

Right-wing populist parties and 2024 European Parliament elections Opportunities and challenges

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D. Khudair Abbas Al-Dahlaki*

Introduction

The European Parliament is the largest and most important democratic legislature for the representatives of some 500 million citizens of the European Union.

The European Parliamentary Assembly was established in Strasbourg, France, in the presence of 142 members on 19 March 1958 to be called the "European Parliamentary Assembly," before later becoming the European Parliament on 30 March 1962. After the European Market Summit in Paris in 1974, the process began after 1978, and the selection of deputies to the European Parliament by local parliaments ended in the first elections to this Parliament in June 1979.

Today the European Union has decided to organize elections for the 2024 legislative session from 6 to 9 June 2024, which will be the tenth since the first direct election in 1979, and the first post–Brexit elections for the European Parliament.¹

I. Overview of the Institution of the European Parliament:

MEPs are elected every five years by universal suffrage, which begins with the process of selecting the heads of key European institutions

^{1.} The European elections will be held between the sixth and ninth of next June, available on the link:https://arabic.euronews.com/2023/05/17/the-next-elections-to-the-european-parliament-will-be-held-between-6-and-9-june-2024

^{*} Researcher specializing in Shan European far-right forces.

(Parliament, Commission, and Council), and legislative elections for the next 2024–2029 session will be held to select 720 MEPs between 6 and 9 June 2024. It is the world's largest cross-border vote, with more than 400 million eligible voters of different nationalities taking part in the voting process for their political representatives in the European Parliament.

Currently, the role of the European Parliament is to "become the main institution representing the peoples of EU member states, it is included in treaties and takes precedence over all other European authorities." He explained, "His competence extends continuously, as he has real legislative power and considerable power concerning certain files, as well as his monitoring role, which, together with the European Council, adopts the legislation of all European laws, as well as the annual budget that funds the policies of the Union. It also has the power to grant its consent to any trade agreement, and to monitor negotiations by the European Commission, over which political oversight is also exercised, (the composition of the Commission is linked to the results of the European Parliament elections). Parliament also elects the President and organizes hearings for candidates for commissioners.

The number of elected MEPs is 751, the maximum possible under EU treaties. However, the exit of the United Kingdom reduced the number of members to 705. (Annex 1 contains a distribution of seats in Parliament to political groups before and after the United Kingdom leaves the Union) Germany has 96 members, the highest number that states can reach, against a minimum of six seats reserved for small states, and Spain and France will benefit from five new members, while the rest of the reduced seats from 751 seats will be allocated to new member states in the future. During September 2023, members of the European Parliament approved the decision of the European Council to increase the number of seats in the European Parliament for the next legislative session from 705 to 720 and to distribute them to member states according to population ratio. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland,

Ireland, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia will increase by one seat each, according to the table in (Supplement No. 2)². The European Council motion was based on the June 2023 Parliament report, which began the process and has been driven by demographic changes in the EU since the 2019 elections.

The parliament has about 20 standing committees and two subcommittees, and each committee comprises between 24 and 76 members, which reflects the political composition of parliament, meaning that the larger the party, the more representative it is on the committees. There is thus a contest to form parliamentary blocs among the various political currents, from the far right to the far left, to increase influence in the committees that put forward the proposals adopted by vote.

MEPs work not in national parties and groups but in political groups known as "supranational parties" where they include MPs from different European countries, according to ideologies and political orientations. There are socialists, conservative right-wingers, liberals, greens, the radical left, and the extreme right. To form a group, it is assumed that at least 20 deputies will be assembled from six different States. MEPs are also not necessarily "EU" supporters. There are lists of many parties and organizations opposed to the unity of Europe and the interventions of Brussels and European legislators in national affairs. Perhaps the most obvious example is the presence in Scandinavia of candidates in the "grassroots movement" demanding exit from the Union, which differs from populist organizations and parties by calling for the dissolution of the European Union as a "closed club" and replacing it with wider global cooperation from the continent. He also runs on the lists of left and right parties who criticize all of the European projects, and in it, with alliances of one-way or convergent colleagues in the continent's countries under the roof of the European Parliament, seek to influence

^{2.} Researcher specializing in Shan European far-right forces

the decisions of his multiple committees.3

Second: Opportunities for right-wing populist parties in the 2024 European elections

In addition to the European Parliament elections in 2024, some countries and blocs in the world will organize elections that will be dominated by the character of populist nationalism, with Russia due in March 2024 to hold elections to choose a new president until 2030, while India will hold elections between April and May to form parliament and the government that will lead the country until 2029. Finally, the United States holds parliamentary and presidential elections between 2025 and 2028.

