



## RESEARCH & INNOVATION

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# PROTECTING AND NURTURING DEMOCRACIES

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Projects from the **2021** call for proposals

### CLUSTER 2

*“Culture, Creativity &  
inclusive society”*



Research and  
Innovation

## Horizon Europe: Research & innovation protecting and nurturing democracies

European Commission  
Directorate-General for Research and Innovation  
Directorate D— People  
Unit D4 — Democracy & European values

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**Horizon Europe**

**Research & innovation**

**PROTECTING AND  
NURTURING DEMOCRACIES**



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# INTRODUCTION

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relation or  
point of view  
**Democracy**  
government  
power of the  
whole, and



**Democracies** are more fragile and more vulnerable than in the past. At the same time, various European surveys show declining levels of trust in the political institutions of democracy.<sup>1</sup> In terms of legitimacy, there are signs of a potential shift from governance based on expertise, multilateralism and consensual policymaking towards majoritarianism, unilateralism, nationalism, populism and polarization.

Research on the past and present challenges and tensions in democracy can help to better understand and strengthen democracy, its resilience and stability. It will foster democracy's further development with a view to enhancing representation, participation, openness, pluralism, tolerance, the effectiveness of public policy, non-discrimination, civic engagement, the protection of fundamental rights and the rule of law. These reflect the European Union's values as defined in Article 2 of the EU Treaty<sup>2</sup>.

This booklet gives an overview of the projects that were selected for funding under the Horizon Europe 2021 call **"Protecting and nurturing democracies"** (HORIZON-CL2-2021-DEMOCRACY-01).

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1. W. Merkel, Past, Present and Future of Democracy - Policy Review, 2019: <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4bebf83d-60ba-11e9-b6eb-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF/source-94807842>
  2. Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union, Title 1 "Common Provisions", Article 2: "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail".





**TOPIC 2021-01**

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# THE FUTURE OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

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The selected projects are expected to produce theoretically and empirically robust visions for the future of liberal democratic institutions. They should also reflect upon and actualise what liberal democracy means in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Europe, and develop recommendations, toolkits, narratives and methodologies to reinstate the legitimacy and effectiveness of liberal democracies.



## RECLAIM

# RECLAIMING LIBERAL DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

In recent years, it has become clear that what is frequently described as post-truth politics will be one of the central challenges facing liberal democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This project addresses the implications of this challenge.

Drawing on a multi-disciplinary approach, the project will generate a conceptual definition as well as an operationalization and empirical indicators for the analysis of post-truth politics; spell out the ways in which post-truth politics constitutes an existential threat to liberal democracy; analyse the state of play as regards various dimensions of post-truth politics in Europe; and use its own empirical findings regarding the state of play to develop policy recommendations, methods and toolkits as to how best to respond to various expressions of the phenomenon.



Project n°:  
**101061330**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
Post-Truth Politics,  
Liberal Democracy,  
Citizenship Education

The project is structured along a temporal and a thematic axis. On the temporal axis, the project will proceed in three consecutive phases, i.e. a methodological-conceptual, an empirical-analytical and a critical-advisory phase. On the thematic axis, the project is divided into nine academic work packages that address central components of post-truth politics from the perspective of preconditions (how such phenomena have come about), expressions (how they manifest themselves in political processes), and potential responses (how their effects can and ought to be mitigated).

The project's academic work packages address post-truth politics from the vantage points of populism, public sphere dynamics and impacts on political culture; the role of technological aspects in fostering the rise of post-truth politics; the twin roles of lack of trust, but at the same time also increased demands for quality journalism; strategic disinformation as an external challenge to liberal democracy; the impacts of regulatory responses to disinformation; and importantly also the role that citizenship education and media literacy can play in mitigating the challenge of post-truth politics.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061330>



#### Consortium:

Haskoli Islands | **IS**

Ustav Mezinarodnich Vztahu V.V.I. | **CZ**

Univerza v Ljubljani | **SI**

Universidad Autonoma de Madrid | **ES**

Trans European Policy Studies AS | **BE**

Universitetet i Oslo | **NO**

Uniwersytet Jagiellonski | **PL**

Scuola Normale Superiore | **IT**

Institut Za Razvoj i Medunarodne Odnose  
Sociation | **HR**

New Bulgarian University | **BG**

Istituto Affari Internazionali | **IT**

Liechtenstein-Institut | **LI**

Goldsmiths' College | **UK**



## RED-SPINEL

### RESPOND TO EMERGING DISSENSUS: SUPRANATIONAL INSTRUMENTS AND NORMS OF EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

RED-SPINEL is an interdisciplinary and intersectoral Research and Innovation Action bringing together 11 partner organisations from 8 European countries. It will jointly analyse the changing nature of dissensus surrounding liberal democracy and its implications for EU supranational policy instruments.

RED-SPINEL will unpack the inter-connected drivers of contemporary dissensus surrounding liberal democracy. Its findings will be rooted in theoretical innovation and original empirical analyses. Its concept-building effort centred on the notion of 'dissensus' will explore how contemporary dissensus surrounding liberal democracy differs from



Project n°:  
**101061621**



Start date:  
**01/09/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
Dissensus, EU policy instruments, rule of law toolbox, enlargement, European semester, counter-majoritarian instruments, fundamental rights, liberal democracy, capacity-building

previous debates and which more fundamental questions it raises about future democratic practices and the rule of law. Ultimately, RED-SPINEL will provide a typology of said dissensus, map the principal actors of the dissensus in Europe and unpack its two underlying drivers - i.e. heightened internal contestation over liberal democracy and external competition from alternative illiberal models.

