



Council of the European Union
General Secretariat

THINK TANK REVIEW

Library and Research

APRIL 2017
SPECIAL ISSUE

EU politics, extremist parties and populism

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Link to the [library catalogue that lists articles on populism](#).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

FROM TTR ISSUE 34 - APRIL 2016

European Policy Centre

Europe's troublemakers - The populist challenge to foreign policy..... 6

FROM TTR ISSUE 35 - MAY 2016

Centre for European Policy Studies

An EU mechanism on democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights..... 6

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Foundation of the nation: how political parties and movements are radicalising others in favour of conservative family values and against tolerance, diversity, and progressive gender politics in Europe..... 6

Fabian Society

Future Left..... 7

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Föderalismus statt Separatismus: Politische Instrumente zur Lösung von Sezessionskonflikten in Europa..... 7

FROM TTR ISSUE 36 - JUNE 2016

Fondation pour l'innovation politique

La gauche radicale: liens, lieux et luttes (2012-2017) 7

LUISS School of European Political Economy

Financial populism in Germany 7

La vie des idées

La Pologne, de mal en PiS..... 8

Centre international de formation européenne

Poland's conservative turn of 2015: where are its real origins? 8

Policy solutions / Foundation for European Progressive Studies

The political communication of the refugee crisis in Central and Eastern Europe..... 8

Pew Research Center

Euroscepticism beyond Brexit: significant opposition in key European countries to an ever closer EU 8

FROM TTR ISSUE 37 - JULY 2016

Külügyi és Külgazdasági Intézet (Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade)

Politics heats up the cold north: populist parties in the Nordic region 9

European Council on Foreign Relations

The world according to Europe's insurgent parties: Putin, migration and people power 9

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Goodbye Europe? : Die Außenpolitik der polnischen PiS-Regierung..... 9

FROM TTR ISSUE 38 - SEPTEMBER 2016

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

La UE y la amenaza al estado de derecho en Polonia..... 9

European Policy Centre

The Polish "good change" what does it mean for relations with Germany and the rest of Europe?..... 10

Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

The bear in sheep's clothing: Russia's government-funded organisations in the EU 10

FROM TTR ISSUE 39 - OCTOBER 2016

Center for American Progress

Moving beyond "us vs them" politics: how progressives should respond to the rise of right-wing nationalism..... 10

Latvijas Ārpolitikas institūts (Latvian Institute of International Affairs) / Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Euroscepticism in small EU Member States..... 10

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Germany's political center is stronger than it looks 11

FROM TTR ISSUE 40 - NOVEMBER 2016

European Policy Centre

The enemy within: are modern European democracies afraid of introspection? 11

EU@60 - Countering a regressive and illiberal Europe..... 11

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations)

"Das Volk" und "Die da oben" 11

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)	
<i>Aktuelle Entwicklungen der Wahlbeteiligung in Europa</i>	12
Fondation pour l'innovation politique	
<i>Le Front national en campagnes. Les agriculteurs et le vote FN</i>	12
FROM TTR ISSUE 41 - DECEMBER 2016	
Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)	
<i>Causas del rechazo a la globalización: más allá de la desigualdad y la xenofobia</i>	12
Forum for research on Eastern Europe and Emerging Economies (FREE Network)	
<i>The economic track record of pious populists – Evidence from Turkey</i>	12
FROM TTR ISSUE 42 - JANUARY 2017	
Fundación Alternativas	
<i>Los partidos antielitistas tras la recesión de 2008</i>	13
Fondation Robert Schuman	
<i>The "populist moment": towards a "post-liberal" Europe?</i>	13
DEMOS	
<i>Digital citizens: countering extremism online</i>	13
FROM TTR ISSUE 43 - FEBRUARY 2017	
LUISS School of European Political Economy	
<i>European integration & populism: addressing Dahrendorf's quandary</i>	13
Centre international de formation européenne	
<i>Beyond populism: why the European Union needs to engage into identity politics</i>	14
Barcelona Centre for International Affairs	
<i>Illiberal democracies in the EU: the Visegrad group and the risk of disintegration</i>	14
Center for European Neighborhood Studies	
<i>Frontiers of democracy: embedding democratic values in Central and Eastern Europe - Good practices and limits of transferability</i>	14
FROM TTR ISSUE 44 - MARCH 2017	
Demos	
<i>Nothing to fear but fear itself: mapping and responding to the rising culture and politics of fear in the European Union</i> ..	15
Policy solutions / Foundation for European Progressive Studies	
<i>The state of populism in Europe</i>	15
<i>The state of social democratic parties in Central and Eastern Europe</i>	15
Fondation pour l'innovation politique	
<i>Le Front National face à l'obstacle du second tour</i>	15
The German Marshall Fund from the United States	
<i>The rise of the Front National: taking stock of ten years of French mainstream politics</i>	16
Terra Nova	
<i>Les conflits d'intérêts, nouvelle frontière de la démocratie</i>	16
Policy solutions	
<i>Political discrimination in Hungary: case studies from the Hungarian justice system, local government, media, agriculture, education and civil sector</i>	16
Wise Europa / Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Heinrich Böll Foundation)	
<i>Beneath the surface of illiberalism: the recurring temptation of 'national democracy' in Poland and Hungary – with lessons for Europe</i>	16
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)	
<i>Demokratie als Enttäuschung - Transformationserfahrungen in Ungarn</i>	17
<i>Le populisme de droite en Allemagne - Un défi pour la social-démocratie</i>	17
Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)	
<i>AfD – the alternative for whom?</i>	17
Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)	
<i>The Spanish exception: unemployment, inequality and immigration, but no right-wing populist parties</i>	17
FROM TTR ISSUE 45 - APRIL 2017	
Policy Exchange	
<i>Global governance: The challenge to the UK's liberal democracy</i>	18
Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute	
<i>Vivre ensemble face aux peurs: le dilemme politique français</i>	18
Terra nova	
<i>La triche électorale en ligne - Le nouveau territoire des campagnes numériques</i>	18