These "combined elections will cover some 2.3 billion people, the results of which will determine the nature of global interactions during the third decade of the twenty-first century, Although heterogeneous, these elections will have the common feature that nationalist populism will play an important role in each of them, This ideology tends to foster a strong sense of patriotism, presenting other nations as enemies, pursuing protectionist trade policies and criticizing globalization. In addition, populist nationalist leaders tend to polarize societies on ideological, ethnic, or cultural grounds, threaten minority rights, and promote traditional cultural and social values.

A – The results of the 2019 European Parliament elections showed that right-wing populist parties have become politically active in the European landscape. These parties have begun to establish themselves in elections since 2014, and have seen their popularity within the European structure rise markedly since. In the context of the European structure, populist parties are closely linked to questioning the EU project. Euroscepticism extends to a wide range of concepts. The term

^{3.} European Elections All you need to know about the ballot, available at the link: https://tinyurl.com/yr4ynn9q

expresses skeptics of the EU's model of governance, and they are the ones who oppose further integration between their countries. More broadly, Euroscepticism has become a term used to refer to hostile sentiments and actions taken against democracy. In 2019, more than 28% of MEPs belonged to populist/Eurosceptic parties, within the European Parliament, in total, in the 2019 elections, 185 populist MEPs were elected, of whom 112 were far-right members and far more than far-left populists with 20 seats in European Parliament.⁴

In 2023, following the COVID-19 pandemic and the effects of its restrictions, combined with ongoing challenges related to migration, refugees, and global inflation, there appears to be a coordinated shift towards the right wing in Europe. The rise of right-wing coalitions and the strengthening of far-right parties in different parts of the world shows that fear and anger are forming strong feelings, fueling the support of populist parties. Fear is a key vehicle for populist leaders, as it is their social and political raison d'être. The anxiety stems from a sense of insecurity or rapid socio-economic change. As a result of fear of an unknown future, people are turning to populist movements, reinforcing the continuing vicious circle of populist tendencies and trends nowadays. The cultivation of fear and anxiety is systematically cultivated in communities, especially through social media.⁵

^{4.} Treib, O. (2021). "Euroscepticism is here to stay: what cleavage theory can teach us about the 2019 European Parliament elections." Journal of European Public Policy. Vol, 28. no. 2. pp. 174–189. March 9, 2021. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2020.1737881.

⁶⁻ Caulcutt, C., Aarup, S. A., & Vinocur, N. (2023). "Poland, Hungary force EU leaders to drop migration from Granada Declaration." POLITICO. October 6, 2023. https://www.politico.eu/article/poland-hungary-force-eu-leaders-drop-migration-granada-summit-declaration/ (accessed on October 11, 2023).

^{5.} Caulcutt, C., Aarup, S. A., & Vinocur, N. (2023). "Poland, Hungary force EU leaders to drop migration from Granada Declaration." POLITICO. October 6, 2023. https://www.politico.eu/article/poland-hungary-force-eu-leaders-drop-migration-granada-summit-declaration/ (accessed on October 11, 2023).

The effects of the epidemic and war have fueled fear, anger, and anxiety, which have been further promoted via social media, the tendency to the right to have a positive impact on politics, as a place for information transmission and exchange of views. A tendency for the far right could also undermine democracy by spreading distrust of democratic institutions and civil society. This has been evident, particularly during the COVID-19 constraints, about growing public opinion against Governments and their policies in the face of the epidemic. Mistrust towards democratic institutions is the fuel that keeps populism going. Indicating that populist parties will not stop in this election, the number of populist parties will either remain the same or increase. In addition, if member states and the EU do not stabilize societies, the unrest will continue and be in the interest of populist parties. Especially since the European landscape says, the EU cannot achieve such a goal (i.e. stability) within the next six months.⁶

As far as the simultaneous EU election process in 27 countries is concerned and will lead to a fragmented European Parliament, a coalition of two or more parties will be needed to pass legislation and approve members of the next European Commission.