Empirically, RED-SPINEL will focus on the key policy instruments and legal mechanisms shaping the EU's efforts in support of democracy and the rule of law. The studied instruments include the EU rule of law toolbox, the neighbourhood and accession instruments, the European semester, fundamental rights and judicial instruments, as well as citizen participation platforms.

Furthermore, through a series of stakeholder events, RED-SPINEL will flesh out the implications of its findings for public policy stakeholders (i.e. legal professionals, policymakers, European youth) as well as EU instruments aimed at responding to said dissensus. The project will develop a range of scientifically informed policy recommendations and capacity-building efforts able to foster innovative democratic practices able to respond to the present-day dissensus.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061621>



#### Consortium:

Université Libre de Bruxelles | **BE**

Luiss Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali Guido Carli | **IT**

Universiteit van Amsterdam | **NL**

Établissement D'enseignement Supérieur  
Consulaire Hautes Etudes Commerciales De Paris | **FR**

Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu | **PL**

Institutul Roman pentru Acțiune, Instruire și Cercetare în Domeniul Păcii - Peace Action, Training & Research Institute of Romania | **RO**

Universitatea Babes Bolyai | **RO**

Milieu Consulting | **BE**

Magyar Helsinki Bizottság | **HU**

Stichting Nederlands Instituut voor  
Internationale Betrekkingen Clingendael | **NL**





AUTHLIB

## NEO-AUTHORITARIANISMS IN EUROPE AND THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC RESPONSE

To protect the future of liberal democracy in Europe, we must first understand its challengers. AUTHLIB is a multidisciplinary project that aims to explore the varieties of neo-authoritarian, illiberal ideologies in Europe, their social, psychological and historical causes, their organisational background and their political implications. The study aims to capture the dynamics of ideological change in the European Union as a whole, but it will particularly focus on Poland, France, Italy, Hungary, Czechia, the United Kingdom and Austria.

We will map ideological configurations by analysing textual data and social media, and by organising surveys of citizens and experts. The mapping of ideological structures will be



Project n°:  
**101060899**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
ideologies,  
authoritarianism, digital  
text analysis, social  
media analysis, survey  
experiments, laboratory  
experiments of emotions,  
deliberative fora,  
international cooperation  
of illiberal forces

complemented by a study of emotional triggers and rhetorical strategies pursued by illiberal actors. The contemporary ideological configurations of illiberalism will be embedded within their historical-cultural context, and the study of ideas and preferences will be supplemented by investigation of illiberalism in power, and the co-operation of illiberal political actors. To develop interventions that effectively target these new challenges, AUTHLIB will define the normative limits for actions that democracies may take in their own defence. In order to identify the mechanisms behind the support of illiberalism, and the susceptibility of citizens towards changing their attitudes, we will conduct laboratory and online panel-based survey experiments.

Finally, in order to observe how ideological and emotional stimuli work in co-operative settings, we will set up deliberative fora, involving both ordinary citizens, ideological opponents, and individuals responsible for educating future generations and operating the intricate procedures of liberal democracy.

The research will provide policy-makers with a comprehensive toolbox to improve support for liberal democracy.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101060899>



#### Consortium:

Kozep-Eurpai Egyetem – Central European University | **HU**

CEU GmbH | **AT**

Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques | **FR**

Univerzita Karlova | **CZ**

Scuola Normale Superiore | **IT**

SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznospoleczny | **PL**

The Transatlantic Foundation | **BE**

Universitat Wien | **AT**





**TOPIC 2021-02**

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# ECONOMIC MODELS AND MODERN DEMOCRACIES

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The projects are expected to come up with theoretically and empirically robust recommendations aiming to instil greater democratic accountability and inclusion in economic processes.



## INCA

# INCREASE CORPORATE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

INCA investigates the impact that so-called digital platforms have on European democracies and institutions. Indeed, while promoting economic growth and labour transformations, these platforms pose challenges to policymakers and citizens in relation to people's participation in decision-making processes, wealth inequalities and erosion of trust into public institutions. In particular, so-called GAFAM (Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple and Microsoft) are becoming more and more infrastructures for opinion-making, labour organization and political debate. Their increasing power in shaping and influencing such issues through lobbying, industrial relations and cultural impact opened up a wide debate on the way to deal with these transformations. While European societies grew up based on liberal democracies and institutions with their



Project n°:  
**101061653**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**42 months**



Keywords:  
Digital platform,  
Democratic  
governance,  
Corporate power,  
Lobbying

capacity to sustain a coordinated market economy, today their role seems to be reduced because of the difficulties to regulate platforms' corporate power that spread through politics, economy and culture.

INCA aims to:

- define forms to sustain trust in institutions and new models of governance capable to combine the growth of platforms with social inclusion and citizens participation in decision making processes;
- stimulate alternative business models and industrial relations so to make GAFAM and platforms accountable to social fairness while preserving their innovation;
- to clarify the way GAFAM influence European citizens opinion conditioning democratic processes.

