



COST 062/24

### **DECISION**

Subject: Memorandum of Understanding for the implementation of the COST Action

"Democratization at stake? Comparing Anti-Gender Politics in CEE and NME countries"

(Antigender-Politics) CA23149

The COST Member Countries will find attached the Memorandum of Understanding for the COST Action Democratization at stake? Comparing Anti-Gender Politics in CEE and NME countries approved by the Committee of Senior Officials through written procedure on 17 May 2024.





### MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

For the implementation of a COST Action designated as

# COST Action CA23149 DEMOCRATIZATION AT STAKE? COMPARING ANTI-GENDER POLITICS IN CEE AND NME COUNTRIES (Antigender-Politics)

The COST Members through the present Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) wish to undertake joint activities of mutual interest and declare their common intention to participate in the COST Action, referred to above and described in the Technical Annex of this MoU.

The Action will be carried out in accordance with the set of COST Implementation Rules approved by the Committee of Senior Officials (CSO), or any document amending or replacing them.

The main aim and objective of the Action is to historicize and analyse with an interdisciplinary and comparative approach, how anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations and the escalating backsliding of democratization policies are intertwined and how they strengthen de-democratizing predispositions in Eastern Europe and Middle and Near East.. This will be achieved through the specific objectives detailed in the Technical Annex.

The present MoU enters into force on the date of the approval of the COST Action by the CSO.





### **OVERVIEW**

### **Summary**

In the era of globalization after the 1990s, the states of Eastern Europe (EE) as well as the close European neighbours in the Near and Middle East (NME) underwent significant social changes and political developments, especially with regard to democratization. Political consensus on norms such as "women's rights are human rights" and/or on measures against sexual discrimination appeared as a central component and symbol of democratization and democratic societies. Although these transformation processes had different and unequal impacts within and between the EE and NME states, these states shared some commonalities in their approach to transnational gender equality norms and policies. These commonalities have been contested for about 15 years. In the EE and NME states, current conflicts have focused on so-called "European values," which include, in particular, gender equality and sexual equality, but which are opposed by religious fundamentalism, homophobia, and a neo-traditionalist ideology. Not only democratic values, but also gender and sexual identity equality norms and policies appear to be seriously at stake. The network aims to comparatively research and discuss anti-gender politics in Eastern Europe and neighbouring countries through its academic events and to disseminate these findings, because a systematic uncovering of how the rise of anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations is linked to the decline of democratic norms and structures has yet to be done. A total of four working groups will be established, including colleagues from EE and NME countries, as well as early-career researchers, innovators, and NGOs.

### **Areas of Expertise Relevant for the Action**

- Political Science: International studies, strategic studies, human rights, global and transnational governance
- History and Archeology: History of collective identities and memories, history of gender

### Keywords

- antigender mobilization
- anti-feminism
- women's rights
- democratization
- social transformation

### **Specific Objectives**

To achieve the main objective described in this MoU, the following specific objectives shall be accomplished:

### Research Coordination

- Broaden and systematize the state of research by developing a comparative gender politics perspective to systematically observe and investigate the relationship between anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations, the ascent of de-democratizing and authoritarian tendencies, and the decline of democracy.
- Identify a key set of variables amenable to comparison to observe, monitor, report on and research.
- Develop self-reflective, compatible and/or cohesive and mutually supporting data collection and analysis methods aligned with the developed comparative gender politics perspective to secure the robustness and comparability of the research findings in different contexts.
- Establish common guidelines for research ethics that enhance and uphold epistemic justice in comparative approaches.
- Establish an international database of resources, bibliographic references and related publications.
- Establish an international digital platform to communicate and disseminate the research results in the form of perspective papers/essays, monitoring reports, online tutorials and policy briefings.
- Develop strategies for effective public communication and citizen-led democratic deliberation on the



topics fueling anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations.

### Capacity Building

- Establish and further advance comparative methodology, research ethics and effective public communication strategies through interactive workshops.
- Promote the development of the comparative research agenda and public communication strategies among young researchers.
- Develop an online presence to disseminate basic information on the COST Action via video- recorded presentations at network events and blog posts, and to encourage participation among a broad spectrum of researchers, students, civil society activists and policymakers.
- Increase the number of students, early-career researchers and innovators in the COST Action and ensure that they have opportunities to work with experienced scholars and to attend its events.
- Provide mentoring and other support for COST Action members operating in hostile environments or from the diaspora.
- Monitor gender balance, the inclusion of researchers working in the targeted regions and of early-career researchers and innovators in COST Action activities.
- Provide opportunities for capacity building for young scholars, particularly those from NNCs and those considered "at risk", through short term scientific missions.



### **TECHNICAL ANNEX**

### **S&T EXCELLENCE**

### 1.1. SOUNDNESS OF THE CHALLENGE

### 1.1.1. DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE-OF-THE-ART

During the globalization era of the post-1990s, states of Eastern Europe (EE), i.e., countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe, and Near Neighboring Countries (NNCs) located in the Near and Middle East (NME), underwent **substantial social transformations** and political developments, particularly with regard to **democratization**. The political consensus around norms such as "women's rights are human rights" and/or about measures against sexual discrimination appeared as a core part and symbol of democratization and democratic societies. Although these transformation processes had different and uneven effects within and between EE and NME countries, these regions shared some similarities in their approach to transnationally driven gender equality norms and policies.

The economic crisis of 2008 and the following Eurozone crisis weakened gender equality. Particularly over the last decade, this seemingly inclusive vision of the post-Cold War world era, based on a shared commitment to gender equality, has appeared to be contested in various parts of the world. In EE and the NNCs of the European Union (EU) in the NME region, current military and non-military conflicts have arisen from the speed and ferocity of socio-economic changes and worldwide challenges such the Covid-19 pandemic, but they are also intentionally stoked by various political actors with competing political agendas. They bring into focus the so-called "European values", which emphasize gender and sexual equality, and oppose religious fundamentalism, homophobia and their neo-traditionalist ideology. This suggests that anti-gender movements are often geo-politicized and rooted in the historical, cultural and political context of their region. Hence, not only democratic values, but also gender and sexual equality norms and policies seem to be seriously threatened.

