

## Participant Bios

**Oana Băluță** is an associated professor for the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies, University of Bucharest and for the Gender, Minorities and Political Studies MA, Faculty of Political Science (National School for Political Studies and Public Administration). She is a researcher in the field of gender equality with publications on feminism, work-life balance policies, political participation, and representation of women, gender political interests etc. Major publications on above topics include: *Reflexive Modern Feminism* (author, 2013), *Women's Social Exclusion and Feminisms: Living in Parallel Worlds* (co-author, 2012) in *Gendering Transition. Studies of Changing Gender Perspectives from Eastern Europe*, Krassimira Daskalova, Caroline Hornstein-Tomic, Karl Kaser and Filip Radunovic (eds.), Publishing House LIT Verlag Vienna, Münster, Berlin, London (co-author); *Gender and Political Interests* (co-author, 2008), *Equal Partners. Equal Competitors* (coord., 2007), *Gender and Daily Life* (co-author, 2007), *Gender and Power. Lion's share in Romanian Politics* (editor, 2006), etc. Băluță is also a feminist activist publicly embracing her double belonging in academia and activism. For eight years she was the president of a particularly active feminist Romanian NGO, FILIA Centre.

**Julia Buxton** is acting dean and professor of comparative politics at the School of Public Policy at Central European University and senior research associate at the Global Drug Policy Observatory, Swansea University. She directed the British Council INSPIRE three year capacity building partnership with Fatima Jinnah Women University in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. Buxton has authored many publications on drug policy, Venezuela and Latin America, and on gender including "The Practitioner's Perspective" and "Tailoring Training in Gender, Peace, Conflict and Development" in a special edition of *Journal of Peace, Conflict & Development*, Issue 19, December 2012; *Gender Based Violence (GBV) in Guatemala and Liberia* (2009); and *Field guide to Implementing UNSCR 1325* (2008);. She received her PhD from the London School of Economics, where she also studied for her MA (Distinction) in Comparative Politics.

**Akwugo Emejulu** is a senior lecturer and the co-director of the Gender Justice Lab at the University of Edinburgh. Her co-authored book, 'The Politics of Survival:

Minority Women, Activism and Austerity in France and Britain' is forthcoming with Policy Press.

**Eva Fodor** is a sociologist teaching in the Department of Gender Studies at CEU. In her research she explores the problem of gender inequality in the post-socialist labor market, including gender differences in access to managerial positions, the impact of parental leave regulations and usage on women's access to paid work, as well as the determinants of gender inequality in poverty. Her current work examines the meaning and practice of austerity within the Hungarian child protection system.

**Elissa Helms**, sociocultural anthropologist, is associate professor and head of department in the Department of Gender Studies at CEU. Her publications have covered various aspects of women's activism, gendered nationalism, and post-socialist transformations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia. She is the author of *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation, and Women's Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (U of Wisconsin Press, 2013) and co-editor with Xavier Bougarel and Ger Duijzings of *The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories, and Moral Claims in a Postwar Society* (Ashgate, 2007).

**Joanna Kostka** is a lecturer in social work at Lancaster University. She graduated from the CEU Doctoral School of Political Science, Public Policy and International Relations in 2015. Her dissertation project investigated the use of European Structural Funds for Roma inclusion strategies in Spain and Slovakia. Her main research interests include EU public policy (European integration, cohesion policy, equality policy, the EU regulatory state) social policies, and migration/mobility and minority issues (different aspects of Roma inclusion). Her work has appeared in *Social Inclusion Journal*, *European Education Research Journal*, *Roma Rights Journal*, and *Political Critique*.