The elections will be held against the backdrop of continued high inflation and low economic growth and polls suggest that far-right parties will do well, While centrist parties will lose and populist nationalism in the 2024 election will have multiple ramifications as protectionist tendencies remain strong, perpetuating the risk of disrupting global trade and the doubling of tariffs, trade barriers and restrictions on foreign investment will threaten economic exchanges between countries, While support for local industries is likely to continue to rise and, strong populist nationalist tendencies could also weaken Western consensus on key global issues, such as support for

^{6.} What surrounds the 2024 European elections? Available at the link: https://www.populismstudies.org/what-surrounds-the-2024-european-elections/

Ukraine.⁷

C. Although right-wing populist parties, particularly extremist ones, participate in and have representatives in the European Parliament elections, they continue their anti-EU agenda and question the functioning of its institutions For example, candidates for the 2024 European Parliament elections for the populist German Alternative Party announced their desire to dissolve the European Union and leave the bloc, relying on the Dixte model, similar to Brexit. Several AfD candidates for the European Parliament in the 2024 elections demanded a radical reverse to the idea of the EU and isolated Germany in the face of immigration after a draft memo was published last June that stipulated targeting an "orderly EU solution" and establishing a "new European economic interest group." These demands for the dissolution of the EU as well as Germany's exit from the bloc received clear support during the draft submission rounds. One of the applicants, Thomas Schmidt, said: "Let's end the EU together" while another candidate called (Peter Detges) said I want to apply (to run) to end this farce in Brussels.

Polls suggest the populist right-wing AfD is second in the list of Germany's most powerful parties, beating Chancellor Olaf Scholz's Social Democratic Party, which ranks third on this list, with the opposition Christian Union at the top of this list.⁸

D - Several polls suggest the drop in voting quotas for centrist groups, such as the European People's Party and the Social Democrats, is likely to continue in the upcoming European elections, with the two largest groups only receiving a share of just 40%. The three centrist groups combined will not be able to achieve a majority (55% of all

^{7.} The fate of the world in 2024.. 4 elections dominated by populist nationalism, available on the link: https://thenewkhalij.news/article/302047/

^{8.} Several alternative candidates to the European Parliament are calling for the dissolution of the Union, available at: https://eumatrix.eu/en/blog/political-trends-and-dynamics-in-the-european-union-an-outlook-to-the-european-elections-2024

seats). Overall, there will be no majority of seats for left or right wing parties on the party spectrum.

However, thanks to the strengthening of the Conservative Party and non-right-wing MEPs, the political spectrum of the European Parliament is likely to shift towards the right. However, it should be noted that this does not apply to all areas of policy, such as relations with Russia, trade agreements, the digital economy, and others, to name a few.⁹

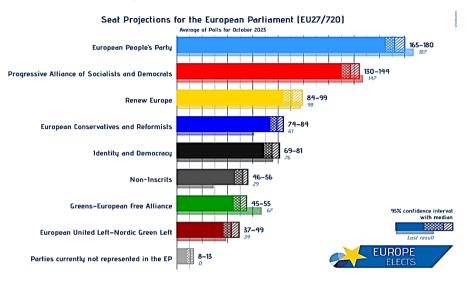
E – In an exclusive analysis of polls conducted by Politico's Research and Analytics Division the results suggest that the right-wing European Conservative and Reformist Party will become the third largest group in the European Parliament tied with the centrist Renewal Party with 89 seats, Which would mark a massive 23–seat gain as most of the increase comes from Italy's far-right Brotherhood of Italy party Giorgia Meloni, likewise, could achieve the Identity and Democracy Group. Far-right gains are significant, winning 77 seats, a 15–seat rise, attributed to the AfD's recent success. In polls reflecting the expected shift to the right, voters in countries like Italy, Finland, and Greece have promoted more conservative parties and the hard right yet analysis shows (Politico) that the center-right European People's Party will retain its status as the largest group in parliament, despite its expected loss of 12 seats that will see its number of seats fall to 165.

