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**DE-DEMOCRATISATION, GENDER+ AND THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION**

**Workshop proposal to Explore Research Agenda**

**Baeza, Jaen, Spain, November 6-8, 2019**

**1. Concept Note**

It is widely accepted in both academic and political domains that equality and social justice as well as the existence and thriving of social movements dedicated to their attainment are positively correlated to democracy and vice-versa (Verloo and Paternotte 2018; Walby 2018; Siim et al 2018; Verloo 2016). Contemporary processes of de-democratisation, therefore, broadly understood as the involution in some or all of the elements that constitute a democracy, which are taking place on a national, regional and even transnational scale, are particularly concerning from the perspective of equality and social justice.

The intersection of equality and social justice with de-democratisation has two fundamental dimensions, both of which are pertinent and yet understudied. The first dimensions refers to the role that different inequalities and their intersection play in current processes of de-democratisation. While contemporary literature analysing the latter tends to disavow the importance of gender, race, class, sexuality and their intersections, its feminist variants have successfully shown their importance in both representative and substantive terms, that is, regarding the active participation of women and other minorities in current de-democratisation processes as well as that of gender ideologies, racism, xenophobia and heteronormativity (Verloo 2018; Krizsan and Roggeband 2018). The second dimension, instead, refers to those elements within current processes of de-democratisation that target gender and intersectionality specifically, commonly in the form of organised opposition to gender equality and intersectional policies and legislation, to feminist and other equality and social justice movements and what opponents derogatorily call the ‘gender ideology’ that underpins them. Such organised opposition is multifaceted and complex, as it emanates from multiple actors, from religious actors to right wing populist parties, who engage in various strategies and target different issues, from abortion to transsexual rights. When successful, however, such opposition has similar results, limiting the rights of women and sexual minorities, maiming gender and intersectional institutions and often criminalising feminist and LGTBQI social movements (Verloo 2018; Paternotte and Kuhar 2018; Norocel 2018; Aksoy 2018; Avanza 2018; Kuhar and Paternotte 2017; Spierings and Zaslove 2015).

Both dimensions of the intersection of equality and social justice with de-democratisation, ultimately, raise important challenges from the perspective of gender and intersectional equality and justice that need to be addressed with celerity. The latter, however, have only just begun to be analysed. This responds to the relative novelty of current processes of de-democratisation, but also to the progressive bias that characterises research on gender and intersectional equality and justice, which has focused more on its progress than its involution, particularly in the context of the European Union. The analyses that have been developed, moreover, have done so in a somewhat contradictory manner that combines totalising explanations with a focus on particular dimensions of the phenomenon and not on the phenomenon as a whole. As Mieke Verloo explains, analyses of the intersection of gender and de-democratisation tend to lump together nationalist, racist, xenophobic, neoliberal and anti-gender dynamics in the description of a totalising and global threat to the feminist project, while doing so in relation to particular issues such as gay marriage, abortion, reproductive technology or sex education (2018). A comprehensive and yet complex analysis of both dimensions of the intersection of gender and current processes of de-democratisation as well as the contestation to its negative effects is thus missing. Such is the gap that this conference wishes to overcome.

**2. Conference organization and objectives:**

The conference has two main objectives. First, it seeks to develop a comprehensive and thorough understanding of the intersection of gender and other inequality axes with de-democratisation processes taking place in the European Union. To this end, 25 top expert scholars of different disciplinary backgrounds and a wide variety of countries have been invited and already accepted to participate, presenting their most up-do-date research on the matter. The second objective will be to develop and test a new methodology, based on the co-participation of an interdisciplinary group of expert scholars, politicians and civil society organisations, which is rarely the case in these types of events. To this end, we will integrate within the conference political representatives and civil society organisations from the local context of Andalucía. The conference will take place over three days, starting with a presentation and introduction, followed by a series of academic panels with presenters, discussants and room for debate as well as methodological focus groups, and finishing with a concluding presentation in which the result of all the latter will be discussed.

**3. List of Participants:**

**Alba Alonso** is Lecturer at the Department of Political Science and Sociology of the University of Santiago de Compostela (Spain). Her main research areas refer to gender and equality policies, territorial politics, and the promotion of equality in research institutions. Her work has been published in Gender & Politics, Politics and Governance, Social Politics, European Journal of Women’s Studies, and European Political Science, and in collective books like Institutionalizing Intersectionality?: The Changing Nature of European Equality Regimes edited by Andrea Krizsan, Hege Skjeie and Judith Squires (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

**Monica Cornejo** is Associate Professor at the Social Anthropology Department of the Complutense University of Madrid. She is co-director of the research group Anthropology, Diversity and Integration. She has studied about popular Catholicism and religion in public spaces as well as the religious fights against sexual and reproductive rights. She is the author and editor of several books (such as “La Construcción Antropológica de la Religión”, Ministerio de Cultura) and she is contributor in many others (such as “Gender and Power in Contemporary Spirituality: Ethnographic Approaches”, Routledge). Recently, she has authored (with Jose Ignacio Pichardo) papers like “From the pulpit to the streets. Religious activism against gender issues in Spain” (in David Paternotte and Roman Kuhar Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe. Mobilizing against Equality, Rowman & Littlefield Pub) or “La ideología de género frente a los derechos sexuales y reproductivos” (Cadernos Pagu).

