



university of groningen

The geography of Dutch societal discontent and what to do about it

Prof.dr. Caspar van den Berg Paris, 20-11-2023



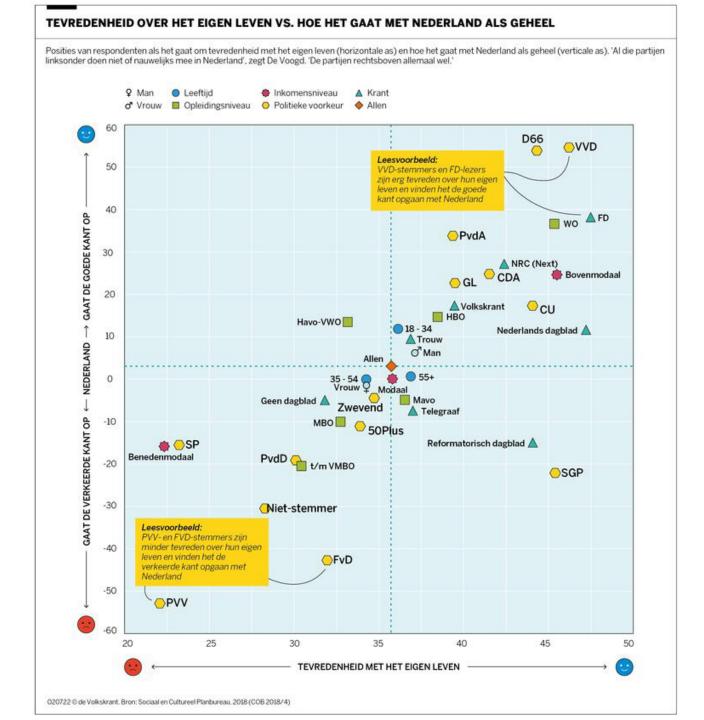
Programme

1. Why the case of The Netherlands?

2. Key findings on regional societal discontent

3. Perspectives for political and policy action

4. Recent and current developments in The Netherlands



Andres Rodriguez-Pose (2018)

Political disruption due to right-wing populism in the "places that don't matter"

Brexit vote, 2016 Trump election, 2016 epublican increase in vote share (%) More than \$ French presidential election, 2017 Macron 33 9% Brazilian presidential election, 2019 Italian legislative election, 2018 Polish parliamentary election, 2019 Spanish legislative election, 2019 Argentinian presidential election, 2019

Counties where Trump increased the Republican vol



"A sizable group of citizens, including those living in rural regions, not only **feel** underrepresented but in fact **are** underrepresented."

State Advisory Committee on the Parliamentary System (2018)

The Netherlands as a critical case...

2018:

- The Netherlands would count as a least-likely case for political disruption due to a populist revolt coming from "places that don't matter".
- Compared to UK, DE, FR, US, ES: a small prosperous country with egalitarian politics.
- Self-image of a city-state with outskirts: regional cleavages not part of the national political narrative
- So: "If it happens here, it will happen anywhere"

... but was it really?

Regional Inequality index (2018)

- "Economic divergence in the EU decreased 1995-2015 due to convergence **between** member states.
- At the same time, regional economic disparities within most EU member states (old and new) increased considerably".
- Source: Butkus, M. et al (2018) What is the Evolution of Convergence in the EU? Sustainability, vol.10
- NL: middle ranking, between UK and Greece.
- More importantly: in the period 1995-2015 the regional inquelity coefficient doubled in NL, much faster than in IT, UK, FR, ES.
 - Source: ESA, <u>https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/10/5/1552/s1</u>



Regionaal maatschappelijk onbehagen

Naar een rechtsstatelijk antwoord op perfeer ressentiment

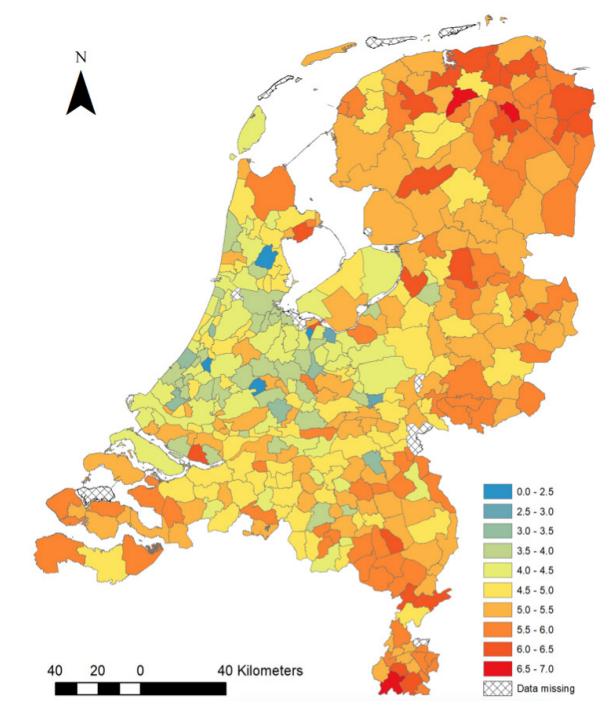
Ceeper van den Berg en Annemarie Kok

september 2021

In opdracht van het ministerie van Landbouw, Natuur en Voedselkwaliteit

Key findings: people or place?