**Andrea Krizsan** is research fellow at CEU's Center for Policy Studies and adjunct faculty at the School of Public Policy. Her research concerns equality 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 and equality institutions. Her current book project analyses domestic violence policy reforms in five Central and

Eastern European countries and aims to explain differences in gendering policy outcomes. Her publications include articles in journals such as *Violence against Women*, *European Journal of Women Studies*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Social Politics*, *European Integration Online Papers*, *Journal for Ethnic and Minority Studies*, and chapters in several edited volumes. She edited a volume on ethnic monitoring and data collection (2001) and co-edited one with J. Squires and H. Skjeie on the changing nature of European equality regimes published at Palgrave MacMillan (2012). She has worked in different comparative European equality policy related research projects including the project Quality of Gender+ Equality Policies in Europe (QUING) and the project Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality (MAGEEQ). Krizsan has a PhD in political science from the Central European University.

**Roman Kuhar** is an associate professor in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana where he teaches courses on minorities, gender, and sexuality. He holds a PhD in sociology and is the head of the Department of Sociology and the head of its research unit. Together with his colleague David Paternotte he is currently working on an edited volume on anti-gender movements in Europe.

**Emanuela Lombardo** is senior lecturer at the Department of Political Science and Administration II of Madrid Complutense University. Her research concerns gender equality policies and their intersections with other inequalities particularly in the EU and Spain, Europeanization, feminist political theory, and political representation. Recent publications include *Gender and Political Analysis* written with Johanna Kantola (Palgrave, 2017), *The Symbolic Representation of Gender* written with Petra Meier (Ashgate, 2014) and *The Europeanization of Gender Equality Policies* edited with Maxime Forest (Palgrave, 2012). Recent articles can be found in *Politics*, *European Political Science*, *Comparative European Politics*, and *European Integration Online Papers*. She has edited the special issue 'Policymaking from a gender+ equality perspective' in the 2017 38(1) *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* with Petra Meier and Mieke Verloo.

**Ov Cristian Norocel** (VTT/PD/DrSocSci, Political Science) is a CEREN-affiliated postdoctoral researcher at the University of Helsinki (Finland), and visiting postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Government in Uppsala University (Sweden). Norocel's research is centered in the fields of intersectional analyses of

political radicalism and extremism, and nationalism, ethnic minorities, and citizenship issues across Europe. He guest co-edited the special issue Welfare Chauvinism in [Critical Social Policy](#) 36(3) (2016). His most notable publications *Our People a Tight-knit Family under the Same Protective Roof* (Unigrafia, 2013) and [“Give Us Back Sweden!” A Feminist Reading of the \(Re\)Interpretations of the Folkhem Conceptual Metaphor in Swedish Radical Right Populist Discourse,](#) *Nora* 21(1) (2013) both deal with radical right populist ideology from an intersectional perspective. He is Finnish MC in COST IS1308 Populist Political Communication in Europe and co-chair of RN32 Political Sociology.

**Laura Sales Gutiérrez** is a feminist activist and researcher based in Barcelona, Spain. She has a BA in Spanish, a BA in translation, and an MA in gender studies. She has worked in the Knowledge and Advocacy Area of the Surt Foundation since 2010. She has carried out research on the gender impact of the economic crisis, the political participation of migrant women, trafficking of women for the purpose of sexual and labor exploitation, and migrant women’s empowerment, among other topics.

**Wendy Stokes** is currently head of the Research and Postgraduate Office at London Metropolitan University with responsibility for 400 PhD and professional doctorate students, and a member of the Department of Politics and International Relations. Her teaching is primarily in the areas of political theory, human security, social movements, and women/gender. Her research and writing are in the same fields. She published most recently on gender and democratization, and security studies; her current research is looking at the organization of pressure groups in the UK to increase the representation of women in parliament.

**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](http://www.mageeq.net) and [www.quing.eu](http://www.quing.eu)). She has extensive consultancy and training experience on gender mainstreaming and intersectionality for several European governments and institutions. Her research is on feminist politics and opposition to gender+ equality in Europe.