Exploring the socio-historical roots behind platforms growth and the erosion of a coordinated market economy, collecting solid data on GAFAM lobbying, industrial relations and opinion-making, and producing participatory actions for the empowerment of democratic processes and citizens' engagement, INCA contributes to instil greater democratic accountability and inclusion in economic processes prompted by digital transformations.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061653>



#### Consortium:

Alma Mater Studiorum - Università di Bologna | **IT**

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Fondazione Per L'innovazione Urbana | **IT**

Fundacio Barcelona Institute of Technology for the Habitat BIT | **ES**

Elhuyar Fundazioa | **ES**

Scuola universitaria professionale della Svizzera italiana | **CH**

Urba Sofia SRL | **RO**



## REBALANCE

# REBALANCING DISRUPTIVE BUSINESS OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION AND GLOBAL VALUE CHAINS WITHIN DEMOCRATIC AND INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP PROCESSES

While globalization, financialization and monopolies increasingly weaken democracies, large companies are having an ever-greater influence on how democracy is enacted in Europe, leading to a 'market-conforming capitalism'. Firms are eluding regulation, lobbying for their own rather than citizens' interest, abusing human rights and push the abused to withdraw from democratic processes, fuelling populism. Some economic actors are experimenting with alternative models and demonstrating more interest in sustainability and tentative routes toward an alternative "democracy-conforming capitalism". In this debate, the application of political-science lenses has black-boxed large companies, while the viewpoint of management scholars has usually considered firms'



Project n°:  
**101061342**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
Multinational enterprises, Human rights, Democratic processes, Social enterprises, Populism, CSR, profit/non-profit partnerships

economic gains rather than impact on society and democracy. This has left a gap in our understanding of the mutual influence among large companies and democracies.

The REBALANCE project will fill this gap by investigating how large companies (1) have contributed to past and present threats to democracy; (2) can promote future democracy-enhancing business models and alternative organizational forms.

The project will identify:

- the most effective regulatory control of economic actors, which avoids anti-democratic distortions and reveals human rights violators, and what makes large firms accept or resist such control;
- ways to tackle (self-)exclusion from the democratic participation of victims of business-related human rights infringements and other marginalized categories, relying on empowerment-centred partnerships between firms and other entities (e.g.. NGOs);
- whether and how companies respond to populisms, and how alternative organizational forms such as social enterprises might embed and foster democracy.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061342>



### Consortium:

Università di Pisa | **IT**

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia | **IT**

Hertie School Gemeinnützigen GmbH | **DE**

Wageningen University | **NL**

Stockholms Universitet | **SE**

Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University | **UA**

Source International Onlus | **IT**

University of Bath | **UK**



## DEMOTRANS

### THE INTERCHANGE BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE GLOBALISATION OF THE ECONOMY

Following World War II, globalisation and market liberalisation triggered a period of unprecedented growth. Recently, these trends appear to reverse, whereby globalisation and corporations started to pose challenges for liberal democracy, social cohesion and environmental sustainability.

DemoTrans is an impact-driven research project that will provide theoretically and empirically robust recommendations on how to reinvigorate democratic governance by improving the accountability, transparency, effect.

The notion that liberal, representative democracy is in some form of crisis – or even a terminal decline – has been brought



Project n°:  
**101059288**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**48 months**



Keywords:  
Democracy,  
Capitalism,  
Accountability,  
Governance,  
Corporate Lobbying

forward by numerous scholars. While the globalisation and liberalisation of markets triggered a period of unprecedented growth, as well as improvements in standards of living and consolidation of liberal democracies, in the decades following the Second World War, we have recently witnessed a substantial reversal in these trends. Today, globalisation and global corporations rather appear to bring challenges to liberal democracy, social cohesion as well as the environment. The academic literature studying these developments often focuses on describing and interpreting what is going “wrong”.

However, the key challenge is to outline and understand the new type of politics that is emerging in its place as well as to envisage and develop the contours of new promising approaches to re-embed democracy and capitalism. This key challenge lies at the heart of the DemoTrans project, and we address it by bringing together a multidisciplinary consortium of six experienced and leading research groups from four European research universities and an NGO with a strong track record. Building on their wide-ranging expertise, DemoTrans will develop novel theoretical and empirical academic research aimed at robust recommendations that encouraging stronger democratic accountability and inclusion in economic processes.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101059288>



**Consortium:**

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven | **BE**

Universitetet i Bergen | **NO**

Universiteit Utrecht | **NL**

Univerzita Karlova | **CZ**

Tax Justice Network | **UK**





**Topic 2021-03**

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# FEMINISMS FOR A NEW AGE OF DEMOCRACY

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The projects are expected to promote gender equality theoretically and practically through policy recommendations, tools, and solutions for civil society organisations and other stakeholders. As a result, they support the quality of democratic governance in more inclusive European societies. They should also help to understand how feminism and gender are used in extreme populist discourses, and counter gender-equality repressive strategies and policies.



**FIERCE**

## **FEMINIST MOVEMENTS REVITALIZING DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE**

FIERCE aims at providing sound theoretical and practical knowledge and tools to revitalize alliances between the feminist movement, civil society and political decision makers in a context of growing social inequalities, political disaffection and strengthening of populist radical right anti-gender actors and discourses. The research uses an interdisciplinary, multi-dimensional and multi-level framework, that aims to overcome the limitations of both disciplinary scholarships and nationalist methodologies.