<i>Sortie de l'euro: les petits paieront!</i>	18
<i>La France de Marine Le Pen: affaiblie, isolée, divisée</i>	19
Fondation Robert Schuman	
<i>Emmanuel Macron and Marine Le Pen running easily ahead in the polls just one month before the presidential election in France</i>	19
La Vie des Idées	
<i>Sur le Front d'Avignon - Quelques leçons sur les élections régionales de 2015</i>	19
Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)	
<i>Der Front National: 'Erfolg und Perspektiven der 'stärksten Partei Frankreichs'</i>	19
Institut pro evropskou politiku EUROPEUM (EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy)	
<i>The rise of the Front National: Taking stock of ten years of French mainstream politics</i>	19

FROM TTR ISSUE 34 - APRIL 2016

European Policy Centre

Europe's troublemakers - The populist challenge to foreign policy

by Rosa Balfour [@RosaBalfour](#), Janis A. Emmanouilidis [@jaemmanouilidis](#), Catherine Fieschi [@CFieschi](#), Heather Grabbe [@HeatherGrabbe](#), Christopher Hill, Timo Lochocki [@TLochocki](#), Marie Mendras [@MarieMendras](#), Cas Mudde [@CasMudde](#), Mari K. Niemi [@MariKNiemi](#), Juliane Schmidt [juleschmidt90](#) and Corina Stratulat

8 March 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (78 p.)

The growing focus on internal affairs and crisis-related 'navel-gazing' by politicians in various Member States is influencing countries' strategies and interactions with their European counterparts and non-EU partners, as well as the Union's voice and leverage abroad. This report aims to go beyond individual domestic considerations to build a nuanced, inter-disciplinary and general understanding of the populist phenomenon in Europe and its impact on foreign policy formulation and processes.

FROM TTR ISSUE 35 - MAY 2016

Centre for European Policy Studies

An EU mechanism on democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights

by Petra Bárd, Sergio Carrera, Elspeth Guild and Dimitry Kochenov with thematic contribution by Wim Marneffe [@wimmarneffe](#)

April 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (247 p.)

The EU is founded on a set of common principles of democracy, the rule of law, and fundamental rights, as enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty on the EU. Whereas future member states are vetted for their compliance with these values before they accede to the Union, no similar method exists to supervise adherence to these foundational principles after accession. This paper assesses the need and possibilities for the establishment of an EU Scoreboard, as well as its related social, economic, legal and political 'costs and benefits'.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Foundation of the nation: how political parties and movements are radicalising others in favour of conservative family values and against tolerance, diversity, and progressive gender politics in Europe

by Andreas Kemper [@AndreasKemper](#)

21 April 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (43 p.)

Europe is currently witnessing the formation of a movement in favour of conservative family values and against tolerance, diversity, and progressive gender politics. Furthermore, for a considerable time now, these initiatives against the right to abortion, "gender", and the rights of same-sex couples have not only been embedded in the activities of splinter political parties and civil society groups, but they also now represent a critical mass of representatives in the EP. The EP elections in May 2014 strengthened the so-called parties of fear, which prey on the fear of citizens: fear of the euro, immigration, criminality, and the demise of the traditional family, write the author.