**Sylvia Walby** is distinguished professor of sociology, UNESCO Chair in Gender Research, and director of the Violence and Society UNESCO Centre at Lancaster University. Walby has held positions at the LSE, University of Leeds, University of Bristol, the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and Harvard University. She was the first president of the European Sociological Association and has been chair of the Women's Studies Network UK. She was awarded an OBE in 2008 for services to equal opportunities and diversity. She has a long standing research interest in changes in gendered employment and their interconnection to wider systems of economy and society. Her research involves constant movement between the theorization of gender and (in)equality, its measurement, and the study of its policy impact. Her current work focuses on ending violence against women, its measurement and social costs, gendered political economy and the current economic and financial crisis, policies towards equalities, the sociology of the EU, and complexity theory. In *Crisis*, a book published by Polity Press in 2015, Walby discusses the concept of crisis and the cascading crisis in the UK and EU. Previous books include: *Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities* (Sage, 2009), *The Future of Feminism* (Polity, 2011), and *Stopping Rape: Towards a Comprehensive Policy* (Policy Press, 2015).

**Judit Wirth** has an MA in English literature and linguistics, and a dr.juris diploma in law. She started volunteering at NANE Women's Rights Association in 1998. She is currently counselor of victims and survivors of domestic violence, both on the helpline and in individual and group support sessions; and a trainer for Hungarian and international seminars. She contributes to Hungarian and international training manuals on gender-based violence, human rights, and equal treatment; researches the treatment of victims of domestic violence in legal procedures; is an NGO lobbyist for legal changes; and is an author and editor of publications and reports on violence against women in Hungary. In 2008-2009 she was the coordinator of the domestic violence working group set up by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor with the aim of proposing legislative and policy measures to combat domestic violence. In 2009-2010 she was a member of the expert group preparing the national strategy for equality between women and men. In 2012 she participated in the Ministry Working Group preparing new legislation on domestic violence.

**Violetta Zentai** is a cultural anthropologist with a PhD from Rutgers University (US). She has been the director of the Center for Policy Studies at CEU since September 2003 and currently serves as co-director. She is engaged in research focusing on ethnic and gender inequalities, European equality policies, and debates on post-socialist capitalisms and social exclusion/inclusion. She has served as a team leader or lead coordinator of a number of larger comparative European research projects including “Employment 2025: How Multiple Transitions Will Affect the European Labor Market (NEUJOBS),” “Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an enlarged Europe (EDUMIGROM),” and worked in the core methodology team of the “Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies (QUING).” She is leading the CEU team in two active Marie Curie international doctoral training networks in topics of critical labor studies and migrant inclusion studies. She has been one of the faculty members designing public policy MA level teaching at CEU. She is a faculty member of CEU’s Sociology and Social Anthropology Department as well as the School of Public Policy. Zentai is active in the Hungarian women’s movement; she is the spokesperson for the NGO called MONA (Foundation for the Women of Hungary) and was a member of the Expert Forum of the European Gender Institute in its formative period. Parallel to her academic engagement, she worked as an expert with the Open Society Foundations for two decades on initiatives related to democratic local governance, equality mainstreaming, and rights-based development.



## Abstracts

### ***Feminist resistance to austerity in Romania***

**Oana Băluță**

Women and men were confronted with a different economic crisis and Romanian *decision-makers ignored the gender impact of the crisis on the real lives of women and men, thus worsening its effects*. The various public cuts and restructuring of public administration were translated differently for women and men especially when addressing highly gendered areas such as work-life balance and violence against women. Drawing from social movement literature and participant observation, the paper reflects on feminist resistance to austerity measures in Romania.

### ***White ignorance and women of color's anti-austerity activism in Europe***

**Akwugo Emejulu**

In this talk, I examine the epistemological and empirical frameworks of 'white ignorance' that impede the recognition and legitimation of women of color as political agents in Scotland, England and France. Despite their calculated erasure by both policymakers and ostensible 'allies,' women of color are mobilizing in innovative ways to advance their intersectional claims for social justice.