**Isabelle Engeli** is Professor of Public Policy at the University of Exeter. Her current research focuses on party competition and policy change on morality issues, regulatory dynamics in human biotechnology, the politics of gendering policy attention and action in Western Europe, and the comparative turn in public policy research. She is the Scientific Representative of HORIZON 2020 COST ACTION Professionalization and Social Impact of European Political Science (COST 15207) and is co-convening, together with Amy Mazur, the international Research Network on Gender Equality Policy in Practice, which investigates the politics of implementing gender equality across policy sectors in Western and Eastern Europe. Her work appears notably in the European Journal of Political Research, the European Journal of Public Policy, Regulation & Governance, West European Politics, Comparative European Politics, Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis, and Revue Française de Science Politics.

**Myra Marx Ferree** is the Alice H. Cook Professor of Sociology emerita at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and a member of the Gender and Women’s Studies Department. Her books include Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective (2012), Gender, Violence and Human Security with Aili Tripp and Christina Ewig (2013), and Gender: Ideas, Interactions and Institutions with Lisa Wade (2014, second edition 2018). Her numerous articles cover feminist organizations and politics, as well as gender inequality in families, the inclusion of gender in sociological theory and practice, and intersections of gender with race and class.

**Lina Gálvez Muñoz** (Phd. European University Institute), Economic History and Institutions Full Professor at Pablo de Olavide University. She has studied at the universities of Seville, Lyon, LSE and the EUI, and she has been professor at the universities of Reading, Carlos III and as a visiting professor at Oxford University. Director of the Masters program on Gender and Equality and on Human Rights, Interculturality and Development at Pablo de Olavide University. She is also the director of the gender observatory: GEP&DO (www.genderobservatory.com), She has more than hundred scientific publications on Feminist Economics, Economic History, Gender, work and time use, Economic crisis and austerity policies. She has coordinated few research projects and supervised eight Ph.D thesis. She has received several prizes as the Ramón Carande one for the best Economic history article (1999), the Meridiana Prize (2011) and the Emilio Castelar Prize (2014), for her commitment with gender equality.

**Johanna Kantola** is Professor of Gender Studies in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Tampere. She obtained my PhD in Politics at the University of Bristol in 2004 and became Docent in Politics at the University of Helsinki in 2007. Her research centres on gender, power and politics: political parties and institutions, gender equality policies in Finland and in the EU, and theoretical questions about the state, representation and intersectionality. She is the director of the ERC Consolidator Grant (2018-2023) funded research project Gender, party politics and democracy in Europe: A study of European Parliament’s party groups (EUGenDem). She is also the director of the Academy of Finland (2016-2020) and University of Helsinki Research Funds (2015-2017) funded research project Gender and Power in Reconfigured Corporatist Finland (GePoCo). Her books include Gender and Political Analysis (with Emanuela Lombardo, Palgrave, 2017), Gender and the European Union (Palgrave, 2010) and Feminists Theorize the State (Palgrave, 2006).

**Andrea Krizsan** is Research Fellow at the Central European University, Center for Policy Studies since 2001. She is interested in understanding policy change in countries of Central and Eastern Europe. She works on different equality policy fields including gender equality policy, policies on gender-based violence, policies addressing ethnic inequalities and intersectionality. Her current research aims to understand the politics of policy backsliding in times of crisis and forms of resistance to such reversal particularly in countries of the Central and Eastern European region. Her most recent book with C.M. Roggeband analysed domestic violence policy reforms in five Central and Eastern European countries (Routledge, 2018). Her publications include articles in Politics and Governance, European Journal of Politics and Gender, Violence against Women, Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Social Politics, and Journal for Ethnic and Minority Studies and chapters in several edited volumes.

**Eszter Kováts** holds a BA in sociology, an MA in French and German Studies and in Political Science. She is a PhD student at the Institute for Political Science, Faculty of Law, University ELTE, Budapest. She has been working in the Hungarian Office of the German political foundation Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) since 2009, and since 2012 she is responsible for the Foundation’s gender program for East-Central Europe. In 2015 she co-edited the volume "Gender as Symbolic Glue. The position and role of conservative and far right parties in the anti-gender mobilizations in Europe" (published by FES and Foundation for European Progressive Studies). In 2016 she edited the volume "Solidarity in Struggle – Feminist Perspectives on Neoliberalism in East-Central Europe", and in 2017 "The Future of the European Union – Feminist Perspectives from East-Central Europe" (both published by FES and online available).

