European **Political**
Strategy Centre

10 TRENDS

SHAPING | DEMOCRACY

IN A | VOLATILE | WORLD

10 TRENDS SHAPING DEMOCRACY IN A VOLATILE WORLD

FROM	TO
Democratic expansion	Democratic backsliding
'Catch-all' parties cutting across cleavages	Complex power-sharing amid rise of polarising challenger parties
Checks and balances	'Populocracy' gaining ground
Rules-based multilateral order	Rise of 'border sovereignty'
Primacy of liberal democratic model	Global competition of systems
9 o'clock news narrative in newspapers, radio and TV	24/7 news streaming and social media
Propaganda	Weaponisation of disinformation
Evidence-based policymaking and governance	Greater potential for data abuse
Progress in gender equality and diversity	Cultural backlash as diversity reshapes policy
Voter apathy	Citizen engagement and democratic innovations

Source: European Political Strategy Centre

DEMOCRACY IS NOT JUST ABOUT ELECTIONS
KEY ELEMENTS OF THE NATIONAL ECOSYSTEM

Democracy

Popular Control, Accountability and Peaceful Transfer of Power

Representative Government
- Inclusive Suffrage
- Free Political Parties
- Free and Fair Elections
- Elected Government

Participatory Engagement
- Local Democracy
- Freedom to Enter Political Life
- Electoral Participation
- Civil Society Participation

Fundamental Rights & Rule of Law
- Access to Justice
- Civil Liberties
- Social Rights and Equality

Impartial Administration
- Predictable Enforcement
- Absence of Corruption
- Evidence-informed policymaking

Checks on Government
- Free and Independent Media
- Judicial Independence
- Effective Parliament

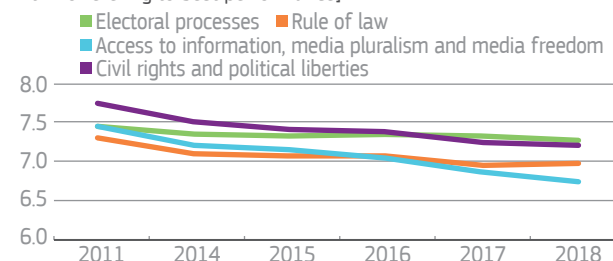Source: Adapted from IDEA, the global state of Democracy initiative

TREND 1

DEMOCRACY
UNDER | PRESSURE

*Trust in democracy falters as its
'critical infrastructure' comes under strain*

- The world today is without a doubt more democratic than at any point during the past century. Yet, numerous indices and reports today converge in the finding that democratic progress is being undermined the world around – including in Europe.

- Although the majority of countries in the world (99) are today deemed democratic,[1] a study by the Economist Intelligence Unit considers that **only 4.5% of the world population are living in 'full democracies'**.[2] This includes 11 EU countries. The remaining Member States are classified as '**flawed democracies**', meaning that although basic civil liberties are found to be respected, shortcomings remain on governance, with e.g. low levels of political participation, or infringements on media freedom.

- A report by Freedom House also finds that, while 21 countries around the world have made progress on democracy over the past ten years,[3] **almost one third of the world's population lives in countries undergoing democratic erosion or 'autocratisation'**.[4] Indeed, this is the case in some of the world's most populous democracies, such as Brazil, India and the United States, as well as in some European countries.[5]

- Other data from the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance finds that **the quality of democracy is declining in as many as 24 out of 28 EU Member States**.[6] While electoral institutions and practices remain robust (or are even improving), media freedom, freedom of expression and alternative sources of information (including academia and civil society), as well as the rule of law, are under pressure.

- In other words, **it is in the non-electoral 'soft spots' of democracy, where there is less immediate scrutiny, that governments are limiting democratic space**.[7]

Quality of democracy slipping even in EU

Evolution of sub-indexes for EU and OECD countries [from 1 to 10, with 10 refering to best performance]

- ■ Electoral processes ■ Rule of law
- ■ Access to information, media pluralism and media freedom
- ■ Civil rights and political liberties

Source: Bertelsmann Stiftung's Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI)

Note: 'Electoral Processes' sub-index covers: candidacy procedures, media access, voting & registration rights, party financing & popular decision-making. 'Rule of Law' covers: legal certainty, judicial review, appointment of Justices, corruption prevention. 'Access to Information' covers: media freedom & pluralism, access to government information. 'Civil Rights and Political Liberties' covers: civil rights, political liberties & non-discrimination.

Liberal Democracy Index, change per country, 2008-2018

- ■ Increased by 1-10%
- ■ Decreased by 1-10%
- ■ Decreased by 10-20%
- ■ Decreased by 20-40%
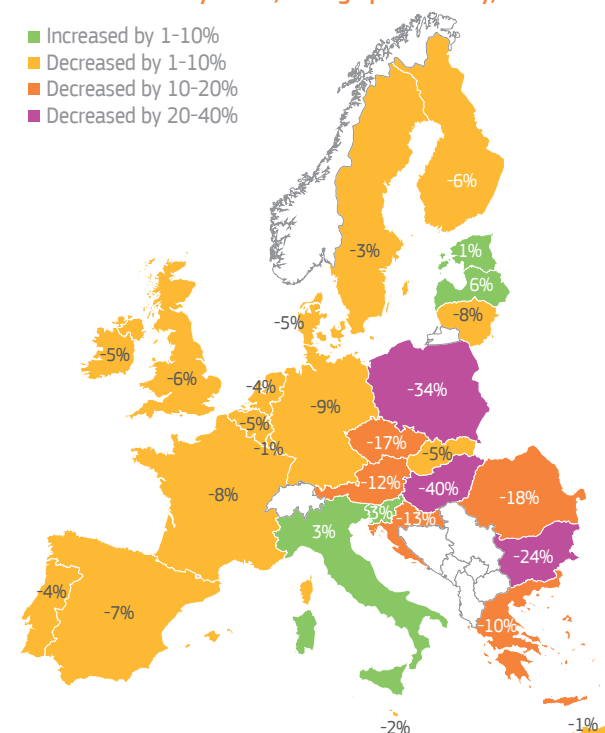
Source: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

Note: Index composed of 5 indicators: electoral practice, freedom of expression & media, civil society, rule of law, checks on the executive.

- Even though, overall, **Europe continues to be the continent that best guarantees media freedom and pluralism**, it has seen its **score for press freedom deteriorate by 20.5% from 2013 to 2019**.[8] Anti-media rhetoric is growing, while the work of Europe's investigative reporters is increasingly obstructed – not to mention dangerous. Recent years have seen rising numbers of verbal and physical attacks, pressure and intimidation, stigmatisation and judicial harassment, as well as violence and even murder.

- Similarly, although Europe is the world's best performing region in terms of controlling and tackling corruption,[9] notable differences subsist between Member States, and **large-scale corruption remains a persistent or even growing problem in some EU countries.**[10] Corruption is a major concern of EU citizens: In 2017, 68% of surveyed EU citizens considered it to be widespread in their country,[11] while only 36% are satisfied with the fight against corruption.[12] Indeed, **the cost of corruption is far greater than its monetary value**: by diverting public spending away from priorities such as education, healthcare, and effective infrastructure, it undermines the ability of the state to promote sustainable and inclusive growth – thereby further undercutting trust in democratic institutions.[13]

- Finally, **some Member States have also been home to systemic threats to the rule of law**[14] – one of the founding values of the Union, with citizens increasingly concerned about lack of independence of courts and judges.[15]

THE TRUST CHALLENGE

- Dissatisfaction with political parties is hardly new. Over the last 20 years, overall **trust in political parties remained more or less steady, at the very low level of 20%.** Yet, what has been changing is overall levels of trust in democratic institutions. **Trust in parliaments and governments in Europe fell from around 55% in 1994 to 40% in 2017**.[16]

- More broadly, the share of Europeans who are satisfied with the way democracy works has been on a downward slide over the past decade. While this may be linked to backtracking on democratic principles, studies also show a clear correlation between lack of trust in politics and institutions, and **perceptions of a deteriorating economic situation**[17] **– as evidenced during the financial and economic crisis of the past decade**.