FIERCE develops in-depth understanding of feminist and anti-feminist/anti-gender movements, activities and discourses, and their impact on the institutional arena and on policy outcomes, focusing on the period 2010-2021. These actors, and especially the feminist movement, will



Project n°:  
**101061748**



Start date:  
**01/09/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
feminism, feminist movements, intersectionality, radical right-wing populism, anti-gender, anti-feminists, alliances, social network analysis, policy impact, democratic practices, pilot actions

be studied through framing, political ethnography and Social Network Analyses on the background of key gender debates and controversies prefigured to be situated in the areas of: labour market; health and reproductive rights; LGBTQ+ rights; migration; and gender-based violence.

FIERCE will cover eight case studies (France, Italy, Greece, Slovenia, Turkey, Denmark, Poland, Spain) representing a wide variety of country contexts in socio-political, geographical and welfare terms. FIERCE moves beyond a country-based approach and provides a cross-cutting comparative analysis of the way debates and controversies on gender have influenced the dynamics and output of the policy process.

Building on co-creation methods and on a strong alliance with civil society organisations, FIERCE proposes pilot actions that can reinvigorate democratic practices, in line with feminist inclusive visions for the future of democracy. FIERCE thereby sets out a bottom-up, problem-driven and impact-oriented approach, bridging academic knowledge, policy-making and bottom-up democratic strategies.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061748>



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Alternatives Européennes Association | **FR**

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Aristotelio Panepistimio Thessalonikis | **EL**

Mirovni inštitut | **SI**

Koç University | **TR**

Univerza v Ljubljani | **SI**



## CCINDLE

### CO-CREATING INCLUSIVE INTERSECTIONAL DEMOCRATIC SPACES ACROSS EUROPE

The objective of this project is to re-kindle trust in democracy and to re-invigorate engagement with democratic institutions and values in Europe. We plan to achieve this by co-creating solutions to the crisis of democracy, by designing and implementing strategies, which counter opposition to equality and democracy and by supporting citizens and activists working in this field. CCINDLE works directly with feminist grassroots activists and institutional actors, feminist and pro-democratic media, young Europeans, philanthropic organizations think-tanks, and gender professionals.

We co-create knowledge on:

- anti-gender campaigns and how they challenge democracy, particularly through political violence and alternative knowledge production;



Project n°:  
**101061256**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**48 months**



Keywords:  
Organizational  
diversity,  
intersectionality,  
feminist democracy,  
reviewing anti-gender  
and anti-democratic  
politics and actors

- futures of society envisioned in feminist theories and how they relate to democracy in Europe with respect to intersectional justice, inclusion, and participation;
- feminist movement and institutional responses to anti-gender and other anti-democratic forces.

We focus on seven European countries with different social and political backgrounds, and the EU level. This knowledge allows us to better understand everyday practices of democracy and how the current backlash resonates with broader exclusionary tendencies and fundamental problems of the Western democracy model. We assume that the problem is not anti-gender movements alone but also the roots they have in the exclusionary features of contemporary European democracies, the way in which they are normatively designed and function.

CCINDLE provides for concrete approaches and tools to more effectively fight anti-gender and other anti-democratic forces, support the quality of democracy, and make democracy across Europe more resilient and inclusive. We put these approaches and tools into practice through co-creating actions including student juries, a network of intersectional feminist media across Europe, gender café's, blogs, and other networking/dissemination activities.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061256>

### Consortium:

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Uniwersytet Warszawski | **PL**

Södertörns högskola | **SE**

Trilateral Research Ltd | **UK**

The University of Warwick | **UK**





## RESIST

# FOSTERING QUEER FEMINIST INTERSECTIONAL RESISTANCES AGAINST TRANSNATIONAL ANTI-GENDER POLITICS

Anti-gender politics pose a grave threat to modern democratic formations because they challenge people's everyday survival, bodily integrity, and self-determination. Anti-gender spans the political spectrum and manifests not only in illiberal and authoritarian regimes but also in democracies that are considered liberal and inclusive.

Taking a transnational and intersectional approach, RESIST analyses anti-gender formations in their complexity and contradictions and explores the effects of anti-gender politics on the everyday lives of those vulnerable to it and on democracies on the whole. RESIST engages with heterogeneous manifestations of anti-gender across the EU, Europe, and beyond through eight national case studies (Belarus, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Poland, Spain, Switzerland) and a transnational case study of people living in exile as a result of anti-gender persecution.



Project n°:  
**101060749**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**48 months**



Keywords:  
Gender, Sexualities,  
Intersectionality,  
Transnational  
Methodologies,  
Transformational  
Research

RESIST pursues a mixed methods approach to analyse the production and circulation of gender-equality repressive strategies and discourses and their effects on lived experiences and resistances. RESIST innovates methodologically to engender democracy by fostering collaboration between academia and civil society organisations (CSOs), especially amongst people who come to be targets of anti-gender, including women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI+) persons. If those social groups whose fundamental rights are most at risk of violation by anti-gender are empowered to resist, then entire democratic societies benefit. RESIST centres feminist agency and collaborative knowledge production in (a) the research contents and results, (b) the methodological design, and (c) the social impact by generating new responsive feminist theories and practical solutions.

At a time of increasing political disillusionment, RESIST creates hopeful, imaginative futures, transformative theories, and more inclusive worlds.



