

***What society do you envision  
when you think of :  
. Ségolène Royal?  
. Nicolas Sarkozy?***

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# Introduction

•The **Emotional Monitoring®** tool was developed by Repères in order to measure the emotional bond between consumers and a brand. What we analyse with this technique is not what the brand seeks to convey from a concrete point of view but rather the real emotions it arouses in the mind of the consumer. These emotions concern the imaginary as well as affective dimensions and condition the possibility of identification. They are more often unconscious, but they truly establish the bond with the brand.

We thought that the mechanism operating between a brand and its consumers could also operate between electors and a candidate, and we sought to test this tool on two political figures : Ségolène Royal and Nicolas Sarkozy (selected because of their strong media presence at the end of 2006, however, we would be glad to pursue our investigations on the other candidates...).

With our partner in the field TOLUNA, we therefore asked the electors to imagine society governed by one of the other of the two candidates.

The analysis allowed us to identify which values, which dynamics and which level of credibility the electors attributed to each of the candidates, and what type of emotional bond was established (experience, trust, adhesion).

In addition, the global and comparative analysis shed light on the French themselves and on what motivates them today : what they consider indispensable for them, what they are prepared to accept and their conception of life and society.

## The methodology

**Emotional Monitoring®** is a qualitative method applied to a sufficient number of respondents to enable a weighting of the different systems of representation brought to light.

Thus, the imaginary dimension of each candidate were studied among 200 people aged 18 and over, making a total of 400 persons interviewed in all. Quotas concerning sex, age, socio-professional category of the person of reference in the household, the region and the size of the dwelling, enabled us to ensure a good representation of the different components of French society. We were able to check whether the political views declared by the respondents was very close proportionally to that obtained in larger samples, such as that of the French political barometer CEVIPOF – Ministry of the Interior.

The questionnaire is essentially made up of open questions. Lasting 20 minutes, it was administered via Internet from 22 to 30 December 2006.

The respondents were selected from the Access Panel of TOLUNA, our partner in this operation.





# Emotional Monitoring®

## *Ségolène Royal*

*December 2006*

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## Global Perception of a Society Envisioned with Ségolène Royal

At the end of December 2006, Ségolène Royal inspires rather moderate feelings among the respondents: although there is rarely a violent rejection, there isn't any great enthusiasm either. Perceptions are even quite ambivalent regarding a candidate whose position and programme do not seem to be defined clearly enough: for half the persons interviewed, Ségolène Royal represents a positive and essential radical reform of social values, even if the cohesion obtained may appear to be too basic; whereas for the other half, she only inspires scepticism and even anxiety concerning her competences and her grasp of reality.

At the time of the study, Ségolène Royal caused less segmentation than her opponent Nicolas Sarkozy but still lacked scope and ability to convince.

Of course the political views of the French greatly influence perceptions, even though there isn't a total superimposition of feelings and perceptions. We therefore observe a positive perception of society with Ségolène Royal for :

- three quarters of people claiming to be left wing,
- half those claiming to be moderate or neither right nor left wing,
- less than 1 out of 5 among people claiming to be right wing.

In comparison, socio-demographic variables have much less influence on perceptions; the only notable observation is that positive images of Ségolène Royal tend to be more developed among women (60% positive versus 43% among men) and among persons aged under 60 (55% positive versus 41% among those aged 60 and over). It should be noted, however, that the number of respondents does not allow a detailed analysis of results according to more precise criteria.

### Different visions of society imagined with Ségolène Royal (déc. 06)

Positive visions : 52% of respondents

- The Radiant Community (13%)
- Social Order (32%)
- The Fairy Tale (7%)

Negative visions : 48% of respondents

- Ossification (27%)
- Continued crisis (21%) or even Chaos

Note :