The new risks to gender and sexual equality norms and policies are primarily illustrated by publicly instigated fears around the very concept of gender. The concept itself has been accused of being an "ideology" against which individuals and families need to be protected (Kuhar and Paternotte, 2017). Different political actors, often entangled in a network of allies including media outlets, academics, public figures, online anti-gender influencers and the "manosphere", are today uniformly engaged in the effort to combat the expanding reach and influx of what they call "gender ideology" or "genderism" into their societies (e.g., Slavova, 2022). These include cross-party and cross-religious alliances, both at national (Norocel and Băluță, 2021) and transnational levels (Kalm and Meeuwisse, 2023). An important part of their strategy is the so-called "march through the institutions", in which the representatives of anti-gender alliances seek to occupy important positions in the advisory or decisionmaking bodies of the EU, the Council of Europe and the United Nations. Moreover, this has led to a concerted targeting of EU institutions and the emergence of a temporary alliance of conservative Christian and Muslim governments and religious-conservative civil society at the level of the United Nations (Mos, 2018, Cupać and Ebetürk, 2020). These groups claim to restore and/or preserve the socalled "natural family". They also situate the public debate on issues such as gender-based violence, women's and LGBTQI+ rights within a wider post-colonial, anti-imperialist discourse that regards feminism and gender politics (including attempts to establish equal rights for sexual minorities) as manifestations of cultural imperialism and/or Westernism (Korolczuk and Graff, 2018).

This political development has been widely conceptualized in the academic literature and public media as the **rise of "anti-gender" politics** and/or as "**anti-feminism**". Scholars have argued that "gender" has become an "empty signifier" that will be filled with variable content and serves as a **"symbolic glue" for conservative and far right-wing movements** (Kováts, and Põim, 2015). They maintain that it has become a tool for political mobilization against a range of issues including (but not limited to) reproductive rights, LGBTQI+ rights and sexual education. Such anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations – sometimes manifest in very different forms and shapes – have been observed across a wide array of countries, from Denmark (Breiding Hansen, 2021) and the UK (Thurlow, 2022) to Brazil



(Corrêa, 2022).

The forms and shapes that anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations have taken in EE and NME countries are of particular interest because of the **escalating backsliding of democratization policies** and the strengthening of de-democratizing predispositions in these regions. The focus on these regions becomes even more important given the absence of scholarly comparison of these regions, despite the existence of broad region-specific research literature on similar topics. A comparison of these regions **brings together important historical legacies** that permeate their societies: EE is a post-socialist region, coined by multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies and imperial rule, that underwent complex processes of democratic transition. NME countries, often also characterized by multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies, have been shaped by colonial legacies and (failing) democratization efforts in the 20th century. It is also of utmost importance to contextualize anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations with respect to social, economic and political crises, including the predicament of pro-democratic initiatives and, within this frame, to historicize the development and particular forms of anti-gender and anti-feminist movements in EE and the NME.

While focusing on specific national contexts, various studies have observed the following recent developments, which tend to harm democratic norms and democratization processes:

- Opposition to, or even prohibition of, gender studies at universities, starting with the ban of gender studies from Hungarian universities in 2018 (Richardson and Robinson, 2020; Stubbs and Lendvai-Bainton, 2020);
- the designing and introduction of family reforms to strengthen the rights of men as heads of the household and the family. This also includes measures making divorce more complicated (Vachudova, 2020; Bodur Ün and Arikan, 2022);
- the emergence of nativist and/or religious men's rights activists or organized anti-feminist groups, particularly across social media outlets, targeting feminist and LGBTQI+ groups and/or women's rights defenders (Eslen-Ziya and Bjørnholt, 2022; Korolczuk, 2020);
- the erosion of women's reproductive rights by legally limiting or preventing access to safe abortion, such as in Poland 2021 (Żuk and Żuk, 2020);
- an increased threat to the individual rights and freedoms of women and LGBTQI+ individuals via a
  politics of impunity for the perpetrators of gender-based violence, such as the withdrawal of Turkey
  from the Istanbul Convention of the EU in 2021 (Kandiyoti, 2016).
- Using women's and LGBTQ+ rights liberalization as a justification for military conflicts, e.g for the war against Ukraine since 2022 (Kratochvíl and O'Sullivan, 2023)
- Criminalization of people on the basis of their sexual orientation or gender identity and the inculturation of a politics of hatred towards LGBTQI+ individuals (Pakhnyuk, 2019; Birdal, 2020).

This body of work already points out the **timeliness** of these developments and the threat they represent for the gender and sexual equality norms on a national level. However, there is a need for a systematic exposure of how the rise of anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations are connected to a decline in democratic norms and structures. Accordingly, this COST Action will place such developments detected at national levels in a broader comparative perspective. With its focus on EE and the NME, the COST Action strives to identify ways in which anti-gender mobilizations endanger democratization processes. At a more general level, it argues that the socio-political transformations and economic transitions of the globalization era have particularly affected gender relations in EE and NME countries as they have challenged established gender arrangements, to the extent that gender norms have become the central stage for societal and political strife. Thus, this COST Action initially proposes that one particular answer to the perceived crises in EE and NME countries has been the gradual emergence of anti-gender and anti-feminist politics. Relatedly, the strengthening of anti-gender mobilizations seems to function as both a "glue" and also an instigator for different anti-democratic tendencies. Several retrogressive actors have tapped into the rise of anti-gender movements and/or instrumentalized the related ideas to further their particular agendas and interests, leading to the formation of deeply polarized societies and politics. Thus, this COST Action will offer a comparative and historicizing perspective to explore the root causes of the current rise of anti-gender politics as part of de-democratizing tendencies and attitudes.

### 1.1.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE CHALLENGE (MAIN AIM)

As the many examples of recent measures that undermine women's and LGBTQ+ rights and safety in



EE and NME countries show, anti-gender politics have become a signum of backlashing against the gender and sexual equality norms and policies that seemed to be established as community acquis in the EU as well as of the policy goals of transnational organizations such as the United Nations before. This also threatens a further democratization in both regions, as the denial of rights and social equality also entails barriers for the use of political rights for women and LGBTQ+ citizens.

