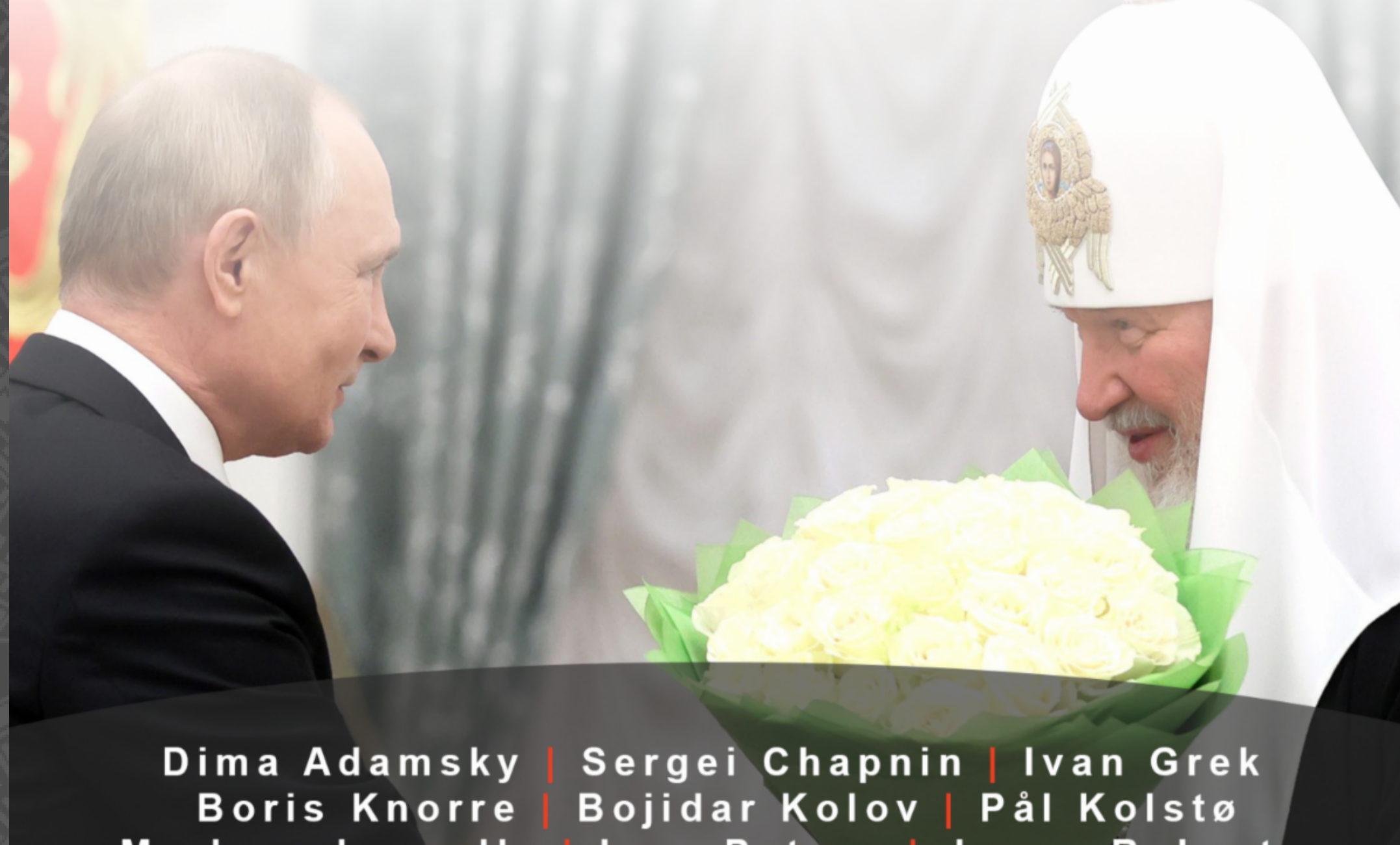


Upcoming event:

The Russian Orthodox Church: Ideology, Politics, and War

Online workshop
Thursday, January 26, 2023 | 8:00 AM - 1:00 PM (EST)



Dima Adamsky | Sergei Chapnin | Ivan Grek
Boris Knorre | Bojidar Kolov | Pál Kolsto
Marlene Laruelle | Ivan Petrov | Jason Roberts
Kristina Stoeckl | Mikhail Suslov | Dmitry Uzlaner

RSVP coming soon

Journal of Illiberalism Studies

A new issue of the *Journal of Illiberalism Studies* is out now!

Download full issue

Eric Zemmour, The New Face of the French Far Right: Media-Sponsored, Neoliberal, and Reactionary

Péline Schir and Marlène Laruelle on the presidential campaign of Eric Zemmour and his new brand for the French far right.



Illiberal Liberalism: A Genealogy

Frank Furedi on the historical and philosophical origins of contemporary illiberal liberalism.