Fabian Society

Future Left

by Andrew Harrop [@andrew_harrop](#) and Ed Wallis

13 April 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (158 p.)

Right across Europe, mainstream political parties are in retreat. New currents on left and right are confronting the political establishment, and forcing social democrats to face up to some existential questions. What does a fast-changing economy mean for political movements forged in the workplaces of the industrial age? Can traditional parties reinvent themselves for a more pluralist, less deferential democracy? How can the left nurture new forms of solidarity in a more individualistic society? This collection of essays is a search for answers.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Föderalismus statt Separatismus: Politische Instrumente zur Lösung von Sezessionskonflikten in Europa

by Sabine Riedel

April 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (36 p.)

In different EU countries secessionist movements calling for national independence for their regions. Such separatist aspirations device also the project of European integration under pressure. In the present study an instrument is introduced, with the aid of separatism could be overcome, namely the model of the State or the Federation. As access to this subject is an analysis of federalism plans that international mediators have presented to overcome secessionist conflicts in the EU neighbourhood space.

FROM TTR ISSUE 36 - JUNE 2016

Fondation pour l'innovation politique

La gauche radicale: liens, lieux et luttes (2012-2017)

by Sylvain Boulouque

23 May 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (60 p.)

This paper analyses the political, social and electoral movements of the fragmented radical left.

LUISS School of European Political Economy

Financial populism in Germany

by Roberto Tamborini

31 May 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

In this article the author reflects on a working paper published by the European Central Bank in May 2015, written by U. Bindseil, C. Domnick, and J. Zeuner. The paper is titled "Critique of accommodating central bank policies and the 'expropriation of the saver.'" The author argues that at first glance the paper looks like any other commonplace literature review, but however is a defence of the ECB's monetary policy against attacks from the media and, by extension, the public opinion of a particular country.

La vie des idées

La Pologne, de mal en PiS

by Ewa Tartakowsky

10 May 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (5 p.)

In this short paper the author gives an analysis of the recently taken measures by the Polish government that endanger the independence of justice, independence of the media and individual freedoms. The author argues that the origins of this authoritarianism are to be searched in the transition in 1989 and the challenges of decommunisation. The author ends by concluding that the Polish crisis confronts the EU with the challenge to uphold its founding values.

Centre international de formation européenne

Poland's conservative turn of 2015: where are its real origins?

by Roland Benedikter and Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski

4 May 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

The victories of the national-conservative Law and Justice (PiS) party in Poland in both the presidential elections of May 2015 and the parliamentary elections of October 2015 have been controversially debated by journalists and experts. Many observers interpret Poland's shift to the right as a sign of a broader Central and Eastern Europe backslide towards a new form of authoritarianism. In this paper, the authors reflect on the origins of Poland's conservative turn in 2015.

Policy solutions / Foundation for European Progressive Studies

The political communication of the refugee crisis in Central and Eastern Europe

by Gábor Győri

May 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (80 p.)

This study investigates the political and communication roots of the current crisis; the characteristic national responses in the Central European region; and in particular in Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia and Poland; and the impact the crisis is likely to have on the already substantial populist movement across Europe.

Pew Research Center

Euroskepticism beyond Brexit: significant opposition in key European countries to an ever closer EU

by Bruce Stokes [@bruceestokes](#)

7 June 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

On 23 June 2016, people in the UK voted on a referendum to leave the European Union. The British went to the polls at a time when this new multi-nation survey finds that euroscepticism is on the rise across Europe and that about two-thirds of both the British and the Greeks, along with significant minorities in other key nations, want some powers returned from Brussels to national governments.

FROM TTR ISSUE 37 - JULY 2016

Külügyi és Külgazdasági Intézet (Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade)

Politics heats up the cold north: populist parties in the Nordic region

by Katalin Ertsey [@ertseykata](#) and Diána Szőke

13 June 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

The rise of populist authoritarianism is an overwhelming phenomenon in Western democracies. This study examines its common roots and looks at how this plays out in various countries of the Nordic region. The study agrees with the theory that the emergence of a new type of populist parties is a test for the fundamental institutions of democracy: in societies where checks and balances are strong and unquestioned, society can prove resistant, and these forces will remain marginal. In this regard, the Nordic region is among the best positioned ones globally to deal with this type of political force.

European Council on Foreign Relations

The world according to Europe's insurgent parties: Putin, migration and people power

by Susi Dennison [@sd270](#) and Dina Pardijs [@PardijsDJ](#)

June 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (40 p.)