In a Europe Elects poll that provided a forecast during October 2023, the EPP showed a decline, against a surge in seats likely to be taken by its rivals, from the Socialists Party, the Conservative and reformist groups, and the Identity and Democracy Group, to which the populist

^{9.} Political Trends and Dynamics in the European Union – an Outlook to the European Elections 2024, Available at the link: https://eumatrix.eu/en/blog/political-trends-and-dynamics-in-the-european-union-an-outlook-to-the-european-elections-2024

and far-right parties belong compared to the number of seats.¹⁰

(As shown in the figure)



A vivid example of the shift to the right is that in the run-up to and during the French presidential campaign of 2022, four MEPs from the National Front (NFP) turned to the Party of Reclamation, the party behind Eric Zemmour, a racist, nationalist and historical anti-immigration, and Islamophobia. The Northern League lost three representatives to Forza Italia and one to Brotherhood Italia, which was merely a shift within the family from the perspective of the national government. On the other hand, she managed an important group or even a ruler in her country. The Brotherhood in Italy and Spain's Vox Party have represented expanding the far-right's relative share in the group (Reformists and Democrats) even if under-represented, and on increasing right-wing MEPs in the Baltic and Scandinavia, who are

^{10.} Political Trends and Dynamics in the European Union – an Outlook to the European Elections 2024, Available at the link: https://eumatrix.eu/en/blog/political-trends-and-dynamics-in-the-european-union-an-outlook-to-the-european-elections-2024

strategically moving towards the European Council.¹¹

Power shifts within right-wing camps are interesting because they do not position themselves on ideological grounds, the more powerful party delegations coordinate (as factions) in the European Parliament, and the more they simultaneously participate in other EU bodies, such as the EU Council and the European Council (as representatives of national governments), the more effective they are. Despite many unknown matters, there appear to be several relatively strong determinants behind the internal restructuring of the right wing primarily the long-standing relations between the Rassemblement nationale française, the League of the North, the Flemish League of Belgium and the Freedom Party of Austria.

There seems to be nothing to differentiate between them, whether at the Summit in Spain or the shadow of corruption scandals, different attitudes regarding the epidemic, not even events in Ukraine. However, they did not leave the identity group during the last legislative period, except for the Party for Freedom, which secured several new MEPs due to post–Brexit redistribution.¹²

Third: Possible Challenges to the European Elections

A- Participation rate

The EU recently published the results of the "Eurobarometer" poll for spring 2023, and figures on public opinion showed growing levels of interest and awareness of the European elections. According to the poll, 64% of voters in Italy are considering taking part with their votes if elections are ever held, a figure slightly below the European average.

^{11.} Right wing set for big gains in 2024 EU election, polling shows, Available at the link https://www.politico.eu/article/european-election-2024-polls-right-wing-big-gains/

^{12.} The Far Right in the European Parliament, Available at the link:https://www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/51006/the-far-right-in-the-european-parliament

Italy has seen the greatest increase in interest in European political affairs since the COVID-19 epidemic and the onset of the Ukrainian crisis. Where the proportion has risen from 47% in 2018 to 58% currently. Most participants spoke of a "civic duty," a "habit of participating in elections," and their desire to "support a particular party."

The proportions vary from country to country, which generally show low rates of participation in European elections. This is partly due to the widespread belief that a vote will not lead to effective change, combined with a low level of interest in political affairs in general and a lack of confidence, with the widespread belief that what happens within the European Parliament is "not of concern to them." For example, the majority of participants in the barometer from Bulgaria, where they stood at 67%, stated that they were not interested in the upcoming European elections to be held next year, and recorded the lowest turnout in previous European Parliament elections.¹³

B- Priorities of the European citizen

The problems of rising costs of living occupy the minds of Europe's voters a year before they go to the polls to elect a new European Parliament. According to the results of the Eurobarometer survey, which included 26,376 participants in the 27 member states, about half of respondents see their "standard of living declining," and expect a further decline. "A spokesman for the European Parliament (Dush Geo) says the survey did not suggest that the confidence of European voters in EU institutions was affected by the corruption scandal known as "Qatar Gate." The scandal resulted in the arrest of several MPs and aides as part of an investigation by Belgium into suspicion that European parliamentarians received bribes to promote the interests of the State of Qatar. However, 60% of respondents expressed outrage

^{13.} EP Spring 2023 Survey: Democracy in action – One year before the European elections, Available at the link: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/3093

at the EU's anti-corruption efforts, including 22% who expressed dissatisfaction at all. Some 53% were outraged by the Union's fight against misinformation, and 60% were alarmed by anti-corruption efforts. Only 22% of Slovenia's voters expressed satisfaction with the performance of anti-corruption efforts, a figure about 13% below the EU average.