**Petra Meier** is Professor in Politics at the Department of Political Sciences, University of Antwerp. Her research focuses on the representation of gender in politics and policies, with a special interest in the institutions and mechanisms (re)producing relations of socio-demographic inequality. She lately worked and published on the relevance of symbolic representation as well as on the relation between processes of federalization and democracy.

**Martijn Mos** is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Leiden University. His research focuses on the contestation of international norms, in particular with reference to LGBTI rights, gender equality and national minority rights in the European Union.

**Cristian Norocel** is Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellow in the Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium), Associated Senior Lecturer (tenure-track) in Gender Studies, in Lund University (Sweden), and docent in Political Science at the University of Helsinki (Finland). His research interests concern the study of right-wing populist parties in Europe from a comparative intersectional perspective. He has published both in English and Swedish, in such peer-reviewed international journals as: Critical Social Policy; European Journal of Women’s Studies; Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power; International Journal of Communication; NORA: Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Studies; NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies; Men & Masculinities; Politics & Governance; Problems of Post-Communism.

**Claudia Padovani** PhD is Associate Professor in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Padova (Italy) where she teach courses in International Communication and Communication Governance and Transnational Networks. Her main areas of interest concern the transformation of political processes in the global context and their connection to the evolution of communication processes and technologies, with a particular focus on gender equality issues, communication rights and social justice. Padovani is currently working on strengthening a global research agenda to focus on gender mainstreaming in media and digital policies, through the analytical proposal of a ‘media gender equality regime’ approach. Relevant recent publications are: Gender Equality and the Media: A Challenge for Europe (with K. Ross, 2017, Routledge); “Gendering media policy research and communication governance” (in Janvost. The Public, Vol 25, 2018).

**David Paternotte** is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Université libre de Bruxelles, where he convenes the Atelier Genre(s) and Sexualité(s) and is the coeditor of the journal Sextant. He has recently started a project on new forms of resistances to gender, feminist claims and LGBT rights, with a focus on the Catholic Church. He is a board of the Council for Gender Equality of the Region of Brussels, and the cochair of the Gender and Sexuality Research Network of the Council for European Studies. He visited numerous universities as a guest researcher or a guest lecturer, including the Université de Montréal, the University of Cambridge, the London School of Economics and Political Science, the European University Institute, the Universiteit van Amsterdam, the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, the Universitat de Barcelona and the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (Chile).

**Elena Pavan** is Senior Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology and Social Research of the University of Trento. She holds a degree in Communication Sciences (University of Padova, 2004) and a PhD in Sociology (University of Trento, 2009). Her most recent research interests pertain to the relationships between collective action/political participation and digital media use. Within this area, she is working interdisciplinary combining technical and social knowledges as well as traditional qualitative and quantitative research methods with digital methods and big data approaches.

**Ignacio Pichardo** is Associate Professor (Profesor Titular) in the Social Anthropology and Social Psicology Department of Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM). Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Social Work, Head for International Affairs. Implemented and coordinated the UCM Office of Sexual Diversity and Gender Identity (LGBT+). Has undertaken research and/or teaching stays at San Francisco State University, Laboratoire de Sciences Sociales in Paris, Université du Québec à Montréal, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Western Sydney University and was awarded the post of Visiting Professor at Università di Foggia (Italy) in 2016. Co-director of the Anthropology, Diversity and Integration Research Group. His own research projects focus on issues of kinship, family, sexuality, gender and interculturality. Has completed and published various investigations into sexual diversity, lesbian women and human rights, “gender ideology” discourses against women and LGBTQI rights, gay and lesbian families and, particularly, the situation of gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans adolescents in educational environments.

**Conny Roggeband** lectures at the Department of Political Science of the University of Amsterdam. Her research interests include gender mainstreaming and equality policies, gender-based violence, social movements and transnational feminist networking. Her current work deals with democratic backsliding and the implications for gender equality. She co-authored (with Andrea Krizsan) The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence. Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern Europe (Routledge 2017). She edited (together with Bert Klandermans) The Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines (Springer 2017); with Anna van der Vleuten and Anouka van Eerdewijk Gender Equality Norms in Regional Governance: Transnational Dynamics in Europe, South America and Southern Africa (Palgrave 2014), and with Jacquelien van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans The Future of Social Movement Research: Dynamics, Mechanisms and Processes (Univ. of Minnesota Press 2013).