ECFR carried out the first comprehensive survey of Europe's insurgent parties - newer, smaller and leaner parties -, ranging from the hard left to the far right. It found that, despite their differences, they share a surprising range of beliefs on foreign policy. They are broadly sceptical about the EU; oppose intervention abroad, particularly in the Middle East; are unenthusiastic about the relationship with Washington; and positively inclined towards Putin's Russia.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Goodbye Europe? : Die Außenpolitik der polnischen PiS-Regierung

by Joanna Andrychowicz-Skrzeba and Roland Feicht

June 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (12 p.)

The PiS government (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość - Law and Justice Party) is the first government since 1989, that changes the priorities of Polish foreign policy, especially in relation to the EU. Foreign policy priorities of the PiS government will be in particular the security of Poland and the strengthening of the Polish position within the EU and as a regional player. Although PiS is not planning a Polish withdrawal from the EU, it objects to a continuation of the EU in its current form. PiS is seeking to create a counterweight to Germany within the EU.

FROM TTR ISSUE 38 - SEPTEMBER 2016

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

La UE y la amenaza al estado de derecho en Polonia

by Carlos Closa [@carlos_closa](#)

21 July 2016

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (6 p.)

The defence of the respect for the rule of law by the EU member states still lacks of powerful mechanisms, and the Polish case is the most recent example.

European Policy Centre

The Polish "good change" what does it mean for relations with Germany and the rest of Europe?

by Adam Balcer

22 July 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

This paper warns of an 'Orbanisation' of Poland as the nationalistic and right-wing PiS steers the country increasingly towards a Hungarian model of illiberal democracy, and assesses the implications of this transition for relations with Germany and the rest of Europe. The author also writes that Brexit could stoke fresh anti-EU sentiment in an already Eurosceptic Poland, and encourage further divergence from Germany and the Union itself.

Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

The bear in sheep's clothing: Russia's government-funded organisations in the EU

by Vladka Vojtiskova [@vladkajelinek](#), Hubertus Schmid-Schmidsfelden, Vít Novotný [@vitnovotny](#) and Kristina Potapova [@potapova_k](#)

8 August 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (87 p.)

This paper sheds light on organisations operating in Europe that are funded by the Russian government, whether officially or unofficially. These include government-organised non-governmental organisations (GONGOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and think tanks.

FROM TTR ISSUE 39 - OCTOBER 2016

Center for American Progress

Moving beyond "us vs them" politics: how progressives should respond to the rise of right-wing nationalism

by Matt Browne [@GlobalProgresMB](#) and John Halpin

6 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

Since the global financial crisis of 2008, right-wing populist, nationalist, and anti-establishment movements have steadily gained strength across Europe and in the US. This expanding influence is evident most recently with the presidential election in Austria, the Brexit vote in favour of the UK leaving the EU, and the Republican presidential nomination of Donald Trump in the US.

Latvijas Ārpolitikas institūts (Latvian Institute of International Affairs) / Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Euroscepticism in small EU Member States

by Karlis Bukovskis (ed.) [@KarlisBukovskis](#)

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (160 p.)

The publication "Euroscepticism in Small EU member states" is an effort by an international team of analysts to address the Euroscepticism phenomenon in small EU member states. It draws the general conclusions that the observed small countries of different enlargement periods, in particular, Luxembourg, Ireland, Portugal, Finland, Latvia, Bulgaria and Croatia, are realists in terms of reckoning the political and economic gains from the membership and future amendments of the EU policies. Although Eurosceptic ideas are not unfamiliar in any of the countries, calls for exiting the EU are marginalised.

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Germany's political center is stronger than it looks

by Timo Lochocki [@TLochocki](#)

22 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

The refugee crisis has been portrayed as a possible breaking point for Angela Merkel's chancellorship. With rising support for the right-wing populist Alternative for Germany (AfD) and big wins at recent regional elections, it seems Germany is falling prey to the political instability seen in other European states. However, the numbers of incoming refugees have dropped significantly and the economic costs of integration appear manageable. Thus if established German parties craft strategies to reclaim conservative voters, they can halt, and even reverse, the rise of the right-wing populist party.

FROM TTR ISSUE 40 - NOVEMBER 2016

European Policy Centre

The enemy within: are modern European democracies afraid of introspection?

by Corina Stratulat

17 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

Many European citizens are disengaging from conventional politics and joining those professing moral outrage against many alleged culprits behind national decline. While this trend is clearly linked to substantial contemporary political and economic problems and insecurities, the inflammatory rhetoric in which it is coached follows a slippery slope to democratic subversion. This paper argues that the road to dealing with challenges starts from democratic societies' own willingness to demonstrate capacity for reflection and renewal, rigorously in line with the liberal principles and values that warrant its politics the democratic name.