This COST Action believes that the **main challenge** consists of **defining the root causes** of current polarizing and de-democratizing conflicts around gender relations in the EU and its NNCs in the NME, which are closely linked to Europe via migration movements. It assumes that the development of a publicly owned and supported democratic alternative discourse to the current stalemate is highly dependent upon the exposition of these root causes. There has been a plethora of valuable research dedicated to revealing the nature and political impact of anti-gender movements via single-country case studies and/or region-specific collections of essays. Despite this richness, the **simultaneous rise** of anti-gender mobilizations in **seemingly dissimilar socio-political contexts** has been **much less explored** and explained from a **comparative perspective**. Although a small number of limited studies have touched on transnational actors and/or permissive intergovernmental architectures that facilitate and/or foster discourse transfers between and among different polities, the question of "what makes this possible?" has rarely been raised. Key questions include:

- What makes anti-gender movement a powerful political development in seemingly different contexts in EE and NME countries?
- How is it that different socio-cultural formations are subjected to similar types of anti-gender movement occurrences?
- What is the role of the socialist legacy in the current rise of anti-gender politics in EE?
- To what extent does this legacy help in framing gender equality as "totalitarian" and as an offshoot
  of "cultural Marxism"?
- How does this tie in with the current authoritarian tendencies in the regions under scrutiny?
- What is the impact of transitional social and political tensions and challenges experienced during the globalization processes?
- How do these past legacies interact with current social and economic challenges, such as the global rise of living costs related to the ecological changes, the Covid-19 pandemic and military conflicts in these regions?

Similarly, apart from a very small number of studies, the challenges faced by the states widely discussed in the public sphere as "the crisis of state" are currently under-problematized in academic discussions on anti-gender politics. Area studies scholars observe a convergence of political regimes around the globe because of pressing changes in global political economic conditions, ecological conflicts and geopolitical tensions. This trend is connected with a global tendency towards containing civil society activism and the incapacitation of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). It is also related to the strengthening of the executive vis-a-vis the other two state powers, namely the judiciary and parliamentary, e.g., through NGOs promoting anti-gender values and anti-Istanbul Convention mobilization. It is therefore necessary to rethink the relation between transformations in political regimes and the rise of anti-gender politics. Key questions here include:

- How does the tendency to de-democratization in the EU and its NNCs create permissive conditions for anti-gender mobilization?
- How does this affect global convergence towards de-democratization?
- What transnational networks and entanglements lead to an exchange of motives and argumentations?
- What role do such networks and entanglements play in mobilization?

Relatedly, the role of **politicized religion** in shaping anti-feminist state discourse(s) and public services (e.g., in state apparatus such as schools and hospitals) is largely taken for granted rather than analytically explored. However, several civil society organizations that espouse religiously defined societal missions also support anti-gender movements, either obliquely or openly. Several state organs such as religious affairs directorates also propagate messages aligned to anti-gender arguments. Irrespective of confessional traditions, the global trend towards de-secularization has a close connection with the rise of anti-gender movements. The nature of this connection is still to be exposed.

Finally, although **feminist**, **queer and/or LGBTQI+ counterstrategies** have been relatively well discussed in the activist and academic literature, the **limits and potential of these strategies** in terms



of countering the de-democratization effects of anti-gender politics **need** to be re-**assessed**. If the rise of anti-gender mobilization is rooted in the crises of our times and if it assumes functions such as the so-called "culturalization" of socio-economic struggle, countering it necessitates building wider coalitions and finding or creating "unexpected allies" both from within and outside the political mainstream. The current feminist, queer and/or LGBTQI+ activism practices already display such coalitional characteristics in an effort to create solidarity networks. Studies have shown yet that many of the local practical, everyday struggles related to subsistence and social reproduction remain unnoticed. Therefore, a further COST Action focus of this project is to consider counterstrategies beyond feminist and/or queer groups, to reveal the potential for and the limits of a broader front for the protection and nurturing of democracy and democratization efforts. Only the common interdisciplinary work and transregional and historicizing perspective of COST Action's international network including not only excellent researchers but also international and national NGOs could provide such outreach.

### 1.2. PROGRESS BEYOND THE STATE-OF-THE-ART

1.2.1. APPROACH TO THE CHALLENGE AND PROGRESS BEYOND THE STATE-OF-THE-ART

This COST Action proposes that providing (1) systematic, comparative, (2) historically sensitive and (3) citizen-education oriented insights on these relatively under-researched queries is key to protecting and nourishing the norm of gender equality and the vision of democratic societies in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the NME.

1) **Systematic, comparative approach**. Despite being one of the most fruitful methodologies for exploring the relevance of different variables that generate and resolve social and political problems, one significant barrier to using comparative approaches is a scarcity of resources. Comparative work in social sciences is a heavily resource-dependent activity, as it requires having smooth access to multiple and at times non-hospitable contexts, overcoming language barriers and having enough time for data collection and analysis. This COST Action aims to fill this substantial methodological gap through network-based cooperation.

The COST Action advances the state-of-the-art first by developing systematic comparative research. Although there have been several single-country case studies on the rise of anti-feminism and/or antigender politics in ascendant right-wing populist regimes in countries such as Hungary, Poland and Turkey, systematic studies with a comparative design are lacking. A comparative design is crucial to understand the root causes of democratic backsliding and how it is related to anti-gender mobilization. The COST Action focuses on the Central, East, South-East European and NME countries, which have a semi-peripheral position that is also reflected in wider academic production. Emphasizing semi-peripherality, the COST Action scrutinizes the role of global hierarchies and gives voice to the academics and other stakeholders in the regions whose positions are particularly precarious. The COST Action believes that such a comparative horizon would help to identify the convergent and divergent patterns in recent political developments, better grasp the gender-struggle-related dynamics of dedemocratization and, thus, be more effective in the production of best-practice dissemination activities. Taking a comparatively enriched focus will help avoid the polarization logic that dominates the current political fields and enable the development of alternative discourses that go beyond "good guys vs. bad boys" framing fostered by the current political climate.

2) **Historically sensitive approach**. This COST Action will build on a historical perspective in the sense that the current rise of anti-gender mobilizations will be assessed with respect to the cross-cutting historical legacies of authoritarianism and globalization processes in the European semi-periphery and periphery. The democratization agenda, the process of Europeanization and the (variegated) integration into the global economic order of the 1990s have generated comparable dynamics of change and conflict in seemingly dissimilar locations. Historically sensitive area studies have developed some widely agreed and canonized theses about gender and politics. At this initial stage, the following theses have helped inform this COST Action via the selection of countries to be compared: (a) in semi-peripheral and/or peripheral countries, gender regimes are highly dynamic and at times conflict-laden because of continuously changing national economic and geographical integration patterns; (b) historical legacies



of superpower dominance and/or independence conflicts have created similar, if not identical, oppressive dynamics for gender relations; (c) the legacy of state-led gender equality reforms has created paradoxical and/or uneven outcomes for women's rights and gender equality in authoritarian contexts and/or regimes; (d) the continuing processes of secularization and de-secularization deeply influence the conflict around gender norms and policies.