- Disillusionment with politics is also particularly high amongst citizens in lower income categories. In the 2014 European elections, turnout among the middle class was on average 26.4% higher than among the working class – across all Member States.[18] **People who feel more socially marginalised are more likely to also feel alienated from mainstream politics**, to abstain from voting, and to support radical parties.[19]

Dissatisfaction with the way democracy works has risen in the EU

Responses to the question 'On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in your country and the EU? (Share of respondents, %)
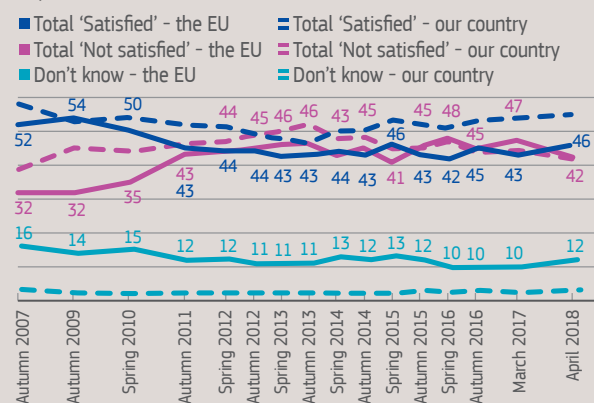
Source: Eurobarometer, 2018

Dissatisfaction with democracy goes hand in hand with negative views of the current economy
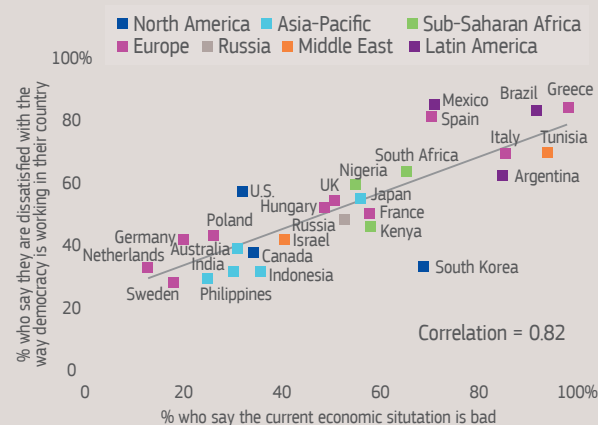
Source: Pew Research Center

TREND 2

PARTY LANDSCAPE IN FLUX

Power-sharing is the new normal in ever-more fragmented and polarised political systems

- In many EU Member States, **the ability of traditional, 'catch-all' parties to pool broad support across cleavages is in steep decline**. While such parties collectively garnered on average 60% of the votes in Western European counties in 1985, they obtained under 40% in 2015 – with some large parties suffering particularly heavy losses (*e.g. Christian-Democratic Party in Italy, Parti Socialiste in France, PASOK in Greece)*.[20]

- **Party identification is weaker among the electorate**, **with greater numbers choosing to vote on issues**, rather than on the basis of affiliation.

- Similarly, traditional parties have seen a continued **drop in membership** – both in absolute numbers and as a share of the electorate, with only a handful exceptions.[21]

- In parallel, the past two decades have seen the **rise of challenger parties and new movements – sometimes 'one-man' affairs – often seizing on ideational and cultural cleavages in society.**

- No less than 70 new parties and political alliances emerged in the EU between 2013 and 2018, often issue-based.[22] **These have become increasingly successful in 'catching' the mainstream.** This trend is facilitated by **falling 'costs of entry' enabled by new digital tools and social media**.

- **Political systems** that used to be monopolised by two or three parties, alternating in power, are instead **increasingly fragmented**, with a growing number of parties receiving more than 1% of the vote, and **winning parties rarely obtaining over one third of the overall vote**.
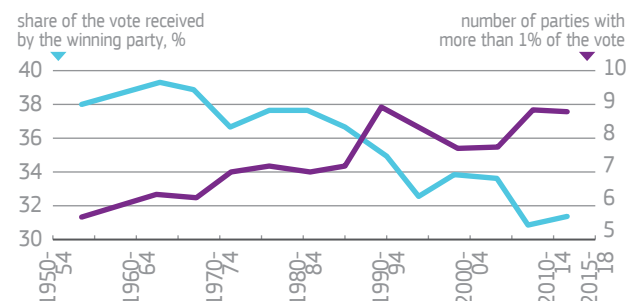
Catch-all parties in steep decline

Mean of aggregated vote share
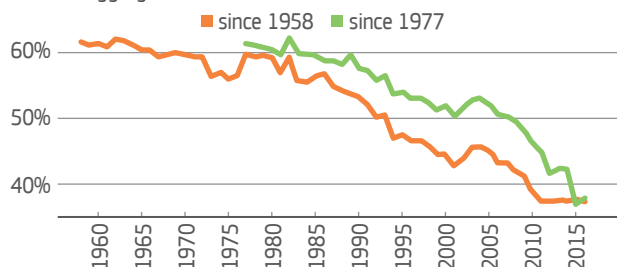
Note: Based on an analysis of traditional (mainly Christian democratic and social-democratic) parties in nine western EU countries.
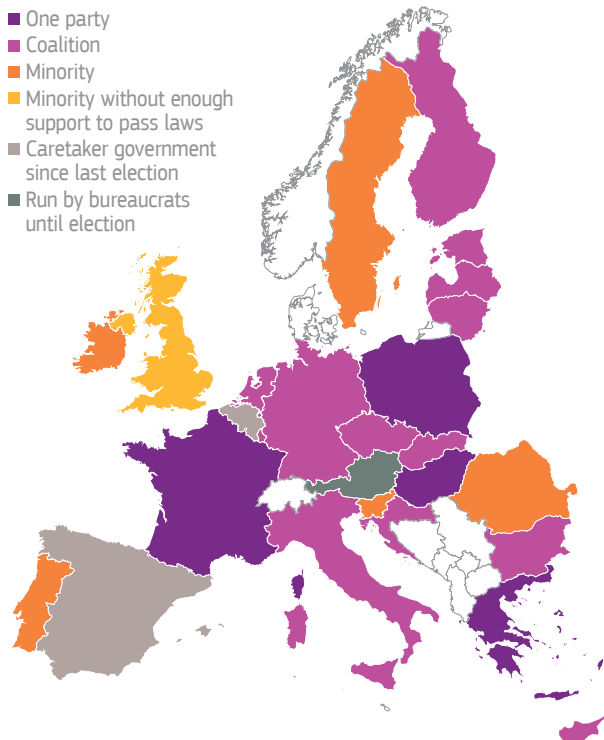Source: WZB Data Bank: Elections, Parties, Governments

Europe's political landscape is increasingly fragmented

Source: Economist Intelligence Unit, ParlGov, updated by EPSC

Today, single-party governments are the exception

- One party
- Coalition
- Minority
- Minority without enough support to pass laws
- Caretaker government since last election
- Run by bureaucrats until election

Source: Bloomberg, September 2019

- This growing fragmentation of the electorate and the political system makes it harder for political parties to aggregate citizens' demands and interests and translate them in political debates and policy decisions.

- **Coalition governments are more frequent, and, in a context of rising polarisation, their formation takes longer, and their longevity is under constant pressure.**[23] For instance, if on average between 1950 and 1995 it took 92 days in the Netherlands to form a government, 40 in Belgium, or 25 in Germany, recently it required respectively 225 days to form a Dutch government in 2017, 541 to form a Belgian government in 2011[24] and 136 days to form the current German government.

- Rising fragmentation also means the **turnover of elected representatives has become higher**. As an example, out of 751 MEPs of the new European Parliament, 435 are new to it, compared to 364 in 2014.[25] This is the highest ever rate of turnover for the European Parliament following an election.[26]

MINORITY GOVERNMENTS: MORE FREQUENT, LESS STABLE

- Many countries have long been practitioners of minority governments. One example is Spain, where 73% of governments have operated in minority since the 1970s.[27]

- Yet, an increasingly fragmented and polarised party landscape is making it increasingly challenging for minority governments to survive.

- Previously, parties forming a minority government would typically control a large number of seats – giving them strong negotiating position. Furthermore, the political ideologies of other parties required to obtain majorities were generally not too distant, depending on the issue. Today, winning parties are on weaker ground, with fewer votes, and are faced with multiple small parties, with varied – sometimes conflicting – objectives, making it much harder to reconcile political priorities.

- As an illustration of this: Between 1982 and 2015, Spain's minority governments performed almost as well as majority ones, approving 88% of their bills and lasting 3.51 years, compared to 89% and 3.56 years for majority ones. In contrast, the Popular Party government of Prime Minister Rajoy, formed after the 2016 elections, lasted only 575 days, while the Socialist government of Prime Minister Sánchez, formed in 2018, lasted only 326 days before early elections were held in April 2019.[28] To date, these have not yielded a new government, with new elections now foreseen in November 2019, reflecting the challenge of adapting to a new normal of coalition building across multiple parties.

- Repeated elections, as a result of weak electoral mandates – and difficulty to form a government, either minority or coalition – has added to voter fatigue and undermined confidence in democracy. This also forces political parties to be in perpetual campaign mode, with ramifications on their ability to govern.

TREND 3

POPULOCRACY ON THE RISE

'Us against them' is winning elections, posing systemic challenges

- **Populist narratives have become increasingly effective at harnessing voter dissatisfaction throughout Europe** in recent years, fuelled by the economic hardship of the crisis years, widening inequalities, fears of globalisation and migration, and a failure to cushion against fast-paced labour market transformations.

- Populist parties[29] **more than tripled their support in just two decades, capturing more voters and an increasingly diverse electoral basis**.