- Multiple roads to resentment: rural resentment is different from resentment by people in urban areas, with stronger place-based and way-of-life related elements
- There is empirical justification for heightened discontent in specific rural areas due to **underrepresentation** and **relative deprivation**.
- Still, when peeling off causal factors, individual characteristics (education, income, health) have a greater explanatory power than place-based factors (distance to political centre, degree of urbanity-rurality).

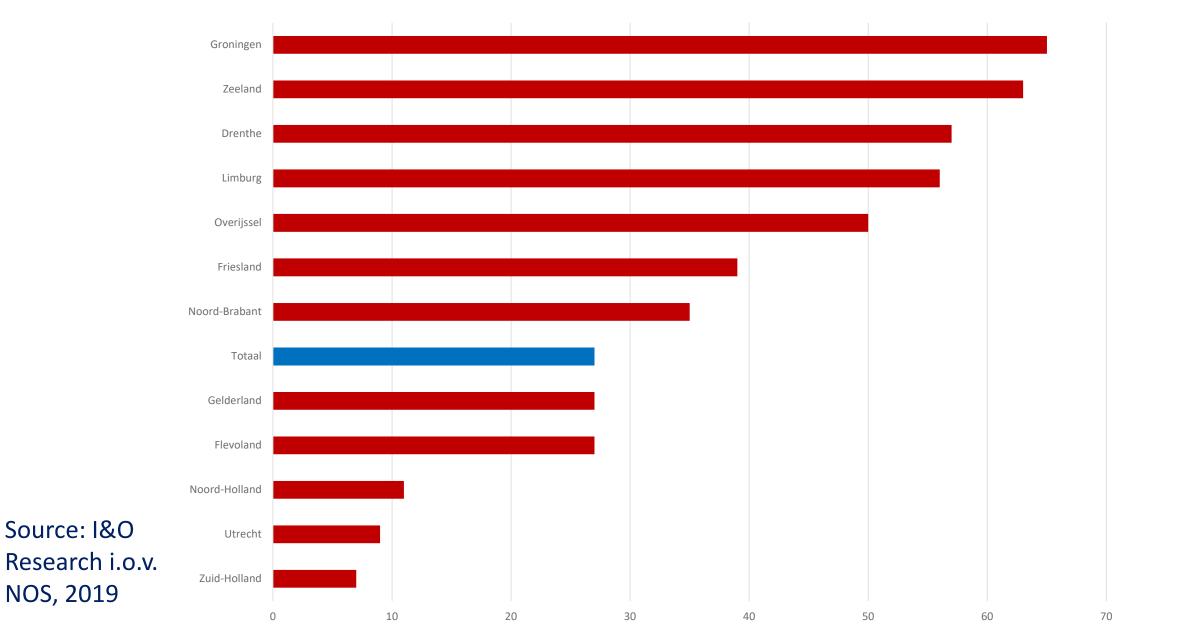


Mean response to the statement:

"Politicians in The Hague are not interested in my region" (7-point Likert-scale)

• Source: SCoRE data (2017) en Koen Damhuis (2021), N=6,360.

"Our province recieves too little attention from national politics"



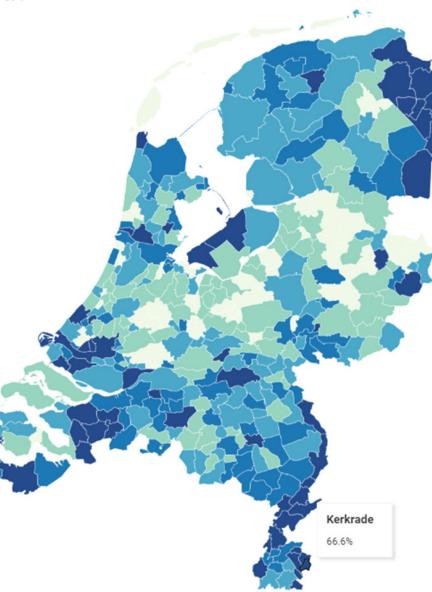
80

Hier wonen de 'afgehaakte' kiezers

Het percentage niet-stemmers per gemeente, opgeteld bij de gezamenlijk score van PVV, SP, FvD, 50Plus, PvdD en DENK tijdens de Tweede Kamerverkiezingen van maart 2021.