These general theses will be retested during COST Action activities to add nuance and to correct, tone down and/or refute current highly politicized arguments around gender relations. Considering the complex historical legacies seems to be key in overcoming hegemonic and routinized narratives that represent EE and NME countries as being "delayed" and/or "culturally regressive". These representations may, paradoxically, strengthen the backlash and anti-feminist politics in such places.

3) Citizen-education oriented approach. The COST Action will be citizen-education oriented and prioritize the development and dissemination of gender-just discourses. This means ensuring sustainable and effective production of "food-for-thought" material that demonstrates, through data-driven evidence, the harmful impact of anti-gender ideology and politics for the general public and for different and unexpected sections of society. This includes the target audiences of these politics, such as so-called "impoverished men and boys" and/or "religious women". Insecurities and emotions of fear and anxiety, which feed into establishing polarized societies, will be openly addressed. This citizen-education oriented approach will include channels of popular scientific communication and public forums and discussions (e.g., deliberative or democratic forums). It will aim to engage and educate citizens "not to fear gender", but to find a common language and see the benefits for all of living in more tolerant and just societies.

In summary, by focusing on a highly politicized and challenging topic, the proposed project is timely and of high academic and socio-political importance. It will:

- Provide scientific knowledge about the causes and consequences of anti-gender and anti-feminist politics and mobilizations across EE and the NME from a comparative perspective.
- Provide policy-relevant knowledge on how to approach these developments and how to support a process of democratization that is responsive to the needs of different groups of female, male and non-binary populations and to the needs of marginalized groups (such as LGBTQI+ people).
- Promote shared European values laid out in the "Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union" (2009) and European policies to counter discrimination and violence based on sex and gender.
- Offer detailed knowledge on contestations on (anti-)feminism and (anti-)gender politics in both regions to avoid a "container perspective" where a country and its population is labelled as "backward", "sexist" or "patriarchal" in public debates.
- Deliver a comparative perspective on practices towards new modes of democratic engagement, including strategies that provide accessible knowledge on the harms of anti-gender ideology and politics for all sections of society.

This COST Action network with its broad regional focus and interdisciplinary approach will bring together excellent scholars from various countries and disciplines due to provide comparative and vibrant research insights and experiences on these urgent questions and challenges. Furthermore, it will be able to include expertise from NGOs and to disseminate common scholarly finding to a broader public and stakeholders.

### 1.2.2. OBJECTIVES

### 1.2.2.1. RESEARCH COORDINATION OBJECTIVES

Considering the current attempts to restrict women's and LGBTQI rights as the main outcome of antigender policies and de-democratization efforts in many EE and NME countries, the COST Action will deepen the current knowledge on both the contextual sources and socio-cultural impact of anti-gender movements. By focusing on historical trajectories, the Action will go beyond current scientific interpretations based on observation and description of recent events and attitudes, and provide necessary insights into the mechanisms and linkages of anti-gender and de-democratizing policies in different cultures. Only this COST Action network, with its geographical scope, interdisciplinary design,



and wide range of outcomes for further research and capacity building, can be of use to political and NGO actors as well as to the public.

Hence, the main objective of the COST Action is to promote equality by **comparatively examining mechanisms**, **actors** and **discourses** that oppose it. It will **systematically connect researchers and activists** with expertise on anti-feminist and anti-gender politics, as well as those who are developing feminist counterstrategies. A special emphasis is placed on including individuals and organizations from EU COST Inclusiveness Target Countries (ITCs) and Near-Neighbor Countries (NNCs), and on connecting established experts and early-career researchers and innovators. Membership of the COST Action will also be open to individuals in the diaspora, as difficult political and/or working conditions in this field mean that many critical researchers and activists have been driven into exile or have chosen to move abroad in order to be able to continue their work against anti-feminist and anti-gender agendas. The COST Action also includes established experts from International Partner Countries (IPC), especially the United States. It also interacts with civil society organizations, respectively, NGOs and policy stakeholders, to identify major challenges in the field of anti-feminism and anti-gender politics. To coordinate, activate and energize COST Action, the following targets are set:

- Broaden and systematize the state of research on countries in the target regions by developing a comparative gender politics perspective to systematically observe and investigate the relationship between anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations, the ascent of de-democratizing and authoritarian tendencies, and the decline of democracy in a manner that focuses on comparison between EE and the NME and within these regions. Comparative social sciences involve the study and comparison of societies, institutions, and social phenomena to understand patterns, differences, and similarities across different contexts. Several significant aspects define this field, from institutional analysis to the analyses of economic disparities. This Action will specifically focus on the development of comparative method with respect to political regimes, historical trajectories and social (counter) movements.
- Identify a key set of variables amenable to comparison to observe, monitor, report on and research.
- Develop self-reflective, compatible and/or cohesive and mutually supporting data collection and analysis methods aligned with the developed comparative gender politics perspective to secure the robustness and comparability of the research findings in different contexts. Under this objective, methodological innovation is also targeted. This is necessary to advance the depth and accuracy of comparison. Innovation will be achieved thanks to transdisciplinary character of the network.
- Establish common guidelines for research ethics that enhance and uphold epistemic justice in comparative approaches.
- Establish an international database of resources, bibliographic references and related publications.
- Establish an international digital platform to communicate and disseminate the research results in the form of perspective papers/essays, monitoring reports, online tutorials and policy briefings.
- Develop strategies for effective public communication and citizen-led democratic deliberation on the topics fueling anti-gender and anti-feminist mobilizations.