Karl Polanyi's The Great Transformation: The Critique of Liberalism and the Emergence of Illiberalism

Tugberk Samur on Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* and the similarities between his thesis and analysis and the resurgence of illiberalism today.



Regimes of Cheating and the (A)morality of Illiberalism

András Sajó on rule founded on the falsification of facts and ideas in illiberal democracies and the institutionalization of cheating.



Economic Nationalism Goes Global: Illiberal Governments Instrumentalizing Globalization in Eastern Europe

Paula Ganga on illiberal governments' adoption of economic nationalism and statism and the instrumentalization of globalization for their political survival.



Liberal Democracy in a Less-than-Liberal Context? The Case of Contemporary Greece

Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos on Greece and the conditions under which a liberal democracy can flourish in a less-than-liberal context.

Publications

How the Anti-Gender Movement Contributed to Marriage Equality in Slovenia

Roman Kuhar on the counterintuitive way that the anti-gender movement in Slovenia contributed to the country becoming the first in post-socialist Europe to adopt marriage-equality legislation.

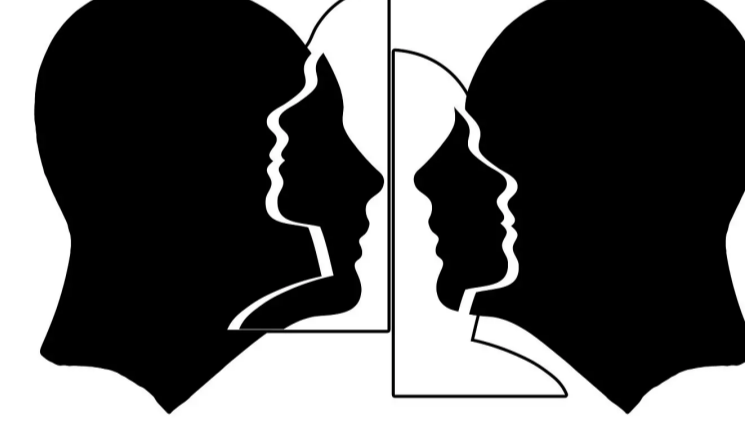


Culture Wars as a Speech Act: Reflecting on Civilizational and Worldview Divides in the Case of Croatian Anti-Gender Mobilizations

Tanja Vuckovic Juros on the notion of "cultural wars" as a speech act.

Medical Assistance in Dying: Culture Wars about Compassion

Marie Nicolini on the current state of the debate on medical assistance in dying and the ethical concerns associated with extending the practice.



RESOURCE HUB



Marián Sekerák *details* the motivations of Slovakia's Catholic hierarchy when it intervenes in public space and politics. By investigating the Church's positions on abortion, LGBTQ+ rights, and education, Sekerák demonstrates how the official Catholic narrative in recent years has been "an ideological mixture of social conservatism, cultural anti-modernism, and the fear of progressivism and liberalism."

By drawing connections between Anglo-American neoliberalism and illiberalism, Raphaël Demias-Morisset *presents* a revisionist intervention into debates over the character and roots of modern-day illiberalism. For Demias-Morisset, the neoliberal projects of the 1980s were both neoliberal and illiberal, and the "tactical alliance between neoliberals and populist-nationalist-conservatives" during that time is the key to understanding the rise of illiberalism that followed. This "first break" with liberalism set the stage for the illiberal projects of the current era.

Pushing back against the claim that Filipino voters are acquiring a "taste for illiberal rule," Yuko Kasuya and Cleo Anne A. Calimbahin *synthesize* data regarding the support for various types of political systems with data on martial-rule support. They find that "Filipino voters are contingent supporters of illiberal politics while supporting the procedural principles of democracy at the baseline," and thus reject the 'taste for illiberal rule' thesis presented by some scholars.

Stephen Deets *outlines* the multifarious challenges to the Lebanese political system. In addition to longstanding divides over sectarian identity within the Lebanese electorate, voters are now also divided along a pro-versus anti-establishment cleavage, bringing Lebanon closer to other electoral authoritarian regimes that display similar characteristics. Deets suggests that this electoral authoritarianism can be tied to late-stage neoliberalism and that escaping it requires "renewed attention to the neo-liberal assumptions embedded in [Lebanon's]...consociational system."

Zsolt Körtvéyesi *unpacks* Victor Orbán's rejection of liberal multiculturalism in favor of an "illiberal multiculturalism" that "deploys multiculturalism policies to serve electoral rather than integrationist objectives." Körtvéyesi demonstrates that, while pre-2010 Hungary appeared to be a poster child of the post-socialist transition, the reforms it undertook were actually nothing more than "shallow reforms without a genuine commitment to multiculturalism." This fact suggests that rather than backsliding or break, Orbán's policies can be seen as operating along a dynamic trajectory that pre-dated his rule.