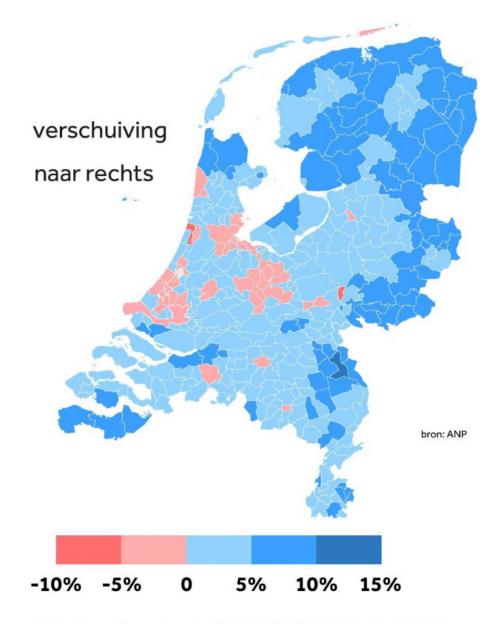
"Disengaged" voters in The Netherlands



Kaart: Sjoerd Mouissie, Nederlands Dagblad • Bron: verkiezingensite.nl

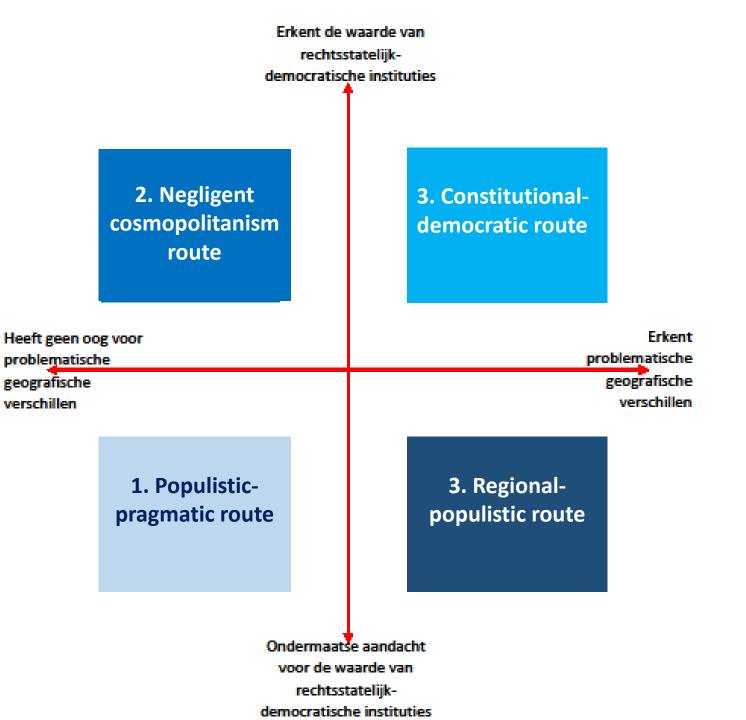
Shift in voting behaviour

between 2017 and 2021 Parliamentary Elections



Onder rechtse partijen wordt verstaan: VVD, CDA, PVV, FVD, JA21, Code Oranje, BBB, SGP Van enkele gemeente is nog geen uitslag binnen

https://nos.nl/artikel/2373193-de-nieuwe-politieke-kaart-van-nederland-kloof-tussen-centrum-en-periferie-groeit.html



Recent developments in NL

Nitrogen crisis unleashed a wave of rural resentment that has turned the national political landscape upside down:

- Disruptive protests with violent dimensions.
- Unprecedented electoral shift in the March 2023 Regional Elections.
- Heavy political impact at regional AND national level: BBB the largest party in all 12 provinces and entered the Senate as the largest party nationally.





Current developments

"Every region matters" (March 2023)



3 prominent advisory councils jointly:

- The dominant philosophy for spatial investment has for decades been "strengthen the places that are already strong, don't focus on places that lag behind", resulting in an accumulation of deprivation in specific peripheral regions.
- What is needed is long-term place-sensitive regional investment agendas for **all** corners of the country.

Current developments: political

Rutte IV government fell in July, snap elections in 2 days:

- BBB's momentum has started to fade away, making way for another new party, which ate up 75% of BBB's support in 3 months.
- New Social Contract, can be labelled as a "centrist anti-establishment" party, polling 2nd.
- Strong support from rural areas, but: first priorities are "good government" and livelihood security", not regional policy as such.