### 1.2.2.2. CAPACITY-BUILDING OBJECTIVES

The core group of experts involved at this stage consists of researchers with institutional affiliations in EU COST member states and ITCs. To ensure a balance of regional expertise in the Working Groups (WGs), the COST Action needs to be expanded to include more members from NNCs in the NME as well as individuals in the diaspora. Difficult political and/or working conditions in their home countries mean that many researchers pursuing critical work against anti-feminist and anti-gender agendas have been driven into exile (particularly those from countries such as Russia, Ukraine, Hungary, Turkey, Egypt, Iran and Syria) or have chosen an international career within the EU or in IPCs. To achieve a balance between experienced and junior researchers, the COST Action will ensure to recruit more early-career scholars and innovators as COST Action members and to include interested students in network events. To ensure interactions with civil society organizations/NGOs, policy stakeholders and the media, the COST Action intends to extend existing contacts of individual Action members.

To achieve these objectives, the COST Action has the following capacity building objectives:

- To organize interdisciplinary workshops to establish and further comparative methodology, research ethics and effective public communication strategies that will be promoted during research and dissemination activities.
- To organize pilot online teaching units and training schools to develop an upcoming generation of



graduate students and PhDs and promote the development of the comparative research agenda and public communication strategies among young researchers.

- To develop and pilot online training schools for activists, policymakers and the broader public to disseminate current state-of-the art research practices and results, and conduct citizen-led democratic deliberations (democratic forums).
- To organize specific events at existing international conferences in the EU to disseminate the knowledge produced.
- To develop an online presence to disseminate basic information on the COST Action via videorecorded presentations at network events and blog posts, and to encourage participation among a broad spectrum of researchers, students, civil society activists and policymakers.
- To use existing contacts from core members to expand the COST Action to include members from NNCs and researchers, activists and policy stakeholders with regional expertise living in the diaspora.
- To increase the number of students, early-career researchers and innovators in the COST Action and ensure that they have opportunities to work with experienced scholars and to attend its events.
- To provide mentoring and other support for COST Action members operating in hostile environments or from the diaspora.
- To monitor gender balance, the inclusion of researchers working in the targeted regions and of early-career researchers and innovators in COST Action activities
- To invite scholars, particularly those from NNCs and those considered "at risk", for research stays of one to two months at COST Action institutions (short-term scientific missions).

### 2. NETWORKING EXCELLENCE

### 2.1. ADDED VALUE OF NETWORKING IN S&T EXCELLENCE

2.1.1. ADDED VALUE IN RELATION TO EXISTING EFFORTS AT EUROPEAN AND/OR INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

EU's **Horizon Europe Strategic Plan** (2021-2024) defines "creating a more resilient, inclusive and democratic European society" as a key strategic orientation. This focus rightfully underlines the importance of **research and innovation investments** in **favor of democracy**. The plan does not separately and specifically consider the rise of anti-gender mobilizations as a threat to democracy, but it forcefully underlines the need to create inclusive societies that fight against intersecting inequalities, including those based on disability, ethnicity and LGBTQI identity. The proposed project will make a significant **contribution to these efforts** of the European Commission as it will assess the threats to democracy generated by the recent rise of anti-gender mobilizations. It also complements existing research, such as the projects funded in the program "Feminisms for a New Age of Democracy" under EU Horizon 2021, and earlier COST Actions, such as "LGBTI+ Social and Economical (in)equalities" (LGBTIplus-inequalities).

This COST Action will seek **outreach** to colleagues from these projects to build on their expertise and results. It has an additional value through its focus on two geographic regions (EE and NME) at the (semi-)periphery of Europe as well as by its systematic comparative and historical perspective that asks for the root causes of current contestations. Additionally, this COST Action will **contact and cooperate** with several **autonomous bodies of the EU** such as the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) which has been established to strengthen gender equality across the EU, exclusively focuses on member states and/or pre-accession countries, and also with the European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights (EPF). It will contact and cooperate with projects funded in the EU Horizon 2024 scheme "Gender-Roles in Extremist Movements and Their Impact on Democracy". This COST Action will complement related knowledge production by **extending the focus to the NNCs of Europe**. By including the NME countries with colonial legacies and different socio-cultural and religious characteristics, this COST Action's transdisciplinary approach will provide a de-centering and decolonizing perspective via synchronically and diachronically informed interpretations of anti-gender politics.

The COST Action will also **bring together** scholars from social, political and historical sciences. Members will be **empowered to overcome their conventional disciplinary boundaries** and **modes** 



of assessment. This project design will require negotiation of terms and phrases as well as conceptual and theoretical work that occupies different positions in various disciplines. This negotiation will contribute to understanding long-lasting and stable preconditions, and pursuits of values and norms, as well as societal changes in humanities and social sciences, and thus provide an evidence-based basis for policies countering anti-gender mobilizations. Via the cooperation with NGOs and other civil society actors and formats targeted to the broader public, this COST Action will also make a contribution to promote democratic social discourse and political deliberation.

### 2.2. ADDED VALUE OF NETWORKING IN IMPACT

## 2.2.1. SECURING THE CRITICAL MASS, EXPERTISE AND GEOGRAPHICAL BALANCE WITHIN THE COST MEMBERS AND BEYOND

This COST Action brings together renowned and leading scholars to COST Action's field of interest, mainly from various European countries with a strong focus on ICTs from Eastern Europe. It includes scholars researching on countries where women's rights and gender-equality standards are politically contested, if not endangered. The network includes scholars from humanities, particularly historians and social and political scientists. Members have research experience in gender studies and in history of social transformations, with a different regional focus and are expected to contribute complementary knowledge and research experience. Members have contacts to or are part of respective NGOs committed to gender equality questions. Hence, the core COST Action group of applicants includes experienced scholars, but it will include NGOs from national and international / EU-level in the broader network of members. As scholars from NNC are not eligible as COST applicants, a special focus is laid on recruiting these scholars as members of the network by tapping on existing contacts to interested colleagues from this region.

Since gender studies are themselves gendered, the COST Action is open to men and non-binary researchers with a critical interest in anti-gender mobilizations. Many of the co-applicants are experienced in COST Action networks and all have broad experience in third-party funding projects. COST Action will include NGO-representatives as members too which will be included in COST Action and will guarantee knowledge transfer and dissemination to stakeholders. The network applicant, co-applicants and other members like NGOs have broad experience in international cooperation. Overall, all applicants have empirical knowledge in obtaining grants as academic reviewers for grants and as academic advisors. The preliminary COST Action lead has long-term experience in large-scale projects. The COST Action networks will expand the network by:

- Using existing international contacts from core members and inviting them to conferences, panels and publications
- Organizing interdisciplinary network events on anti-feminism and anti-gender politics in EE and NME countries covered by the network with an open call for papers that will be disseminated via the network's online presence, topical mailing lists and networks
- Organizing sessions or panels at mainstream academic conferences (e.g., the European Political Sciences Conference, the European Conference for Politics and Gender; the European Sociological Association Conference, the Council for European Studies, the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, the Association for the Studies of Nationalities)
- Arranging policy and activist conferences
- Adopting a dissemination strategy promoting the COST Action network's attractivity
- Hosting short-term scientific missions (research stays) for one to two months for scholars from NNCs and those who are "at risk" (up to four per year).

