Call: HORIZON-CL2-2021-DEMOCRACY-01
(Protecting and nurturing democracies)

Topic: HORIZON-CL2-2021-DEMOCRACY-01-01

Type of Action: HORIZON-RIA

Proposal number: 101060899

Proposal acronym: AUTHLIB

Type of Model Grant Agreement: HORIZON Action Grant Budget-Based

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Administrative forms

1 - General information

Fields marked * are mandatory to fill.

Topic	HORIZON-CL2-2021-DEMOCRACY-01-01	Type of Action	HORIZON-RIA
Call	HORIZON-CL2-2021-DEMOCRACY-01	Type of Model Grant Agreement	HORIZON-AG

Acronym   AUTHLIB

Proposal title   Neo-authoritarianisms in Europe and the liberal democratic response

Note that for technical reasons, the following characters are not accepted in the Proposal Title and will be removed: < > " &

Duration in months   36

Fixed keyword 1   Social sciences, interdisciplinary

Fixed keyword 2   Political systems and institutions, governance

Free keywords   *ideologies, authoritarianism, digital text analysis, social media analysis, survey experiments, laboratory experiments of emotions, deliberative fora, international cooperation of illiberal forces*

Abstract *

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 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.

Remaining characters   95

Has this proposal (or a very similar one) been submitted in the past 2 years in response to a call for proposals under any EU programme, including the current call?	○ Yes ● No

Please give the proposal reference or contract number.

Administrative forms

Proposal ID   **101060899**

Acronym   **AUTHLIB**

Declarations

1) We declare to have the explicit consent of all applicants on their participation and on the content of this proposal. *   ☒

2) We confirm that the information contained in this proposal is correct and complete and that none of the project activities have started before the proposal was submitted (unless explicitly authorised in the call conditions).   ☒

3) We declare:
- to be fully compliant with the eligibility criteria set out in the call
- not to be subject to any exclusion grounds under the EU Financial Regulation 2018/1046
- to have the financial and operational capacity to carry out the proposed project.   ☒

4) We acknowledge that all communication will be made through the Funding & Tenders Portal electronic exchange system and that access and use of this system is subject to the Funding & Tenders Portal Terms and Conditions.   ☒

5) We have read, understood and accepted the Funding & Tenders Portal Terms & Conditions and Privacy Statement that set out the conditions of use of the Portal and the scope, purposes, retention periods, etc. for the processing of personal data of all data subjects whose data we communicate for the purpose of the application, evaluation, award and subsequent management of our grant, prizes and contracts (including financial transactions and audits).   ☒

6) We declare that the proposal complies with ethical principles (including the highest standards of research integrity as set out in the ALLEA European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity, as well as applicable international and national law, including the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and the European Convention on Human Rights and its Supplementary Protocols. Appropriate procedures, policies and structures are in place to foster responsible research practices, to prevent questionable research practices and research misconduct, and to handle allegations of breaches of the principles and standards in the Code of Conduct.   ☒

7) We declare that the proposal has an exclusive focus on civil applications (activities intended to be used in military application or aiming to serve military purposes cannot be funded). If the project involves dual-use items in the sense of Regulation 428/2009, or other items for which authorisation is required, we confirm that we will comply with the applicable regulatory framework (e.g. obtain export/import licences before these items are used).   ☒

8) We confirm that the activities proposed do not
- aim at human cloning for reproductive purposes;
- intend to modify the genetic heritage of human beings which could make such changes heritable
  (with the exception of research relating to cancer treatment of the gonads, which may be financed), or
- intend to create human embryos solely for the purpose of research or for the purpose of stem
  cell procurement, including by means of somatic cell nuclear transfer.
- lead to the destruction of human embryos (for example, for obtaining stem cells)
These activities are excluded from funding.   ☒

9) We confirm that for activities carried out outside the Union, the same activities would have been allowed in at least one EU Member State.   ☒

The coordinator is only responsible for the information relating to their own organisation. Each applicant remains responsible for the information declared for their organisation. If the proposal is retained for EU funding, they will all be required to sign a declaration of honour.

False statements or incorrect information may lead to administrative sanctions under the EU Financial Regulation.

2 - Participants

List of participating organisations

#	Participating Organisation Legal Name	Country	Action
1	KOZEP-EUROPAI EGYETEM	Hungary	
2	THE CHANCELLOR, MASTERS AND SCHOLARS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD	UK	
3	FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES	FR	
4	UNIVERZITA KARLOVA	Czechia	
5	SCUOLA NORMALE SUPERIORE	Italy	
6	SWPS UNIWERSYTET HUMANISTYCZNOSPOLECZNY	PL	
7	THE TRANSATLANTIC FOUNDATION	BE	
8	UNIVERSITAT WIEN	Austria	

Administrative forms

Organisation data

PIC	Legal name
999480338	*KOZEP-EUROPAI EGYETEM*

Short name: CEU

Address

Street	NADOR UTCA 9
Town	BUDAPEST
Postcode	1051
Country	Hungary
Webpage	www.ceu.hu

Specific Legal Statuses

Legal person	yes
Public body	no
Non-profit	yes
International organisation	no
Secondary or Higher education establishment	yes
Research organisation	yes

SME Data

Based on the below details from the Participant Registry the organisation is not an SME **(small- and medium-sized enterprise) for the call.**

SME self-declared status	21/05/2008 - no
SME self-assessment	unknown
SME validation	21/05/2008 - no

Administrative forms

Departments carrying out the proposed work

Department 1

Department name	Democracy Institute	☐ not applicable

☒ Same as proposing organisation's address

Street	NADOR UTCA 9
Town	BUDAPEST
Postcode	1051
Country	Hungary

Links with other participants

Type of link	Participant

Administrative forms

Main contact person

This will be the person the EU services will contact concerning this proposal (e.g. for additional information, invitation to hearings, sending of evaluation results, convocation to start grant preparation). The data in blue is read-only. Details (name, first name and e-mail) of Main Contact persons should be edited in the step "Participants" of the submission wizard.

Title ███.   Gender ████████████████████

First name* ███   Last name* ████.

E-Mail* █████████

Position in org. ████████████

Department █████████   ☐ Same as organisation name

███████████████

Street ████████

Town ██████   Post code ███

Country █████

Website democracyinstitute.ceu.edu

Phone ████████   Phone 2 ██████

Other contact persons

First Name	Last Name	E-mail	Phone
██	██	██████	██████
████	██	██████	██████
██	███	██████	██████

Administrative forms

Researchers involved in the proposal

Title	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Nationality	E-mail	Career Stage	Role of researcher (in the project)	Reference Identifier	Type of identifier
███	███	███	██	███	███	███	███		
███	██	███	███	███	███	███		███	██
███	███	███	██	███	███	███			
██	██	██	███	███	███	███			
███	███	███	██	███	███	███		███	██
███	███	███	██	███	███			███	██
███	██	███	██	███	███	███		███	██
█	███	███	███	███	███	███		███	

Administrative forms

Role of participating organisation in the project

Project management	☒
Communication, dissemination and engagement	☒
Provision of research and technology infrastructure	☐
Co-definition of research and market needs	☒
Civil society representative	☐
Policy maker or regulator, incl. standardisation body	☐
Research performer	☒
Technology developer	☐
Testing/validation of approaches and ideas	☒
Prototyping and demonstration	☐
IPR management incl. technology transfer	☐
Public procurer of results	☐
Private buyer of results	☐
Finance provider (public or private)	☐
Education and training	☐
Contributions from the social sciences or/and the humanities	☒
Other If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 50)	☐

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Administrative forms

List of up to 5 publications, widely-used datasets, software, goods, services, or any other achievements relevant to the call content.

Type of achievement	Short description (Max 500 characters)
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████

List of up to 5 most relevant previous projects or activities, connected to the subject of this proposal.

Name of Project or Activity	Short description (Max 500 characters)
████████████	*This EU FP7- Advanced ERC project, in which* ██████████████████, *has investigated the way citizens think and talk about politics. Relying on focus groups and surveys, the team studied Eastern and Western European and Latin American societies.*
████████████	███████████████████████████████████████
████████████	███████████████████████████████████████
████████████	███████████████████████████████████████
████████████	███████████████████████████████████████

Description of any significant infrastructure and/or any major items of technical equipment, relevant to the proposed work.

Name of infrastructure of equipment	Short description (Max 300 characters)
CEU dual campuses	*A vibrant intellectual environment and facilities in both Austria and Hungary*
CEU Media Lab	*Provision of high-tech audio/visual materials and facilities*
CEU Library	*Largest online and offline English language library in Central and Eastern Europe*

Administrative forms

Gender Equality Plan

Does the organization have a Gender Equality Plan (GEP) covering the elements listed below?　　　◉ Yes　　○ No

Minimum process-related requirements (building blocks) for a GEP

- **Publication:** formal document published on the institution's website and signed by the top management
- **Dedicated resources:** commitment of human resources and gender expertise to implement it.
- **Data collection and monitoring:** sex/gender disaggregated data on personnel (and students for establishments concerned) and annual reporting based on indicators.
- **Training:** Awareness raising/trainings on gender equality and unconscious gender biases for staff and decision-makers.
- **Content-wise, recommended areas** to be **covered** and addressed via concrete measures and targets are:
    - work-life balance and organisational culture;
    - gender balance in leadership and decision-making;
    - gender equality in recruitment and career progression;
    - integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching content;
    - measures against gender-based violence including sexual harassment.

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Administrative forms

PIC	Legal name
999984350	*THE CHANCELLOR, MASTERS AND SCHOLARS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD*

Short name: UOXF

Address

Street	WELLINGTON SQUARE UNIVERSITY OFFICES
Town	OXFORD
Postcode	OX1 2JD
Country	United Kingdom
Webpage	www.ox.ac.uk

Specific Legal Statuses

Legal person	yes
Public body	yes
Non-profit	yes
International organisation	no
Secondary or Higher education establishment	yes
Research organisation	yes

SME Data

Based on the below details from the Participant Registry the organisation is not an SME (small- and medium-sized enterprise) for the call.

SME self-declared status	22/12/1570 - no
SME self-assessment	unknown
SME validation	unknown

Administrative forms

Departments carrying out the proposed work

Department 1

Department name	Department of Politics and International Relations	☐ not applicable
	☐ Same as proposing organisation's address	
Street	Manor Road Building, Manor Road	
Town	Oxford	
Postcode	OX1 3UQ	
Country	United Kingdom	

Links with other participants

Type of link	Participant

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Administrative forms

Main contact person

This will be the person the EU services will contact concerning this proposal (e.g. for additional information, invitation to hearings, sending of evaluation results, convocation to start grant preparation). The data in blue is read-only. Details (name, first name and e-mail) of Main Contact persons should be edited in the step "Participants" of the submission wizard.

Title ███

Gender ███████████████████

First name* ██████

Last name* ██████

E-Mail* ████████████████

Position in org. ██████████

Department ████████████████████ ☐ Same as organisation name

☐ Same as proposing organisation's address

Street ███████████████

Town █████

Post code ███████

Country ██████████

Website ████████████

Phone ██████████

Phone 2 +xxx xxxxxxxxx

Other contact persons

First Name	Last Name	E-mail	Phone
██████	██████	████████████████████	████████
█████	██████	██████████████	███████
███	████	██████████████	███████

Administrative forms

Researchers involved in the proposal

Title	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Nationality	E-mail	Career Stage	Role of researcher (in the project)	Reference Identifier	Type of identifier
█	███	███	█	████	█████	██████		████	███
█	███	███	█	██	█████	█████████		████	██
█	██	█████	███	██	█████	███████		████	██
█	██	███	███	████	█████	█████████		████	██

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Administrative forms

Role of participating organisation in the project

Project management	☒
Communication, dissemination and engagement	☒
Provision of research and technology infrastructure	☐
Co-definition of research and market needs	☒
Civil society representative	☐
Policy maker or regulator, incl. standardisation body	☐
Research performer	☒
Technology developer	☐
Testing/validation of approaches and ideas	☒
Prototyping and demonstration	☐
IPR management incl. technology transfer	☐
Public procurer of results	☐
Private buyer of results	☐
Finance provider (public or private)	☐
Education and training	☐
Contributions from the social sciences or/and the humanities	☒
Other If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 50)	☐

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Administrative forms

List of up to 5 publications, widely-used datasets, software, goods, services, or any other achievements relevant to the call content.

Type of achievement	Short description (Max 500 characters)
Publication	████████████████████████████████████
Publication	████████████████████████████████████
Publication	████████████████████████████████████
Publication	████████████████████████████████████
Publication	████████████████████████████████████

List of up to 5 most relevant previous projects or activities, connected to the subject of this proposal.

