
Salaries

*Protectionnism, statism*

*Economical liberalism*

Terrorism  
Immigration  
Physical insecurity  
Unemployment  
Purchasing power



**Marine Le Pen  
(21 %)**



**François Fillon  
(20 %)**

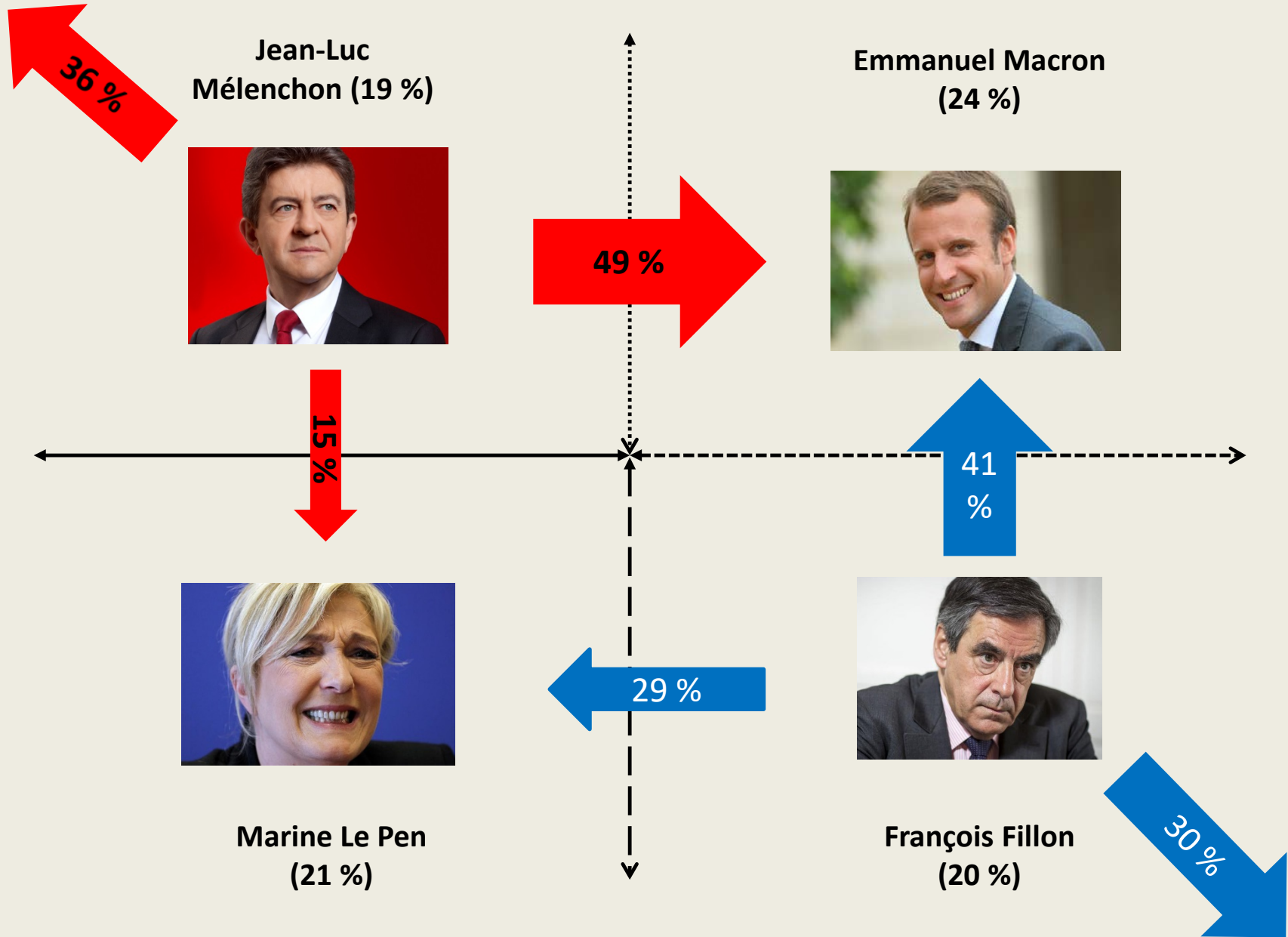
Public Debt  
Immigration  
Terrorism  
Physical insecurity  
Taxes

*Conservatism*



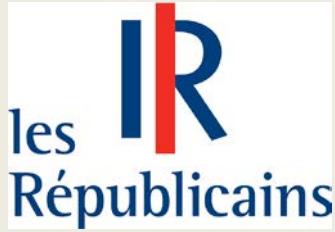
## Part 3

**And now... ? What's next ?**





***En Marche !***



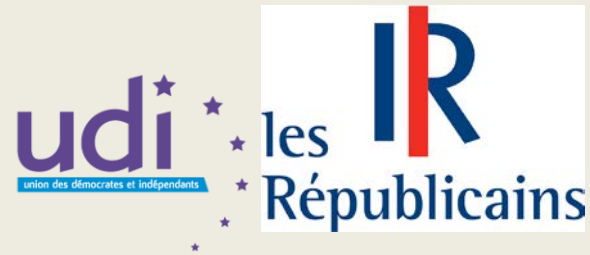


***En Marche !***





***En Marche !***





***En Marche !***





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LA FRANCE  
INSOUMISE



SOCIAL-ÉC



**En Marche !**



les  
Répu



licains



Front  
National