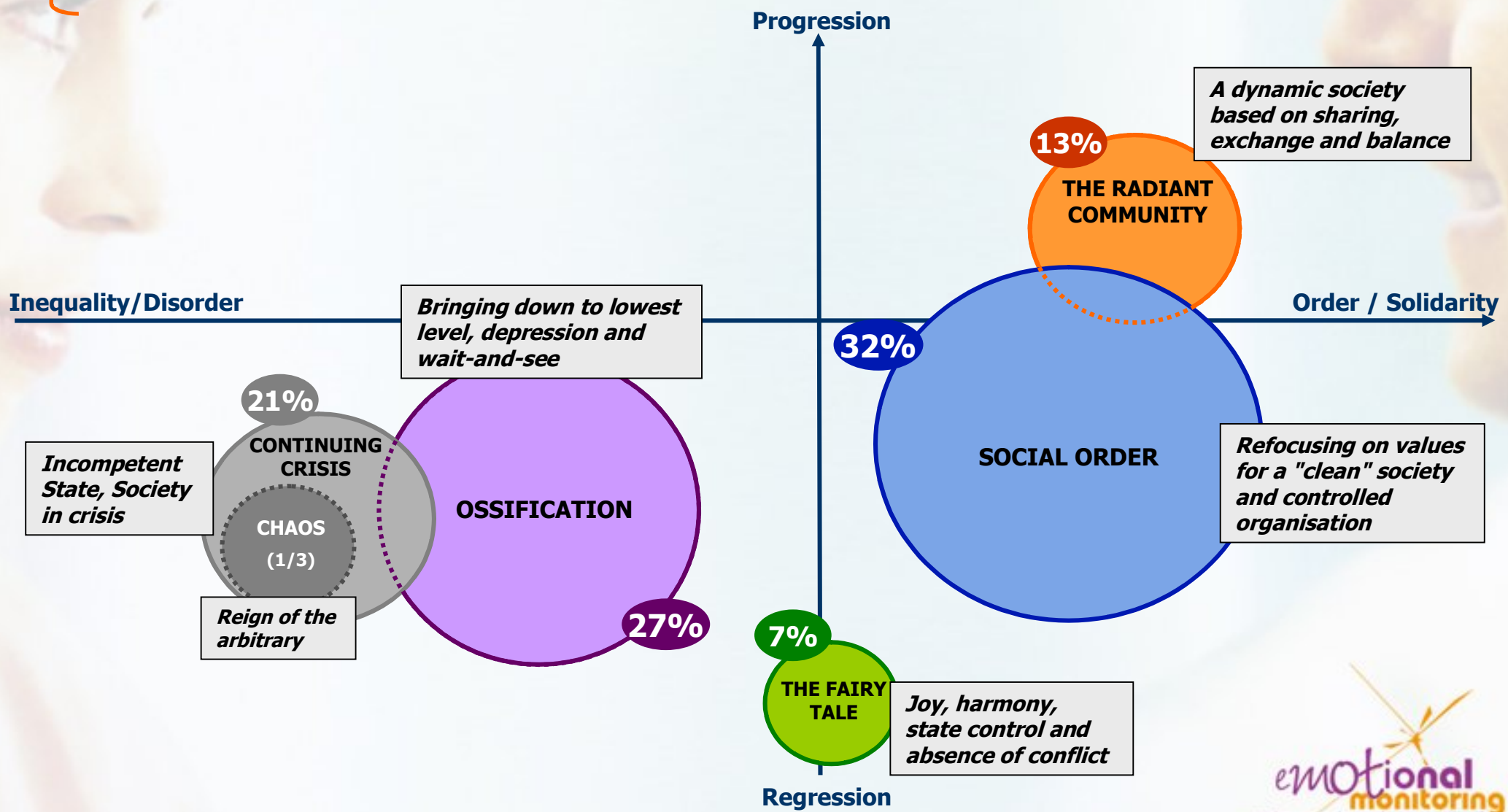
The base being 200 respondents, these % should be interpreted in terms of a hierarchy of visions gathered.

The names of the visions come from our interpretation of the spontaneous remarks of our respondents.

The positive or negative character of the visions is validated by direct questions concerning the adherence to or rejection of the society spontaneously described by the respondent .



# Visions of society with Ségolène Royal



## The vision of a "Radiant Community" with Ségolène Royal

For approximately half the respondents, the value of 'solidarity' bears witness to the candidate's unifying potential, her Socialist heritage appropriately orienting her to a more humane society based on dialogue. The promise made is a clear commitment towards a refocusing on fundamentals, aimed at a "fairer" social organisation.

Thus, on the most positive side, but for a small number of people (13%), the vision is one of a **Radiant Community**, driven by development and openness :

- The citizen is considered fully as an individual: his/her personal fulfilment is an inherent part of the fulfilment of society as a whole, the qualities and skills of each person are recognised, all people manage their lives and time according to their aspirations ;
- The collective principle is organised according to the participative mode, talents and efforts are coordinated, dialogue and collaboration ensuring an optimum in terms of adapting to needs ;
- Progress at the service of people becomes a real mission and depends on the dissemination of research, optimisation of the environment and exchanges with the world of knowledge and technology.