<https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101060749>



### Consortium:

University College Dublin, National  
University of Ireland, Dublin | **IE**

Feministiko Autonomo Kentro Erevnas Astiki  
mi Kerdoskopiki Etaireia | **EL**

Universitat Pompeu Fabra | **ES**

Université Paris I Pantheon-Sorbonne | **FR**

Stiftung Europa-Universität Viadrina  
Frankfurt (Oder) | **DE**

National University of Ireland Maynooth | **IE**

Fachhochschule Zentralschweiz -  
Hochschule Luzern | **CH**

Université de Lausanne | **CH**

Université de Fribourg | **CH**

Edinburgh Napier University | **UK**



## PUSH\*BACK\*LASH

### ANTI-GENDER BACKLASH & DEMOCRATIC PUSHBACK

The goal of PUSH\*BACK\*LASH is twofold:

Firstly, to systematically inquire into the present-day contestation of gender equality issues and policies at both elite and citizen levels. Approaching democracy from a global feminist perspective, we employ a rigorous, comparative, multi-method design (e.g. experiments, surveys, interviews, participatory theatre). Our project enables:

- a. identifying anti-gender strategies as well as best practices in counter-acting them across space and time; and
- b. assessing the effects of anti-gender discourses by focusing on parties, social media and the public opinion.



Project n°:  
**101061687**



Start date:  
**01/01/2023**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
Engendering  
democracy,  
Intersectionality,  
Inclusive Feminism,  
Countering Anti-  
gender Discourse,  
Multimethod



Secondly, to develop and test strategies that can effectively counteract anti-gender and anti-feminist discursive strategies. Aiming at supporting the quality of democratic governance in more inclusive European societies, we acknowledge intersections between gender and other social categories at all stages of the project (composition of consortium and advisory board, theory formulation, empirical investigation, and policy recommendations) and thus engage with stakeholders. To develop sustainable solutions, we bring together gender activists, EU experts and researchers from several fields of political science (political theory, public policy, political parties, public opinion, political behaviour), anthropology, communication and media, philosophy, sociology and social psychology.

PUSH\*BACK\*LASH is a transdisciplinary, gender-diverse consortium aiming at equipping pro-equality actors with practical toolkits for responding to anti-gender equality and anti-feminist discursive strategies and backlash tactics.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061687>



#### Consortium:

Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg | **AT**

Universiteit van Amsterdam | **NL**

GESIS-Leibniz-Institut für  
Sozialwissenschaften EV | **DE**

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem | **HU**

The Gender Five Plus | **BE**

Technische Universität Dresden | **DE**

Universitat de Valencia | **ES**

Humanity in Action Polska | **PL**

Theater der Unterdrückten Wien | **AT**

The University of Exeter | **UK**

Yougov PLC | **UK**



## UNTWIST

### POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TO REGAIN FEMINIST LOSERS AS MAINSTREAM VOTERS

UNTWIST aims to promote gender equality as a core value of the EU, defending it from the emerging threat that the oppositional gender rhetoric from extreme populist parties represents. By understanding if extreme populist parties are acting as niche parties, substantively representing (but also twisting) the needs and demands of citizens “at the margins”, who feel abandoned or disempowered by current mainstream feminist discourses and policies, it will co-create alternative ways of addressing those citizens.

UNTWIST’s main working strategy will consist of empowering (non-radical/populist) parties in Europe to improve their representation of the gender-based interests of the citizenry



Project n°:  
**101060836**



Start date:  
**01/02/2023**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



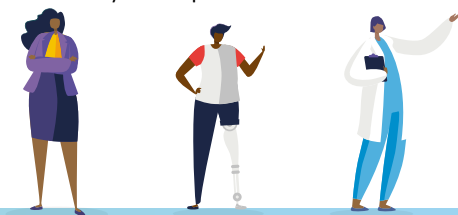
Keywords:  
extreme populist  
parties, gender  
fatigue

through the definition, enhancement and transfer of a policy recommendation handbook with evidence-based policy recommendations that:

1. help mainstream parties improve their substantive representation of sex- and gender-based needs and demands in ways that diminish the appeal of extreme populist messages (untwisting oppositional gender messages, particularly from right-wing populism)
2. contributes to the widening horizon of gender expectations and overcomes current “gender fatigue” among citizens.

The improvement in substantive democratic representation by these parties will decrease citizens’ interest in the anti-feminist messages of radical or populist parties.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101060836>



#### Consortium:

Universidad Pablo de Olavide | **ES**  
 Universidad De la Iglesia de Deusto Entidad Religiosa | **ES**  
 Universität des Saarlandes | **DE**  
 Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont | **HU**  
 Roskilde Universitet | **DK**

Fundacio Vit, Visualitzacio per a la Transparencia | **ES**  
 Verein der Europaeischen Burgerwissenschaften – ECSA E.V. | **DE**  
 University of Manchester | **UK**  
 Universität Bern | **CH**



**Topic 2021-04**

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# DEMOCRATIC POLITICS IN THE EU'S NEIGHBOURHOOD

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The projects are expected to comprehensively take stock of developments over the last decade, so that the European Union's democracy support efforts can both regain traction and be revamped where necessary. They should develop an improved policy toolkit for supporting liberal democracy in the European Union's neighbourhood, paving the way for more stability and cooperation. They are also expected to provide an evidence base for the mid-term review of the implementation of the Action Plan for Human Rights and Democracy 2020-2024, as well as reflection on the European Union's aspiration and role in supporting democracy in its neighbourhood.