Name of Project or Activity	Short description (Max 500 characters)
████████	████████████████████████████████████
████████	████████████████████████████████████
████████	████████████████████████████████████
████████	████████████████████████████████████
████████	████████████████████████████████████

Description of any significant infrastructure and/or any major items of technical equipment, relevant to the proposed work.

Name of infrastructure of equipment	Short description (Max 300 characters)

Administrative forms

Gender Equality Plan

Does the organization have a Gender Equality Plan (GEP) covering the elements listed below?   ◉ Yes   ○ No

Minimum process-related requirements (building blocks) for a GEP
- **Publication:** formal document published on the institution's website and signed by the top management
- **Dedicated resources:** commitment of human resources and gender expertise to implement it.
- **Data collection and monitoring:** sex/gender disaggregated data on personnel (and students for establishments concerned) and annual reporting based on indicators.
- **Training:** Awareness raising/trainings on gender equality and unconscious gender biases for staff and decision-makers.
- **Content-wise, recommended areas** to be **covered** and addressed via concrete measures and targets are:
    - work-life balance and organisational culture;
    - gender balance in leadership and decision-making;
    - gender equality in recruitment and career progression;
    - integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching content;
    - measures against gender-based violence including sexual harassment.

Gender Equality Plan

Administrative forms

PIC	Legal name
999957869	*FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES*

Short name: SCIENCESPO

Address

Street	RUE SAINT GUILLAUME 27
Town	PARIS CEDEX 07
Postcode	75341
Country	France
Webpage	www.sciencespo.fr

Specific Legal Statuses

Legal person	yes
Public body	no
Non-profit	yes
International organisation	no
Secondary or Higher education establishment	yes
Research organisation	no

SME Data

Based on the below details from the Participant Registry the organisation is not an SME **(small- and medium-sized enterprise) for the call.**

SME self-declared status	09/12/2008 - no
SME self-assessment	unknown
SME validation	09/12/2008 - no

Administrative forms

Departments carrying out the proposed work

Department 1

Department name	Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics	☐ not applicable
	☒ Same as proposing organisation's address	
Street	RUE SAINT GUILLAUME 27	
Town	PARIS CEDEX 07	
Postcode	75341	
Country	France	

Links with other participants

Type of link	Participant

Administrative forms

Main contact person

This will be the person the EU services will contact concerning this proposal (e.g. for additional information, invitation to hearings, sending of evaluation results, convocation to start grant preparation). The data in blue is read-only. Details (name, first name and e-mail) of Main Contact persons should be edited in the step "Participants" of the submission wizard.

Title █████

Gender ████████████████

First name* ████

Last name* █████

E-Mail* ████████████████

Position in org. ██████████

Department ████████████████████████

☐ Same as organisation name

████████████████████

Street █████████████

Town ████████

Post code ██████

Country ████

Website ██████████████████████████

Phone ████████ ████ +xxx xxxxxxxxx

Other contact persons

First Name	Last Name	E-mail	Phone
████	█████	█████████	██████
█████	██████	████████████	██████
█████	█████	████████████	██████

Administrative forms

Researchers involved in the proposal

Title	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Nationality	E-mail	Career Stage	Role of researcher (in the project)	Reference Identifier	Type of identifier
Dr	██	████	██	███	████████	████████		
Dr	██████	█████	██	███	███████	█████████		
Dr	█████	███	█████	██	██████	█████████		
Dr	████	███	██	███	███████	████████		

Administrative forms

Role of participating organisation in the project

Project management	☒
Communication, dissemination and engagement	☒
Provision of research and technology infrastructure	☒
Co-definition of research and market needs	☐
Civil society representative	☐
Policy maker or regulator, incl. standardisation body	☐
Research performer	☒
Technology developer	☐
Testing/validation of approaches and ideas	☐
Prototyping and demonstration	☐
IPR management incl. technology transfer	☒
Public procurer of results	☐
Private buyer of results	☐
Finance provider (public or private)	☐
Education and training	☒
Contributions from the social sciences or/and the humanities	☒
Other If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 50)	☐

Administrative forms

List of up to 5 publications, widely-used datasets, software, goods, services, or any other achievements relevant to the call content.

Type of achievement	Short description (Max 500 characters)
Publication	██
Publication	██
Publication	██
Publication	██
Publication	██

List of up to 5 most relevant previous projects or activities, connected to the subject of this proposal.

Name of Project or Activity	Short description (Max 500 characters)
████████	██
████████	██
████████	██
████████	██
████████	██

Description of any significant infrastructure and/or any major items of technical equipment, relevant to the proposed work.

Name of infrastructure of equipment	Short description (Max 300 characters)

Administrative forms

Gender Equality Plan

Does the organization have a Gender Equality Plan (GEP) covering the elements listed below?　　　◉ Yes　　○ No

Minimum process-related requirements (building blocks) for a GEP

- **Publication:** formal document published on the institution's website and signed by the top management
- **Dedicated resources:** commitment of human resources and gender expertise to implement it.
- **Data collection and monitoring:** sex/gender disaggregated data on personnel (and students for establishments concerned) and annual reporting based on indicators.
- **Training:** Awareness raising/trainings on gender equality and unconscious gender biases for staff and decision-makers.
- **Content-wise, recommended areas** to be **covered** and addressed via concrete measures and targets are:
  - o   work-life balance and organisational culture;
  - o   gender balance in leadership and decision-making;
  - o   gender equality in recruitment and career progression;
  - o   integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching content;
  - o   measures against gender-based violence including sexual harassment.

Gender Equality Plan

Administrative forms

PIC	Legal name
999923434	*UNIVERZITA KARLOVA*

Short name: CUNI

Address

Street	OVOCNY TRH 560/5
Town	PRAHA 1
Postcode	116 36
Country	Czechia
Webpage	www.cuni.cz

Specific Legal Statuses

Legal person	yes
Public body	yes
Non-profit	yes
International organisation	no
Secondary or Higher education establishment	yes
Research organisation	yes

SME Data

Based on the below details from the Participant Registry the organisation is not an SME **(small- and medium-sized enterprise) for the call.**

SME self-declared status	22/04/1998 - no
SME self-assessment	unknown
SME validation	unknown

Administrative forms

Departments carrying out the proposed work

Department 1

Department name	Institute of Political Studies		☐ not applicable
	☐ Same as proposing organisation's address		
Street	Pekarska 16		
Town	Praha 5		
Postcode	15800		
Country	Czechia		

Links with other participants

Type of link	Participant

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Administrative forms

Main contact person

This will be the person the EU services will contact concerning this proposal (e.g. for additional information, invitation to hearings, sending of evaluation results, convocation to start grant preparation). The data in blue is read-only. Details (name, first name and e-mail) of Main Contact persons should be edited in the step "Participants" of the submission wizard.

Title ████

Gender ████████████████████

First name* ████████

Last name* ██████

E-Mail* ███████████████

Position in org. ████████████████████████

Department ███████████████   ☐ Same as organisation name

☐ Same as proposing organisation's address

Street ██████████

Town ██████   Post code ██████

Country ██████

Website ████████████████

Phone ████████████   *Phone 2*   *+xxx xxxxxxxxx*

Other contact persons

First Name	Last Name	E-mail	Phone
██████	████████	████████████████	██████████

Administrative forms

Researchers involved in the proposal

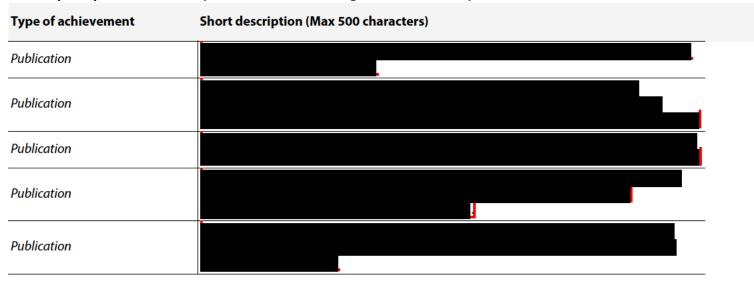| Title	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Nationality	E-mail	Career Stage	Role of researcher (in the project)	Reference Identifier	Type of identifier
▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮		▮	▮
▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮		▮	▮
▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮		▮	▮
▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮		▮	▮
▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮		▮	▮

Administrative forms

Role of participating organisation in the project

Project management	☐
Communication, dissemination and engagement	☒
Provision of research and technology infrastructure	☐
Co-definition of research and market needs	☒
Civil society representative	☐
Policy maker or regulator, incl. standardisation body	☐
Research performer	☒
Technology developer	☐
Testing/validation of approaches and ideas	☒
Prototyping and demonstration	☐
IPR management incl. technology transfer	☐
Public procurer of results	☐
Private buyer of results	☐
Finance provider (public or private)	☐
Education and training	☐
Contributions from the social sciences or/and the humanities	☒
Other If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 50)	☐

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Administrative forms

List of up to 5 publications, widely-used datasets, software, goods, services, or any other achievements relevant to the call content.

Type of achievement	Short description (Max 500 characters)
Publication	███
Publication	███
Publication	███
Publication	███
Publication	███

List of up to 5 most relevant previous projects or activities, connected to the subject of this proposal.

Name of Project or Activity	Short description (Max 500 characters)
███	███
███████████	███
██	███
███████████	███
███████	███

Description of any significant infrastructure and/or any major items of technical equipment, relevant to the proposed work.

Name of infrastructure of equipment	Short description (Max 300 characters)
Libraries, Labs, Access to software	*The university possesses all infrastructure necessary to carry out the research and related tasks.*
ICT services	*ICT services include access to CU digital library, Open Science Support Centre, e-resources and e-learning.*

Administrative forms

Gender Equality Plan

Does the organization have a Gender Equality Plan (GEP) covering the elements listed below?　　　○ Yes　　◉ No

Minimum process-related requirements (building blocks) for a GEP

- **Publication:** formal document published on the institution's website and signed by the top management
- **Dedicated resources:** commitment of human resources and gender expertise to implement it.
- **Data collection and monitoring:** sex/gender disaggregated data on personnel (and students for establishments concerned) and annual reporting based on indicators.
- **Training:** Awareness raising/trainings on gender equality and unconscious gender biases for staff and decision-makers.
- **Content-wise, recommended areas** to be **covered** and addressed via concrete measures and targets are:
    o work-life balance and organisational culture;
    o gender balance in leadership and decision-making;
    o gender equality in recruitment and career progression;
    o integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching content;
    o measures against gender-based violence including sexual harassment.

Gender Equality Plan

Administrative forms

PIC	Legal name
999886962	*SCUOLA NORMALE SUPERIORE*

Short name: SNS

Address

Street	PIAZZA DEI CAVALIERI 7
Town	PISA
Postcode	56126
Country	Italy
Webpage	www.sns.it

Specific Legal Statuses

Legal person	yes
Public body	yes
Non-profit	yes
International organisation	no
Secondary or Higher education establishment	yes
Research organisation	yes

SME Data

Based on the below details from the Participant Registry the organisation is not an SME **(small- and medium-sized enterprise) for the call.**

SME self-declared status	05/03/2014 - no
SME self-assessment	unknown
SME validation	unknown

Administrative forms

Departments carrying out the proposed work

Department 1

Department name	Faculty of Political and Social Sciences	☐ not applicable

☐ Same as proposing organisation's address

Street	Palazzo Strozzi, Piazza degli Strozzi
Town	Florence
Postcode	50123
Country	Italy

Links with other participants

Type of link	Participant

Administrative forms

Main contact person

This will be the person the EU services will contact concerning this proposal (e.g. for additional information, invitation to hearings, sending of evaluation results, convocation to start grant preparation). The data in blue is read-only. Details (name, first name and e-mail) of Main Contact persons should be edited in the step "Participants" of the submission wizard.