What the French notice here concerning the candidate is the intensity and purpose with which she listens and her ability to create a synergy between individual and social development, with as a result economic prosperity (even though the economy is not the priority objective).

Ségolène Royal appears to be perfectly credible, combining pragmatism, high expectations and adaptability. She even inspires a high degree of adherence, succeeding in re-building self-confidence and confidence in politics.

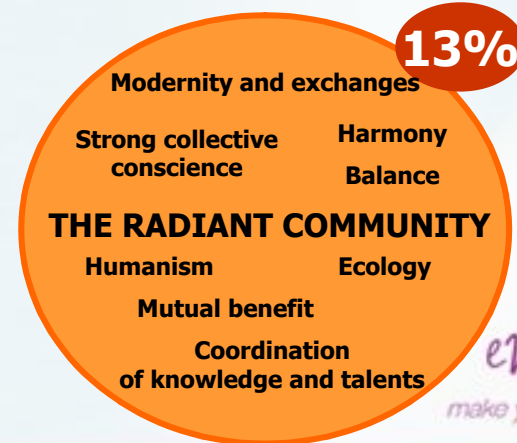
### Excerpts of answers: Imagine there is a planet Ségolène Royal...

*"Incredible biodiversity"*

*"Each individual has enough to live decently. People are glad to have had an active day and are proud of living in this country... Everyone believes in the country's future, the country has its aura restored and can open up to the world and extend a positive influence in it"*

*"Open relations, constant dialogue with other worlds"*

*"She will have given people the possibility of attaining self-fulfilment, of developing their capacities and of exchanging in an atmosphere of mutual respect"*



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# The vision of a "Social order" with Ségolène Royal

A greater number of respondents projected an improved **Social Order** (32% of persons interviewed), a highly reasoned and reasonable vision of the project :

- The contract consists of engaging together in a lifestyle based on lasting values: equality, justice, sharing, the disappearance of divisions and conflicts; each individual can therefore obtain support from society.
- But this egalitarianism is highly regulated, and even moralising, each individual conscientiously serving values that have become laws.
- This refocusing guarantees a stable and balanced society but this is to the detriment of personal fulfilment and development of the country : lifestyles are standardised, individual initiatives are absent and so are major projects and any opening up to the world.

Here the French recognise the need for improved social cohesion. In spite of everything, it implies a certain self-effacement and sacrificing economic development. Ségolène Royal is credible because she is perceived as very demanding and focused, but she is also seen as being probably too normative and not visionary enough.

### Excerpts of answers: Imagine there is a planet Ségolène Royal...

*"A strict but harmonious landscape, everything is where it should be, there are places for children, for the family"*

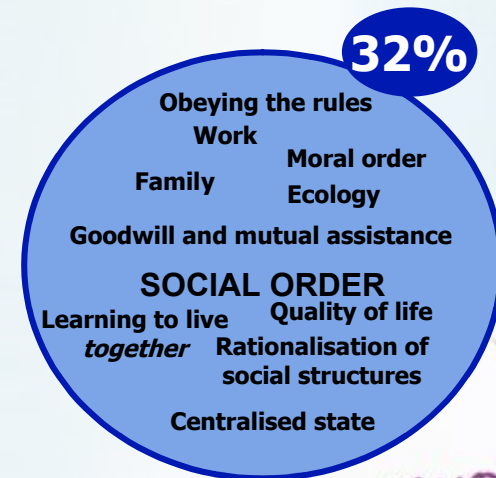
*"People live in total security, all the generations live together... People are pleased to go to work, and happy when they go home. A lot of goodwill is needed to achieve a model that will satisfy the greatest number"*

*"Each person knows what is his/her position and everything is done calmly, without any needless harassment"*

*"Relations are very much linked to social work, people help those who are in need"*

*"There are exchanges, imports and exports, but always according to needs"*

*"Progress doesn't come too fast because that serves no purpose"*





## The minority vision of the "Fairy Tale" with Ségolène Royal

Lastly a few French people envision a **Fairy-Tale** (7%) existence: some describe it positively as a return to the garden of Eden, others sarcastically see it as a satire of a "wonderful world" :

- Society is built on unique bonds of love and goodness: there is no longer any need for strict governance or for any real commitment on the part of citizens given the fact that the values of solidarity, equality and social justice are fully integrated ;
- Peace is the main objective, but is obtained to the detriment of any progress and cuts France off from the rest of the world.