EU@60 - Countering a regressive and illiberal Europe

by Janis A. Emmanouilidis [@jaemmanouilidis](#) and Fabian Zuleeg [@FabianZuleeg](#)

13 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (49 p.)

In this paper, drafted as an input to the discussions at the EPC Strategic Council and the [EPC's 20th Anniversary Conference](#) on 13 October 2016, the authors discuss the future of the European project, and what's actually at stake; not only the fate of an international institution, but something more significant – it is about our way of life; it is about being an open, free, cooperative, internationalist and inclusive Europe.

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations)

"Das Volk" und "Die da oben"

by Julie Hamann

10 October 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (5 p.)

Against "the system" and "the elite": Europe is affected with a rare amplitude by a societal division between the political class and the people. Populist parties are rising through an emotionalisation of politics and reach their voters with dialectics of fear and mistrust. Whilst a loss of trust in politics is by far no unknown phenomenon the question arises why it is today stronger than before?

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Aktuelle Entwicklungen der Wahlbeteiligung in Europa

by Arne Cremer

October 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (12 p.)

The public discourse in Germany focuses increasingly on the relationship between voter turnout and an alleged crisis of the German democracy. Nevertheless, other European countries experience a similar phenomenon. This paper compares turnouts in European states and ask the question if there is a broader, a European, crisis of democracy.

Fondation pour l'innovation politique

Le Front national en campagnes. Les agriculteurs et le vote FN

by Eddy Fougier [@eddyfougier](#) and Jérôme Fourquet

26 October 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (56 p.)

The farmers' vote in the 2017 presidential election should be scrutinised because there has been a notable rise in popularity of the ideas of the National Front in the agricultural world since the early 2000s. Different factors seem to explain this phenomenon: farmers' disappointment with politicians, the impression of being victim of an economic change linked to globalisation, a feeling of social downgrading, the perception of an insecurity, the progression of a euroscepticism and a profound identity crisis crossed by the profession.

FROM TTR ISSUE 41 - DECEMBER 2016

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

Causas del rechazo a la globalización: más allá de la desigualdad y la xenofobia

by Miguel Otero Iglesias [@miotei](#) and Federico Steinberg [@Steinbergf](#)

22 November 2016

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (10 p.)

In this paper the authors propose five hypotheses that explain support for anti-establishment and anti-globalisation parties and movements. To the dominant perception that the economic decline of the middle classes and the growing xenophobia prevailing in the West explain Donald Trump's victory in the US, Brexit, or the rise of the National Front in France, among others, the authors add three other causes: difficult digestion that large sections of the population are making of technological change, the crisis of the welfare state and growing disenchantment with representative democracy.

Forum for research on Eastern Europe and Emerging Economies (FREE Network)

The economic track record of pious populists – Evidence from Turkey

by Erik Meyersson [@emeyersson](#)

19 November

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

The author summarises recent research on the economic track record of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey. The central finding is that Turkey under AKP grew no faster in terms of GDP per capita when compared with a counterpart constructed using the Synthetic Control Method (SCM).

FROM TTR ISSUE 42 - JANUARY 2017

Fundación Alternativas

Los partidos antielitistas tras la recesión de 2008

by Enrique Hernández [@EHernandezPe](#) and Guillem Vidal [@quillevidal](#)

December 2016

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (21 p.)

During the last decades, and especially since 2008, Europe has experienced a political change as a result of the fall of the vote in the traditional parties in favour of new parties characterised as populist, anti-elitist or protest. The phenomenon has deep roots linked to the changes brought about by globalisation, inequality and the loss of state sovereignty in economic and migratory politics. But there are also more recent explanations related to the dissatisfaction of the citizens with the management of the governments of the economic crisis that began in 2008.

Fondation Robert Schuman

The "populist moment": towards a "post-liberal" Europe?

by Thierry Chopin

13 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.) and in [French](#) (9 p.)

Brexit and the election of Donald Trump raised many concerns in Europe. National contexts are specific and differ from one country to another; it is however hard not to associate the vote in the US with the British referendum. Undoubtedly there are also some shared features in the US and the UK which set them apart from continental Europe: both countries were at the origin of the neo-liberal revolution in the 1980's with the rise to power of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher; it is there that the financial crisis was born, this is also where social clashes are much more violent than elsewhere, and in all events, more violent than in the countries on continental Europe.

DEMOS

Digital citizens: countering extremism online

by Louis Reynolds and Ralph Scott [@ralphascott](#)

12 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (142 p.)

Education for digital citizenship is not just an effective way to increase the resilience of young people to extremism. It can create more critical citizens, informed consumers and community-minded social media users. The paper analyses critical thinking skills, digital citizenship and how social media has changed the way we communicate.