Title █

Gender ███ ○ ██ ○ ████

First name* ████

Last name* ████

E-Mail* ██████

Position in org. ████

Department ████████ ☐ Same as organisation name

☐ Same as proposing organisation's address

Street ███████

Town ████ Post code ███

Country ██

Website ████████

Phone ████ Phone 2 +xxx xxxxxxxxx

Other contact persons

First Name	Last Name	E-mail	Phone
██	███	█████	████
█	████	█████	████

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Administrative forms

Researchers involved in the proposal

Title	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Nationality	E-mail	Career Stage	Role of researcher (in the project)	Reference Identifier	Type of identifier

Administrative forms

Role of participating organisation in the project

Project management	☒
Communication, dissemination and engagement	☒
Provision of research and technology infrastructure	☐
Co-definition of research and market needs	☐
Civil society representative	☐
Policy maker or regulator, incl. standardisation body	☐
Research performer	☒
Technology developer	☐
Testing/validation of approaches and ideas	☐
Prototyping and demonstration	☐
IPR management incl. technology transfer	☐
Public procurer of results	☐
Private buyer of results	☐
Finance provider (public or private)	☐
Education and training	☒
Contributions from the social sciences or/and the humanities	☐
Other If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 50)	☐

Administrative forms

List of up to 5 publications, widely-used datasets, software, goods, services, or any other achievements relevant to the call content.

Type of achievement	Short description (Max 500 characters)
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████████████

List of up to 5 most relevant previous projects or activities, connected to the subject of this proposal.

Name of Project or Activity	Short description (Max 500 characters)
████████████████████████████	████████████████████████████

Description of any significant infrastructure and/or any major items of technical equipment, relevant to the proposed work.

Name of infrastructure of equipment	Short description (Max 300 characters)
Cosmos Research center at the SNS	*COSMOS (the Centre for the study of collective action in Europe) based at the Faculty of Political and Social Science of the SNS, Including more than 60 leading scholars focusing with qualitative and quantitative research methods of data collection and Labs on topics relevant for the project*

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Administrative forms

Gender Equality Plan

Does the organization have a Gender Equality Plan (GEP) covering the elements listed below?   ○ Yes   ◉ No

Minimum process-related requirements (building blocks) for a GEP

- **Publication:** formal document published on the institution's website and signed by the top management
- **Dedicated resources:** commitment of human resources and gender expertise to implement it.
- **Data collection and monitoring:** sex/gender disaggregated data on personnel (and students for establishments concerned) and annual reporting based on indicators.
- **Training:** Awareness raising/trainings on gender equality and unconscious gender biases for staff and decision-makers.
- **Content-wise, recommended areas** to be **covered** and addressed via concrete measures and targets are:
    - o work-life balance and organisational culture;
    - o gender balance in leadership and decision-making;
    - o gender equality in recruitment and career progression;
    - o integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching content;
    - o measures against gender-based violence including sexual harassment.

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Administrative forms

PIC	Legal name
999884634	*SWPS UNIWERSYTET HUMANISTYCZNOSPOLECZNY*

Short name: SWPS University

Address

Street	UL. CHODAKOWSKA 19/31
Town	WARSZAWA
Postcode	03 815
Country	Poland
Webpage	www.swps.pl

Specific Legal Statuses

Legal person	yes
Public body	no
Non-profit	yes
International organisation	no
Secondary or Higher education establishment	yes
Research organisation	yes

SME Data

Based on the below details from the Participant Registry the organisation is not an SME **(small- and medium-sized enterprise) for the call.**

SME self-declared status	10/03/2014 - no
SME self-assessment	10/03/2014 - no
SME validation	unknown

Administrative forms

Departments carrying out the proposed work

Department 1

Department name	Institute of Social Sciences	☐ not applicable

☒ Same as proposing organisation's address

Street	UL. CHODAKOWSKA 19/31
Town	WARSZAWA
Postcode	03 815
Country	Poland

Links with other participants

Type of link	Participant

Administrative forms

Main contact person

This will be the person the EU services will contact concerning this proposal (e.g. for additional information, invitation to hearings, sending of evaluation results, convocation to start grant preparation). The data in blue is read-only. Details (name, first name and e-mail) of Main Contact persons should be edited in the step "Participants" of the submission wizard.

Title ███

Gender ○ ██████ ████ ○ ███████

First name* ██████

Last name* ███████

E-Mail* ██████████████

Position in org. ████████████████████████

Department ████████████████

☐ Same as organisation name

████████████████████

Street █████████████

Town ███████

Post code ██████

Country ██████

Website ██████████

Phone ███████

Phone 2 +xxx xxxxxxxxx

Other contact persons

First Name	Last Name	E-mail	Phone
██████	█████	████████████	████████

Administrative forms

Researchers involved in the proposal

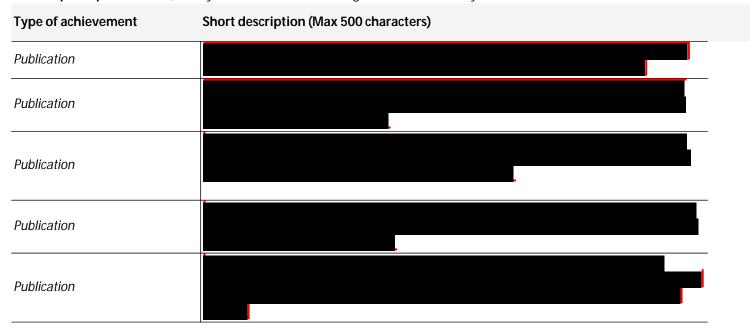| Title	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Nationality	E-mail	Career Stage	Role of researcher (in the project)	Reference Identifier	Type of identifier

Administrative forms

Role of participating organisation in the project
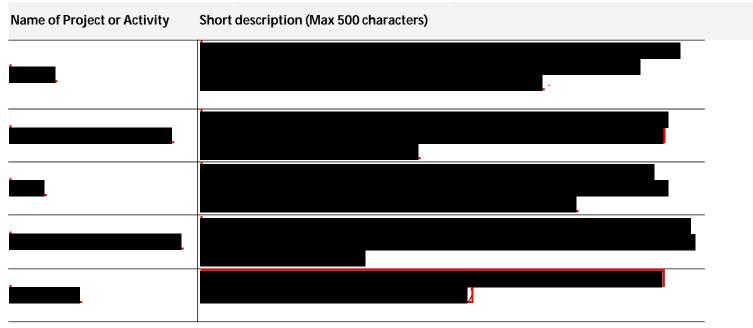
Project management	☒
Communication, dissemination and engagement	☒
Provision of research and technology infrastructure	☐
Co-definition of research and market needs	☐
Civil society representative	☐
Policy maker or regulator, incl. standardisation body	☐
Research performer	☒
Technology developer	☐
Testing/validation of approaches and ideas	☐
Prototyping and demonstration	☐
IPR management incl. technology transfer	☐
Public procurer of results	☐
Private buyer of results	☐
Finance provider (public or private)	☐
Education and training	☐
Contributions from the social sciences or/and the humanities	☐
Other If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 50)	☐

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Administrative forms

List of up to 5 publications, widely-used datasets, software, goods, services, or any other achievements relevant to the call content.

Type of achievement	Short description (Max 500 characters)
Publication	███████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████
Publication	███████████████████████████████

List of up to 5 most relevant previous projects or activities, connected to the subject of this proposal.

Name of Project or Activity	Short description (Max 500 characters)
██████████	███████████████████████████████
████	███████████████████████████████
████	███████████████████████████████
	███████████████████████████████
	███████████████████████████████

Description of any significant infrastructure and/or any major items of technical equipment, relevant to the proposed work.

Name of infrastructure of equipment	Short description (Max 300 characters)

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Administrative forms

	██████████████████████████████████

Administrative forms

Gender Equality Plan

Does the organization have a Gender Equality Plan (GEP) covering the elements listed below?   ○ Yes   ● No

Minimum process-related requirements (building blocks) for a GEP

- **Publication:** formal document published on the institution's website and signed by the top management
- **Dedicated resources:** commitment of human resources and gender expertise to implement it.
- **Data collection and monitoring:** sex/gender disaggregated data on personnel (and students for establishments concerned) and annual reporting based on indicators.
- **Training:** Awareness raising/trainings on gender equality and unconscious gender biases for staff and decision-makers.
- **Content-wise, recommended areas** to be **covered** and addressed via concrete measures and targets are:
    - work-life balance and organisational culture;
    - gender balance in leadership and decision-making;
    - gender equality in recruitment and career progression;
    - integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching content;
    - measures against gender-based violence including sexual harassment.

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Administrative forms

PIC	Legal name
961148363	*THE TRANSATLANTIC FOUNDATION*

Short name: TF

Address

Street	RUE DE LA LOI 155
Town	BRUSSELS
Postcode	1040
Country	Belgium
Webpage	

Specific Legal Statuses

Legal person	yes
Public body	no
Non-profit	yes
International organisation	no
Secondary or Higher education establishment	no
Research organisation	yes

SME Data

Based on the below details from the Participant Registry the organisation is not an SME (small- and medium-sized enterprise) for the call.

SME self-declared status	23/03/2011 - no
SME self-assessment	unknown
SME validation	unknown

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Administrative forms

Departments carrying out the proposed work

Department 1

Department name	Development	☐ not applicable

⊠ Same as proposing organisation's address

Street	RUE DE LA LOI 155
Town	BRUSSELS
Postcode	1040
Country	Belgium

Links with other participants

Type of link	Participant

Administrative forms

Main contact person

This will be the person the EU services will contact concerning this proposal (e.g. for additional information, invitation to hearings, sending of evaluation results, convocation to start grant preparation). The data in blue is read-only. Details (name, first name and e-mail) of Main Contact persons should be edited in the step "Participants" of the submission wizard.

Title █

Gender ███████████████

First name* █████

Last name* ████

E-Mail* ██████████

Position in org. ██████████

Department ██████

☐ Same as organisation name

███████████████

Street █████████

Town █████

Post code ████

Country █████

Website █████

Phone ███████

Phone 2 *+xxx xxxxxxxxx*

Other contact persons

First Name	Last Name	E-mail	Phone
████	████	█████████	██████

Administrative forms

Researchers involved in the proposal

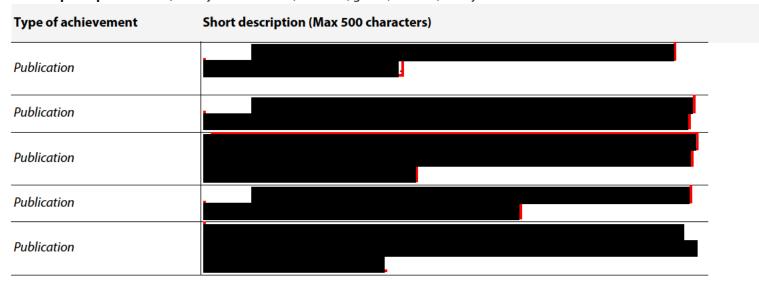| Title	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Nationality	E-mail	Career Stage	Role of researcher (in the project)	Reference Identifier	Type of identifier
██	███	████	██	████	████████	████████████			
██	██	████	████	████	████████	█████████████			
██	█████	████	██	███████	████████	█████████████			
██	███	████	████	██	██████	█████████████			
██	█████	████	████	████	████████	████████████			

Administrative forms

Role of participating organisation in the project

Project management	☐
Communication, dissemination and engagement	☒
Provision of research and technology infrastructure	☐
Co-definition of research and market needs	☐
Civil society representative	☐
Policy maker or regulator, incl. standardisation body	☐
Research performer	☒
Technology developer	☐
Testing/validation of approaches and ideas	☐
Prototyping and demonstration	☐
IPR management incl. technology transfer	☐
Public procurer of results	☐
Private buyer of results	☐
Finance provider (public or private)	☐
Education and training	☐
Contributions from the social sciences or/and the humanities	☐
Other If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 50)	☐

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Administrative forms

List of up to 5 publications, widely-used datasets, software, goods, services, or any other achievements relevant to the call content.

Type of achievement	Short description (Max 500 characters)
Publication	
Publication	
Publication	
Publication	
Publication	

List of up to 5 most relevant previous projects or activities, connected to the subject of this proposal.

Name of Project or Activity	Short description (Max 500 characters)
GEM-STONES	*Sophistication of the Transnational Order, Networks and European Strategies. Building on the multi-disciplinary nature of EU studies GEM-STONES produced interdisciplinary research rooted in a central concept (i.e. regime complex management) which bridges different SSH disciplines.*
JOINT	*JOINT will advance our knowledge of how EU foreign and security policy can become more joined-up and sustainable in an increasingly complex and contested world. And it will promote mutual learning between researchers and policymakers through the secondment of scholars to the foreign ministries of France, Germany and Italy, as well as the EEAS.*
FACTS	*From Alternative Narratives to Citizens True EU Stories. FACTS aims to identify the existing rumor's, false narratives or fake news circulating about the European Union among mobilized and non-mobilized citizens, and whether these rumor's directly hinder the idea of acquiring a European citizenship.*
Strengthening regional links	*Strengthening regional links and transition sharing in the wider Black Sea. The overall goal of the action is to increase the efficiency of civil society to promote an open, transparent and inclusive system of governance.*
Creating the Next Generation of Transatlanticists	*Creating the Next Generation of Transatlanticists: Education Outreach in the USA & Canada. TF will organize three editions of the EU- U.S. Young Leaders? Seminar where approximately 50 young leaders, who are 35 years or younger, discuss about shared challenges and avenues for further strengthening transatlantic cooperation and democracy on both sides of the Atlantic.*

Description of any significant infrastructure and/or any major items of technical equipment, relevant to the proposed work.