This vision highlights the strong need for a quasi affective support for some French people and the need to break with the hostility of the world. Ségolène Royal reveals herself as receptive to these feelings and able to relieve anxiety. However, for the detractors of this vision, these universal values are not enough to constitute a programme.

### Excerpts of answers: Imagine there's a planet Ségolène Royal ...

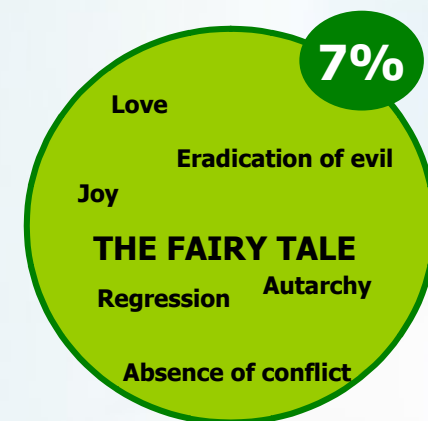
*"There is no poverty, everyone's equal; there is great fraternity, everyone helps each other out"*

*"Everything is for the best in the best of worlds"*

*"People are conditioned to see everything through rose tinted spectacles"*

*"People are happy since everything is the way they want it, but no effort is made to improve anything at all"*

*"There are no worries about the future"*



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## The vision of an "Ossification" of society with Ségolène Royal

On the contrary, for 48% of French people, the visions reveal a rejection of the ideology of her party and/or a lack of confidence in the candidate :

Thus, a part of the population projects with Ségolène Royal a real **Ossification** of society (27%) :

- The State is omnipotent with bureaucratic intervention: the citizens are subjugated, initiatives are paralysed,
- The emergence of a wait-and-see and assisted mindset within the community, with a general decline in the standard of living and the economy and a weakening of society.

This vision, projected by people who claimed to be right wing or in the centre, or neither left nor right wing, expresses a rejection of left wing values in general: Ségolène Royal appears here to be standing back and to fall in line with her party.

### Excerpts of answers: Imagine there is a planet Ségolène Royal ...

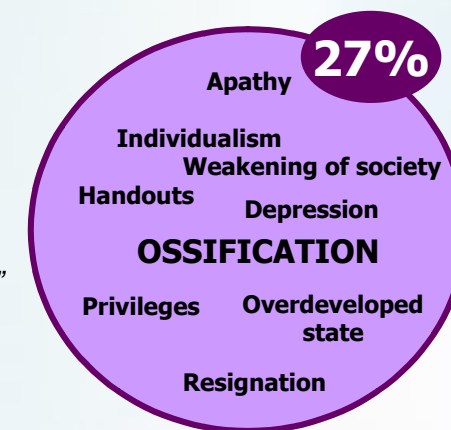
"A grey landscape where nothing grows"

"A landscape filled with factories and social centres"

"Science makes no progress due to a lack of education and stimulation of the entrepreneurial spirit and the will to act; the world of Ségolène does not develop ideas, it is a paralysed world"

"The inhabitants develop no competences but adopt a wait-and-see attitude and become disillusioned"

"The notion of work no longer exists, it has become a constraint, and it has been replaced by the term "creative and productive activities"



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## The vision of a "Continuing Crisis" with Ségolène Royal

Even more negative is the perception by some people that her attitude will only lead to a **Continuing Crisis** (21% of the people interviewed, with an over-representation of young people from lower socio-professional categories, without any dominant political ideology) :

- Political action conducted remains dispersed, arbitrary and disorganised: people are left to their own devices, France loses its power ;
- Society deteriorates revealing all its shortcomings: individualism, inequalities, poverty, pollution ...
- For some people, the *Continuing Crisis* leads to real **Chaos**, generalised confusion and the reign of corruption and "schemes".

Respondents, some of whom are inclined to the left, express here great concern about the candidate. Ségolène Royal, in their eyes has no credibility: she proves to be incompetent, insufficiently dynamic and modern.