- Moreover, they secured enough votes to put their leaders into the governments of 11 European countries over that time (1998-2018).[30] While in 1998, only 12.5 million Europeans lived in a country with at least one populist cabinet member, in 2018 that figure has risen more than tenfold, to 170.2 million.[31]

- Populism can take various forms, on either side of the political spectrum. Common traits nonetheless include: **organised confrontation and polarisation around the line of division between 'the people' and 'the others'**,[32] anti-pluralism; a belief that **nothing should constrain the will of the 'true people'**; and a tendency to **blur the lines between facts, half-facts and fiction**, increasingly exploiting the potential offered by social media. Another frequent characteristic of populism is the surge of so-called 'strong men' as political leaders, exhibiting a certain nostalgia for a seemingly golden age.[33]

Europe's far-right and far-left see big gains

Combined vote share by year for 31 European countries, 1998-2018
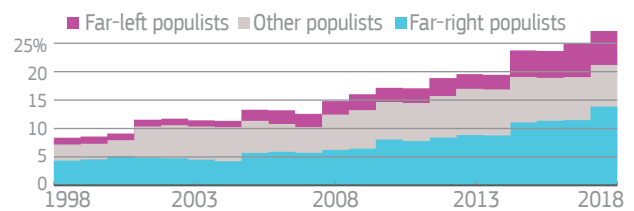
Source: *The Guardian*

- **Once in government, populists regularly use their democratic mandate to undermine the very institutions that got them into office in the first place**, for instance by compromising judicial independence or media freedom. The philosophy of 'majoritarianism' that drives populism can lead to a backtracking on rights and protections of minority groups, undermining checks and balances. Finally, their systematic use of propaganda – in some cases combined with ownership of printed and audiovisual media – helps to spread a uniform way of thinking and talking in public.[34]

- This rising influence of populists, combined with a new digital culture that encourages citizens to expect and demand immediacy, ease of access and a right to constant expression, is thereby fundamentally reshaping democracy, suggesting the **emergence of a new era of 'populocracy' that the political sphere needs to adapt to more broadly**.[35]

Three ways that populists frame 'us vs them' conflict

	Cultural populism	Socio-economic populism	Anti-establishment populism
The people	'Native' members of the nation-state	Hard-working, honest members of the working class (potentially transcending national boundaries)	Hard-working, honest victims of a state run by special interests
The others	Non-natives, criminals, ethnic and religious minorities, cosmopolitan elites	Big business, capital owners, foreign or 'imperial' forces that prop up an international capitalist system	Political elites who represent their own interests
Key themes	Emphasis on religious traditionalism, law and order, national sovereignty, migrants as enemies	Anti-capitalism, working-class solidarity, foreign business interests as enemies, often joined with anti-Americanism	Purging the state from corruption, reform of legal systems, challenging supra-national institutions and the rules-based international order

Source: Adapted from Kyle & Gultchin, 'Populists in Power Around the World', Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, November 2018

FROM ANGER TO ACTION

- Recent collapses of some populist government coalitions in Europe, as well as a downturn in populists' electoral successes in a number of regions and countries, have led some to talk of **'peak populism'** in Europe.[36]

- This trend is unconfirmed to date, but what is clear is that, after decades of decline, **turnout is rising again in a number of regional and national elections**, pointing to an increased mobilisation of voters either to support or vote against populist parties.[37]

- This was particularly evident at the European level, with the May 2019 elections achieving the highest turnout in twenty years. Many interpret this as a wake-up call, largely driven by younger generations.[38] Nonetheless, there remains significant room for improvement as turnout in six Member States remained well below one third of eligible voters.

Turnout in European elections is significantly back up

Turnout in elections to the European Parliament over the past 20 years (%)

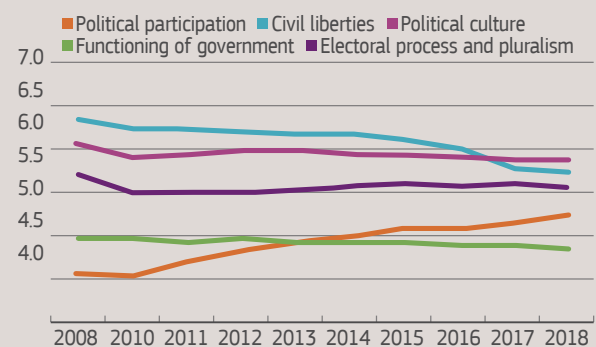Source: European Parliament

Political participation on the rise despite democratic disillusionment

Based on 167 countries and 60 indicators
10 = most democratic

Source: Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index 2018

GROWING TENSION BETWEEN MULTILATERALISM AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

The rise of 'border sovereignty' coincides with an increasing number of challenges becoming more global and transnational

- **The 20th century was spent constructing the building blocks of global governance**, with the creation of international institutions like the United Nations and the World Trade Organization, aimed at finding common solutions to shared challenges that transcend borders.
- **The European Union has taken this process even further**, adopting a supra-national system of governance, whereby Member States share sovereignty in certain areas and agree to transfer some competences, such as trade, to the European level.

- **However, recently the rules-based multilateral order has come under pressure**, and is increasingly being questioned by governments and citizens alike. The US retreat from a number of international organisations serves as a clear illustration of this. Europe is not immune to these developments, as shown by Brexit, and the UK's effort to 'take back control'.
- While the **creation of a complex landscape of international and supranational institutions and arrangements** created many opportunities, it also came with perceived trade-offs in terms of national sovereignty, grassroots participation and transparency of the decision-making process.

Governance choices and their impact on the nation-state

| Governance powers / Governance level	Civil society	Public sector	Private sector
Global and supra-national	International NGOs and networks of activists Social movements	International institutions, organisations or alliances Regional organisations EU institutions	Multinationals
National	National interest groups National NGOs and movements Voluntary societies and associations	**Nation-State** - National legislature - Executive and core state bureaucracy - National Judiciary	Privatisation of state sector assets Employers' and employees' associations
Regional and local	Local NGOs Local community and interest groups Citizen science	Political, fiscal and administrative decentralisation to local, regional or community elected bodies	Privatisation of regional and local sector assets

Source: European Political Strategy Centre

- The **upward diffusion of decision-making –** from parliaments to executives, and from national level to supranational, including powerful multinationals – meant that citizens were less able to identify with the bodies taking decisions on their behalf, thereby contributing to **a feeling of 'losing control', and weakening the connection between citizens and rule-makers**.

- **As the distance between citizens and international or supranational institutions grew, the space was often filled by a greater engagement at local and regional levels**, reflecting a desire to bring power closer to citizens.[39]

- At EU level, this has translated in the **creation of new mechanisms for cross-border regional cooperation**, without necessarily having to go directly or exclusively through national governments, or initiatives aimed at supporting **cooperation between local authorities and communities**.[40]

- It is also reflected in the growing number of bottom-up initiatives aimed at tackling global challenges. The EU Covenant of Mayors, launched in 2008 with a view to implementing EU climate and energy objectives has today gone global, bringing together 10,000+ cities and local governments, from 6 continents and 139 countries.

- Yet, in some countries, this trend is also accompanied by **calls for greater emancipation of certain regions** – or, even beyond that, **the rise of autonomist or secessionist movements**.

- This two-way tension on national governments – both upwards and downwards – has resulted in a **perception of hollowing out of national competences, which populists have purposefully stoked**, driving a return of **zero-sum nationalism, defensive re-territorialisation of power and 'border' sovereignty**.[41] It has also prompted calls for a retreat from global integration – including from the Europe Union.

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1 in 2 world citizens say international organisations are taking too much power away from their country

Share of respondents agreeing or agreeing strongly with the statement that international organisations are taking away too much power from their national government (%), 2003-2013
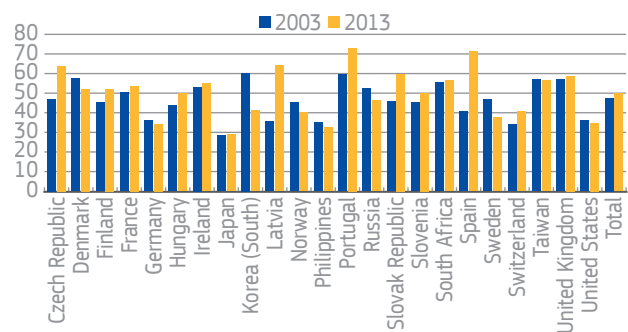
Source: International Social Survey Programme's National Identity module


PARADOXES OF POWER

- **The shift away from transnational cooperation is happening despite the fact that the world is rapidly becoming more interconnected**, blurring lines between internal and external policy issues.

- The world's biggest challenges today increasingly relate to the Global Commons – the atmosphere, oceans, polar regions, space and cyberspace – all of which run across state boundaries, and require multilateral cooperation and strategies.

- Oftentimes, **citizens are aware of the need for collective action to solve complex issues**. At EU level, for instance, global issues such as climate change or economy were key voting drivers at the last European elections in most countries.[42] And, indeed, 67% of Europeans think that their country has benefited from being a member of the EU.[43]

TREND 5

## THE RETURN OF COMPETITION BETWEEN SYSTEMS

Alternatives to liberal democracy are on the rise
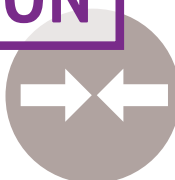
- **For decades, there was a broad assumption that the Western liberal democratic model was superior and would therefore ultimately spread to other parts of the world**. Not only were democratic values, rights and freedoms deemed a cut above those of other systems, but western democracies were also at the forefront of economic development and innovation. The collapse of communism in the 1990s appeared to confirm the dominance of the Western democratic model, leaving it without any serious rivals, and opening the door to the EU's enlargement towards Central and Eastern European countries.

- However, **more recently, the ability of Western democracies to ensure widespread prosperity and stability for their citizens has been called into question**. Although Europe's comprehensive social welfare models have created one of the most equal societies worldwide, many are dissatisfied with the benefits and services they get given the contributions they pay. Slow GDP growth, hovering around 1-2%, combined with a failure to reform public service delivery, has added to the stress, undermining government's ability to redistribute wealth, leading to rising inequality and, with it, a greater questioning of democracy. Terrorism, uncontrolled migration and cross-border crime have added additional strain on societal cohesion.