Name of infrastructure of equipment	Short description (Max 300 characters)

Administrative forms

Gender Equality Plan

Does the organization have a Gender Equality Plan (GEP) covering the elements listed below?	○ Yes	● No

Minimum process-related requirements (building blocks) for a GEP

- **Publication:** formal document published on the institution's website and signed by the top management
- **Dedicated resources:** commitment of human resources and gender expertise to implement it.
- **Data collection and monitoring:** sex/gender disaggregated data on personnel (and students for establishments concerned) and annual reporting based on indicators.
- **Training:** Awareness raising/trainings on gender equality and unconscious gender biases for staff and decision-makers.
- **Content-wise, recommended areas** to be **covered** and addressed via concrete measures and targets are:
    o work-life balance and organisational culture;
    o gender balance in leadership and decision-making;
    o gender equality in recruitment and career progression;
    o integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching content;
    o measures against gender-based violence including sexual harassment.

Administrative forms

PIC	Legal name
999866883	*UNIVERSITAT WIEN*

Short name: UNIVIE

Address

Street	UNIVERSITATSRING 1
Town	WIEN
Postcode	1010
Country	Austria
Webpage	www.univie.ac.at

Specific Legal Statuses

Legal person	yes
Public body	yes
Non-profit	yes
International organisation	no
Secondary or Higher education establishment	yes
Research organisation	yes

SME Data

Based on the below details from the Participant Registry the organisation is not an SME **(small- and medium-sized enterprise) for the call.**

SME self-declared status	27/07/2021 - no
SME self-assessment	unknown
SME validation	unknown

Administrative forms

Departments carrying out the proposed work

Department 1

Department name	Department of Government	☐ not applicable
	☐ Same as proposing organisation's address	
Street	Kolingasse 14-16	
Town	Vienna	
Postcode	1090	
Country	Austria	

Links with other participants

Type of link	Participant

Administrative forms

Main contact person

This will be the person the EU services will contact concerning this proposal (e.g. for additional information, invitation to hearings, sending of evaluation results, convocation to start grant preparation). The data in blue is read-only. Details (name, first name and e-mail) of Main Contact persons should be edited in the step "Participants" of the submission wizard.

Title ██

Gender ████████████████

First name* ████

Last name* ████████

E-Mail* ██████████████████

Position in org. ██████

Department ████████████████ ☐ Same as organisation name

☐ Same as proposing organisation's address

Street ██████████

Town ██████

Post code █████

Country ██████

Website *Please enter website*

Phone *+xxx xxxxxxxxx*   Phone 2 *+xxx xxxxxxxxx*

Other contact persons

First Name	Last Name	E-mail	Phone
████	████	████	████

Administrative forms

Researchers involved in the proposal

Title	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Nationality	E-mail	Career Stage	Role of researcher (in the project)	Reference Identifier	Type of identifier
▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪		▪	▪
▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪		▪	▪
▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪		▪	▪
▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪		▪	▪
▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪		▪	▪
▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪	▪		▪	▪

Administrative forms

Role of participating organisation in the project

Project management	☐
Communication, dissemination and engagement	☒
Provision of research and technology infrastructure	☒
Co-definition of research and market needs	☒
Civil society representative	☐
Policy maker or regulator, incl. standardisation body	☐
Research performer	☒
Technology developer	☐
Testing/validation of approaches and ideas	☐
Prototyping and demonstration	☐
IPR management incl. technology transfer	☐
Public procurer of results	☐
Private buyer of results	☐
Finance provider (public or private)	☐
Education and training	☒
Contributions from the social sciences or/and the humanities	☒
Other If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 50)	☐

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Administrative forms

List of up to 5 publications, widely-used datasets, software, goods, services, or any other achievements relevant to the call content.

Type of achievement	Short description (Max 500 characters)
Publication	
Publication	
Publication	
Publication	
Publication	

List of up to 5 most relevant previous projects or activities, connected to the subject of this proposal.

Name of Project or Activity	Short description (Max 500 characters)
OPTED (2020-2023)	Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Action. "Observatory for Political Texts in European Democracies" (Project coordinator)
ACPP (2020-2022)	Research Grant of the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (FWF) on "Austrian Corona Panel Project" (project co-lead)
Digitize! (2020-2024)	Research Grant of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research on 'Digitize! Computational Social Sciences in the Social and Digital Transformation' (project lead)
Knowledge Resistance (2019-2024)	Rikbankens Jubileumsfond. Knowledge Resistance: Causes, Consequences and Cures (Consortium member)
RECONNECT (2018-2022)	Research Grant from the EU's Horizon 2020 Research & Innovation Programme on 'Reconciling Europe with its Citizens through Democracy and Rule of Law – Reconnect" (project partner)

Description of any significant infrastructure and/or any major items of technical equipment, relevant to the proposed work.

Name of infrastructure of equipment	Short description (Max 300 characters)
AUSSDA	The Austrian Social Science Data Archive is a data infrastructure for the social science community in Austria and offers a variety of research support services, primarily data archiving and help with data re-use.
Vienna Scientific Cluster	VSC is a collaboration of several Austrian universities that provides supercomputer resources and corresponding services to their users
AUTNES	Austrian National Election Study is a network which is engaged in the comprehensive social science analysis of Austrian national elections.

Administrative forms

Gender Equality Plan

Does the organization have a Gender Equality Plan (GEP) covering the elements listed below?   ⦿ Yes   ◯ No

Minimum process-related requirements (building blocks) for a GEP

- **Publication:** formal document published on the institution's website and signed by the top management
- **Dedicated resources:** commitment of human resources and gender expertise to implement it.
- **Data collection and monitoring:** sex/gender disaggregated data on personnel (and students for establishments concerned) and annual reporting based on indicators.
- **Training:** Awareness raising/trainings on gender equality and unconscious gender biases for staff and decision-makers.
- **Content-wise, recommended areas** to be **covered** and addressed via concrete measures and targets are:
  - work-life balance and organisational culture;
  - gender balance in leadership and decision-making;
  - gender equality in recruitment and career progression;
  - integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching content;
  - measures against gender-based violence including sexual harassment.

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3 - Budget

No.	Name of beneficiary	Country	Role	Personnel costs/€	Subcontracting costs/€	Purchase costs - Travel and substistence /€	Purchase costs - Equipment/€	Purchase costs - Other goods, works and services/€	Internally invoiced goods and services/€ (Unit costs-usual accounting practices)	Indirect costs/€	Total eligible costs	Funding rate	Maximum EU contribution to eligible costs	Requested EU contribution to eligible costs/€	Max grant amount	Income generated by the action	Financial contributions	Own resources	Total estimated income
1	Kozep-europai Egyetem	HU	Coordinator	▮	▮	▮		▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	770688.00
2	The Chancellor, Masters And Scholars Of The University Of Oxford	UK	Partner	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	473931.00
3	Fondation Nationale Des Sciences Politiques	FR	Partner	▮	▮	▮	▮		▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	335725.00
4	Univerzita Karlova	CZ	Partner	▮	▮	▮	▮		▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	261879.00
5	Scuola Normale Superiore	IT	Partner	▮		▮		▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	194850.00
6	Swps Uniwersytet Humanistyczn ospoleczny	PL	Partner	▮		▮		▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	429253.00
7	The Transatlantic Foundation	BE	Partner	▮		▮		▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	240655.00
8	Universitat Wien	AT	Partner	▮		▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	▮	290716.00

Administrative forms

Proposal ID **101060899**

Acronym **AUTHLIB**

	TOTAL	1,863,307	328,000	108,450	6,000	158,000	0	533939 25	2997696.25		2997697.00	2,997,697	2997697.00	0	0	0	2997697.00

Administrative forms

Proposal ID **101060899**

Acronym **AUTHLIB**

4 - Ethics & security

Ethics Issues Table

1. Human Embryonic Stem Cells and Human Embryos			Page
Does this activity involve Human Embryonic Stem Cells (hESCs)?	○ Yes	● No	
Does this activity involve the use of human embryos?	○ Yes	● No	
2. Humans			**Page**
Does this activity involve human participants?	● Yes	○ No	9-11
Are they volunteers for non medical studies (e.g. social or human sciences research)?	○ Yes	● No	
Are they healthy volunteers for medical studies?	○ Yes	● No	
Are they patients for medical studies?	○ Yes	● No	
Are they potentially vulnerable individuals or groups?	● Yes	○ No	30
Are they children/minors?	○ Yes	● No	
Are they other persons unable to give informed consent?	○ Yes	● No	
Does this activity involve interventions (physical also including imaging technology, behavioural treatments, etc.) on the study participants?	○ Yes	● No	
Does this activity involve conducting a clinical study as defined by the Clinical Trial Regulation (EU 536/2014)? (using pharmaceuticals, biologicals, radiopharmaceuticals, or advanced therapy medicinal products)	○ Yes	● No	
3. Human Cells / Tissues (not covered by section 1)			**Page**
Does this activity involve the use of human cells or tissues?	○ Yes	● No	
4. Personal Data			**Page**
Does this activity involve processing of personal data?	● Yes	○ No	10,19
Does it involve the processing of special categories of personal data (e.g.: genetic, biometric and health data, sexual lifestyle, ethnicity, political opinion, religious or philosophical beliefs)?	● Yes	○ No	10,19
Does it involve processing of genetic, biometric or health data?	○ Yes	● No	
Does it involve profiling, systematic monitoring of individuals, or processing of large scale of special categories of data or intrusive methods of data processing (such as, surveillance, geolocation tracking etc.)?	○ Yes	● No	
Does this activity involve further processing of previously collected personal data (including use of preexisting data sets or sources, merging existing data sets)?	○ Yes	● No	
Is it planned to export personal data from the EU to non-EU countries? Specify the type of personal data and countries involved	● Yes	○ No	8,24

United Kingdom

Administrative forms

Proposal ID **101060899**

Acronym **AUTHLIB**

Is it planned to import personal data from non-EU countries into the EU or from a non-EU country to another non-EU country? Specify the type of personal data and countries involved	⦿ Yes	◯ No	8,24

> We will share survey and experimental data across the EU and United Kingdom.

Does this activity involve the processing of personal data related to criminal convictions or offences?	◯ Yes	⦿ No

Does this activity involve animals?	◯ Yes	⦿ No

Will some of the activities be carried out in non-EU countries?	⦿ Yes	◯ No	8,24

> United Kingdom

In case non-UE countries are involved, do the activities undertaken in these countries raise potential ethics issues?	◯ Yes	⦿ No
It is planned to use local resources (e.g. animal and/or human tissue samples, genetic material, live animals, human remains, materials of historical value, endangered fauna or flora samples, etc.)?	◯ Yes	⦿ No
Is it planned to import any material (other than data) from non-EU countries into the EU or from a non-EU country to another non-EU country? For data imports, see section 4.	◯ Yes	⦿ No
Is it planned to export any material (other than data) from the EU to non-EU countries? For data exports, see section 4.	◯ Yes	⦿ No
Does this activity involve low and/or lower middle income countries, (if yes, detail the benefit-sharing actions planned in the self-assessment)	◯ Yes	⦿ No
Could the situation in the country put the individuals taking part in the activity at risk?	◯ Yes	⦿ No

Does this activity involve the use of substances or processes that may cause harm to the environment, to animals or plants.(during the implementation of the activity or further to the use of the results, as a possible impact) ?	◯ Yes	⦿ No
Does this activity deal with endangered fauna and/or flora / protected areas?	◯ Yes	⦿ No
Does this activity involve the use of substances or processes that may cause harm to humans, including those performing the activity.(during the implementation of the activity or further to the use of the results, as a possible impact) ?	◯ Yes	⦿ No

Does this activity involve the development, deployment and/or use of Artificial Intelligence? (if yes, detail in the self-assessment whether that could raise ethical concerns related to human rights and values and detail how this will be addressed).	◯ Yes	⦿ No

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Are there any other ethics issues that should be taken into consideration? ○ Yes ⦿ No

I confirm that I have taken into account all ethics issues above and that, if any ethics issues apply, I will complete the ethics self-assessment as described in the guidelines How to Complete your Ethics Self-Assessment ☒

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Ethics Self-Assessment

<div style="background:blue;color:white">**Ethical dimension of the objectives, methodology and likely impact**</div>

The objectives of AUTHLIB are not only academic but also ethical: to assist those who are fighting the spread of illiberalism, authoritarianism, and intolerance including policy makers, civil society representatives, journalists, educators and ordinary citizens. Illiberal ideologies pose a direct threat to the most vulnerable groups in society, to the peaceful coexistence of cultures, and to the freedom of individuals.