### Excerpts of answers: Imagine planet Ségolène Royal ...

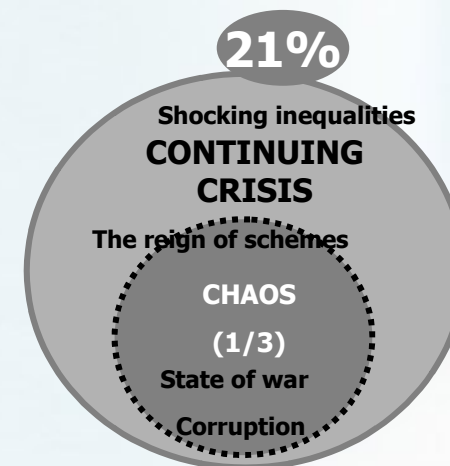
"There are five star hotels, and next to them huts"

"Resourcefulness is the name of the game"

"The economy is global and the poor are left by the wayside"

"She'll have led France to bankruptcy"

"You always feel sad, you feel like dying"



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## Emotional Monitoring® Evaluation of Ségolène Royal – December 2006

When analysing what people imagined about Ségolène Royal in December 2006, it seems that :

- The refocusing on social fundamentals is recognised as essential – resulting in strong support of this candidate,
- However, this support would be reinforced by the inclusion within her programme of more energy and promise of not only collective fulfilment but personal fulfilment as well (to move from the slightly standardised **Social Order** to the **Community of Fulfilment**),
- Lastly, although Ségolène Royal will not be able to avoid the negative image of her generated in the eyes of some because of her political affiliation (**Ossification**), she will, however, very much need to dispel all doubts concerning her competence, doubts that destabilise people irrespective of their political inclinations (**Continuing Crisis**).





# Emotional Monitoring®

## *Nicolas Sarkozy*

*December 2006*

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## Global perception of society envisioned with Nicolas Sarkozy

In December 2006, Nicolas Sarkozy inspired among the French very strong and clear-cut opinions. All the people interviewed acknowledge that the candidate had a strong objective of **economic success**, founded on **the key value of work**. But the method for attaining this objective is perceived in greatly differing ways and in most cases causes concern: although for 31% of the people interviewed Nicolas Sarkozy embodies a liberating energy for France and the French for 69% of the population he represents a crushing and even a destructive force.

Even more so than for Ségolène Royal, political inclination has a strong structuring effect on the perceptions generated by Nicolas Sarkozy. He inspires a positive image among :

- 8 people out of 10 claiming to be right wing,
- But only among 1 person in 4 claiming to be in the centre or neither right wing nor left wing,
- And among practically no one claiming to be left wing.

In terms of socio-professional variables, we observe that the positive images concerning Nicolas Sarkozy tend to be more developed among the over 40s (35% positive versus 24% among the 18-39 year-olds) and among old age pensioners (42% positive). It should be said that the number of people interviewed does not allow a detailed analysis of the results according to more precise criteria.

### Different visions of society imagined with Nicolas Sarkozy (dec. 06)

Positive visions : 31% of respondents

- A Progressive society (11%)
- Return to order (20%)

Negative visions : 69% of respondents

- Conformism and Duty (18%)
- The Divide (16%)
- The Dictatorship (34%) or even the Terror

Note :