- In parallel, countries like China and India have raised hundreds of millions out of poverty, building up growing **middle classes**. The rapid rise of China, in particular – with its authoritarian, semi-capitalist, one-party model, where personal freedoms remain limited – is challenging past assumptions. Indeed, it is seen by many as **proof that economic success, and the capability to innovate and to project influence at the global level are not necessarily correlated with democratic governance**.

- If China's model proves sustainable over the long term, it has the potential to reshape standards, preferences and, ultimately, values, worldwide.[44]

- Aware of the potential appeal of its model for other like-minded countries, **China is actively seeking to promote it abroad, investing heavily in its tools of influence** – be it with its Belt and Road initiative and other regional diplomatic initiatives, or through cultural, media, and academic programmes aimed at popularising the China model as a competitive alternative to Western political liberalism.

- China is not alone: at the G20 summit in June 2019, for instance, Russian President Vladimir Putin declared that 'modern liberalism' had become 'obsolete'.[45] **Russia has also spearheaded attempts to undermine democracies** – particularly in Europe – and to sway electoral results, using online disinformation campaigns and cyberattacks.

- But, perhaps more broadly, citizens around the world appear increasingly **ready to compromise on certain freedoms and rights in return for economic advancement, security and stability**.

- **Nevertheless, despite their current ascent, authoritarian countries remain fragile**, **in particular owing to their dependence on supressing minority voices, silencing freedom of expression and locking up dissidents**. And in Russia's case, also failing to deliver any economic advancement in recent years.

- **While the verdict is out as to which system will prove more successful over time, there is some evidence that democratisation leads to stronger economic growth in the longer run**.[46] This is because democracies are more likely to embrace economic adjustments, attract higher private investment, actively seek to reduce social conflict, and offer greater civil liberties, a stronger rule of law and fairer justice systems. Conversely, autocracies vary a lot more in their economic performance than democracies do.[47] This suggests that if run well they can succeed economically, but that they are also very vulnerable to corruption and vested interests.[48]

## Tide turning after 13 consecutive years of democratic decline worldwide?

While 2018 saw a reversal in the general trend, the number of countries with net declines in their overall score on democratic indexes continues to largely surpass those with net increases.
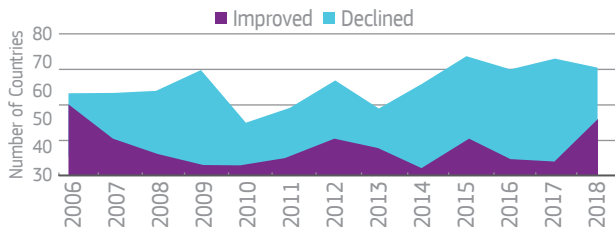
Source: Freedom House, Freedom in the World Report, 2019

Growing income inequality could lead to backlash in less democratic nations down the road
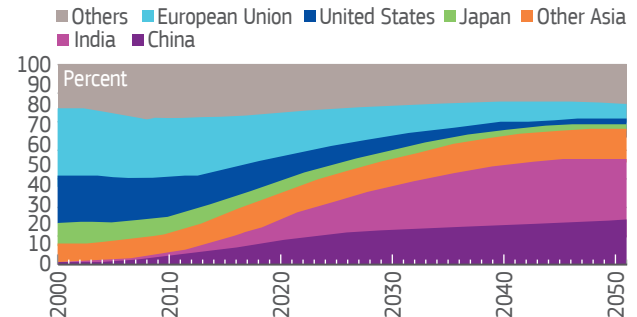
Shares of income going to the 10% wealthiest population
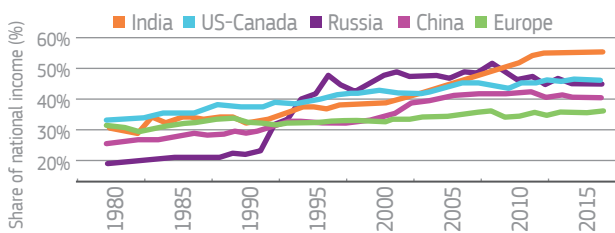
Source: World Inequality Report 2018

Growing Asian middle class to drive global demand — and values?

Shares of global middle-class consumption, 2000-2050

Source: Kharas, Homi, 'The Emerging Middle Class in Developing Countries', OECD Development Centre Working Paper

COMPETITION SPREADS TO MULTILATERAL GOVERNANCE

- Recent years have seen a multiplication of efforts aimed at reshaping international institutions, or even creating new ones in a bid to counter-balance the centrality of the Western-dominated Bretton Woods institutions or the World Trade Organization in global economic governance.[49]

- In July 2014, Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa — the BRICS — agreed to establish a new multilateral development bank, the New Development Bank (NDB). In October of the same year, China and 20 other Asian nations signed an agreement to create the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). These developments mirror a growing frustration with the inefficiencies of existing global institutions, as well as a shift in the global power balance: since 2000, the BRICS countries have seen their share in the world's (nominal) GDP grow from 8% to 22%, while the share of G7 countries has declined from 65% to 45%.[50]

- Yet, some also see this as a deliberate attempt to upend the rules-based, international order that guided the decades following World War II and to encourage a global realignment around the interests of illiberal, authoritarian states.

- In this state of intense geopolitical uncertainty, the EU has sought alignment with other likeminded democracies in an effort to jointly tackle the challenges of the 21st century, from protecting the environment and tackling climate change to ensuring regional stability and reaffirming the rules-based, international order. It has done so, for instance, by concluding bilateral and regional trade agreements as an alternative to a global agreement, which seems increasingly impossible given the unanimity requirement governing the WTO and its 164 members. Recent examples include the EU-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement, which entered into force in February 2019, and the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, which provisionally entered into force in September 2017.

TREND 6

24/7 | STREAMING | SOCIETY
DRIVES | TRUTH | DECAY

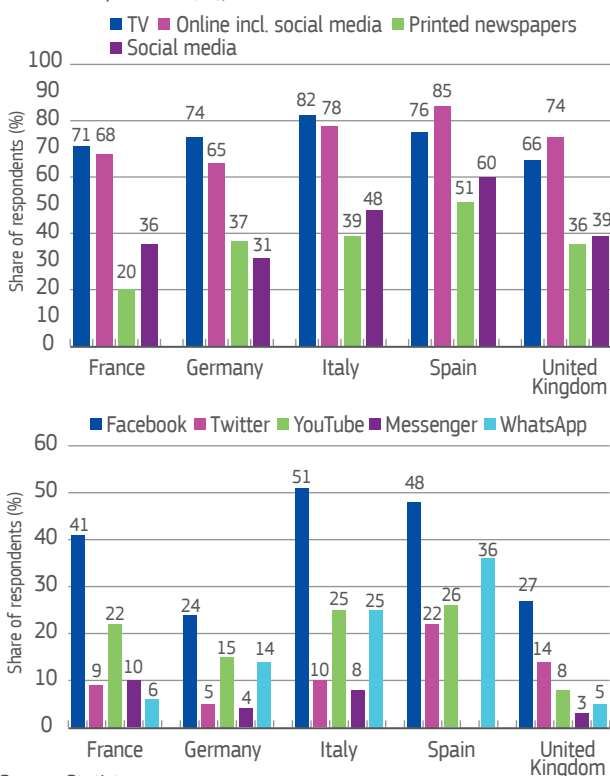*Separating fact from fiction has never been harder amid the current-day explosion of information*

- The media is one of the key pillars of democracy. It plays a critical role in informing citizens of public matters, in mobilising society's thinking process and shaping public – and political – opinions. But **digital technologies and social media are fundamentally reshaping the media landscape worldwide**.

- On the one hand, they have fostered **greater media diversity, freedom of expression, transparency and accountability**, and broader opportunities for accessing vast audiences. Sometimes described as 'liberation' or 'accountability' technologies,[51] they have enabled any citizen with a smartphone to document, disseminate and expose globally, in a matter of seconds, abuses of power or violations of

human rights, while also giving them a means to mobilise citizens both locally and across the globe for democratic protests.
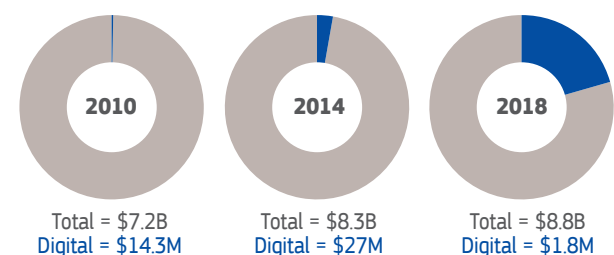
- At the same time, they have **accelerated the information cycle**, as access to breaking news at all hours of the day has become the new normal.

- And, as more and more people access their news online, **all-powerful news aggregation services** – whose algorithms have the proven potential to influence the way users are exposed to news and opinions – **have prospered**. Whilst television remains the most popular news source in Europe, more than a third of all citizens in France, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom now use social media for news consumption.[52] Today, 68% of online news is accessed through either Facebook or Google – rather than via the original news publishers themselves.[53]

- This shift has transformed business models in the media industry, **leaving traditional media bruised and struggling**: Newspaper circulation in Europe declined by 23% between 2008 and 2013.[54] Global spending on newspaper print ads shrunk to less than 10% of the market share, leaving print media with fewer resources and staff to invest in quality (investigative) journalism. Simultaneously, the pressure to move towards an ever-faster news cycle also often came **at the cost of quality and in-depth research**.