**Lise Rolandsen Agustín** is Associate professor at the Department of Culture and Global Studies at the University of Aalborg (Denmark). Her research focuses on gender equality, social movements, intersectionality and gender-based violence. She is the author of Gender Equality, Intersectionality and Diversity in Europe (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and Sexual Harassment in the Work Place [Seksuel chikane på arbejdspladsen. Faglige, politiske og retlige spor] (with Anette Borchorst, Aalborg University Press, 2017). Together with Petra Ahrens she has co-edited Gendering the European Parliament: Structures, Policies and Practices (Rowman &

**Birgit Sauer** is professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna, Austria. She has published on gender, governance and democracy, on gender and right-wing populism and on affective labour and state transformation. She was member oft he Executive Committee of European Consortium for Political Research. She held visiting professorships in Seoul (South Korea), Florida Atlantic University (USA), Södertörn University (Sweden). Recent publications include: Gender and Citizenship: Governing Muslim Body Covering in Europe, in: Gemzöe, Lena et al. (eds.): Contemporary Encounters in Gender and Religion. European Perspectives, Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016, p. 105-129; Intersections and inconsistencies. Framing Gender in Right-Wing Populist Discourses in Austria, in: NORA. Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 2014, together with Edma Ajanovic and Stefanie Mayer; Affective governmentality: A feminist perspective, in: Hudson, Christine/Rönnblom, Malin/Teghtsoonian, Katherine (eds.): Gender, Governance and Feminist Analysis.

**Birte Siim** is Professor Emerita in Gender Research in the Social Sciences, Dept. of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University (AAU), Denmark. She has been responsible for the Danish EU teams on citizenship, democracy, gender, migration and populism. Her publications include: Citizens’ Activism and Solidarity Movements: Contending with Populism, 2018 (ed. with A. Saarinen and A. Krasteva); Diversity and Contestation over Nationalism in Europe and Canada, Palgrave, 2018 (ed. with J-E. Fossum and R. Kastoryano); ‘Gendering European welfare states and citizenship - revisioning inequalities’, in P. Kennett and N. Lendvai-Benton (eds.). Handbook of European Social Policy, 2017 (with A. Borchorst); ‘Gender Diversities – Practicing Intersectionality in the European Union’, Ethnicities, 2014 (with L. Rolandsen Agustin); ‘Political Intersectionality and Democratic Politics in the European Public Sphere’, Politics & Gender, 2014; Negotiations of Gender and Diversity in an Emergent European Public Sphere (ed. with M. Mokre) 2013, ‘Citizenship’, in K. Celis et. al. (eds). The Oxford Handbook on Gender and Politics, 2013; Gender and Citizenship.

**Mieke Verloo** is Professor of Comparative Politics and Inequality Issues at Radboud University in the Netherlands, and Non-Residential Permanent Fellow at the IWM, Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna. She is the winner of the 2015 ECPG Gender and Politics Career Achievement Award. She was scientific director of large research projects on gender equality policymaking in Europe (see www.mageeq.net and www.quing.eu). She has extensive consultancy and training experience on gender mainstreaming and intersectionality for several European governments and institutions. Among her latest publications are: the edited volume on Varieties of opposition to gender equality in Europe published by Routledge (2018), and the special issue ‘The feminist project under threat in Europe” in Politics and Governance, co-edited with David Paternotte.

**Paula-Irene Villa** is full professor and chair for Sociology and Gender Studies at LMU München. She's also (since 2013) currently elected member of the board of the German Sociological Association (DGS), and she's served as elected board member of the German Association for Gender Studies from 2010 - 2014. Her research focuses on the analysis of biopolitics, i.e. the ambivalent entanglements of society and soma, on Cultural Studies (Pop and Politics, Embodiment within Subcultures such as Tango), on Care & Gender, and on Science/Academia and Gender. She's published widely on gender/social theory (post-structuralism, Butler, Bourdieu, symbolic violence), the sociology of embodiment, beautification and normalization, on feminist body politics, and on German and Europan "anti-genderism" as part of new nationalist populism. She's directed funded empirical research (e.g. DFG, VW, Humboldt foundations) on Cosmetic Surgery, Food/Fitness, comparative analysis of Gender Equality Programs in academic capitalism, and on popular culture.

**Sylvia Walby** will be a Professor in the Department of Sociology at City, University of London, and leading a centre on ‘Violence and Society’ from 1 March 2019. She has been Distinguished Professor of Sociology, UNESCO Chair of Gender Research, and Director of the Violence and Society UNESCO Centre at Lancaster University, 2005-2019. She is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences and chairs the Sociology Sub-Panel for HEFCE REF. Her books include: Crisis (Polity 2015); Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities (Sage 2009); The Concept and Measurement of Violence against Women and Men (with colleagues; Policy Press, 2017); Stopping Rape (with colleagues; Policy Press 2015); and The Future of Feminism (Polity 2011).

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