### 2.2.2. INVOLVEMENT OF STAKEHOLDERS

The COST Action's outreach strategy targets the following types of stakeholders:

- National and international policymakers (like member of EU- and national parliaments, NGOs and national agencies); the COST Action will organize roundtables and virtual events for discussions and disseminating the key findings (at least twice in year 1-4).
- Media personnel, including broadcast media and press representatives, will be invited to main events; COST Action members will give interviews
- Cooperating with NGOs and foundations that specialize in the monitoring of anti-gender politics



### e.g., in organizing deliberative forums

- The broader public, via media (e.g., podcasts, blogs) and deliberative/democratic forums. COST Action members will write articles and develop formats (e.g., podcasts, video clips) to reach the broader public in social media
- Students and future generations of researchers who are interested in research on (anti-)gender movements, through online tutorials and other teaching units for schools, universities and adult education published as Open Educational Resources in Open Access. COST Action members will integrate this project's outcomes into their teaching activities. The development of online teaching formats is intended to generate interest in the network's main topic and problems. Although the COST Action's core networks consist of experienced researchers, early-career scholars will be invited to the workshops and final conference, and will be included as authors of policy papers, etc. Moreover, the COST Action will develop further tools for early-career support (see 4.1.1).

### 3. IMPACT

# 3.1. IMPACT ON SCIENCE, SOCIETY AND COMPETITIVENESS, AND POTENTIAL FOR INNOVATION/BREAKTHROUGHS

3.1.1. SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL AND/OR SOCIOECONOMIC IMPACTS (INCLUDING POTENTIAL INNOVATIONS AND/OR BREAKTHROUGHS)

The COST Action will assess how and to what extent anti-gender politics harm democratization efforts in a systemic and comparative manner. The systemic framework will lead to a conceptual development that moves beyond existing single-discipline, single-country case research. The focus on semi-peripheral states will bring about new insights into how political, social and economic crises develop and become integral to societal functioning, and how emotions and fears become politicized and instrumentalized in de-democratizing processes, especially with regard to semi-peripheral specifics in development which are often assessed as "late-comers". The COST Action will thus scrutinize the analytical and explanatory power of the self-concept of "semi-peripherality". In doing so, current political arguments will be used to examine the durability and sustainability of gender-related norms and politics, and to show how they will be misrepresented for political gain. Another important new perspective is that COST Action includes the citizen education perspective since existing counterstrategies mostly target politicians and the political field. It will connect with general public without the intermediation of political actors. Therefore, COST Action's work targets three different layers of outreach: 1) research and teaching as early career support, 2) transfer to stakeholders and activists, 3) dissemination to broader public.

### 3.2. MEASURES TO MAXIMIZE IMPACT

3.2.1. KNOWLEDGE CREATION, TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT

The COST Action aims to provide academic knowledge about how the experience of crisis and antigender politics are intertwined. The following activities of COST Action network will advance research through:

- Compile **special issues** in internationally renowned and peer-reviewed journals which do not focus exclusively on gender issues, in order to raise the profile of democratization and gender issues (at least one by each WG 1-3)
- Edit volumes, workshops and conference proceedings.
- Encourage and support monograph writing by individual members related to the COST Action.
- Organizing COST Action's workshops and conferences as well as panels on conferences organized by third party associations.
- Promote the emergence of **research data** through the common work of the WGs. Since the COST Action will discuss terms and conceptions, a common **multi-lingual thesaurus** will be the most appropriate outcome (digiCult.xTree-based), published as Open Access on the project's website and on the lead member's publishing server as a precondition for long-term storage.
- Promote the emergence of research data through the common work of the WGs. Since the COST
- Promote early career researchers through including and supporting them within COST Action's activities and organizing specific training schools.



Support researchers at risk through Short Term Scientific Mission the MC will award.

# 3.2.2. PLAN FOR DISSEMINATION AND/OR EXPLOITATION AND DIALOGUE WITH THE GENERAL PUBLIC OR POLICY STAKEHOLDERS

The proposed dissemination strategies target students and new entrants into the academic field, the general public and activists and policy stakeholders. The network will establish a separate WG (WG 4) that will develop further tools for dissemination. As first steps, COST Action will:

- Create an **online presence** of the COST Action that informs people about the activities of the network via a webpage, blog postings, tweets and Facebook updates, and contribute to transfer portals like *Europeana*.
- Producing articles, interviews and short notes for dissemination via media, transfer portals, blogs and social media. The COST Action will establish its own blog for discussion with the broader public and scientific community.
- Develop online teaching formats and an online lecture series with the participating universities, in cooperation with national and international civil society organizations (e.g., with Off University, http://off-university.com/en-US) that are video-recorded and made available via YouTube and other online channels.
- Develop Open Educational Resources in Open Access.
- Produce **policy briefings** on relevant developments in the field of anti-feminism and anti-gender politics in the two geographical regions under study, to be disseminated online via the COST Action homepage, institutional press releases, established policy/activist lists and the personal networks of network members.
- Organize round-table events for the broader public with participating NGOs, activists, policy stakeholders (at least one outreach event in Brussels, e.g., in cooperation with the Competence Centre on Participatory and Deliberative Democracy) and journalists by pooling the existing contacts of network members, if possible with already existing COST Action networks (e.g., with COST 077/21 and 006/20).
- COST Action's Transfer formats will provide a **database** and **connect** journalists, activists and policy stakeholders to researchers with relevant topical expertise, e.g., through organizing outreach meetings with MEPs in Brussels and representative of respective European NGOs.

### 4. IMPLEMENTATION

### 4.1. COHERENCE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WORK PLAN

### 4.1.1. DESCRIPTION OF WORKING GROUPS, TASKS AND ACTIVITIES

The COST Action's common work is organized by a Managing Committee (MC) as its core group, with organizational tasks and WGs.