News sources and leading social networks used weekly for news

Share of respondents (%), 2017

Legend: TV, Online incl. social media, Printed newspapers, Social media

	France	Germany	Italy	Spain	United Kingdom
TV	71	74	82	76	66
Online incl. social media	68	65	78	85	74
Printed newspapers	20	37	39	51	36
Social media	36	31	48	60	39

Legend: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Messenger, WhatsApp

	France	Germany	Italy	Spain	United Kingdom
Facebook	41	24	51	48	27
Twitter	9	5	10	22	14
YouTube	22	15	25	26	8
Messenger	10	4	8		3
WhatsApp	6	14	25	36	5

Source: Statista

Share of digital advertising in political campaigns in the US

2010	2014	2018
Total = $7.2B	Total = $8.3B	Total = $8.8B
Digital = $14.3M	Digital = $27M	Digital = $1.8M

Source: Indianapolis Business Journal

- And, **while traditional media had, over the centuries, built up a healthy model of checks and balances**, with professional standards, editorial boards, or libel lawsuits, **no similar system existed to control what was posted online**. Anonymity allows anyone to report anything regardless of fact or accuracy, and reach hundreds of thousands of viewers / readers across borders. 'Faked majorities' have become an online commodity, with a few thousand euro sufficing to buy false followers, fans, likes, reposts, comments and videos.[55]

- Amid the resulting explosion of – sometimes dubious – information, audiences increasingly struggle to separate fact from fiction, making it harder for them to shape their political opinions. This new environment also contributes to a rising disinterest, disdain and even rejection of knowledge and evidence. Yet, **when people stop paying attention to news and no longer want to be informed, democracy is at grave risk**.[56]

- Of course, **there are different degrees of vulnerability across population groups, and across countries**. A lot depends on Internet and social media penetration rates, the media and political landscape (established media brands, degree of polarisation in politics and in the press, level of public trust in the media), the varying patterns of news consumption between traditional and digital media, as well as on age.[57]
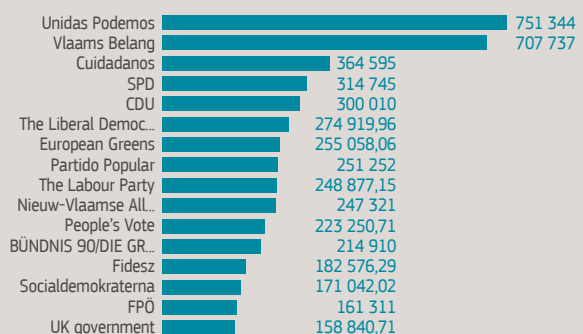
WHEN SOCIAL MEDIA BECOMES POLITICAL

- **Social media has become a core campaign tool**, with over a third of social media users following at least one politician or political party.[58] As such, it contributes to opening the political debate to audiences that may otherwise have remained disengaged. Yet, echoing real life, most users tend to follow politicians they already support,[59] thereby increasing the likelihood of 'echo chambers' that only reinforce existing opinions and biases.

- **Populist parties and movements have proven particularly deft at developing strategies to capture new audiences through social media**, putting in place permanent, targeted campaigns – often based on fear and polarisation, because these are the emotions that are most likely to attract attention and keep individuals online – in order to maintain and continuously grow their voter base. As a result, social media is helping to **amplify the voice of fringe groups, with less than 0.1% of users across Germany, France, Spain, Italy and Poland generating around 10% of content related to politics and the European elections around January 2019**.[60]

- **The share of political advertisement on digital platforms has also risen significantly**, as political parties adapt to the new ways citizens inform themselves – here again with populists in the lead.

- The Vote Leave campaign spent almost its entire budget on Facebook advertising in the 2016 Brexit referendum; the Flemish Vlaams Belang was top spender at the latest elections in Belgium and won significantly more votes than expected.

- These strategies are then **often complemented by attempts from politicians in some countries to undermine, control or throttle the independence of the media sector** when in power.[61] In some authoritarian countries, social media channels can even be blocked ahead of elections – be it to prevent the debate or its mass manipulation in the lead-up to the vote.

Populists are biggest spenders on digital advertising in political campaigns

Amounts spent between 1 March and 26 May 2019 in euro, excluding European Parliament (€3 million), Facebook (€1.4 million) and ads with clauses of non-responsability (€1.2 million).

Party	Amount
Unidas Podemos	751 344
Vlaams Belang	707 737
Cuidadanos	364 595
SPD	314 745
CDU	300 010
The Liberal Democ…	274 919,96
European Greens	255 058,06
Partido Popular	251 252
The Labour Party	248 877,15
Nieuw-Vlaamse All…	247 321
People's Vote	223 250,71
BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GR…	214 910
Fidesz	182 576,29
Socialdemokraterna	171 042,02
FPÖ	161 311
UK government	158 840,71

Notes: Spain and Belgium also held national / regional elections during this period, which partly explains higher levels of spending. Traditional parties nevertheless lag far behind top spenders in those countries.

Source: Facebook, European Data Journalism Network, VoxEurop

AI

FROM DISINFORMATION TO WEAPONISATION

Elections have become the new target of choice in attacking democracies

- **Disinformation is not only a profitable business;**[62] **it has become a political weapon** – one that can be used to publicly take out political rivals and gain an edge in electoral battles.

- There is evidence that **foreign actors, as well as non-state actors**, such as right-wing extremist groups and Islamic fundamentalists, **have been exploiting social media and online spaces to sow dissent towards democracy as a successful form of governance**, challenge democratic values and international norms, and promote political narratives which favour alternative, autocratic systems.

- Tactics include targeting specific social and demographic groups, including diaspora, with false or misleading information aimed at generating anger, **amplifying existing divisive issues and political fractures**, thereby fuelling polarisation and societal fragmentation, and eroding trust between governments and civil society.

- **Electoral periods have proven to be a particularly strategic and sensitive window of time for cyber-enabled attacks and campaigns**, with the volume of 'junk' news and disinformation shared on Twitter increasing drastically during election campaigns. Despite making up only a part of the online conversation, tweets containing false information have been shown to reach 1,500 people six times faster on average than accurate tweets, whilst posts containing disinformation are 70% more likely to be retweeted than truthful posts.[63]

- Such highly-targeted attempts to influence people's choices and tilt the political equilibrium have, in same cases, been seen to have **a direct impact on poll results** – including in a number of Western democracies – but also in less prosperous regions (such as the 2017 Kenyan elections for example).

- Yet, there is also **a broader damage that is more difficult to quantify, namely that to the trust and credibility of democratic institutions as a whole**, as well as to the overall civility of the public discourse.

- The **unprecedented surge in election meddling and disinformation across the globe has spurred action from regulators, journalists, platforms and civil society.** In the first quarter of 2019, Facebook removed a record 2.2 billion fake accounts – triple the number from the previous year. The automatic removal of hate speech has made progress, with 65% of posts removed being automatically detected, up from 38% a year ago.[64]

- Despite these moves, online disinformation remains a persistent threat, as well as a 'moving target' with new challenges emerging, such as deep fakes.
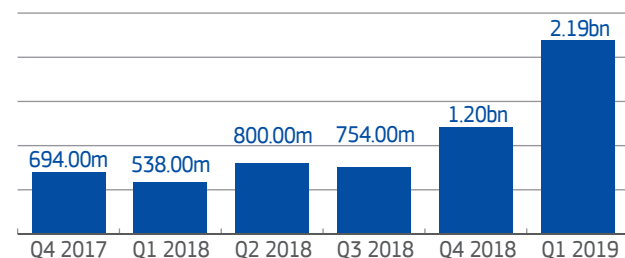
'Fake' news more popular than real news

Total Facebook engagements (shares, reactions and comments) for top 20 US election stories
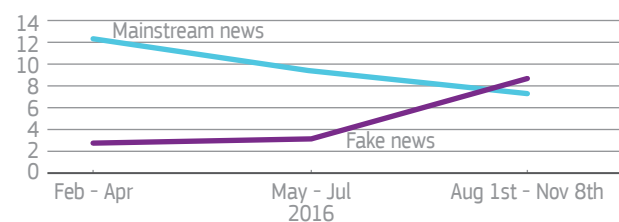
Source: The Economist