In *Illiberal Vanguard: Populist Elitism in the United States and Russia*, Alexander Mihalovic uncovers the growing affinity between far-right forces in the U.S. and Russia – countries that are often considered hostile to one another. Rather than probing for specific points of possible contact or collusion, Mihalovic suggests that the affinity runs deeper, and is a product of "mirrored styles of thought that characterize far-right elitism in two erstwhile enemy nations" and a "mutual desire to justify and organize an illiberal vanguard of elite intellectuals, one that supports and advocates for a new authoritarianism."

Katrin Kremmler *investigates* the effects of Hungary's deployment of palaeoanthropologists, archaeogeneticists, archaeologists, and others in the service of creating a "genetic ethnology" of cultural-civilizational continuity with the Huns, Avars, and conquering Magyars. In doing so, Kremmler illuminates an illiberal transformation of science and the humanities in Hungary, one that deserves greater interdisciplinary scrutiny.

In *Democratic Backsliding and Public Administrations: How Populists in Government Transform State Bureaucracies*, contributors deploy a public administration approach to the study of liberal-democratic backsliding, as opposed to the typical social scientific one. They, therefore, address the administrative implications of liberal-democratic backsliding by presenting public administrations as "objects and subjects in the context of illiberal dynamics."

Ronald A. Pernia *conducts* a meta-analysis of populism research in the Philippines by analyzing journal articles, examining their domains of publication and core analytical approaches, and placing them within the broader landscape of Philippine political scholarship. His findings suggest "a thriving and flourishing populism research in the Philippines," but one that "suffers from the same theoretical and empirical obscurities that typifies global research on populism." To course-correct, Pernia suggests that future Philippine populism studies must "adhere to a minimalist theoretical anchor...be methodologically pluralistic and innovative, and...be thematically grounded on a host of other significant domains of Philippine politics that go beyond Duterte."

Autonya Lawrence A. Borja *pushes back* on current studies of illiberal political values that prioritize democratic values, democratic support, populist attitudes, and authoritarian values. In his view, these studies exclude "something older and more fundamental" – political liberalism. To combat this tendency, Borja builds a composite measure of illiberal values by reverse engineering political liberalism from "existing works on illiberal democracy, political intolerance, and the normative philosophy of political liberalism." Borja concludes by defining illiberal political values as "a value system constituted by intolerant and leader-centric values tied with anti-institutionalist tendencies."

In *Apparatchiks and Ideologies in Islamist Turkey: The Intellectual Order of Islamism and Populism*, Doğan Gürpınar *recounts* the transformation of Turkey's embedded intellectuals, from once passionately engaged scholars to their role as apparatchiks and spin doctors today. He details the different constellations of intellectuals that support the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), from "liberal/progressive intellectuals who initially supported the party for its liberal vistas but continued their support by twisting their progressive rhetoric," to "Islamist intellectuals blending their Islamism with populism" and finally "national security intellectuals who joined after the AKP came to propagate a national security agenda." In doing so, Gürpınar makes a valuable contribution to fields ranging from comparative authoritarian politics, populism, political communication, and Middle East and Eastern European studies.

Marina Vulović and Emilia Palonen *build on* recent scholarly debates about the distinction between populism and nationalism. They use a Laclaudian understanding of populism as an antagonistic form of us-building/community-making as a starting point and therefore view populism as an empty vessel that can be filled with different contents, including nationalism. Vulović and Palonen deploy this framework to analyze Narodism in Serbia, and conclude that viewing populism two-dimensionally – as a form of us-building and as an array of discursive repertoires that fill the form – contributes to "debates on the 'core' of populism and to cases where articulations of 'the people' coincide with expressions of nationhood, civilizationalism, and culturalism, rather than being entirely the same."

Gde Dwitaya Arief Metera *surveys* the state of Indonesian democracy. Building on common assertions that Indonesia's regime is defined by democratic backsliding, democratic decline, and democratic regression, Metera unpacks the key sources of Indonesia's illiberal features. He finds that Indonesia's illiberal democracy is disproportionately a feature of the "involvement of the state in enforcing religion." Utilizing data from the Religion and State (RAS) 3 and V-Dem datasets, Metera demonstrates that Indonesia has a far higher number of religious legislations than the average democracy globally. More specifically, he shows that, because of decentralization and the uneven distribution of rights to subnational governments, some regions in Indonesia are far more illiberal than others, especially in the religious freedom dimension.

For resources on illiberal, populist, and authoritarian trends across the globe, consult our growing [Resource Hub](#) aggregating hundreds of published academic articles on *illiberalism* and other topics relating to illiberal movements. From security and international affairs, to democratic backsliding and public policy, this center of longstanding and recently published literature continues to document ongoing global trends of growing illiberal movements around the world.

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