## REDEMOS

# RECONFIGURING EU DEMOCRACY SUPPORT? TOWARDS A SUSTAINED DEMOS IN THE EU'S EASTERN NEIGHBOURHOOD

REDEMOS represents a unique, parallel investigation of the legacy and potential of democratization processes in the EU's eastern neighbourhood. Analysing both EU actions and eastern neighbours' responses, balancing the impact of funding, reforms and civil society support against a decade of static and regressive outcomes, REDEMOS is grounded upon an appraisal of domestic and geopolitical challenges facing neighbourhood democratization, and progressive practices needed for both sides to re-engage.

With its highly original, 4-phase demos cycle, REDEMOS breaks new ground in demonstrating how revived approaches to understanding norms and values, and reinforced



Project n°:  
**101061738**



Start date:  
**01/01/2023**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
Democracy support, EU's eastern neighbourhood, democracy, gender equality, human rights, rule of law, citizen engagement, demos, democratic resilience, political participation, policy toolkit

implementation of procedures and practices can fully transform both attitudes and outcomes from passive democracy promotion to active democracy collaboration.

Hence, REDEMOS bridges numerous divides emerging between 2010-2022 and focuses on the overarching need to reconstitute a workable 'demos' within Eastern partners in light of sizeable political changes including outright opposition to democratization practices from within and beyond the neighbourhood.

REDEMOS' vision shifts attitudes beyond an exclusionary focus on values, norms and procedures, to inclusive democratic practices through citizen empowerment. Featuring a work package female-led structure, REDEMOS presents a series of pioneering milestones and deliverables, based on an equitable balance of 11 high-quality East and West European partners. Its geographical composition is representative of the eastern neighbourhood, with each partner focused on providing advanced tools by which the EU and its eastern neighbours can reset democracy in state and non-state environments. Balancing state reform, civil society, marginalized and local perspectives, and its impactful dissemination modes, REDEMOS effectively co-creates new links within and between academic, policy and civil society domains to boost democratization in Europe's eastern neighbourhood.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061738>



### Consortium:

Norges Teknisk-Naturvitenskapelige  
Universitet NTNU | **NO**

Yerevan State University Foundation | **AM**  
Private Institution University Kyiv School of  
Economics | **UA**

Georgian Foundation for Strategic and  
International Studies GFSIS | **GE**

Technische Universität Dresden | **DE**  
Sihtasutus Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute  
Keskus | **EE**

Institutul pentru Dezvoltare și Inițiative  
Sociale “Viitorul” | **MD**

CRRC Georgia Non-Entrepreneurial (Non-  
Commercial) | **GE**

Athens Technology Center Anonymi  
Viomichaniki Emporiki Kai Techniki Etaireia  
Efarmogon Ypsilis Technologias | **EL**

Universitaet St. Gallen | **CH**

University of Surrey | **UK**



## EMBRACE

### EMBRACING CHANGE: OVERCOMING OBSTACLES AND ADVANCING DEMOCRACY IN THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

EMBRACE analyses blockages to democratisation in the European neighbourhood, identifies ways to overcome them and suggests new policy tools for EU democracy promotion (EUDP).

EMBRACE takes stock of developments in democracy-building, assessing EUDP instruments, ambitions and concepts. EMBRACE investigates episodes of political deadlock and opening to identify, analyse and explain behavioural, institutional and structural blockages, and the conditions under which they can be overcome. EMBRACE is sensitive to variation in democratisation trajectories, and the cultural, historical, and geopolitical context in which blockages emerge. It also keeps an eye on the blockages from within the EU.



Project n°:  
**101060809**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
Democracy promotion,  
European neighbourhood,  
EUDP, democratisation,  
blockages, geopolitical  
competition, political  
actors, civil society,  
narratives, cross-regional  
learning, policy tools



EMBRACE surveys the local needs for an improved EUDP and develops new policy tools (e.g. digital platform, EUDP mapping tool, EUDP best-practices collection, policy papers, video clips, podcasts, training webinars) for EUDP practitioners and pro-democracy activists. EMBRACE's approach to empirical research combines a quantitative large-n with a qualitative middle-n comparative research strategy.

Quantitatively, EMBRACE analyses the larger trends of EUDP and its effects on democratisation over the last two decades in all 23 neighbours.

Qualitatively, EMBRACE investigates episodes of deadlock and opening from 12 selected countries in Eastern Europe, South Caucasus, Western Balkans, Northern Africa and the Middle East. Intra- and cross-regional comparison is systematically included in EMBRACE's research design and WP structure.

For data collection and analysis, consortium partners located in EU- and in non-EU countries team up. Six stakeholder committees monitor the entire research process assuring that local needs and narratives are considered. In doing so, EMBRACE provides the EU with in-depth knowledge and an innovative policy toolkit enhancing partnerships for a stable and secure European neighbourhood, and incentivising resilient political actors to embrace democratic change.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101060809>



### Consortium:

Berghof Foundation Operations GmbH | **DE**

Concentris Research Management GmbH | **DE**

Universitat de Lleida | **ES**

Universiteit Maastricht | **NL**

Universität Konstanz | **DE**

Ukrainska Asociaција Evropejskih Studij | **UA**

Stockholms Universitet | **SE**

Universiteit Gent | **BE**

Iliia State University | **GE**

ARI - Centre pour une Initiative Arabe de Réforme | **FR**

Elliniko Idryma Evropaikis kai Exoterikis Politikis (Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy) | **EL**

Univerzitet u Beogradu – Fakultet političkih nauka | **RS**

Pal-Think for Strategic Studies | **PS**

The University of Manchester | **UK**



## SHAPEDEM-EU

### RETHINKING AND RESHAPING THE EU'S DEMOCRACY SUPPORT IN ITS EASTERN AND SOUTHERN NEIGHBOURHOOD

SHAPEDEM-EU sets out to rethink, reshape, and review the EU's democracy support policies in its Eastern & Southern Neighbourhoods. Amidst the increasing contestation of the EU and the weakening impact of its policies in the Neighbourhoods, SHAPEDEM-EU applies an entirely novel approach to democracy support.