FROM TTR ISSUE 43 - FEBRUARY 2017

LUISS School of European Political Economy

European integration & populism: addressing Dahrendorf's quandary

by Marco Buti and Karl Pichelmann

30 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

At a time when populist parties are riding on the coat tails of a backlash against globalisation rooted in both economic and cultural causes, the European project seems to be the perfect culprit. Its decision-making process, while anchored in the representation of both Member States and the citizens, appears as even more disconnected than national institutions. Solving the inconsistencies

and embracing the European project for what it is, namely a democratic endeavour to preserve and strengthen values shared by all European traditions, is even more essential in a time where international cooperation seems to be fading away.

Centre international de formation européenne

Beyond populism: why the European Union needs to engage into identity politics

by Matthias Waechter

10 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (3 p.)

More or less all observers would agree that 2016 was a tough year, if not an *annus horibilis* for European integration, with the first case in its history of a member state deciding to leave the EU on the basis of a referendum and eurosceptical parties. Many journalists and academic analysts create a link between the faltering public support for European integration and an allegedly rising phenomenon in democratic politics: populism.

Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

Illiberal democracies in the EU: the Visegrad group and the risk of disintegration

by Pol Morillas (ed.) [@polmorillas](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (76 p.)

According to this study, the Visegrad Group (V4) countries have largely shifted to self-described "illiberal democracies" that mark a turn away from political liberalism, with some countries consolidating extraordinary government prerogatives and limiting constitutional provisions that once nurtured an environment promoting the rule of law and a free and open society. These countries' disillusionment over the handling of recent crises has created a backlash in which the V4 is challenging the decisions made in Brussels while at the same time still benefiting greatly from EU membership, particularly through structural and cohesion funds.

Center for European Neighborhood Studies

Frontiers of democracy: embedding democratic values in Central and Eastern Europe - Good practices and limits of transferability

by Bogdan Mihai Radu and Zsuzsanna Végh [@VeghZsuzsanna](#) (eds.)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (128 p.)

This volume, focusing on embedding democratic values through the process of democratic transition in the four Visegrad countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) and in Ukraine and Moldova, is the outcome of the project titled "Frontiers of Democracy: Embedding Democratic Values in Moldova and Ukraine". Beyond a general overview about how democratic values become rooted in societies during transition and specifically during transition in Central and Eastern Europe, the chapters of this volume discuss youth political participation and socialisation, civic education, the role of media in democratisation and the development of values such as tolerance and diversity, or transparency and accountability.

FROM TTR ISSUE 44 - MARCH 2017

Demos

Nothing to fear but fear itself: mapping and responding to the rising culture and politics of fear in the European Union

by Sophie Gaston [@sophgaston](#) and Peter Harrison-Evans [@Pete_H_E](#)

14 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (458 p.) and to the [summary report](#) (84 p.)

There is a spectre haunting Europe: a culture and politics of fear, which asserts its growing influence in myriad ways. Most visibly, in the rise of far-right populist movements, the collapse of the social contract between citizens and political institutions, and in the proliferation of authoritarian and exclusionary rhetoric. This publication is the result of a pan-European project that has sought to capture a snapshot of the ways in which fear is manifesting in the social and political climate of six different member states: the UK, Germany, France, Spain, Poland and Sweden.

Policy solutions / Foundation for European Progressive Studies

The state of populism in Europe

by Tamás Boros [@BorosTamas_PS](#), Maria Freitas [@M_TellesFreitas](#), Tibor Kadlót and Ernst Stetter [@ernststetter](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (52 p.)

This publication surveys the popularity and influence of all populist parties in the EU's 28 member states.

The state of social democratic parties in Central and Eastern Europe

by András Bíró-Nagy [@bironagyandras](#), Tibor Kadlót, Sára Lafferton and Márton Lakner

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (67 p.)

This study presents the apparent similarities and differences in the region through case studies and a comparison of social democratic parties in seven Central and Eastern European countries (Austria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia). It covers the leading social democratic party of each country under review.

Fondation pour l'innovation politique

Le Front National face à l'obstacle du second tour

by Jérôme Jaffré

6 February 2017

Link to the article in [French](#) (52 p.)

In the majority system which characterises the Fifth French Republic, the second ballot recently changed nature. With a tri-dimensional political space, the long lasting left-right duel is no longer the absolute rule, nor even the dominant configuration. With the Front National rising in head in the first ballots, the results of the second ballot are no longer contained in those of the first one, while until now they were most of the time only confirming, even stressing the initial choice of the voters. This paper provide for an analysis of this new political configuration as if the glass ceiling which prevents the final victory of the extreme-right party would be constantly rising as its electoral progress grows.