Facebook is disabling billions of fake accounts, yet problems persist

Number of fake accounts disabled and removed by Facebook
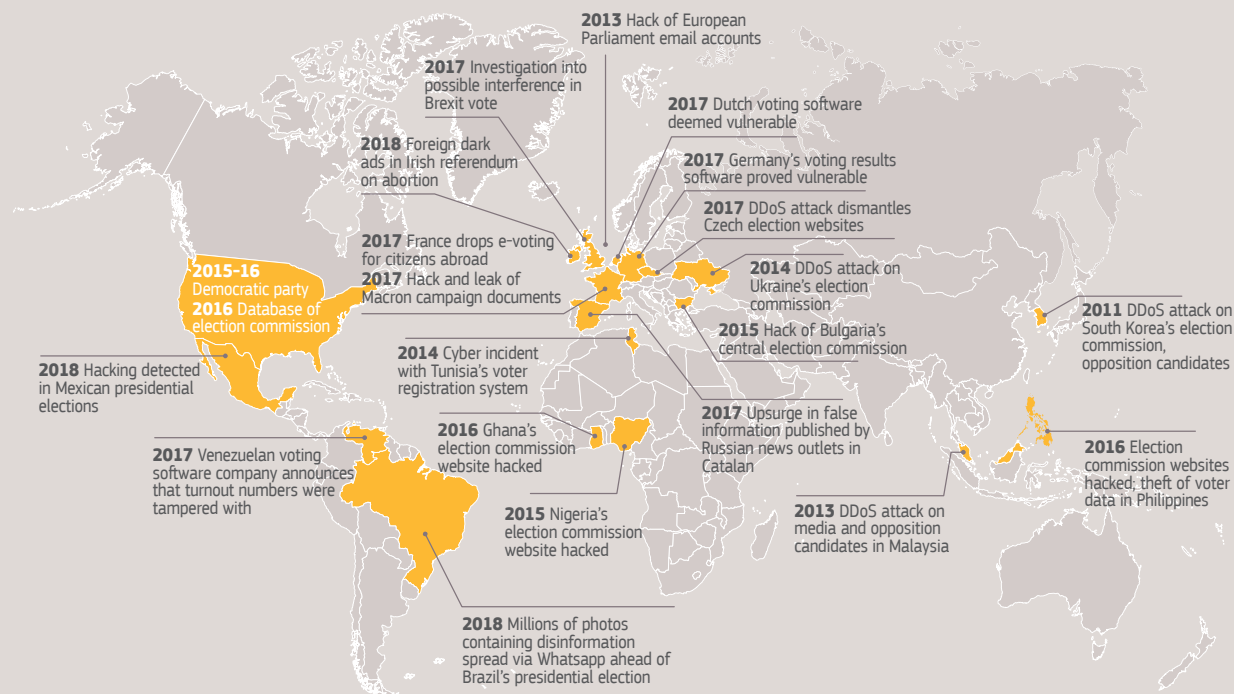

Source: Forbes

DISINFORMATION 2.0 – TOWARDS AN INFORMATION APOCALYPSE?

- **Technologies that can be used to enhance and distort reality are quickly advancing**. Audio and video manipulation has already been used for creative disinformation[65] and research teams have broadcast **deep-fake videos** making world leaders appear to say things they never actually said.[66] The use of immersive storytelling platforms is being explored as the 'next step in the evolution of journalism'.[67] Rather than reading a news story about the war in Syria, virtual reality tools enable people to actually experience it 'from the ground', making it much more intense and emotionally-charged.

- At the same time, **Artificial Intelligence tools and machine learning are making giant leaps thanks to the exponential rise in available personal data** stemming from billions of new smart devices and a growing array of digital surveillance systems. Facebook AI researchers have already set about creating **bots that can recognise and respond appropriately to human emotions**.[68] Market researchers are using biometric measurements to design narratives that stick in people's memories and better align with their emotions. Such tools can lead to wide-scale profiling of individuals' behaviours to develop high-precision ads and political messaging that match with a given person's emotional sensitivities. Days before elections, citizens can be targeted with personalised messages from candidates – experiences that could be further augmented using video imagery or virtual reality.

- **As the nascent technologies evolve rapidly and become more widespread, there is clear scope for them to be hijacked for malicious purposes**. Real-time footage of Russian preparations to invade Europe, or televised appearances by the US President declaring nuclear war on North Korea – such announcements could rapidly lead to devastating consequences even if they are later discovered to be fake.[69] This challenge requires a new type of culture for how we assess, share and act on news to mitigate potential disaster and an 'information apocalypse'.

Election interference has become a global challenge

2013 Hack of European Parliament email accounts

2017 Investigation into possible interference in Brexit vote

2017 Dutch voting software deemed vulnerable

2018 Foreign dark ads in Irish referendum on abortion

2017 Germany's voting results software proved vulnerable

2017 DDoS attack dismantles Czech election websites

2017 France drops e-voting for citizens abroad

2017 Hack and leak of Macron campaign documents

2014 DDoS attack on Ukraine's election commission

2015-16 Democratic party **2016** Database of election commission

2015 Hack of Bulgaria's central election commission

2011 DDoS attack on South Korea's election commission, opposition candidates

2018 Hacking detected in Mexican presidential elections

2014 Cyber incident with Tunisia's voter registration system

2017 Upsurge in false information published by Russian news outlets in Catalan

2016 Election commission websites hacked; theft of voter data in Philippines

2017 Venezuelan voting software company announces that turnout numbers were tampered with

2016 Ghana's election commission website hacked

2015 Nigeria's election commission website hacked

2013 DDoS attack on media and opposition candidates in Malaysia

2018 Millions of photos containing disinformation spread via Whatsapp ahead of Brazil's presidential election

Note: DDoS stands for a distributed denial-of-service attack

Source: European Political Strategy Centre, based on media reports

TREND 8

DATA | FOR GOOD?
OR | FOR EVIL?

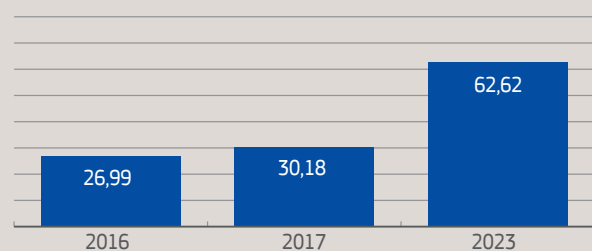*Governments are using data in vastly different ways*

- **In democracies, data is at the heart of 'evidence-based' and 'evidence-informed' policymaking**. It allows insights as to what policies are working and therefore deserve to be funded and scaled up. By the same token, data can point to policy failures, on which grounds projects can be either improved or discontinued. The work of Statistical Agencies is critical for producing quality data that is comparable and reliable.

- The age of data looked particularly promising for democracies, enabling more targeted, customised and tailor-made public services for citizens, as well as faster, cheaper and easier delivery. By and large, this ambition has failed to materialise as **many governments and large bureaucracies appear firmly stuck in the analogue age**, leading to frustration especially in a younger generation of 'digital natives'.

- A particular challenge for democracies is that, **for the first time ever, the largest and most valuable pool of data no longer resides with governments and statistical offices but rather with a handful of private companies**. This is a watershed as it makes informed decision-making more difficult, breeds dependencies on private companies – many of which are not European – and makes official bodies often seem out of date because they increasingly cannot compete with the real-time data accessible to companies. For example, a sizable e-commerce platform may have an earlier sentiment about rising prices and inflation than a central bank. Or a search engine may sense a flu outbreak or wave of job dismissals earlier than health or employment authorities based on the volume of queries they receive.

- In this context, addressing the public sector 'data gap' by facilitating data-sharing among public authorities and fostering business-to-government collaborations aimed at opening up datasets has emerged as a priority. Yet, it remains a challenge, in particular as **citizens grow increasingly distrustful about how their data is being used** by private companies and governments alike, and as emerging technologies, such as Artificial Intelligence, are viewed with growing suspicion.

- **The challenge is different in authoritarian regimes, where the state has a monopoly on data collection**. There, governments often purposefully choose not to collect certain types of data. And, if they do, it is seldom made public and therefore escapes popular scrutiny, or otherwise serves to generate 'enhanced' statistics which paint a rosy picture not matched by realities on the ground. In the absence of evidence-based and accountable policymaking, regimes can become prone to corruption, rent-seeking, as well as economic and social underperformance.

- While the performance of the state and state-owned companies remain opaque, **citizens in authoritarian regimes typically do not enjoy any data privacy** – their own lives being subject to ever-more intense scrutiny, especially if political preferences are not in line with the dominant regime.

- Yet, like democratic regimes, authoritarian regimes are also realising the central value of data collection and analysis for governance and policymaking in the digital era – and not just for the purpose of surveillance and oppression. China in particular has used data to significantly improve the functioning of its state apparatus, its cities, mobility systems, as well as its companies. In a recent study, China was credited for having leapfrogged France, the Netherlands and Switzerland as a place to do business, **after using big data and technology solutions to streamline bureaucracy and digitising government services.**[70]

- Going forward, **striking a balance between data privacy and data analysis will become ever more challenging for democracies.**[71] Yet, without solutions, Western companies will (again) miss out to Chinese firms, while providing no protection to Western countries that will subsequently be forced to turn to China-made technology solutions, akin to what is currently occurring with 5G rollout.

FROM SMART CITIES TO SURVEILLANCE CITIES?

- Cities around the world – including many European ones – are investing in digital infrastructures aimed at improving governance and citizens' lives. These 'smart cities' leverage data sourced from sensors placed throughout the urban landscape – from close-circuit television cameras on street corners and wireless networks, to drones flying overhead and distributed sensor platforms – to extrapolate information about key challenges, such as congestion, energy consumption, waste management or crime prevention.[72] This enables improved urban and transport planning, higher security levels and services that are better tailored to citizens' needs.