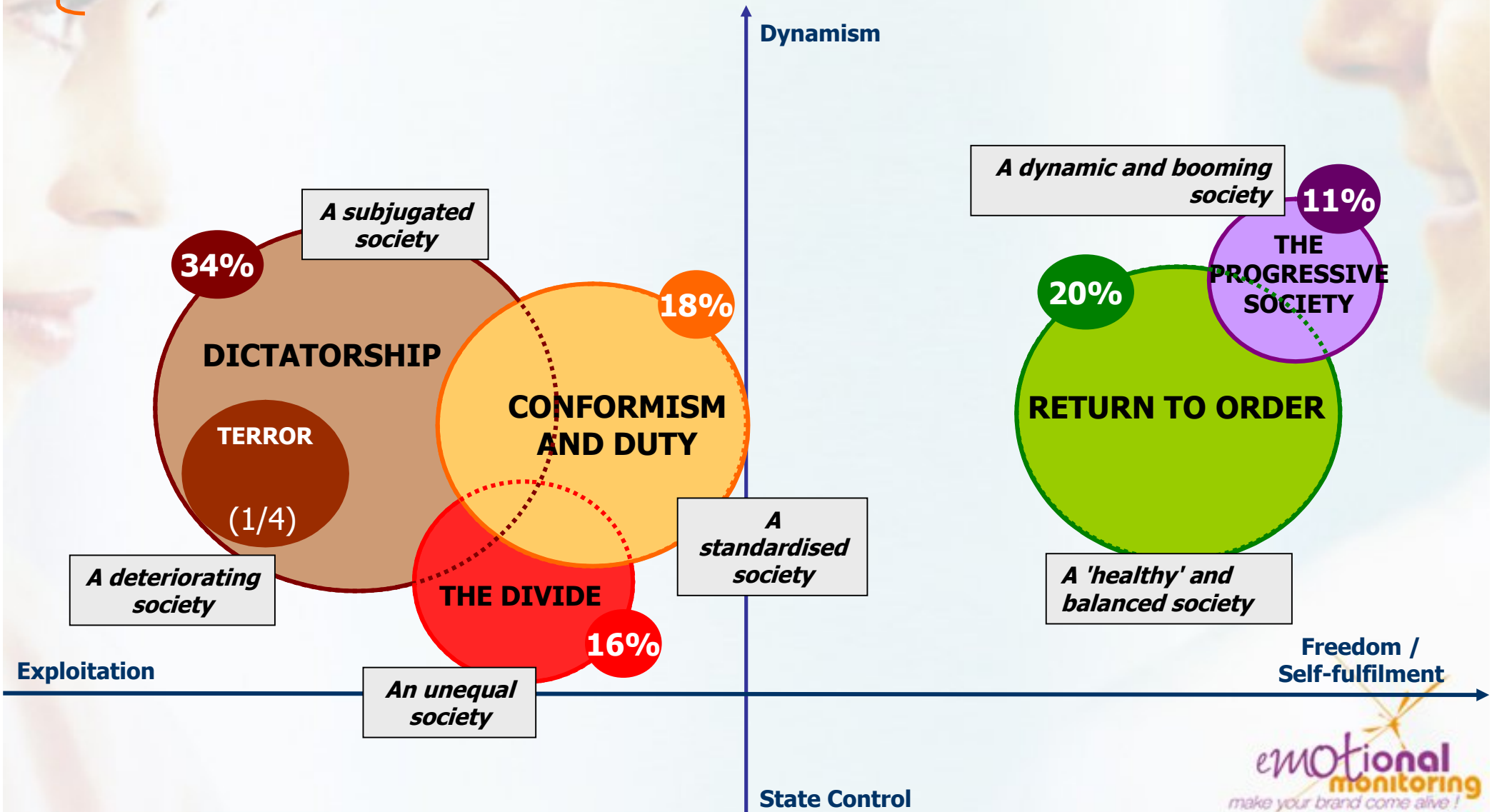
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# Visions of society with Nicolas Sarkozy



## The vision of a "Return to Order" with Nicolas Sarkozy

For approximately a third of the people interviewed, **the guarantee of security and re-instatement of work as a value generates a very positive image of the candidate and of his programme.** It is the promise of a return to fundamental and solid principles (work and respect) and the possibility of the development of the individual as well as society.

For some, it is the image of a **Return to Order** (for 20% of the respondents), in which society becomes healthy and balanced :

- The project consists of, from a positive standpoint, eliminating all the obstacles to this success: the fight against unemployment, eradication of poverty, fight against insecurity, zero tolerance, control and reduction of immigration.
- Order and public-spiritedness reign, the public space is fully appropriated (a safe space providing all the amenities), each person finds his/her place and can find a balance between work and family life.

What the French perceive as positive about the candidate is his intention to ensure a real climate of trust and to redress France. Nicolas Sarkozy is perceived as perfectly credible, determined and attentive. This type of governance is believed to be very efficient for putting the country right. Priority is given to the situation inside the country, to guarantee social welfare and economic health, even though international politics are not neglected.

### Excerpts of answers: Imagine a planet Nicolas Sarkozy ...

*"Beautiful clean cities that blend into the landscape"*

*"Pets, kept properly on their leashes, and wild animals, in parks in well-chosen locations and clearly marked out"*

*"Houses with gardens and swimming pools, quiet towns, without any murders or violent crimes. A normal, simple lifestyle, without any trouble because there are no more troublemakers"*

*"People take their responsibilities"*

*"Everyone works because work is ensured and they don't live off the State"*



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## The vision of a "Progressive Society" with Nicolas Sarkozy

This positive image of the **Return to Order** can also be optimised in the projection of a **Progressive Society** (for 11% of the respondents). Not only has society improved and become healthier but it is also booming :

- It is turned towards technological, economic, ecological and social progress,
- Each citizen takes on his/her responsibilities and contributes to this progress, but freely and independently,
- The citizen experiences true self-fulfilment and France becomes more competitive on the world scene.