The German Marshall Fund from the United States

The rise of the Front National: taking stock of ten years of French mainstream politics

by Martin Quencez, Martin Michelot [@martinmichelot](#) and Timo Lochocki [@TLochocki](#)

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

The growing influence of the Front National (FN) in French politics and the explanations for its success are playing a pivotal role in the upcoming 2017 French elections. Favourable economic and political contexts and a successful rebranding of the party are often emphasised to explain the current situation. However, the role of mainstream parties, and especially that of the two previous failed presidencies, has been largely underestimated. Even if the FN does not come to power in this election, it is likely to become the main menace in the French political system during the next presidency. Mainstream parties must understand their recent failures in order to avoid a deeper political crisis in the next five years, say the authors.

Terra Nova

Les conflits d'intérêts, nouvelle frontière de la démocratie

by Joël Moret-Bailly, Hélène Ruiz Fabri [@LN_Ruiz](#) and Laurence Scialom [@LaurenceScialom](#)

3 February 2017

Link to the article in [French](#) (70 p.)

Popular mistrust towards elites did not stop rising in the last years. According to the authors, one of the reasons for this mistrust is to be found in the proliferation of conflicts of interests. Learning lessons from French cases, this paper tends to draw general conclusions which are appreciable for any democracy.

Policy solutions

Political discrimination in Hungary: case studies from the Hungarian justice system, local government, media, agriculture, education and civil sector

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (56 p.)

This paper analyses, according to the authors, political discrimination against those Hungarians who have been opponents of the government's politics in the last few years. Although political and other types of discrimination are severely prohibited by Hungarian laws, and while freedom of expression is a right laid down in the constitution, it is not uncommon for the government to retaliate against those with opposing views. The case studies of the analysis illustrate the tools the Hungarian government uses against its own citizens, taking advantage of the fact that democratic functioning and the rule of law are often just pretences, as the government could eliminate "in time" many of the checks and balances that are supposed to protect its subjects.

Wise Europa / Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Heinrich Böll Foundation)

Beneath the surface of illiberalism: the recurring temptation of 'national democracy' in Poland and Hungary – with lessons for Europe

by Adam Balcer

13 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (67 p.)

In order to better understand the phenomenon of PiS in Poland and Fidesz in Hungary, the author analyses the historical trajectories of nation-building processes in both countries, the identity politics of both parties and their politics of memory. According to him, lessons that stem from these two case studies can serve as a 'warning call' for the rest of Europe.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

Demokratie als Enttäuschung - Transformationserfahrungen in Ungarn

by András Bíró-Nagy [@bironagyandras](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [German](#) (17 p.)

The majority of Hungarians hoped after 1989 that democracy would be their economic prosperity and social security. Rising unemployment, decreasing social mobility, greater social inequalities and the erosion of social stability made the legal parties like Fidesz easy after 2010 to change the basic democratic system of Hungary. According to the author, the Hungarian example can serve as an important lesson for other European countries: growing inequality as well as increasing and ignored social tensions can undermine the foundations of a democracy and trigger a revolt against the elite.

Le populisme de droite en Allemagne - Un défi pour la social-démocratie

by Ralf Melzer

December 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (8 p.)

Germany, like most other European countries, faces the installation of a right-wing populist party: the Alternative for Germany (AfD). The AfD exploits potential nationalist, xenophobic and racist views among the population. Moreover, its electoral successes have their origin in the diffuse protestatory climate that is currently observed. According to the author, faced with right-wing populists, the best response of social democracy is to reactivate and assume a clear identity, to show determination and empathy in the fight against inequalities and to defend the disadvantaged, whatever their origins.

Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)

AfD – the alternative for whom?

by Artur Ciechanowicz

10 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.) and in [Polish](#) (10 p.)

When in 2013 a group of professors of economics founded Alternative for Germany (AfD), their basic goal was to influence the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) so that it would return to its former conservative values. In about four years, the party gained an anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic profile and began to represent traditional non-voters, instead of disenfranchised voters from other parties. The consequences of this revolution on the political scene have already been evident at the federal state level. The AfD's presence in state parliaments forces other parties to establish alliances against it, which consequently prevents each of these parties from delivering on their electoral promises.

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

The Spanish exception: unemployment, inequality and immigration, but no right-wing populist parties

by Carmen González-Enríquez

14 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (42 p.)

Very few European countries have proven immune to the appeal of right-wing populism. One of the exceptions is Spain: despite economic crisis and fast-eroding political trust, Spain has not seen any right-wing populist party obtain more than 1% of the vote in national elections in recent years.

This paper tries to explain what might explain this remarkable absence of an electorally successful Spanish right-wing populist party.