- And yet, by crossing the data from all these different sources, these technologies can also rapidly be transformed into refined surveillance systems.[73] Rather than contributing to a more responsive, sustainable, convivial city governance based on what people want, the risk is that of building digitally-policed cities, where privacy and personal freedoms are undermined. For instance, even if predictive policing has the potential to contribute to lower criminality, the predictive data analysis on which it is based has also been shown to give rise to significant bias and discrimination.[74]

- Countries like China have seized on digital technologies to better monitor and control the goings-on of regions and individuals: placing facial and iris scanners in official buildings, shopping centres and public transport, ID tracking purchases such as petrol and knives, and collecting biometric information from medical examinations.[75]

- Chinese police are also now reported to be installing data-harvesting software on ordinary citizens' smartphones during random street checks, even when they are not suspected of any crime.[76] This provides them with access to image and audio files, the phone's calendar and contacts, location data, call logs, and messages, including those used in the messaging app Telegram. As the Internet takes on the role of a virtual public sphere, and as the cost of sophisticated surveillance declines, Beijing's desire and capacity to spread totalitarian models of digitally-enabled social control is likely to grow – possibly even beyond its borders. Already today, Beijing is specialising in an off-the-shelf kit that can be readily exported abroad, with projects already discussed and delivered to varying degrees to regions in Kenya, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Zimbabwe. Countries that purchase the Chinese technology and practices may end up providing Chinese firms or state organs with large volumes of data, either as a condition of use or through backdoors.[77]

Surveillance technologies are increasingly popular

Size of the global video surveillance market in 2016 and 2017, and projection for 2023 (in billion US dollars)
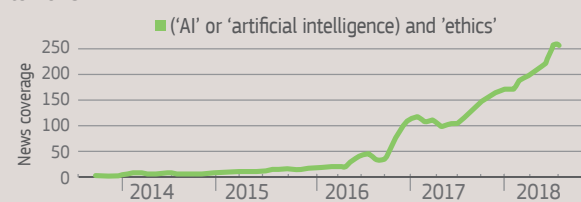
2016	2017	2023
26,99	30,18	62,62

Source: BIS Research, Statista, 2018

AI ethics: citizens concerned about how their data is being used

News mentions of 'AI' **and** 'ethics' increased ~5000% from 2014 to 2018

■ ('AI' or 'artificial intelligence) and 'ethics'

News coverage (0–250), 2014–2018
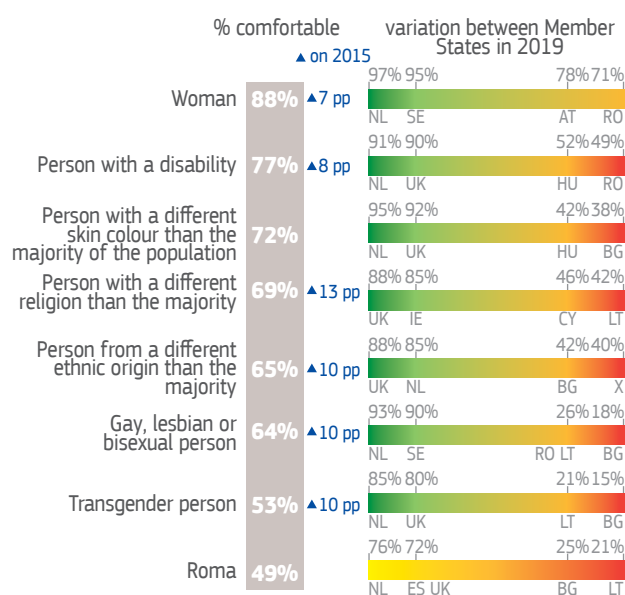
Source: CBInsights

TREND 9

GROWING | IN | DIVERSITY

Progress is clear but strong biases remain

- In most countries, elected bodies are becoming more representative of society's diversity, and there is increasing openness towards diversity in political positions. However, the picture varies significantly among Member States, and there remains ample room for further progress.

- The **number of women in elected positions has increased strongly over time** – often linked to electoral reforms. To date, half of the countries in the world have introduced legislative gender quotas.[78] **In European Parliament elections, the proportion of female MEPs has risen constantly** since the first European elections in 1979. In 2019, when 11 Member States enforced gender quotas on parties – up from eight in 2014 – the share of female MEPs reached 40% (or 302 out of 751 seats). Gender parity has also been progressing in national parliaments, though not yet at the same level.[79]

- Nevertheless, **glass ceilings remain prevalent in political roles**. Men are still typically assigned more high-profile portfolios in government, such as foreign affairs or finance, while women remain more likely to be given socio-cultural portfolios such as health, education or social affairs.[80] And, on 31 October 2019, there are still only four women in the European Council, alongside 24 men.[81] Furthermore, even as gender equality makes important strides, it is also meeting new forms of resistance. Female politicians, journalists and activists, as well as representatives of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) community in such positions are **more often targeted by cyber violence and online hate speech**, as well as wider 'silencing strategies', **meant to push them out of the public sphere**.[82] This backlash is moving beyond rhetoric to campaigns against so-called 'gender ideology', as well as concrete measures aimed at **promoting 'family values' that reinforce traditional gender roles.**[83] In some cases, these instruments are used as part of a wider, strategic approach to undermine democracy and fundamental liberties.[84]

### Europeans growing more comfortable with diversity in elected political positions

Attitudes towards different groups at risk of discrimination

	% comfortable	▲ on 2015	variation between Member States in 2019		
Woman	88%	▲7 pp	97% 95% NL SE		78% 71% AT RO
Person with a disability	77%	▲8 pp	91% 90% NL UK		52% 49% HU RO
Person with a different skin colour than the majority of the population	72%		95% 92% NL UK		42% 38% HU BG
Person with a different religion than the majority	69%	▲13 pp	88% 85% UK IE		46% 42% CY LT
Person from a different ethnic origin than the majority	65%	▲10 pp	88% 85% UK NL		42% 40% BG X
Gay, lesbian or bisexual person	64%	▲10 pp	93% 90% NL SE		26% 18% RO LT BG
Transgender person	53%	▲10 pp	85% 80% NL UK		21% 15% LT BG
Roma	49%		76% 72% NL ES UK		25% 21% BG LT

Source: Special Eurobarometer, 2019

More women than ever in European parliaments

Percentage of female representation in the European Parliament (orange) & in national parliaments (blue) in the EU.
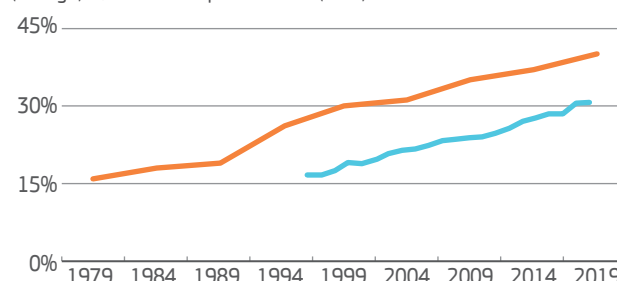
Source: The World Bank; European Parliament

- **The picture on racial diversity and ethnic minorities is also mixed.**[85] **Some Member States have a pro-active approach towards making sure that national minorities are represented** in decision-making. In Romania, for example, special electoral provisions apply to the national parliament. Meanwhile, the Slovenian Constitution guarantees the right of veto to representatives of national communities, if a measure directly concerns them.[86]

- **Yet, the full picture of Europe's diversity is still far from being represented at national or EU levels.** Although people of non-white ethnicity are estimated to make up around 10% of the EU population, only 30 seats in the European Parliament are today held by non-white MEPs (4%) – albeit an improvement on 2014-2019, when there were only 17 non-white seats out of 751. At Member State level, there has been progress in terms of the representation of diversity in national parliaments and the share and relative position of ethnic minorities on party candidate lists. As an illustration, while Germans[87] with an immigrant background (an immigrant or a child of immigrants) represent 22.5% of the total population, only 8% of Bundestag members are from an immigrant background (albeit a 2% percentage point increase on previous elections). Similarly, only 6.35% of France's Assemblée Nationale had immigrant backgrounds – three and a half times more than the previous chamber. And yet, in the wider population the share is 19.3%.[88]

- In terms of other dimensions of diversity, a study of 30 countries between 1983 and 2013 reveals an upward trend in the representation of **LGBTI communities in national parliaments and in government positions**,[89] even if total numbers remain small. In 2013, there were 113 openly LGBT members of parliament, compared to only six in 1983. This growth largely reflects a growing propensity to publicly state or acknowledge sexual orientation.[90]

- Finally, there remains an absence of consideration of **disability in political representation** in Europe and worldwide. Some 80 million people in the EU identify themselves as having some form of disability. Yet only 7 Member States collect data on the disability status of members of their national parliaments and 3 Member States concerning local government representatives.

Small but growing LGBTI representation in parliaments around the world

Number of MPs, based on an analysis of national assemblies/lower houses in 27 countries around the world
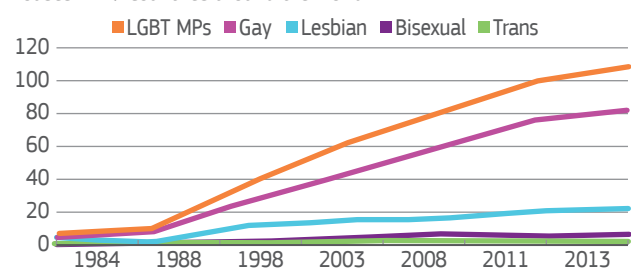
Source: LGBT Representation and Rights Initiative

DIVERSITY RESHAPING POLICY

- As the composition of national parliaments and governments changes, this has a clear influence on the types of policies that are shaped in a country.