This is where Sarkozy is seen as THE candidate for change and empowerment, or even as a visionary who uses the value of work as a major incentive for personal ambition (merit) as well as for collective ambition (a great nation).

### Excerpts of answers: Imagine there is a planet Nicolas Sarkozy...

"Pure vivifying air"

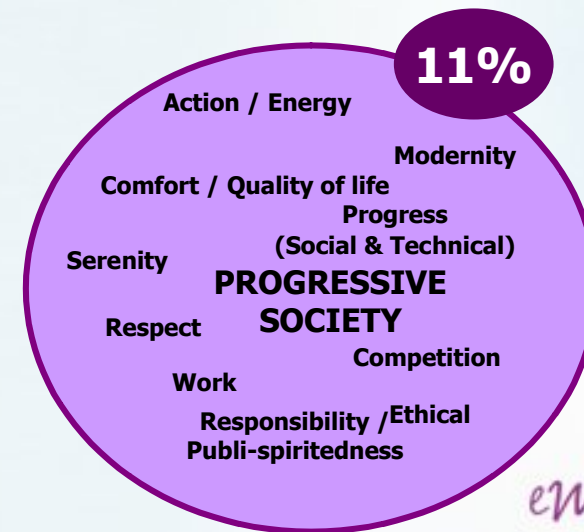
"A very high level of development tending towards the infinite"

"Technological progress without pollution"

"Energetic people full of enthusiasm"

"Their work is pleasant because they have chosen it, women earn the same salary as men"

"With the other planets, cooperation and more energetic policies for the environment, sustainable development, the sharing of work..."



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## The vision of "Conformism and Duty" with Nicolas Sarkozy

But for 69% of respondents, perceptions are the reverse: the candidate's energy and radicalism shed a negative light on his project: shifting to forced labour and oppressive security. The project of a successful France no longer takes the individual into account: the human dimension is absent from the vision.

The least alarming vision is expressed in **Conformism and Duty** (for 18% of respondents), in which there is room for nothing else than functionality and efficiency :

- Work is as much of a key value as in the other positive visions, everyone has access to it, ensuring a decent living for all and good economic development,
- But life style is standardised, focused on the sole work ethic and little room is afforded to personal aspirations and expressions. Everything is policed and the individual loses autonomy.

Here, only the efficiency of the system counts and it is based on a single value. The citizen must be resigned and no longer feels considered as an individual or in terms of his/her choice of lifestyle. This is a very traditional and oppressive vision of the right.

### Excerpts of answers: Imagine there is a planet Nicolas Sarkozy ...

"A vegetation resembling that of a park in the centre of town with neatly cut grass"

"A life of labour in which work is predominant and leisure reduced. People don't ask too many questions, are even-tempered but with no great joyfulness, an austere life in a way"

"A rather high level of development in which we forget that there are poor people"

"A standardisation of habits and behaviours which no longer allows for surprises or passion in life, people 'left by the wayside' that no one sees or looks after, an automated life under surveillance without any real freedom"



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## The vision of a "Dictatorship" with Nicolas Sarkozy

But the most alarming vision which is most often referred to is that of the **Dictatorship** (for 34% of respondents) :

- The regime is a disciplinary system centred on order and work,
- The individuality of the citizen is completely ignored, the individual is exploited in the name of performance, without ever benefiting from it.

### Excerpts of answers: Imagine there is a planet Nicolas Sarkozy ...

*"There are pit bull terriers and Rottweilers watching over scared sheep..."*

*"They work 18 hours a day, except on Sundays... only 12 hours..."*

*"People are very unhappy, it's sink or swim"*

*"Development of video and audio surveillance through all sorts of computer files and electronic devices"*

*"A rather low level of development, there are more manual workers than researchers..."*

*As a result there are many incurable diseases... Only the construction sector has evolved with taller, cheaper buildings"*