FROM TTR ISSUE 45 - APRIL 2017

Policy Exchange

Global governance: The challenge to the UK's liberal democracy

by Jon Holbrook [@JonHolb](#) and James Allan

March 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (34 p.)

The authors analyse the discourse on global governance that has arisen following the emergence of rights-based treaties — such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights — and demonstrate that such a changing legal and political landscape has wide repercussions for the UK. Global governance has now become an influential principle in the UK's Supreme Court, and is embedded in government policy-making. At the same time, questions can be raised over the extent to which it can be democratic and is in keeping with certain principles of the rule of law.

Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute

Vivre ensemble face aux peurs: le dilemme politique français

by Yves Bertoncini [@ybertoncini](#) and Dídac Gutiérrez-Peris

16 March 2017

Link to the article in [French](#) (22 p.)

This paper was prepared on the basis of an exclusive poll by YouGov aiming to map out the fears in France and in five other EU member states (Germany, Spain, United Kingdom, Poland and Sweden), and their impact on political debates. It analyses the following points: (1) fear is a defining element of the French public debate; (2) the upcoming elections may allow the expression of a growing antipathy and determine if the Front National is seen as a possible recourse or another threat; (3) the euroscepticism of French people is not the expression of europhobia that will lead to the exit from the EU.

Terra nova

La triche électorale en ligne - Le nouveau territoire des campagnes numériques

by Jean-Baptiste Soufron [@soufron](#)

29 March 2017

Link to the article in [French](#) (17 p.)

The risks related to the digitisation of campaigns are growing, and France could be directly concerned. This study explores the new digital political campaigns.

Sortie de l'euro: les petits paieront!

16 March 2017

Link to the article in [French](#) (13 p.)

This study presents in detail the consequences of an exit from the euro, one of the themes of the campaign of Marine Le Pen. The Front National has made this topic one of its campaign issues relying on the interest of the working class to justify the restoration of national sovereignty on monetary matters. However, leaving the euro would be far from being in the interest of the working class: it would be even extremely unfavourable.

La France de Marine Le Pen: affaiblie, isolée, divisée

by Andréa Forseti, Antoine Hardy and Marc-Olivier Padis [@Mo_Padis](#)

30 March 2017

Link to the article in [French](#) (25 p.)

This study analyses the 144 presidential commitments made by Marine Le Pen, as well as her public interventions.

Fondation Robert Schuman

Emmanuel Macron and Marine Le Pen running easily ahead in the polls just one month before the presidential election in France

by Corinne Deloy

28 March 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.) and in [French](#) (7 p.)

On 23 April, 46.6 million French voters and 1.3 million living elsewhere in the world are being called to vote in the first round of the presidential election. The two candidates who come out ahead on the eve of 23 April will face each other in a second round of voting that will take place two weeks later on 7 May. The presidential election will be followed on 11 and 18 June by general elections that will lead to the renewal of the 577 members' seats in the National Assembly, the lower chamber of parliament.

La Vie des Idées

Sur le Front d'Avignon - Quelques leçons sur les élections régionales de 2015

by Christèle Marchand-Lagier and Jessica Sainty

21 March 2017

Link to the article in [French](#) (15 p.)

Who votes for the Front National? Not necessarily the 'excluded'. A survey made in Avignon during the regional elections of 2015 shows a socially mixed profile of the Front National voters.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Der Front National: 'Erfolg und Perspektiven der 'stärksten Partei Frankreichs'

by Ronja Kempin [@RonjaKempin](#)

March 2017

Link to the article in [German](#) (30 p.)

France will elect on 23 April and on 7 May 2017, the President of the Republic, and the members of the National Assembly in June. Pollsters predict that the Front National leader Marine Le Pen will be present in the second round of the presidential elections and that the Front National will guarantee a number of mandates in the legislative elections. This paper analyses the success and prospects of the Front National.

Institut pro evropskou politiku EUROPEUM (EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy)

The rise of the Front National: Taking stock of ten years of French mainstream politics

by Martin Quencez and Martin Michelot [@martinmichelot](#)

March 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

This paper argues that although Marine Le Pen's internal strategy to transform the party's image and to design a coherent anti-liberal project has increased its influence in the French political landscape, its seemingly unstoppable rise is best understood by the ability of the FN to take

advantage of four key conditions. First, its anti-establishment discourse has thrived due to the general lack of clear political alternatives; second, anti-liberal promises made by mainstream parties have not been delivered; third, the FN has managed to appear as a victim of the media system; finally, the depreciation of the presidential function during the last ten years has weakened the traditional bipartisanship and helped the FN emerge as a credible alternative.