- For instance, research shows that a country that has elected an LGBTI MP is some fourteen times more likely to have marriage equality or civil union/registered partner law.[91]

- Similarly, having a proactive approach to the representation of people with disabilities can have a real impact, with snowball effects. Beyond Europe, in Uganda, for example, the Constitution requires

that five national members of Parliament have personal experience with disability, while a Local Government Act dating from 1997 provides for the election of one woman and one man with a disability in every village, parish, sub-county and district council. As a result, there are today some 47,000 representatives with disabilities sitting on directly-elected bodies, easily the largest group of politicians with disabilities anywhere in the world. Serving in the Parliament has also become more accessible now that rules have been changed to permit guide dogs and sign language interpreters in meetings and parliamentary sessions.[92]

EMPOWERMENT | 2.0

From mass protests and democratic innovations to a new generation of agenda-shapers

- While **voting remains by far the largest expression of political participation**, **there are today visible changes in the way that citizens are engaging with politics**.[93]

- **Young people are less inclined to vote regularly compared to their elders, but they are more likely to post comments online about social or political issues**. For example, 57% of Poles aged 18-29 say they have voted in an election, against 81% of Poles aged over 50. In contrast, 36% of Poles aged 18-29 have posted their views online, compared with only 4% of those 50 and older.[94] Similarly, youths are more inclined to take action for a broader set of causes than their older peers. And, while the link between education and political participation remains strong, **a new correlation is emerging in the digital era: online social networking usage is linked to greater engagement on political issues**.[95] By the same token, the hostile environment that often prevails on social media has tended to deter more moderate and pragmatic voices from engaging in political debates.

- **Digital technologies** are creating a new type of social fabric and **a fertile ground for the spread of a wide variety of 'non-establishment' stakeholders and networks**. Through social media, citizens can spontaneously become 'members' of a group that allows a collective voice to be heard, without necessarily involving 'recognised' negotiating partners. **This is happening even as 'classic' civic institutions and social partners, especially trade unions, are in decline**.

- Digital technologies and social media have contributed, at least in part, to the **surge in protests in every region of the world and in every type of political context** – from the Arab Spring and anti-austerity protests in Europe, to #MeToo and Fridays-for-Future-inspired climate activism that has mobilised millions students around the world.[96]

- Initially triggered by local events and aimed at local, regional or national governments, **protests are now also being organised on a global scale and**

## Voting is main form of political engagement

Median across 14 countries
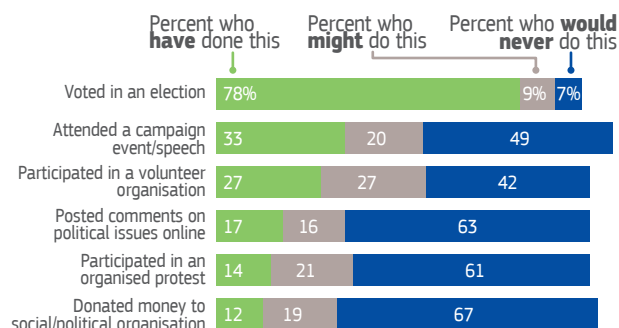
Source: Pew Research Center 2018 Global Attitudes Survey

Note: 14 countries include: Argentina, Brazil, Greece, Hungary, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Philippines, Poland, South Africa, Tunisia

Older generations more likely to vote; younger generations more likely to post

People who say they have voted in an election, by age
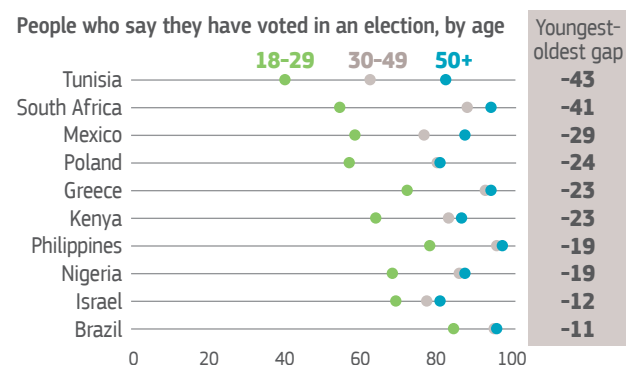
People who say they have posted comments on political or social issues online, by age
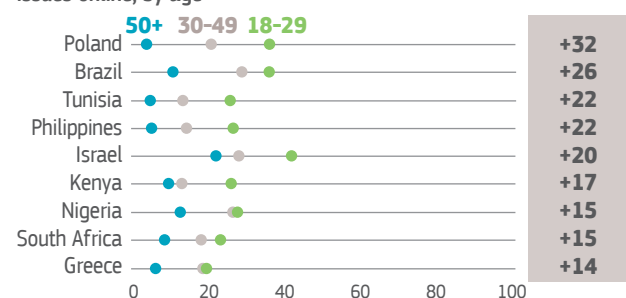
Source: Pew Research Center 2018 Global Attitudes Survey

targeting transnational issues, such as climate change or gender equality. And, although the leading cause of protests around the world remains a broad set of grievances related to economic needs,[97] **a common thread behind many of them is a perceived lack of 'real' democracy**, preventing society's progress toward economic – or indeed other types of – justice.[98]

- While protests are effective in generating attention,[99] governments have often survived them without making significant political concessions.[100]

This goes some way to explaining why other forms of civic engagement are also on the rise, such as **court action aimed at challenging governments to take action**. Between 1990 and May 2019, some 1,328 suits were filed in 28 countries, mainly aimed at bolstering action against global warming.[101] And, in 2015, a court in The Hague condemned the Dutch government for not taking adequate measures to cut greenhouse gas emissions in a class action led by the NGO Urgenda with the backing of 900 citizens.[102]

EXPERIMENTING WITH CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT

- Citizens are increasingly **dissatisfied with voting in regular intervals**, and are demanding **more real-time public participation in decision-making.**

- In response, different levels of administrations are looking to harness digital tools and other forms of public innovation to better engage with the 'silent majority' of citizens beyond elections, while maintaining a balance between representative and direct democracy.

- **A wide range of instruments are being developed and tested**, especially at local level, aimed at facilitating feedback, enabling citizens to submit ideas, scrutinise proposals, monitor actions, or even co-develop policies, sharing ownership of policy decisions with the communities that are most affected by them. There is also a growing trend

towards participatory budgeting, giving citizens the opportunity to vote and select which projects should receive public funding to be implemented. Examples of participatory initiatives include:

- **At local level**: *Decide Madrid* is a digital platform enabling direct political participation: city inhabitants can propose initiatives; they then decide which of them should be implemented; and the city council gets them underway. The platform has already engaged thousands of citizens in projects ranging from urban planning to energy efficiency and sustainable mobility.

- **At national level**: *Le Grand Débat*, launched by French President Emmanuel Macron in reaction to the gillets jaunes movement, resulted in more than 10,000 town hall meetings and 2 million online contributions around four broad topics: the green transition, fair taxation, democracy/citizenship/ migration, and public services.

Growing the toolkit: new dimensions of engaging with stakeholders and citizens
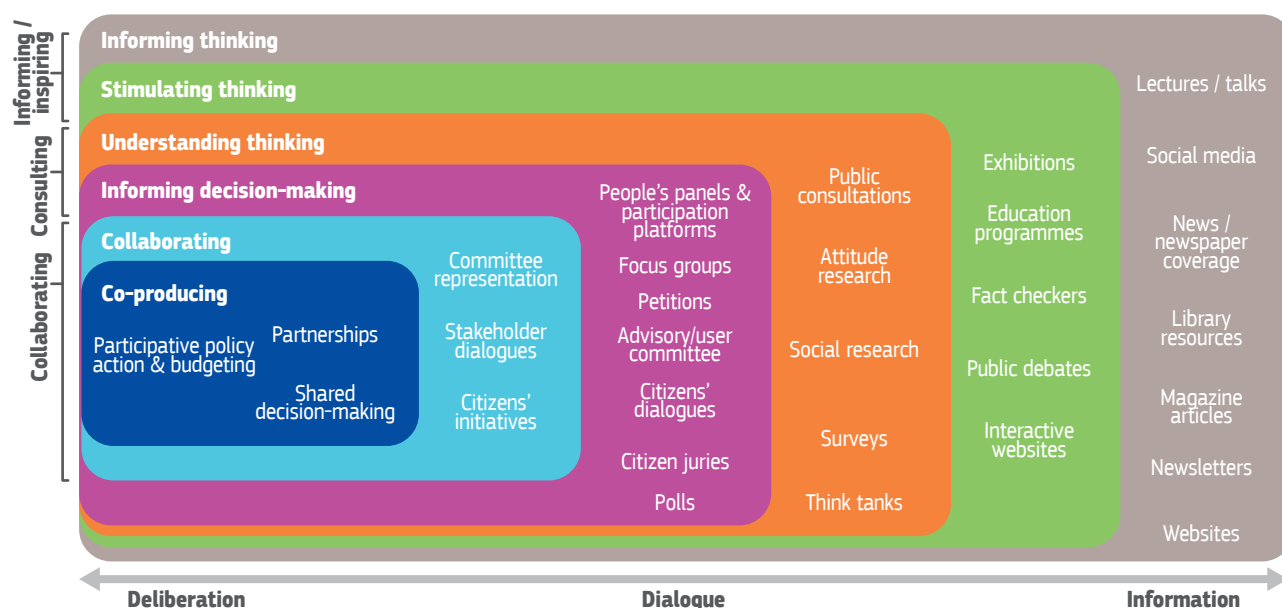
Source: Adapted by EPSC from Wellcome Trust

Notes

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The European Political Strategy Centre (EPSC) is the European Commission's in-house think tank. It reports directly to President Juncker and operates under his authority.

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