### ***Policy backlash across inequality groups in the context of the crisis. A research agenda***

**Joanna Kostka, Andrea Krizsan, Viola Zentai**

In this talk we start from the premise that in the context of scarce resources equality projects compete not only with other policy priorities but also with each other. First, we look at qualitative comparative data for member states of the European Union to do a large scale comparison on backsliding in the context of the economic crisis in equality policies across three major equality fields: gender, race, and ethnicity. We aim to assess the extent to which backsliding is general and whether it moves together for the different equality fields, or different dynamics may be at play. Second, in order to understand how equality policy changes/backsliding compare in the three different fields we look more in depth into two specific Central and Eastern European cases: Poland and Hungary. The first is a country that seems to be resilient to the impact of the crisis and the second seems to be a notorious backslider across all three equality fields. Our aim

with this research agenda, which is in its initial stages, is to better understand the nature of the impact of the crisis on equality policy regimes, particularly in the context of unstable Central and Eastern European democracies.

### ***The threat of the gender ideology in the context of the economic crisis***

#### **Roman Kuhar**

The anti-gender movement that emerged in different parts of Europe in the past few years represents a new wave of resistance to gender and sexual equality. One of the major engines of the movement is the Roman Catholic Church, although its role in the movement is not necessarily clearly visible: its agenda is often pushed by newly established or already existing but not necessarily very visible actors, who present themselves as a civil initiative by concerned citizens. However for the Church the anti-gender movement is a handy vehicle for the process of new evangelization. While marriage equality clearly operated as the catalyst for this new coalition and the moral panic it represents in several countries, their political agenda cannot be reduced to their opposition to same-sex marriage. It extends also to opposing reproductive rights and abortion, sex education in public schools, sexual liberalism more broadly, and indeed the very notion of gender itself. There are numerous differences between local manifestations of this international movement, but there are some common themes as well. In my presentation I will focus on (1) attempts to present gender as the new Marxism; (2) the establishment of “alternative” science, proclaiming feminist studies as fake; and (3) on its focus on elites, which is an empty signifier representing either politicians, feminists, LGBT activists, or anyone who supports gender equality. I will claim that while the economic crisis was not the main catalyst for the anti-gender movement, it was a handy mobilizing tool particularly in the movement’s rage against elites. The austerity measures helped create coalitions between populist actors that might not share the same ideological foundations, but were united in the fight against elites and its degenerated ideas about “gender”.

### ***Gender and the political dimension of the economic crisis in Europe***

#### **Emanuela Lombardo**

Gender analyses of the 2008 economic crisis in Europe have exposed its gendered patterns from economic (Karamessini and Rubery 2014), sociological (Walby 2015), and IR (Hozic and True 2016) perspectives. This contribution will address the political dimension of the economic crisis in Europe from a gender perspective. This



feminist political analysis of the crisis will explore the following three issues: 1) *austerity politics and institutional and policy changes* in the EU from a gender perspective; 2) the *Europeanization of gender equality policies* in times of crisis; and 3) the *gendered, classed, and racialized patterns of political struggles* against austerity politics and in favor of democracy. Drawing on a book project on the crisis co-edited with Johanna Kantola (Palgrave forthcoming), this contribution concludes that the different feminist approaches for doing a political analysis of the economic crisis in Europe make it possible to understand the multiple facets of this crisis and expose its underlying power dimensions.

### ***Crises and challenges to gender equality in right-wing populist politics*** **Ov Cristian Norocel**

The 2008 economic crisis and its aftershocks, and the 2015 humanitarian crisis that followed, have sent shock waves across European societies, bringing forth a redefinition of the ways in which citizens and states interact. Exploring these avenues of interaction, the present study lies at the intersection of the gender equality efforts, and the rising backlash against it; the accommodation policies towards ethnonational diversity, and exclusivist nativist and nationalist projects that such policies have given rise to in the aftermath of a deep economic meltdown and a humanitarian catastrophe. The analysis focuses on the interaction between the conceptual dichotomies of the gender binary – on the one hand – and the majority/minority dyad (understood in terms of ethnic/'racial,' religious difference) – on the other. The said interactions are investigated in the ideology, and discourses of right-wing populist parties across Europe: from the Nordic specificity related to the dominance of gender equality norms, to Central and Eastern European fluidity of political boundaries.