The **MC** coordinates activities between WGs, oversees project management and administration, coordinates reports on progress and supervises the appropriate allocation of COST funding.

The MC will pursue the following specific management tasks and activities:

- Develop and maintain the COST Action website and blog
- Organize COST Action meetings and internal communication
- Approve new participants/WGs and monitor network and WG membership to ensure balanced representation
- Monitor and revise COST Action objectives, WG tasks and deliverables
- Organize mentoring sessions for early-career scholars
- Develop procedures to counter ostracism or bullying among network members/countries
- Produce interim and final financial achievement reports (quarters 4, 8, 12 and 16)
- Manage calls for papers and organize short-term scientific missions (up to four per year, at different institutions).

In line with COST guidelines, the MC consists of delegates from all member countries represented in the core group of grant holders. The MCs **supervises** networking and communication within the WGs



and ensures research coordination across the subject-specific WGs. Members from **NNCs and IPCs** are elected by the network members to take part in the MC meetings with a monitoring function to ensure the representation of interests of members from countries that are not EU COST Members. **A grant administrator** will be appointed by the grant holders to support the overall administration of the COST Action. Another grant holder will be elected by the MC to oversee the **financial and administrative management** and **coordination** tasks of the COST Action. The MC will organize **plenary sessions** for all members at least twice a year.

**Four WGs** will be established through which the conceptual and dissemination work will be organized. All WGs will have **transversal cooperation**. Each member should participate in one or two WGs. Each WG (1-3) team should consist of scholars from various disciplines, while WG 4 should include members of WG 1-3 in order to guarantee communication between WGs.

WGs will have a balanced representation of EU and NME countries and of regional expertise on EE and the NME. Each WG will include senior researchers as well as early-career researchers and innovators and civil society organization activists to ensure the exchange of knowledge and to enable fruitful exchange and mentoring relationships.

The WGs have two elected co-coordinators (with a re-election halfway through the funding period). They are supported by the MC for overall coordination of the COST Action. With regard to environmental sustainability, the WGs will communicate mainly via digital tools and online meetings. They will come (virtually) together at least quarterly to **ensure a good quality** of network collaboration, to assess the WGs' progress in content discussion and to **resolve complex problems** and possible conflicts. During the conferences in years 2-4, there will be slots for (internal) communication in the WGs and the whole network.

WGs 1-3 will be responsible for **conceptual organization of the conferences** held in years 2-4 and will organize workshops, roundtables and panels at mainstream international conferences. WG 4 will compile and organize the common transfer activities; WGs 1-3 will provide WG4 with respective content.

To guarantee the involvement of **PhD students and early-career researchers and innovators**, the WGs will conceive up to four topic-specific **training schools**, such as summer/winter schools and special early-career workshops.

**Short-term scientific missions** will support mobility particularly for scholars at risk and scholars having no other funding opportunities. They will promote the exchange between academics, activists, policymakers and journalists. All WGs will carry out common and subject-specific tasks and activities. These tasks and activities are detailed below and cross-referenced against the COST Action's overall research coordination and capacity-building objectives.

The WGs will tackle in particular the following questions and tasks during their common work:

WG1: Revealing the historical, social-political and economic background conditions

- Which kind of social-political and socio-economic factors condition, facilitate and reproduce antifeminist and anti-gender mobilizations?
- What roles do the feelings and experiences of crises and the re-configuration of societies play in the rise of anti-gender mobilizations?
- To what historical legacies do the actors refer? Are there (hidden) continuities? Could they be interpreted as a counter-strategy to societal change?
- Which kinds of political regimes in EE and NME countries become increasingly hospitable to antifeminist counter-movements?
- What kinds of impact have anti-gender mobilizations had on societies and political regimes?
- How is gender "culturalized£" in the regions under study when removing the social and economic background of gender equality from view? What kinds of effects does this "culture war" framing have on wider society?

WG2: Deciphering the triangle of state, civil society and anti-gender actors with a focus on politicized religion



- How is opposition to gender equality conceptualized as a social and political project in various locations and which understandings of gender equality and gender equality policies are the subject of attacks by anti-gender groups and political actors?
- Why and which forms of anti-gender discourses and practices are strong and where?
- What is the causal mechanism underneath anti-gender dynamics and how do concepts and practices travel internationally within and between non-western worlds?
- Which roles do anti-gender politics play in the transformation of the relationship between the state and society (especially regarding the state's relationships with its popular bases and different female constituencies)?
- What is the role of politicized religion, conservative and religious institutions, and religious-conservative NGOs and groups in that regard? What have political Islam and Christian denominations got to do with current forms of anti-feminist state policies? Do they draw on older forms of anti-feminism or is there an emergence of new constellations between religion, politics and gender?

WG3: Rethinking activism and forms of oppositions with a focus on unexpected allies

- Which kind of feminist/queer (and non-feminist/queer) oppositions are forming against anti-gender politics?
- How effective are these oppositions?
- What kind of coalition partners emerge and what is the potential for widening these coalitions?
   What kind of power effects do these diverse opposition groups, strategies and coalitions have over wider political regimes?
- What role do economic actors, including corporations and businesses, play in the formation of prodemocratic coalitions?
- What role do local governments play? Is there a difference of attitudes towards (anti-)gender politics on the different levels of states' hierarchies?

WG4: "Dissemination and outreach activities

- Design and execution of outreach activities in cooperation with the MC and WGs 1-3 (see dissemination strategy with description of tasks)
- Concretization of dissemination and transfer strategy.

The COST Action's work will be structured by common tasks and activities for the topic-specific WGs, which aim to:

- Contribute to the development of a comparative research strategy by identifying core variables that influence the rise of anti-feminism and anti-gender politics, as well as successful countermobilizations in their topic-specific fields
- Identify best practice guidelines for methodological approaches and research ethics in their topicspecific fields
- Establish and maintain a well-balanced and supportive WG and develop an online presence
- Organize one annual conference and subject-specific event, such as training schools and shortterm scientific missions, to include early-career researchers and innovators and interact with activists and policy stakeholders
- Contribute to the publication of policy briefings

Additionally, each WG will focus on specialized tasks and activities that connect with their respective subject-specific areas.