The approach conceives democracy support as a social practice requiring the collective democratic learning of all stakeholders involved. The consortium will pilot test a Democracy Learning Loop to create new channels and tools for interaction between the EU and its neighbours and transfer these findings into policy recommendations for an improved EU policy toolkit.



Project n°:  
**101059811**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
EU Eastern  
& Southern  
Neighbourhood,  
democracy support,  
democratic  
politics, gender  
equality, digital  
transformations

SHAPEDEM-EU represents a multi-national and multifaceted research consortium of academic, think tank, and civil society institutions based in the EU and the Southern and Eastern Neighbourhoods. The consortium will apply mixed-methods to collect, assess, and generate policies related to democracy support in the six case countries of Lebanon, Palestine, Tunisia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia. We will investigate the role of EU member states, key EU institutions, third country actors, and international organisations. The project results will lead to improved EU practices in the region. In all project phases, the impact of gender equality & digital transformations in democracy support will be examined.

The findings will be communicated and disseminated through SHAPEDEM-EU's comprehensive Democracy Support Database and an online Digital Dashboard. Our results will contribute to the creation of sustainable tools for an EU policy toolkit that supports democracy in its Southern & Eastern Neighbourhoods, thus increasing the EU's accountability, transparency, effectiveness, and trustworthiness and making neighbourhood countries more resilient, equitable, and responsive to local needs.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101059811>



#### Consortium:

Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen | **DE**

Carnegie Europe Foundation | **BE**

Istituto Affari Internazionali | **IT**

Roskilde Universitet | **DK**

Centre d'Informació i Documentació  
Internacionals a Barcelona | **ES**

Uniwersytet Jagiellński | **PL**

National University of Kyiv-Mohyla  
Academy | **UA**

American University of Beirut | **LB**

Le Secrétariat du Comité de Pilotage du  
Forum de la Société Civile du Partenariat  
Oriental | **BE**

Centre Elkawakiby pour la Transition  
Démocratique | **TN**

EURICE - European Research and Project  
Office GmbH | **DE**

The University of Warwick | **UK**



**Topic 2021-05**

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# POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE IN A POST-PANDEMIC WORLD

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The projects should provide a comparative and historical analysis of the multilevel political impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis, including governance responses. They are expected to give recommendations, based on normative and empirical approaches, to enhance the capacity of the EU and other democratic institutions, governments and intergovernmental bodies to build responses to global catastrophes based on international collaboration, solidarity, the rule of law and respect of fundamental values and human rights.



## REGROUP

# REBUILDING GOVERNANCE AND RESILIENCE OUT OF THE PANDEMIC

Culminating more than a decade of crisis in Europe, the Covid-19 pandemic has opened an unprecedented window of opportunity for institutional and policy change, not only at the “reactive” level of emergency responses, but also to tackle more broadly the many socio-political challenges caused or exacerbated by Covid-19. Building on this premise, REGROUP aims to provide the European Union with:

1. a body of actionable advice on how to rebuild post-pandemic governance and public policies in an effective and democratic way;
2. a map of the socio-political dynamics and consequences of Covid-19;
3. an empirically-informed normative evaluation of the pandemic.



Project n°:  
**101060825**



Start date:  
**01/09/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
Covid-19, European Union, Crisis, Critical juncture, Institutional change, Liberal-democracy, Deliberation, Multi-level governance, Global governance, Risk, Resilience, Disinformation, Digitalisation

REGROUP pursues this threefold objective via a multi-level (national, supranational, international) and multi-sphere (political, societal, ideational, digital) research approach, and guided by three overarching analytical themes: “reordering”; “risk”; “resilience”.

We operate in nine collaborative work packages—grouped in three blocks: “diagnosis”, “evaluation”, and “prescription”—bringing together expertise and methods from a range of social sciences and humanities. Doing so, we advance the state of the art conceptually, theoretically, and methodologically.

REGROUP is conducted by a consortium of 13 internationally renowned institutions, committed to scholarly excellence, inclusiveness, and open science. The project is designed to achieve a high degree of policy, societal, and scientific impact, which it will achieve via a multi-pronged dissemination and communication strategy. This includes links to some of the EU’s main debates and events, such as the Health Union, the Green Deal, the Digital Decade, the Economic Governance Review, the Conference on the Future of Europe, and the 2024 European Parliament elections

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101060825>



#### Consortium:

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen | **NL**

European University Institute | **IT**

Luiss Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali Guido Carli | **IT**

Notre Europe - Institut Jacques Delors | **FR**

Centre d'Informació i Documentació Internacionals a Barcelona | **ES**

Dublin City University | **IE**

European Policy Centre | **BE**

University of Cyprus | **CY**

Uniwersytet Jagiellonski | **PL**

Istituto Affari Internazionali | **IT**

Universität Innsbruck | **AT**

Stiftung Europa-Kolleg Hamburg | **DE**

Universitetet i Oslo | **NO**

Universität Passau | **DE**



## LEGITIMULT

# LEGITIMATE CRISIS MANAGEMENT AND MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE

LEGITIMULT assesses the impact of the measures taken by various international, national and subnational governments on multilevel institutions and intergovernmental relations in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The project analyses the effect of these measures on democratic governance, highlighting to what extent multilevel governance influences their impact on democracy, favouring a model of legitimate crisis management. It assesses all measures taken by 31 European countries in relation to their impact on multilevel governance through the creation of a new dataset highlighting how these procedures link to multiple orders of governance – WHO and EU above the states, and regional and local governments below the national level.