In terms of methods, AUTHLIB will mostly work with observational data. Here, the ethical challenge is twofold: to make sure that no private information falls into unauthorised hands, and to ensure that all relevant non-private information reaches the public. We will employ strict data-management policies to secure the former goal. In order to meet the latter goal, we will devote resources to make our publication open-access. We will also conduct survey, laboratory, and field experiments, relying on the informed consent of adults.

While illiberal actors may not agree with our recommendations or with the results of the investigation, we hope to minimise any adverse political reaction by following strict academic standards and by guaranteeing transparency.

We believe that by bringing clarity to the academic and public policy discourse on the nature and stakes of the newest ideological challenges, and by experimenting with communication strategies that can nudge participants towards a discourse that is more respectful, more self-aware, and more sensitive to the perspectives of minorities, the impact of AUTHLIB will reach beyond academic circles.

Remaining characters 3413

<div style="background:blue;color:white">**Compliance with ethical principles and relevant legislations**</div>

The fact that a non-EU country, the UK, is involved, does not pose a challenge sine the relevant regulations are identical. All political texts analysed, except for public documents attributable to specific actors, will be anonymised. In addition, survey data management and archiving procedures will ensure that the personal identification of respondents is not possible. Finally, informed consent of all participants will be secured, and the option for withdrawal readily available. Information Sheets and an Informed Consent Form will be provided to all participants. Confidentiality will be paramount. The level of data security will be GDPR compliant, the data linking names and identifiers will be stored separately in a secure place.

Each partner institution has strict ethical guidelines and ethics procedures. Ethical standards will be ensured throughout the project and will be part of any contract in subcontracting or third-party engagement. In addition, the most sensitive component of our empirical research strategy, the laboratory experiments, will be reviewed by the University of Oxford's Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC).

Some participants in the mini-publics and experiments may come from vulnerable minorities (e.g., the Roma), and the discussions may revolve around sensitive issues. Therefore, we will train and employ professional facilitators to ensure that the conversations are civil and respectful.

All participants and research assistants have the right to expect protection from physical, psychological, social, legal, and economic harm at all times during the investigation. Therefore, participants and research staff will be fully informed in advance and protected against any hazardous, stressful, or uncomfortable contexts and procedures. In addition, we will avoid any harm not only to an immediate population of subjects, but also to their wider family, kin, and community.

Remaining characters 3063

Administrative forms

Proposal ID **101060899**

Acronym   **AUTHLIB**

Security issues table

1. EU Classified Information (EUCI)[2]		Page
Does this activity involve information and/or materials requiring protection against unauthorised disclosure (EUCI)?	○ Yes ● No	
Does this activity involve non-EU countries?	○ Yes ● No	

2. Misuse		Page
Does this activity have the potential for misuse of results?	○ Yes ● No	

3. Other Security Issues		Page
Does this activity involve information and/or materials subject to national security restrictions? If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 1000)	○ Yes ● No	
Are there any other security issues that should be taken into consideration? If yes, please specify: (Maximum number of characters allowed: 1000)	○ Yes ● No	

[2]According to the Commission Decision (EU, Euratom) 2015/444 of 13 March 2015 on the security rules for protecting EU classified information, "European Union classified information (EUCI) means any information or material designated by an EU security classification, the unauthorised disclosure of which could cause varying degrees of prejudice to the interests of the European Union or of one or more of the Member States".

[3]Classified background information is information that is already classified by a country and/or international organisation and/or the EU and is going to be used by the project. In this case, the project must have in advance the authorisation from the originator of the classified information, which is the entity (EU institution, EU Member State, third state or international organisation) under whose authority the classified information has been generated.

[4]EU classified foreground information is information (documents/deliverables/materials) planned to be generated by the project and that needs to be protected from unauthorised disclosure. The originator of the EUCI generated by the project is the European Commission.

5 - Other questions

Two-stage calls

The full stage-2 proposal must be consistent with the short outline proposal submitted the to stage 1 - in particular with respect to the proposal characteristics addressing the concepts of excellence and impact

Are there substantial differences compared to the stage-1 proposal?   ○Yes   ○No

Essential information to be provided for proposals including clinical Trials / studies / investigations

Clinical study means, for the purpose of this document, any systematic prospective or retrospective collection and analysis of health data obtained from individual patients or healthy persons in order to address scientific questions related to the understanding, prevention, diagnosis, monitoring or treatment of a disease, mental illness, or physical condition. It includes but it is not limited to clinical studies as defined by Regulation 536/2014 (on medicinal products), clinical investigation and clinical evaluation as defined by Regulation 2017/745 (on medical devices), performance study and performance evaluation as defined by Regulation 2017/746 (on in vitro diagnostic medical devices).

Are clinical studies / trials / investigations included in the work plan of this project?   ○Yes   ○No

NEO-AUTHORITARIANISMS IN EUROPE AND THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC RESPONSE

List of participants

Participant No. *	Participant organisation name	Country
1 (Coordinator)	Central European University (CEU)	Hungary
2	University of Oxford (UOXF)	UK
3	Paris Institute of Political Studies (SCIENCES PO)	France
4	Charles University (CUNI)	Czechia
5	Scuola Normale Superiore (SNS)	Italy
6	SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities (SWPS)	Poland
7	German Marshall Fund (TF)	Belgium
8	University of Vienna (UNIVIE)	Austria

Table of Contents

1. Excellence

1.1 Objectives and ambition

Principal goals

While in the past it was plausible to assume that all members of – and all established actors within – the European Union shared a basic liberal democratic minimum, the conflicts about the rule of law during the 2010s shattered this assumption. It is time to comprehend the sources and implications of this normative divergence. In the absence of the analysis of the **new alternatives** to liberal democracy, no toolkits aiming to improve the legitimacy of liberal democracies can be developed.

AUTHLIB's basic premise is that liberal democracy faces not **one** ideological challenge but **many** and that we lack a thorough understanding of these challenges. To obtain a comprehensive account of the alternatives to liberal democracy that emerged across and within countries in Europe in recent years, the AUTHLIB project carefully and systematically explores the **varieties of illiberalism** and their appeal. Illiberalism[1] has diverse ways of appealing to elites, citizens and to specific social groups. These appeals include narratives, programs and policies, emotional triggers, and institutional innovations, and sophisticated methods of diffusion, each of which needs to be understood and mapped.

In line with the varieties of illiberalism and their diverse diffusion channels, the policies to mitigate and combat them need to be appropriate to the nature of the challenge in each given context. AUTHLIB provides a **toolkit** for policy-makers to defend and enhance liberal democracy against its challengers by understanding and explaining the nature of illiberal ideologies, processes, and policies. The toolkit – consisting of case-specific sets of tools – will consist of theoretically, normatively, and empirically grounded ways of responding to the specifics of illiberal claims against liberal democracy. To achieve these goals, AUTHLIB will address two overarching objectives: 1) a map of varieties of illiberalism and citizen responses, and 2) the design and testing of interventions to countervail the spread of authoritarianism.

Much of the prevailing discussion of the recent challenges to liberal democracy is framed by the dichotomy of an unresponsive establishment versus populist protest (Grzymala-Busse et al 2020). This model is incomplete and can lead to erroneous diagnoses and prescriptions. The values of liberal democracy are questioned differently by the different manifestations of illiberalism. Take the examples of technocratic populism, neo-liberal anti-egalitarianism, Christian-nationalism, sexist traditionalism, or state-centred paternalist populism: while they all have illiberalism at their core (Enyedi and Mölder 2018, Buštíková and Guasti 2019), they attack liberal democracy with different arguments and question various aspects of the liberal democratic consensus. They also resonate with different publics. Analytically disentangling and empirically scrutinising these differences will be at the heart of each stage of the project.

Next to positing that the challenge comes from **multiple** ideological sources, we claim that the challenge to the liberal democratic order is not simply protest against the status-quo, but it is also an expression of alternative ideals, embedded in **long-standing intellectual traditions**, expressed not only by **fringe political groups** but also increasingly embraced by **established actors**.

Objective 1: To replace the prevailing crude dichotomies with an up-to-date representation of illiberal challenges, we will start by considering the principal tensions characterising the European political systems today and in the near future (WP2). This theoretical stock-taking will include a critical reflection on the shortcomings of real-life liberal democracies that may create fertile soil for illiberalism. In the second stage, we will map ideological configurations and dimensions by analysing party documents, speeches of public figures and the social media activity of engaged citizens and by conducting expert-surveys on the orientation of political actors (WP3). We will identify the character of the citizens who are most likely to support a given illiberal configuration by an analysis of survey-data (WP4). The ideology- and argument-focused investigation of political texts and social media activities will be complemented

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[1] While emphasising different aspects of the same phenomenon, illiberalism, anti-liberalism, and authoritarianism are terms used interchangeably, referring to ideologies, attitudes and policies that question some fundamental principles of liberal democracy, such as equality of citizens, freedom of expression, state neutrality, rule of law, checks and balances, media pluralism or non-discrimination based on ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender or race.

by a study focused on emotional triggers and rhetorical strategies pursued by illiberal actors (WP5). The contemporary ideological configurations of illiberalism will be embedded into historical-cultural and institutional contexts by a historically focused analysis that will compare traditions within and across nations (WP8).

The study of ideas and preferences will be supplemented by the investigation of illiberals in power, with a special emphasis on the policies they enact, the rhetorical strategies pursued in government, and the new forms of political representation introduced by authoritarian power-holders (WP6). Finally, we will investigate the co-operation of illiberal political actors, with the purpose of finding out how narratives and policy-solutions are diffused and how specific political projects (e.g., legislative or referendum initiatives) are borrowed and modified by the various opponents of liberal democracy (WP7). In the framework of the diffusion of anti-liberal ideas ("**authoritarian learning**") we will investigate not only the behaviour of national actors, but also the role of the various institutions of the European Union and foreign powers (primarily Russia) in containing and facilitating the development of illiberal approaches

Objective 2: To develop **interventions** that may effectively target various illiberal challenges in a given context, we will rely on the input of the previously listed research-modules (to be integrated in WP9). Through the combination of the targeted investigations and case studies, we will be able to establish where and with whom a given configuration of illiberalism has had little or great success and thus suggest where and to whom policy efforts should be primarily directed.

In the next phase of the research, we will go beyond this knowledge in two ways. First, we will define the normative, institutional, and legal limits to actions that liberal democracies may take in their own defence and evaluate the successes or weaknesses of already-implemented policy strategies to combat illiberalism across Europe, including those that aim to undermine illiberal diffusion across states (WP10). Such policies will include censorship, banning of political organisations, enforcing balanced representation of political views in the media, or involving NGOs in sensitising judges, teachers, and political decision-makers to the needs of sexual and other minorities. The systematic scrutiny of normative aspects will help to address the question of whether intolerance can be confronted by intolerant measures, and if so, what are the implications of such a course of action.

The second major effort to test the limits of interventions will be empirical. In this line of research, we will measure the impact of defensible and targeted interventions that can shift the narratives, policy preferences and emotional susceptibility of categories of citizens who are subject to illiberal treatments. To gauge the responsiveness of individuals, we will run online panel-based **survey experiments** in all seven target-countries (WP4). We will also conduct **laboratory experiments** to better understand the lability of emotional responses to different illiberal stimuli (WP5). Finally, to observe how ideological and emotional stimuli work in cooperative 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 (WP11). These empirical investigations will allow us to identify the **mechanisms** behind the appeal of the various ideological constructs to arrive at recommendations concerning how to **increase the effectiveness and legitimacy of the pro-democratic ideological offer**.

Objective 3. Our ultimate goal is to assist in reinvigorating liberal democracy. To achieve the maximum positive **impact** for our project we will embed the views and advice of policy makers and civil society organisations, and with openness to the input of citizens, at **each stage of our activities**, from research design to interventions. We will do this through our management structure, which will involve an advisory board with members drawn from across a range of stakeholders, through online communication and citizen outreach at all stages, by ensuring the data we collect, and our analysis is made accessible and user-friendly, and by working with policymakers and opinion leaders across Europe from the start of the project to ensure that our results and interventions are widely known and accepted.