Special emphasis is put on the recruitment of COST Action members from NNCs in the NME, as well as on the recruitment of early-career researchers and innovators, and community and policy stakeholders.

### 4.1.2. DESCRIPTION OF DELIVERABLES AND TIMEFRAME

The COST Action aims to contribute substantially to the premise that women's rights are a core characteristic of "European values" and that democratically formed societies are under threat because of the historical legacies of EE and NME countries, particularly since the political and social transitions since the late 2000s. Its WGs will make a significant and rich contribution to current research and dissemination through Work Packages (WPs) over a time frame to which COST Action network members are committed.



### WP 1: Common events

WP 1's core activities are in the WGs and plenum meetings for guaranteeing common research progress:

- The COST Action plans to organize a kick-off workshop during the first quarter of funding and a final workshop in the last quarter of funding.
- It will organize annual international conferences in years 2-4. Each WG is obliged to conceptualize a conference. Scholars from outside the network will be invited as participants and/or keynote speakers. During the annual conference, there will be slots for WG meetings and COST Action plenum meetings.
- The final workshop (quarter 16) will summarize the common findings and develop initiatives for further cooperation.
- COST Action members are committed to present their research via at least at one workshop and one conference.
- The venues of in-person events will change (members will invite the team); the kick-off workshop will be organized at the preliminary lead's institution and the final conference in year 4 will occur in Brussels.

### WP 2: Academic publications and communication with academia

The COST Action plans to publish edited volumes or special issues of annual conferences (at least one edited volume):

- Special issues of each thematic WG in peer-reviewed international journals with a particular methodological/conceptual focus. Submission to journals / publications (years 2-4).
- Each COST Action network member is committed to publishing one article or book chapter on the COST Action's topic in internationally renowned peer-reviewed journals or publishing houses.
- The WGs' subject-specific panels will present at mainstream subject and interdisciplinary conferences at least once or twice a year.
- Short Term Scientific Missions (year 1-4) through competition. The MC will define selection criteria.

### WP 3: Research data

- A common thesaurus with controlled vocabulary will be created as a main outcome of the research data. It shall be searchable through the COST Action website and published as Open Access (on the project's website and publishing servers/repositories like *Europeana*) in year 4.
- Further research data in the form of process descriptions of negotiations will be published on the COST Action website and in the involved institutions' repositories (years 3-4).

### WP 4: Transfer and communication with non-academic public

WP 4 is dedicated to dissemination and knowledge transfer to the broader public through:

- Concretization of an outreach program by WG 4 with input from WGs 1-3 for national and international stakeholders and NGOs.
- Establishment of a website showing activities (quarter 2), including downloadable files (Open Access) with policy briefings (quarter 4) and research data (thesaurus, process descriptions; year 4).
- Holding briefing sessions and workshops with stakeholders, including LGBTQI+ communities, practitioners, policymakers, trade unions and industry partners (months 12-36).
- WP 4 includes producing social media posts and a blog (years 1-4); the network aims to provide a monthly blog post.

### WP 5: Student and early-career researcher mentoring

WP 5 will produce materials for teaching and learning and early-career researcher development via the following activities:

• Production of at least two video clips and podcasts for students and more extensive materials and syllabi for teachers as Open Educational Resources (OER) in Open Access (years 3-4, plus an online graduate course hosted on the COST Action and the lead's institutional websites, years 3-



- 4); topic examples include "why are gender-equality norms important for democracy?".
- Hosting at least four joint online seminars led by three to four scholars from the COST Action network, bringing scholars and students from various contexts closer together on a regular basis (years one to four),; topic examples include "historicizing anti-gender politics".
- Each year, COST Action members will organize at least one in-person training course, such as a summer/winter school and early-career researcher workshops (years 1-4); participants will be invited after a call for papers in the target region and beyond.
- COST Action members will mentor students, PhD students and early-career researchers (individually and in teams) with regard to gender studies. They will offer consulting hours every second quarter, promoted via social media and the website (years 1-4).

### WP 6: Internal communication

The COST Action network will ensure a smooth and lean internal communication process via:

- The COST Action webpage, which will contain a closed forum for COST Action members, and by a monthly internal newsletter sent by the MC with updates and event announcements.
- An online plenum of all network members between the annual conferences for internal communication and organization of deliverables (years 1-4), plus an in-person plenum as part of the annual conferences.
- WG 1-4 meetings (about two hours) will take place monthly online and every six months in-person between the annual conferences. There will be one in-person workshop for each WG to negotiate its main terms and approaches, share preliminary results of its research and to facilitate internal communication and working plans (years 1-4).
- A monthly internal newsletter with reports and updates of working plans and events, summaries of WGs' 1-3 discussion on methodological challenges and innovations in plenum meetings.

### 4.1.3. RISK ANALYSIS AND CONTINGENCY PLANS

- The risks connected to the consortium and to project management include the substitution of participants in case of drop-outs, lack of responses and ability to deliver to time, and financial challenges in cases of unexpected or increasing costs. These risks will mitigated through consortium work plan rules and agreements for all network members. The MC will develop such rules for cooperation and annual work plans related to WPs.
- A public and institutional backlash could hinder COST Action members' ability to conduct further research and dissemination. Short-term scientific missions will support these members and offer short-term research environments in alternative COST Action institutions.
- The ressentiments against gender research, assuming it to be ideology driven, could put respective scholars at risk. COST Action members aim to provide research on authoritarian societies which could not be undertaken in the targeted states themselves. The COST Action will include research in the diasporas and fled scholars ("scholars at risk") in the network of associated partners.
- The attacks on academic freedom, banning or defunding gender studies programs in participating
  institutions can pose a risk for the project. Members could be threatened by personal fears of
  political persecution. If desired, the COST Action offers its researchers complete anonymity.
- If travel to COST Action's event will be restricted, COST Action will organize online events.
- The European Commission's ethical rules for Social Sciences and Humanities of 2021 and the respective research and data standards (protecting anonymity and clear data handling processes) will be obeyed. Another risk lays in the composition of the network, which consists mostly of women researchers since gender studies in all disciplines are themselves gendered, yet at the activist level, particularly in NGOs, men are more engaged in gender-related issues. The COST Action is aware of this "reverse gender gap" and aims to invite male scholars to participate in the network's conferences, panels and roundtables and to become members.



### 4.1.4. GANTT CHART

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