### ***Protesting austerity measures in Spain*** **Laura Sales Gutiérrez**

This paper presents an overview of the anti-austerity protests in Spain in the past five years, as part of a larger protest wave that includes the 15-M (indignant) movement, the Catalan independence movement, and a renewed unity of the feminist movement through mass demonstrations. It also provides an analysis of the new political actors established after the indignant movement, focusing on what its success in municipal elections has meant for the advancement of the feminist agenda.

## ***The Impact of Economic Crisis Politics on Gender+ Equality and Democracy***

**Mieke Verloo**

Gender equality is a Mission Impossible, at this point in time more than ever. There are three main reasons for this. One is that there is an ongoing *perpetuum mobile* of gender inequality that is driven by both structures and daily actions of human beings across all domains and dimensions of life. The second is that gender equality as an objective is deeply political and inherently contested. And finally, while deep democracy is needed to mobilize and organize the inevitable ongoing feminist struggles that could address the tenacity and complexity of gender inequality, unfortunately democracy at this point in history seems to be shrinking rather than deepening and strengthening.

My argument here is not to respond to these triple troubles by showing that they can be resolved. Rather, I will argue that this calls for more attention to the linkages between the fates of democracy and of gender equality, and for more feminist engagement in struggles for deeper democracy. In order to do this, I will first elaborate on the pervasiveness and the tenacity of gender inequality in our societies, and then on the political nature of gender equality as a goal. I will continue with presenting a perspective on deep democracy that is needed to address the interrelation between gender equality and democracy and a sad illustration of the current fate of democracy in Europe. I will end with a call for action.

## ***Gender and the Crisis: A Keynote Address***

**Sylvia Walby**

How is the crisis restructuring the gender regime? The complex inequalities on which the financial crisis draws, and which the development of global finance exacerbates, intersect in diverse ways. The paper argues for a gendered conceptualization of the crisis, not as "refamilialization" in which women are pushed out of production back into reproduction, but rather as a critical turning point in the trajectory of the public gender regime from a more social democratic form to a more neoliberal form. The paper offers analyses of gendered practices of the stages of the crisis. It addresses whether the crisis – erupting in finance in 2007, and cascading through the economy, the fiscal, and the political – is now leading to an increase in violence. Is the mid-twentieth century European nightmare, in which

financial crisis led to economic recession, fascism, and violence, being repeated today? What constitutes crisis is contested. The construction of government deficits as if they entailed fiscal crisis to be treated as a state of exception is contested. The cascading of crisis from one institutional domain to another is also contested, since renewed democratic forces potentially provide sites of resilience and resistance. The significance of gender relations in this democratic resistance is underestimated. The theorization of crisis is developed using complexity science, gender theory, and a reworking of the concept of social system.

### ***Feminist resistance to the crisis in Hungary***

#### **Judit Wirth**

At a time of strong conservative "family"-values-based rhetoric and policies, at a time of direct attacks on human rights NGOs (including women's rights organizations), when social, educational, and healthcare systems are crumbling, and when funders de-prioritize women's organizations in Hungary, what exactly constitutes resistance? Is there a "feminist" resistance to the crisis in Hungary? I believe both yes and no. Yes, because the very fact that feminist groups have not given up; that feminist voices looking for solutions have not disappeared, but have – instead – strengthened, that women in various sectors come forward and take initiative and other women recognize, acknowledge, and honor them for that, is a sign that women are watching and demand their due from society. But perhaps not really, as the underlying issues connecting women's oppression with the crisis are not explicitly expressed in much of the Hungarian feminist (activist) rhetoric of liberal and neo-liberal feminism that gains ground – maybe for the very reason that it offers relatively little structural-systemic criticism. The talk will also touch upon the questions of which sectors, what channels, and which crises are implicated in the current socio-political climate and activism, and how all of this helps form alliances between women's human rights NGOs and groups and other HR organizations previously much less sensitive to gendered oppressions.