AUTHLIB's novel approach

Conceptual strategy

The study of the new authoritarian ideological alternatives tends to be impressionistic and lacking a long-time horizon. It is disconnected from the analysis of citizens' attitudes and behaviour, and it operates with outdated and highly simplified one or two-dimensional models. Our project places ideologies at the centre of the investigation, explicitly aiming to capture the emergence of non-textbook configurations, such as the combination of progressive views on gender issues with xenophobia or the amalgam of moral traditionalism with an accommodative attitude

towards ethnic diversity (Brubaker 2017). Going beyond the identification of such alternatives, the project maps the ways in which liberal democracy is perceived and interpreted by its critics, and it investigates whether the negative reactions are triggered by the **fundamental liberal democratic principles** or by the **secondary features** of liberal democratic regimes, such as issues related to performance, bureaucratic coordination, specific policies, institutional solutions (e.g. the ways public preferences are currently aggregated into governmental actions) or responses to external challenges (such as the COVID-19 pandemic). We will also differentiate between final goals and procedural means to achieve these goals, because the nature of the challenge depends heavily on whether the former or the latter are questioned (Freeden 2013).

We plan to devote special attention to those elements of the new ideological constructs that refer to alternative futures of Europe. Liberal democracy, with its intricate system of veto players and complex procedures, is often regarded as slow to respond to its rapidly changing environment, particularly the increased market liquidity of the globalised economy. This weakness is well sensed by anti-liberal political projects that offer simpler ways of dealing with the emerging challenges. AUTHLIB seeks to identify ideas, frames and rhetorical devices imported by ideological entrepreneurs from non-democratic settings into the discussions of how to face the problems of advanced capitalist societies.

The project will build on the existing scholarship on radical right and populist parties, but it will depart from that literature by giving equal attention to actors in power and in opposition, and by including the analysis of actual governmental policies in the study, thereby challenging the often-heard assumption that populists are uninterested in policies and do not base these policies on values.

We consider ideas to be embedded in discursive strategies that also have **emotional** components, as we believe that the appeal of worldviews rests on both cognitive and emotive features. In line with the Moral Foundations Theory (Haidt 2007), we will study the combination of emotional and cognitive aspects through the lens of moral dimensions (care/harm, fairness/cheating, loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion, sanctity/degradation, and liberty/oppression). The politicisation of these dimensions deserves attention as it may be a major factor behind polarisation and the difficulties of communication across political camps.

We hypothesise that the diversity in ideological supply is matched by the pluralism of electoral choices. The latter fact is hidden by the mainstream models of political behaviour that assume homogeneity. But the decline of traditional cleavages, the weakening of party identification, the increasing instability of voters' preferences, and decreasing levels of ideological and party loyalty among voters have led to a more heterogenous citizenry. The matching of survey-data on citizens' preferences with the ideological offer of elite actors (WP4) will help us to assess the role of new social identities and the impact of new, often context-specific, and multidimensional cleavages. Given this analysis, AUTHLIB will be in a position to assess whether those who are excluded from articulating their voice in the public domain receive some sort of "surrogate" representation (Mansbridge 2003) by the liberal and illiberal elite actors.

While the ideological supply is largely produced by elite actors, to understand its social consequences, the project will consider the conditions under which diverse social groups respond to authoritarian messages. The analysis of actual mass political behaviour, experimental settings and carefully designed interventions will provide information on how political values structure citizens' attitudes.

The existing studies on the ideological space of Europe aim to identify only a few major dimensions, and then to place political parties along the spectrum. Due to their methodology, they cannot pay sufficient attention to cultural-historical specificities, they leave the emotional aspects aside, and they are not designed to uncover the way various issue-positions and values are bundled together into specific packages. While building on these studies, AUTHLIB will go beyond describing the position of parties and will be designed to uncover new, context-specific ideological configurations both in the elite and in the public.

The ideological configurations will be interpreted not only from the point of view of social group interests and the competitive preferences of political actors, as in mainstream comparative politics literature, but also from the perspective of longstanding historical traditions and contemporary debates in political philosophy. The study of historical continuities will allow us to provide a 'thicker', better culturally-embedded model of the recently developed political oppositions in Europe, focused not only on causal mechanisms triggering the phenomena under scrutiny, but grasping the 'deep causality' located in the past.

The integration of these distinct perspectives requires the collaboration of a multidisciplinary team, including normative political theorists as well as empirically oriented scholars. We will leverage rich but often unintegrated existing sources of data to address these issues where possible and embark on new data collection where it is not.

The nature of the new ideological cleavages

While our methods will allow the discovery of unexpected ideological combinations, based on the state-of-the-art we have some distinct expectations. Firstly, we expect neo-authoritarians to engage with and exploit economic threats and grievances, but to primarily focus on concerns about multiculturalism, immigration, gender equality, the erosion of national identity and Christian legacy, climate policies, and the expansion of EU integration. Those social groups which are (or consider themselves to be) the majority within the state and fear the loss of their status have been found to support authoritarian practices (Markowski 2019).

Based on the existing findings, AUTHLIB will provide specific consideration to gender-related ideological oppositions. Recently, illiberal actors have shifted their focus from 'ethnopopulism' (Vachudova 2021) to new identity politics – LGBTQ+ rights, reproductive rights, and gender equality. The illiberal backlash reflects the rise of traditionalism fuelled by the conjoint efforts of illiberal political parties and their civil and uncivil society allies, including church organisations (Lührman and Lindberg, 2019; Sadurski 2019; Greskovits, 2015, 2020). This socially conservative alliance often aims to reverse or block changes that regulate universal rights, and to halt the emancipation of women and minorities. Conservative bonds of solidarity formed around a communitarian view of nationhood and sovereignty are frequently coupled with heteronormative sexuality. The focus on the contestation of universal rights in the domains of ideology, public policy, and changes in the regulatory framework, will help AUTHLIB to explain variation in illiberal backlash across Europe. By investigating the gender-implications of both ideologies and policies, we also hope to contribute to the mainstreaming of gender in the research on liberal democracy.

The complexity of the ideological space was recently increased further by the politicisation of the responses to climate change (more specifically, the mobilisation of climate change denial) and the polarisation around responses to the COVID-19 challenge. The positions concerning these issues often cross-cut traditional political divides and are frequently driven by deep-seated values. The role of such divisions is likely to increase in the near future, shaping not only attitudes towards specific governmental measures but also towards liberal democracy as a whole.

AUTHLIB will exploit the heightened focus in recent public debates on the right balance between citizens' rights and the scope of executive power, as the extraordinary measures necessitated by the pandemic forced political actors to revisit fundamental questions of liberal democracy (Muller 2021). The project will also benefit from the fact that the debates studied increasingly reflect on the consequences of artificial intelligence, the biotechnological shift, the challenges of the climate, declining biodiversity, and the overarching problem of what has been recently labelled as the 'Anthropocene'. While these discussions, we believe, are closely related to past cultural conflicts, specifically concerning religion, they also provide an opportunity to grasp the competing visions of the future.

1.2   Methodology

Project outline

Steps to obtain a precise map of the ideological challenges

AUTHLIB is a truly multidisciplinary and multi-method enterprise, encompassing the analysis of many existing comparative datasets and aiming to produce some genuinely new data, which will be made immediately accessible to the public. To reach our goal of providing a nuanced map of the new ideological landscape (Objective 1), we will primarily rely on the analysis of relevant **political texts**, making use of the abundance of digitally available textual data. For identifying the principal ideological configurations, we will analyse **political speeches, party manifestos, and social media content**. These sources will be examined with the help of quali-quantitative approaches, alternating between supervised and unsupervised methods. As the goal is to capture the emerging features of authoritarian discourse in Europe, the focus of the original data collection will be on the last two decades, and the results will be contrasted with 20th century elite discourse.

The mapping of ideological configurations will directly benefit from the ongoing data collection of the OPTED

project (Observatory of Political Texts in European Democracies, 2021), both in terms of legislative text and political organisation text. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ The political texts (primarily party manifestos but also relevant political media) collected within the "Democracy and Democratization" unit of the Berlin Social Center (WZB) will also be available for us through collaboration with ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ together with the rich datasets of ParlSpeech (https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/ParlSpeech) and Parlgov (http://www.parlgov.org/). Additionally, we will invest in further data collection efforts to properly cover the discourse of political elites in all seven countries.

Given that innovative text-as-data approaches and cutting-edge computational solutions for harvesting large amounts of texts from the internet have dramatically reduced data collection costs (Grimmer and Stewart 2013; Maerz and Puschmann 2020, Munzert et al. 2015), AUTHLIB will also make use of the automated methods to collect textual data. The largest portion of the texts will be provided by speeches of politicians. Authoritarian speech is often considered to be a harbinger of democratic decline (Levitsky & Ziblatt 2018, Schedler 2019) and, as recent events in the US have demonstrated, public speeches by political elites have significant consequences.

AUTHLIB will specifically complement two databases of political speech. First, the project will extend the quantitative work conducted on Maerz and Schneider's (2019) collection of more than 6000 political speeches delivered by heads of government. Secondly, it will also develop further the Nationalism Populism Database currently comprising the multi-dimensional characterisation of 137 leader-terms, based on a holistic textual coding technique drawn from educational psychology (Hawkins 2009). We will build on the recent contribution of Jenne, Hawkins and Silva (2021) who added nationalism and social conservatism to populism as ideological dimensions measured in speeches. To map the entire ideological field within each leader-term, the holistic grading will be complemented by the application of machine learning techniques to party manifestos. In so doing, we will be able to visualise the political cleavages within each country over time. The visualisation of synchronic and asynchronic changes in governing ideologies across cases will offer insights into how ideological configurations spread across cases through policy diffusion (Vachudova 2020) and will allow us to establish whether we can identify temporal shifts in the structure of illiberal ideologies that resemble critical junctures.

For the unsupervised text analysis, we will make use of multi-lingual language models and automated translation techniques to overcome the problem of different languages. Recent research shows that for bag-of-words text mining approaches, the outcome of machine-translated and human-translated texts overlap (de Vries, Schoonvelde, and Schumacher 2018). To ensure a high contextual sensitivity during the analyses of the collected material, we will make use of qualitative text analysis, word embeddings (Rheault and Cochrane 2019), and a complex cycle of cross-validation. Since comparative, cross-country research on authoritarian public rhetoric is a relatively new research area (Windsor et al. 2017; Windsor, Dowell, and Graesser 2015), and we still lack indicators which accurately capture the varieties of authoritarian rhetoric used in European countries, this part of the project will start with an inductive analysis of the collected material using techniques of topic modelling from the fields of unsupervised machine learning (e.g. Lucas et al. 2015; Roberts et al. 2013). Further unsupervised clustering techniques (such as document embedding based techniques) will be used to identify typical positions, and the dynamics of altering and adopting frames. We will employ supervised approaches by considering certain actors (political elites) as representing certain ideologies and treating their speech acts as typical instances of such ideologies. The outcome of the unsupervised topic modelling will then be extensively validated (cf. Grimmer and Stewart 2013) with the help of supervised machine learning techniques such as a detailed coding scheme.

Next to texts produced by political elites, we will rely on discourse-focused analysis of **social media.** The public sphere has fundamentally transformed as social media platforms have become central in channelling attention, shaping the agenda of public discussions, and in general shaping chances to have a voice (Dahlgren 2013). Social media data offers an opportunity to study the spread of political messages to understand cascades of supporting and opposing views. The social media messages provide a further opportunity, which is less available in case of other sources, to uncover how political actors alter their positions as they react to innovations. These innovations can be top-down (new positions propagated by political actors) or bottom-up (new issues gaining virality in social media). Our analyses will target the tweets of political elites and comments found on the public Facebook pages of major political organisations to uncover new ideological constructs.

We will use social network analysis, specifically bipartite dynamic network models (Sarkar et al 2007) to investigate the relationships among the actors. As far as Twitter data are concerned, we will assign, using ideology scaling methods, a position in an attitudinal space to the Twitter users and then analyse how these attitudinal characteristics covary with the discourse and with certain behavioural features like the number of retweets and the homogeneity of

the ego-networks. The incorporation of qualitative perspectives into the Big Data analysis will constitute an advance in the state-of-the-art social media studies that are virtually exclusively quantitative and therefore rarely reflect properly the democratic quality and ideological complexity of social media discourse. Network analysis methods will help to detect the overlap between ideological discourses, and they will be also used to determine who is influencing whom and which concepts are circulating from one party to another, and from one country to another. This line of research will also help us to find out whether illiberalism was present and widespread among the population, and political actors simply took advantage of this fact, or whether the political actors as entrepreneurs were able to create illiberal attitudes among the neutral public. This knowledge will serve as the linchpin for policy recommendations and strategies developed in the later stages of the project with the aim to counter illiberal populist narratives and revive the resilience and attractiveness of liberal democracy.