B- Possible Russian interference in European Parliament elections:

Russia is conducting foreign interference operations and strengthening relations with many political parties in Europe, especially the far right. Moscow sees these parties as a source of political support and action for political interests, and some claim that Russia tried to influence democratic processes in Europe, for example the 2017 French presidential election. European elections 2019, Brexit referendum 2016, US presidential election 2016.¹⁴

Moreover, at the end of September during a press conference by European Commission Vice President Vera Jurova, she presented the actions taken by technology companies under the "EU Regulation on Informational Disinformation." She declared: "Russia may interfere in next year's EU elections by spreading disinformation on internet platforms" and called on major cyber platforms to "be vigilant against the risk of misinformation" in the upcoming national and European parliamentary elections. "Russia engaged in a war of ideas to pollute our information space, where it applies a tactic," she asserted. Halftruths were published to create a false picture that democracy was no better than tyranny. "This is a mass manipulation of millions of euros, targeting Russians internally and Europeans, the rest of the world, and according to Google reports, YouTube canceled more than 400 channels involved in coordinated influence operations linked

^{14.} Foreign interference in EU democratic processes, European Parliamentary Research Service, PE 729.271 – March 2022.

to Russia's Internet Research Agency between January and April last. The European official explained that the fact-checking service on the TikTok platform analyzed 832 videos related to the war in Ukraine, removing 211 of them due to "misinformation," without indicating what they were and applying the EU's regulation on disinformation to 44 websites, including Facebook, YouTube, Google, and LinkedIn.¹⁵

C- Penetration of artificial intelligence:

EU cybersecurity agency report showed the EU elections scheduled for 2024 could face risk as a result of the use of AI-based chat robots. In its annual report on Europe's cyber threat landscape, the agency emphasized the progress of AI-powered chat robots and the growing use of deep counterfeiting and similar technology. The agency has urged governments and the private sector, especially the media, to strengthen the state of alert to detect, detect, and combat misinformation produced by artificial intelligence online. It noted the need for maximum preparedness ahead of the upcoming European Parliament elections. The European bloc has seen an "unprecedented surge" in cyberattacks, such as distributed service-blocking attacks to disrupt websites and ransomware attacks to steal organizations' data and claim ransom as part of encryption, the report added, and the agency recorded more than 2,500 cyber incidents from July 2022 to June 2023. A report by the European Union's cybersecurity agency showed there were 220 incidents targeting multiple European countries. The report also revealed that public administrations and health were a key target of 19% and 8% respectively, while 6% of hacking incidents targeted manufacturing, transport, and financial sectors.

The report also showed that there has been a marked increase in social engineering incidents, with hackers using fake identities to gain

^{15.} Code of Practice on Disinformation: new reports available in the Transparency Centre, Available at the link: https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/news/code-practice-disinformation-new-reports-available-transparency-centre

confidence and access to sensitive networks and data. It grew significantly in 2023 and the report reads, "Cybercriminals are increasingly targeting cloud infrastructure, have geopolitical motivations in 2023, and have increased extortion, not only through ransomware but also by targeting users directly.¹⁶

Conclusion:

In light of the foregoing, we look forward to the following observations:

- 1 The European Parliament elections in June 2024 will surely bring with it more growth for the political right. The number and proportion of far-right representatives in the European Parliament have been increasing for decades, and times seem favorable to the right. Right-wing groups could work to formulate contradictory and incorrect responses to global economic and social challenges, and there were currently few signs of left-wing alternatives capable of addressing those challenges.
- 2- Eurosceptic parties may again be able to increase their combined weight, but they remain far from a parliamentary majority. Given that the far right is currently divided into two parliamentary groups and in addition to several unrelated parties, speculation about its possible merger into a large Eurosceptic right-wing group has been going on for years and could resurface shortly before the election.
- 3- Extremist right-wing parties will mobilize the street and exploit the consequences of international events and escalating tensions as a result of the war in Ukraine, the continued flow of migrants to Europe. the renewed Zionist aggression against the Gaza Strip, and the subsequent repercussions to achieve further electoral gains and 16. ENISA THREAT LANDSCAPE 2023, July 2022 to June 2023, © European Union Agency for Cybersecurity (ENISA), 2023, P93-104.

strengthen their presence in legislative and executive institutions, both at the national and European levels.