Project n°:  
**101061550**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**36 months**



Keywords:  
Multilevel governance,  
Comparative  
federalism, Democratic  
Governance, Crisis  
management, Trust,  
Rule of Law, Democratic  
Participation, Legitimacy,  
Intergovernmental  
Relations



The impact of these measures is analysed through the lens of a variety of dimensions that characterize functional democratic governance (Rule of Law and Democratic Participation; Human and Minority Rights; Trust; Economic Sustainability).

LEGITIMULT qualifies the different trade-offs required within and across these dimensions in order to effectively and quickly deal with a crisis such as Covid-19, while at the same time maintaining a level of democratic governance and ensuring that any limitations to democratic standards are limited. These final trade-offs within and between the different dimensions of democratic governance in crisis management are gathered in a set of policy recommendations, tailored to different recipients, and developed through extensive consultation with stakeholder groups throughout the project.

Citizens, policy makers and practitioners are involved in the experimental phase of the project, where interactive learning and practical tools are tested but also co-designed and co-refined with relevant stakeholders in a participatory way. Policy recommendations and practical tools merge into a toolkit for legitimate crisis management, ready for use in possible future crises.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061550>



#### Consortium:

Accademia Europea di Bolzano | **IT**  
Universitetet i Bergen | **NO**  
Universiteit Leiden | **NL**  
Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja | **SI**  
Universiteit Antwerpen | **BE**  
Universidad Nacional de Educacion a Distancia | **ES**

Freie Universität Berlin | **DE**  
Sveučilište u Zagrebu Fakultet Političkih Znanosti | **HR**  
International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance | **SE**  
Université de Fribourg | **DE**  
The Forum of Federations | **CA**



## ROBUST

# ROBUST CRISIS GOVERNANCE IN TURBULENT TIMES: MINDSET, EVIDENCE, STRATEGIES

The focus of European post-pandemic politics is currently on enhancing system capacities for 'bouncing back' from crisis to normalcy. These efforts draw on resilience research, which has become the dominant paradigm in crisis management. However, there are broad governance challenges that the resilience approach fails to consider. Centrally, how can European societies harness flexible adaptation and proactive innovation to deliver effective crisis responses in situations where going back to the way things were is neither possible nor desirable? And how can democratic institutions uphold core values such as democracy, the rule of law, and fundamental rights in the face of crisis-induced turbulence?



Project n°:  
**101061272**



Start date:  
**01/10/2022**  
Duration:  
**42 months**



Keywords:  
Crisis governance,  
Robust governance,  
Multi-level  
governance, Hybrid  
democracy, Societal  
intelligence, Network  
governance

To address these challenges, the ROBUST project aims to set in motion a paradigm shift from ‘resilience’ (‘bouncing back’) to ‘robustness’ (‘building back better’) as the central principle of future crisis governance. The project breaks new ground by operationalizing the concept of robust crisis governance and investigating such responses empirically. We combine historical and comparative analysis at EU, national and local levels to gather a multi-dimensional data set out of which we identify the configurations of factors that drive (or block) robustness in crisis governance.

The project studies responses by EU institutions and eight European countries to three recent crises (the financial, refugee and COVID-19 crises) to understand general patterns in system-level crises response, while we also conduct in-depth studies of localized COVID-19 responses ‘on the streets’ of 16 European localities to understand how EU, national and local crisis responses interact and are experienced by citizens.

On this basis, the project delivers the elements of a new mindset along with policy recommendations for enabling the robust crisis governance of the future, all anchored in a learning hub that will serve as the social engine of the paradigm shift envisioned by the project.

 <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101061272>



#### Consortium:

Roskilde Universitet | **DK**

Tallinna Tehnikaülikool | **EE**

Università degli Studi di Torino | **IT**

Universiteit Antwerpen | **BE**

Universiteit Utrecht | **NL**

European Public Health Alliance | **BE**

Nord Universitet | **NO**

Universidad de Zaragoza | **ES**

Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem | **HU**

Masarykova Univerzita | **CZ**



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- via the following form: [european-union.europa.eu/contact-eu/write-us\\_en](https://european-union.europa.eu/contact-eu/write-us_en).

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### EU open data

The portal [data.europa.eu](https://data.europa.eu) provides access to open datasets from the EU institutions, bodies and agencies. These can be downloaded and reused for free, for both commercial and non-commercial purposes. The portal also provides access to a wealth of datasets from European countries.

This booklet gathers the projects selected for funding under the Horizon Europe Cluster 2 call HORIZON-CL2-2021-DEMOCRACY-01 “Democracy & Governance”.

### *Project information*



Publications Office  
of the European Union