*"He feels rich and proud of being the master of 60 thousand slaves"*

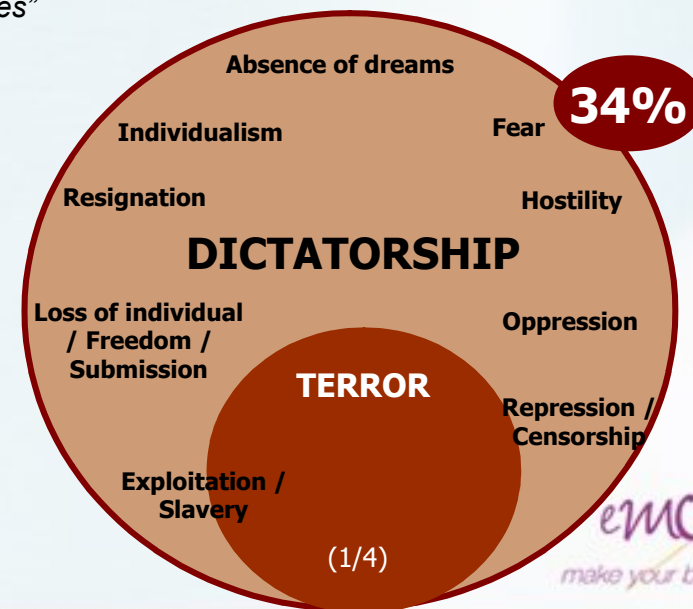
For some, it seems there is even the vision of a reign of **Terror** with so much oppression that it leads to violence and destruction.

*"A bleak, sad landscape with ruins and cities laid waste"*

*"No dwellings, underground cities, the streets are straight and there's a curfew in force"*

*"A military organisation with nothing but obligations and no rights"*

Here, the system imagined is experienced as reactionary, with a total eclipse of the human dimension. Nicolas Sarkozy is seen as blinded by his convictions and personal ambitions. He is no longer credible, he is dangerous. In this vision there is no more room for Republican values or Democracy.



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## The vision of a "Divide" with Nicolas Sarkozy

Finally a last vision (for 16% of respondents with an overrepresentation of young people and blue collar workers) refers to the current **Divide** :

- In a society focused on performance and profit, only those best equipped and privileged will be able to survive,
- Whereas the divide between the richest and poorest will continue to widen.

The vision evoked here is that of a purely free-market world in which Nicolas Sarkozy does not offer any better alternative.

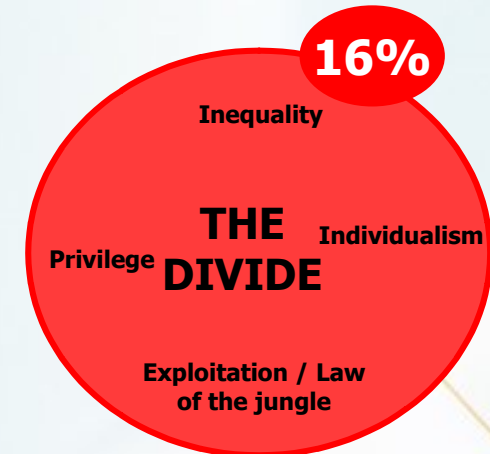
### Excerpts of answers: Imagine there is a planet Nicolas Sarkozy ...

*"An urban landscape, not much vegetation... instead cities with very chic areas and poor areas"*

*"On the one hand, very rich cities without council housing and without homeless people : Hédiard, Fauchon, Monoprix at every street corner for food + Chanel, Armani, etc. for clothing. In the outskirts (but quite far, so as not to disturb the rich, imagine a wall that would cordon off the rich city) there is all the rest: the suburbs, people on the margins of society but who work hard to pay their taxes"*

*"Level of development: still more for the rich, always less for the others"*

*"The well off upper middle class families are stressed but happy when they think of the things they will be able to obtain and the poor working class families are sad and lack spirit"*



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## Emotional Monitoring® evaluation of Nicolas Sarkozy – December 2006

From analysing what people imagine concerning Nicolas Sarkozy in December 2006, he appears as the candidate representing action.

- This can be seen as positive and fundamental for France (***The Return to Order***), and even as stimulating and exiting (***The Progressive Society***),
- However, for some respondents, Nicolas Sarkozy cannot free himself of negative images associated with the right: social conformism (***Conformism and duty***) or a merciless free-market economy (***The Divide***),
- Lastly, the study highlights a real fear as to the personality of the candidate, which generates for a third of the respondents an oppressive and destructive image (***Dictatorship*** and even ***Terror***).







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with people

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