Recommendations:

• The arrival of the European extreme right to decision-making in the Union is a pivotal point that should draw the attention of all Arab policies, given the pressures that these forces may impose on Arab issues and the interests of Arab States with those of the European Union.

The Arab States must take positions to adopt a quick response to the policies that the forces of the extreme right may take if they reach European decision–making institutions, to restrict the aggressive role that these forces may have towards our region.

• Pressure through international channels to strengthen the protection of nationals of Arab States in Europe, including immigrant groups, against hostile policies on European soil by the right-wing parties.

Appendix 1 Distribution of seats to political groups in the European Parliament before and after the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union on 14/2/2020



شكل رقم 5 توزيع المقاعد على المجموعات السياسية في البرلمان الأوربي قبل وبعد انسحاب المملكة المتحدة من الاتحاد الأوربي أفي 14/ 2/ 2000

Source: Directorate General for Communications, Public Opinion Monitoring Unit of the European Parliament, Revised From European and National Election Results and Post-Brexit Update, Brussels (February 2020) page 7.

	country	Number of members Session 2019–2024	increasing	Number of members Session 2024–2029
1	Germany	96		96
2	France	79	2+	81
3	Italy	76		76
4	Spain	59	2+	61
5	Poland	52	1+	53
6	romaine	33		33
7	Netherlands	29	2+	31
8	Belgium	21	1+	22

	country	Number of members Session 2019–2024	increasing	Number of members Session 2024–2029
9	Greece	21		21
10	Czech Republic	21		21
11	Sweden	21		21
12	Portugal	21		21
13	Hungary	21		21
14	Austria	19	1+	20
15	Bulgaria	17		17
16	Denmark	14	1+	15
17	Finland	14	1+	15
18	Slovakia	14	1+	15
19	Ireland	13	1+	14
20	Croatia	12		12
21	Lithuania	11		11
22	Slovenia	8	1+	9
23	Latvia	8	1+	9
24	Estonia	7		7
25	Cyprus	6		6
26	Luxem- bourg	6		6
27	Malta	6		6
	Total	705		720

Resources:

- 1- Researcher specializing in Shan European far-right forces
- 2- The European elections will be held between the sixth and ninth of next June, available on the link:

https://arabic.euronews.com/2023/05/17/the-next-elections-to-the-european-parliament-will-be-held-between-6-and-9-june-2024

- 3- How many MEPs will each EU country get in 2024?, Available at the link: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/eu-affairs/20180126STO94114/how-many-meps-will-each-eu-country-get-in-2024
- 4- European Elections All you need to know about the ballot, available at the link: https://www.alaraby.co.uk/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A 7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9-1-%D9%83%D9%84-%D9%85%D-8%A7-%D9%8A%D8%AC%D8%A8-%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%87-%D8%B9%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B9
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8– The fate of the world in 2024... 4 elections dominated by populist nationalism, available on the link:

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- 10- Political Trends and Dynamics in the European Union an Outlook to the European Elections 2024, Available at the link: https://eumatrix.eu/en/blog/political-trends-and-dynamics-in-the-european-union-an-outlook-to-the-european-elections-2024
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- 12- Right wing set for big gains in 2024 EU election, polling shows, Available at the link https://www.politico.eu/article/european-election-2024-polls-right-wing-big-gains/

- 13- The Far Right in the European Parliament, Available at the link:https://www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/51006/the-far-right-in-the-european-parliament
- 14- EP Spring 2023 Survey: Democracy in action One year before the European elections, Available at the link: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/3093
- 15- Foreign interference in EU democratic processes, European Parliamentary Research Service, PE 729.271 March 2022.
- 16- Code of Practice on Disinformation: new reports available in the Transparency Centre, Available at the link: https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/news/code-practice-disinformation-new-reports-available-transparency-centre
- 17- ENISA THREAT LANDSCAPE 2023, July 2022 to June 2023, © European Union Agency for Cybersecurity (ENISA), 2023, P93-104.

Right-wing populist parties and 2024 European Parliament elections