In our research of social media, we will consider the fact that, despite early techno-romantic expectations of the internet becoming a many-to-many medium with equalising effects and broadened access, large segments of the public sphere of social media have become highly centralised, offering tools to suppress voices. Therefore, we will analyse social media as a terrain of manipulation, identifying the role of automated accounts (bots) in amplifying anti-liberal messages.

The different datasets will allow us to answer different specific questions about the position of political actors on ideological dimensions, on the salience of these dimensions, on the character of new ideological discourses that crosscut political camps, or on the temporal changes in the degree and type of illiberal speech. Alongside benefiting from these differences, we will also make efforts to integrate the annotated datasets, arriving at structures that exist at higher levels of abstraction.

Next to digitally available data, AUTHLIB will utilise relevant existing **survey data** (especially the European Value Survey, the European Social Survey, the International Social Survey Programme, and the European Election Studies), data generated by voting advice applications, and the Comparative Candidates Survey to provide an accurate map of the new ideological space, to identify the social profiles of the ideological groups and to predict the probability of supporting diverse authoritarian actors and frames (as measured in WP3). Additionally, since the existing surveys do not contain sufficient information on the new ideological constructs, we will run **our own targeted surveys**.

The survey results will be analysed across many dimensions. Firstly, we will use the survey data to assess the extent to which individuals are in contact with (immigrant) minorities and how this affects cultural threat perceptions. Secondly, following the most recent developments in the literature on political economy, we will focus on the economic risk factors rooted particularly in an individual's occupation unemployment risk using the EU-SILC dataset to assess group-based risk of unemployment and its effect on economic threat perceptions (Rehm 2009, Schwander and Häusermann 2013, Häusermann et al. 2020, Abou-Chadi and Kurer 2021). We will further focus on additional major socio-demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, education level, urban versus rural residence, minority status, religiosity, and religious affiliation. In particular, differences in education levels are expected to play a central role in explaining culturally exclusive and conservative attitudes, as well as support for radical-right and other neo-authoritarian parties (Hakhverdian et al. 2013, Lachat 2017, Stubager 2013).

We will also rely on the analyses of existing **expert surveys** that classify the orientation of political parties along multiple dimensions to validate the findings of the textual analyses. In addition to the off-the-shelf datasets, we will initiate the inclusion of a new set of questions into the Chapel Hill Expert Survey on party positioning. These questions will refer specifically to the new authoritarian positions and values and will aim to produce a refined ideological profile of political parties. The results of the expert data will then be used as the basis (positional benchmarks) for the wider quantitative content analysis of texts and social media content.

Using different kinds of survey data, we will be able to contrast the ideas of the **elites** with the attitudes of the **public**, gauging the dynamic interaction between the two, and allowing for the possibility of both bottom-up and top-down influences. This approach will allow us to engage with the important interplay between social conditions conducive to authoritarian reactions, and the ability of elite actors to shape diverse authoritarian worldviews and political support from above.

Since one of the ambitions of the current project is to move away from the ahistorical focus of mainstream comparative politics, the tools of historical studies will be employed to connect findings of the current texts, surveys, and social media to the record of the **previous waves** of illiberal thinking. The present- and the past- oriented ideological maps will be brought together in seven **case studies**. These case studies will contain the qualitative and

longitudinal analysis of illiberal initiatives developed in Austria, Czechia, Hungary, Poland, France, the UK, and Italy, with a special focus on developments since the financial crisis of 2008. The case studies provide an opportunity to catalogue and analyse the intra-country variations in the illiberal ideological offer, and the responses of the supporters of liberal democracy to the authoritarian challenge. They will also allow us to reflect on the mistakes made by liberal regimes (e.g., neglect of civic education and social integration, corruption, etc.), demonstrating how the country-specific weaknesses of liberal democratic politics prepared the ground for anti-liberal initiatives. Within the framework of case studies, we will also explore the role of intermediary linkage organisations such as churches and movements (Kitschelt 2000, Bawn et al. 2012). Finally, the case studies will allow us to complement the ideational approach with the study of political strategies, particularly the strategies applied by illiberal actors, but also the strategic responses of the supporters of liberal democracy.

The selection of the cases was driven by the consideration that the challenges emerging from the new ideological landscape are most consequential in countries where illiberal political actors have large scale electoral appeal, where the historical traditions of illiberalism are strong, and where political entrepreneurs have launched more than one successful illiberal initiative. This is how we selected Austria, Poland, France, Hungary, and Italy. At the level of parliamentary or presidential elections, in each country the neo-authoritarian alternative is robust. Additionally, in these cases the differentiation within the illiberal scene tends to be manifest, for example, Jobbik and Fidesz in Hungary, Fratelli and Lega (and part of Forza Italia) in Italy, the diverging political projects of Marine Le Pen and Marion Maréchal Le Pen in France, and Law and Justice, Kukiz'15, United Poland, and Confederation in Poland, etc.

To increase the representativeness of this sample, we have added two **shadow cases**, one as the most similar in nature – Czechia – and one as the most different – the United Kingdom. Czechia is a case that is situated not only geographically but also politically between East and West, with antiliberal political projects but with a limited amount of governmental authoritarianism (at least compared to Hungary and Poland). In the United Kingdom, the Brexit process brought to the forefront significant authoritarian preferences, but the UK differs, both in terms of its party system and in its history of illiberalism, from the continental countries. While the project does not aspire to be representative of the entire European Union, these two cases can be used to increase the validity of the detected patterns.

With the help of the case studies, the role of ideologies will be studied taking their social context into account. Illiberal parties have to cater both to their voters and their socially conservative allies, targeting minorities selectively and strategically as they consider domestic and, to a lesser degree, transnational costs (Guasti and Bustikova, 2020; Mair, 2009; Grzymala-Busse and Nalepa, 2019). Their ability to stop or to roll back the expansion of universal rights (see, for example, reproductive rights or rights of sexual non-discrimination) is shaped by micro-level attitudes (public support), macro-level determinants such as shifts in party systems, especially the current weakening of Christian-Democratic parties (Arzheimer and Carter, 2009), and meso-level factors, such as the strength of the socially conservative alliance between political parties, think tanks, churches and fundamentalist movements. Therefore, alongside mapping the ideological configurations, in the framework of case-studies we will consider trends in public opinion and in the configuration of party systems, and we will conduct an analysis of major legislative changes and policies with an emphasis on actors advocating new restrictions of universal rights.

The selected five countries plus the two shadow cases provide rich material for exploring the diversity of the ideological alternatives to liberal democracy in settings where its critics have an actual chance of governing, or they are already in government, and to assess the viability of liberal democratic strategies in challenging environments. The selected group of countries represent diversity along dimensions such as geographical and historical background (East-West, North-South), size, religious legacies, economic development, net contributors vs. net beneficiaries of EU funds, etc. There is also variation in the degree of illiberal influence and in the impact of authoritarian values on actual policies. The contrast across cases will allow us to assess why the **quality of democracy** suffered more in some cases than in others.

The case studies, together with the above listed analyses, will provide a **map of varieties of illiberalism** which will enable a clear inspection of how authoritarianism in each context configures itself to attack liberal democracy and which citizens in each context are likely to support varieties of illiberalism and to what extent.

Steps to ground the recommendations

In addition to providing a descriptive-analytic account, AUTHLIB will also engage in an interactive analysis of political behaviour to develop and test interventions that could form the basis of policy-relevant recommendations (Objective 2). We will monitor how citizens react to liberal democratic and illiberal ideological frames, and we will actively elicit responses to specific arguments and combinations of values. We thus consider the specific socio-demographic characteristics of individuals, their susceptibility to illiberal messages, and their consequent propensity to support diverse types of authoritarianism. We will employ multiple techniques to achieve these goals.

First, we will run **laboratory experiments** to test the responses of citizens to various emotional stimuli (see WP5). Experimental emotions induction is well-established in psychology as a means of providing strong causal evidence of the effects of stimuli on emotional outcomes. In these experiments, subjects will be treated with commonly used techniques – visual stimuli (such as a political image) or situational procedures – that are designed to elicit a target emotion. We will measure emotional responses primarily through experience sampling. In conducting these experiments, we will take full account of the ethical issues involved in inducing emotional responses, especially negative ones, in human subjects. However, we have support for this line of research not only in our adherence to ethical review, but also in findings from a recent study (Boynton et al, 2013) that "gives further evidence that the psychological risks associated with deceptive procedures that evoke strong negative reactions in the short term – such as interpersonally oriented deceptions – are not likely to be psychologically harmful when coupled with a thorough and thoughtful debriefing" and high levels of research professionalism.

Then we will organise **online experiments** as part of our own surveys (see WP4). Implementing innovative polling across seven national contexts will provide us with a solid framework for comparative analyses. The surveys will aim to represent the adult population as closely as possible. In some of the countries under scrutiny, weighting of the data will not be enough to simulate the characteristics of the offline population. In these instances, we will complement the data with targeted telephone or face-to-face data collection.

Finally, we will convene three deliberative fora (see WP11). The first will consist of representatives of illiberal and liberal ideologies, the second will contain practitioners, educators, civil society representatives, and journalists, and the third will assemble ordinary citizens. These fora will have a double function. On the one hand, they will be used as a source of input for the project, and on the other hand, they will mimic deliberative **mini-publics** which have been used across several countries to decide on major constitutional and policy issues. Experiments around the world (Fung 2003: 339, Suiter et al. 2016) have proved that such mini-publics can trigger constructive civic engagement and public deliberation, enhance the deliberative capacity of citizens, and often shape the values and attitudes of participants, in particular their democratic beliefs, political efficacy, the quality of political knowledge and judgment (Suiter et al. 2020).

The structured discussions within these groups will allow us to record arguments and narratives, to observe the room for convergence among adherents of different ideological orientations, to document group-based stereotypes that shape political attitudes, and to see how face-to-face exchange of arguments differs from the ideological communication embodied by political texts. Aiming at high-quality deliberation, balanced briefing materials will be distributed to participants before meetings. Facilitators will be used to maximise participant input. Experts will be available to answer questions by the participants. The key guiding principles will be equality and inclusiveness. The issues discussed will include salient topics such as immigration, citizenship, LGBTQ+ and reproductive rights, and the environment.

Before and after taking part in the mini-publics, we will poll participant attitudes towards liberal democracy; this will provide additional value in enabling us to measure the extent to which, in addition to providing input into the project, the fora also impacted the participants. Participants, officials, and the public will be informed about the process and its outcomes. The information gathered in this fashion will be used to refine the map of ideologies and discourses and to specify the toolkits to be used to increase the legitimacy of liberal democratic approaches. Through the monitoring of exchanges, we will also be able to determine how ideological values, or the lack of such values, shapes deliberation about problems that require practical solutions. Finally, the fora will also play a central role in maximising the impact of the research (see more about this aspect in the subsequent section).

Using the conceptual tools of labelling theory (Pollner 1978), the mini-publics and the survey experiments will identify what the adherents of various ideological configurations think of each other in terms of goals, aspirations, interests, etc. This line of research will be used both to understand how liberal democracy is perceived, and to locate the most important cognitive factors behind group-polarisation.

The work with the mini-publics and with laboratory and survey-based experiments will allow us to conduct a realistic assessment of the 'demand side' of democratic politics. The rise of authoritarian forces indicates that many voters are de facto more tolerant of illiberal norms and policies than their declared values might lead us to anticipate. Recent scholarly work on these issues (Svolik 2019; Carey et al., 2020; McCoy, Simonovits, & Littvay, 2020) also shows that only a minority of citizens are ready to sanction their favourite candidates for violating democratic procedures and values. In particular, the conjoint survey experiments will show the multi-dimensionality of the decision-making process and the causal impact (controlling for partisanship) of citizens' values on democratic accountability mechanisms.

Complementing the empirical inquiries, AUTHLIB will convene a study to delineate the normative boundaries for the interventions aiming to defend liberalism. The intuition here is that action may be taken that would weaken the programmatic, emotional, and social appeal of illiberals, but that at least some actions to that effect might themselves infringe on the normative desiderata of liberalism. For example, the appeal of illiberalism may be reduced by elite closure and significant degrees of censorship, but the degree to which that is desirable and efficient with respect to our goals needs careful elaboration. The normative analyses, conducted within the framework of WP10, will take into consideration the results of the laboratory and survey experiments conducted in WP4 and WP5 and will produce strategies to be tested with field experiments in WP11.

Data management

The AUTHLIB project will make their research data findable, accessible, inter-operable and reusable (FAIR). As part of WP1, a Data Management Plan (DMP) will be produced. This plan will cover: (1) which data will be generated; (2) which methodology and standards will be applied to generate the data; (3) whether data will be available in open access.

A full-length Data Management Plan will be provided by month 6 in accordance with GDPR regulations and the FAIR data principles. The consortium will revisit and revise this plan as needed throughout the lifetime of the project. The DMP will be an evolving document. It will always be available for consultation, yet it will continuously be updated as soon as new data are made available. Within the EC Final Report, we will summarise all the data-related outcomes related to the project.

Data storage

In close collaboration with all the partners involved, the coordinator – CEU – will be responsible for the curation, sustainable archiving and the publication of relevant data that matches the planned project outcome and considers the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) as well as the national regulations on data privacy protection. All data will be secured against unauthorised access. The anonymised and public data produced by the project consortium will be stored in one of the data archives of the CESSDA ERIC infrastructure in compliance with GDPR and applicable national and institutional rules and regulations.

The confidential data will be stored in individual partner repositories and/or a common project repository. Long-term storage will take place at a server with automatic back-up at the institution. Data will be stored for at least 10 years after publication. The data will include raw data and the final data analysis file.

Data and results availability

The anonymised and public data, as well as the results produced by the project consortium, will be available on the project website as well as in an open access repository (European Open Science Cloud)

The confidential data will be stored in shared repositories with limited access. They will also be accessible for authorised project personnel only until the end of the project.

Ethics and privacy issues

Sensitive personal data will be handled according to national and institutional guidelines. Data will be encrypted and transferred to the other consortium partners for analysis purposes after anonymisation. All personnel in the project are bound by professional confidentiality rules.

Participants may withdraw their consent to have their data collected and processed at any time. Once consent is withdrawn, no further data about these persons will be collected. The data already collected up to their withdrawal may still be included in the trial unless they expressly wish to have all their data deleted. Participants also have the right to access all data concerning their persons and to make corrections should they find any inaccuracies. Contact information for data protection will be provided in writing to all participants. The amount of time their data will be

stored after the end of the trial is defined by national law, and this information will also be provided to all participants. We will benefit from the support of the newly appointed Data Protection Officer at the CEU.

Because the project will involve the processing of personal data and experiments, the Consortium will establish its own Ethics Board, consisting of experts working across the partner institutions. The consent of the Ethics Board will be needed to approve empirical investigations. Ethical approvals/amendments and informed consent forms for the project are registered in project documentation. Results will only be presented on an aggregated level without any possibility of backward identification.

2. Impact

2.1 Project's pathways towards impact

Illiberal ideologies produce narratives that undermine the culture of dialogue, tolerance, and solidarity. The danger posed, and the need for a liberal democratic alternative, has been recently recognised by the European Union. By exploring the degree and the type of illiberalism in the rhetoric of individual and collective actors structuring public debates in contemporary democracies, AUTHLIB will not only document a significant aspect of the current European crisis, but it will also help policy makers and educators to design strategies to counter the dissemination of populist ideologies on a discursive level. Our findings will be of use for cultural and educational programs aiming to enhance the critical public awareness of illiberal ideologies. The primary research will result in a major new database as a public good for researchers, policymakers, and societal stakeholders.

AUTHLIB aims to achieve the following long-term impacts at the European level:

Scientific:
1. Provide a new and more accurate conceptualisation and description of the contemporary authoritarian ideological offering.
2. Create a map of illiberalism taking into account the differences between its different versions.
3. Develop intellectual tools for solidifying liberal democracies.

Policy:
1. Produce a set of mechanisms that can strengthen the support for the fundamental values of liberal democracy within society.
2. Equip policymakers with a comprehensive toolbox to improve the quality of democracy.
3. Contribute to the crystallisation of norms that bind together the EU Member States.

Societal:
1. Contribute to the deepening of political support for liberal democracy.
2. Demonstrate the scale of opportunity for active citizenship and participation, particularly regarding democratic governance.
3. Equip educators, civil society, and citizens with tools to defend liberal democracy.

Our academic research, rooted in theories, methodologies, and empirical scholarship, will be transformed into policy-relevant knowledge in the form country and topic specific policy papers. To ensure the transferability of this knowledge, AUTHLIB will establish close interaction with policy practitioners.

This will be achieved through different means:

Our consortium includes several universities at the forefront of *impact-oriented engagement*. AUTHLIB's innovative applied research will support European policymakers in finding responses to the various forms of authoritarian challenge.

AUTHLIB research will be accompanied by *state-of-the-art dissemination methods* to increase the project's impact, not only within specific academic community and policy-making circles, but also upon the general public. This will include the translation of research results into accessible deliverables such as blog series, webinar series, policy briefs,

and press releases as well as the dissemination of key policy recommendations through the German Marshall Fund's leadership and parliamentary exchange programs.

Our *International Advisory Board* will be instrumental in facilitating the project's engagement with EU- and national-level policymakers, as well as with a variety of audiences. The members of the Board ███████████████ ██ bring invaluable knowledge, experience, and diversity, coming from various regions of Europe, academia, and the public policy world.

Wider contributions of AUTHLIB

1. *Impact on key debates:* AUTHLIB will have substantial impact on debates around key social issues, such as gender (which will be a central topic of concern), political representation and responses to climate change, as these issues feature prominently in the analysed texts, attitudes, and behaviours.

2. *Dissemination of ideas and solutions:* AUTHLIB will not only contribute to a wider and deeper understanding of the relevance of the future of liberal democracy, but it will also provide solid policy recommendations to the EU institutions and Member States. Multiple tools, including webinars, will continue to feed into the emerging discourses on the EU's global role beyond the project's lifetime.

3. *Network of academics and practitioners:* The continuous interaction between AUTHLIB partners, International Advisory Board members and stakeholders will foster the dissemination of the project's policy proposals and recommendations. AUTHLIB will also act as a platform for debate between the various end-users – not only to communicate the project's results, but also to engage in an open dialogue thereby enriching the societal and policy debate on these matters and gathering invaluable input for the project's research itself. Moreover, through diverse events and publications that will be offered both online and in person, AUTHLIB will reach a large and varied audience.

4. *Training of early career scholars:* AUTHLIB will train a young generation of scholars in a multi-national, truly European, and interdisciplinary research context. PhD students and post-docs who will be hired to work on the AUTHLIB project will be confronted with a multitude of methodologies and disciplines to answer complex questions, which will broaden their academic horizons, and enhance their employability for the academic as well as non-academic labour market. PhD students and the post-docs will be actively involved in the dissemination and communication activities, helping them to acquire 'academic' as well as 'non- academic' skills and experiences throughout the project.

5. *Contributions to the knowledge-based society:* AUTHLIB will generate contributions by:
   • Enhancing co-operation and transfer of knowledge between sectors and disciplines (interaction between academics, practitioners, and citizens).
   • Increasing the internationalisation of participating organisations through their involvement in a consortium of international partners, mixing leading academic institutions as well as leading think tanks.
   • Increasing international and interdisciplinary co-operation in Europe's research system (by fostering exchange amongst partners from inside and outside the EU as well as a large variety of involved disciplines).
   • The project's impact will be realised through ongoing interactions with relevant actors, particularly through the Professionals of Democracy Forum (PDF), the Citizen Forum (CF) and the TF's Members of Parliaments network.
   • The main findings will be discussed with European MPs and other policy stakeholders engaged in the German Marshall Fund's European Dialogue programme.

2.2   Measures to maximise impact - Dissemination, exploitation and communication

AUTHLIB will employ multiple, co-ordinated communication strategies to increase the impact of its research findings. Our target groups will receive information though a website; two workshops, a major conference; online launch events built around the country specific and thematic policy recommendations; academic publications; a Citizens Forum; podcasts; an e-learning platform and e-books; public events together with the European institutions; publications on the Review of Democracy (RevDem) live platform; brochures and posters; general press articles, and

presentations given in international conferences and meetings. AUTHLIB will seek to maximise impact in the following ways:

- *Communication of new knowledge:* we will use publications and presentations to inform the academic and policy community about the results of our investigations. Since these findings will pertain to such political issues as the state and legitimacy of democracy in the EU and its Member States, we will approach networks of political actors with targeted briefing papers based on academic publications. As a result, the academic and policy discussions will have the potential to serve as a point of reference also for political debates.

- *Raising awareness and creating engagement:* throughout the project, we will actively exploit opportunities to engage with academics, practitioners, media and the general public and users via the AUTHLIB project website and a quarterly e-mail newsletter, where blogs, publications, brochures, flyers, and preliminary results will be provided and kept up to date.

- *Interaction with mass media:* Consortium members will actively interact with mass media in their own countries, providing not only information sessions, but also press-kits around specific events, such as the AUTHLIB workshops, online events, and the conference. Additionally, and in parallel with the blog contributions, opinion pieces and interviews will be given to newspapers in which the significance of the project outcomes will be described in lay terms – the co-operation with LENA network will be crucial here, as it will give the project access to 8 major European newspapers (Gazeta Wyborcza, Die Welt, Le Soir, La Repubblica, El Pais, Le Figaro, Tribune de Geneve, TagesAnzeiger). Additionally, the project will seek institutionalised relationships with newspapers from all of the countries studied. The **communication team** of TF, which has demonstrated, long-standing co-operation with outlets like Politico, EUObserver, Euronews and others, will support project participants in delivering opinion pieces and in placing them in influential outlets with a truly European outreach.

- *Sharing of project outcomes:* each event created for and by the AUTHLIB community will provide means to share the project results via AUTHLIB's website, email lists and social media followers. Outcomes will be communicated via visual materials, in print as well as online formats, including AUTHLIB's YouTube-channel and other social media accounts. These will be used not only to advertise and share/broadcast the events and academic and policy publications of the project, but also to create a link between scholars working on the AUTHLIB project and the broader public. The outreach of the social media accounts of AUTHLIB will be amplified by the existing social media accounts of TF (Twitter: more than 51k followers, Facebook: more than 49k followers) and of the other partner institutions.

- *Expanding the network:* potential stakeholders will be invited to participate in AUTHLIB events. The International Advisory Board, made up of individuals representing academia, practitioners, media, and citizens, as well as a dissemination network of key collective civil-society actors on the EU level and Members State level, will help to transmit AUTHLIB's findings into societal debates. This will result in establishing and maintaining a professional virtual community of end-users, researchers, and other actors, which will act as a communication channel enabling information exchange and active participation.

- *Project branding and identity:* the creation of a logo, and uniformity in style and templates will also make the project more recognisable as a unique brand and platform of academic, policy and public exchange and consistent in all communication and dissemination activities. The unique logo will be used in all dissemination tools and formats of the project, including website, social media accounts, roll-ups, posters, and distributable conference materials All communication and dissemination activities will acknowledge the support of the European Commission.

The detailed communication strategy drafted by WP lead German Marshall Fund (TF) in coordination with all project partners covers the whole project period and assigns specific dissemination and communication measures for all the project outputs. TF will employ a **part-time communication officer** in its Berlin office who will oversee all project-related communication tools (website, social media accounts, etc.) and will support all project partners in the dissemination of the project deliverables. At the same time, each consortium partner will designate a member responsible for dissemination and impact.

A dynamic **project website,** established from the very beginning of the project period, will facilitate and encourage academic and policy discussion about the nature and various aspects of the illiberal challenge to liberal democracy and the adequate responses of various stakeholder groups to address that challenge. The data sets of AUTHLIB will

be **open access** and made available online for scholars, stakeholders and interested members of the public on the project's website.

The project publications will include **academic papers, articles, policy papers and policy toolkits/recommendations**. The key articles delivered by AUTHLIB are planned to be published in an edited special issue of a high-ranking academic journal, while the main corpus of the research will be proposed for publication in open access e-books by the CEU Press and/or other renowned publishers. Participants will regularly disseminate academic research outputs at international conferences in the fields of political science, democracy theory, media studies, sociology, and related disciplines. Public lectures will be held at social, cultural, industry, and networking events and festivals and various other formats of public events. Except for closed discussions with policy stakeholders, all events will be held in hybrid formats – irrespective of the future pandemic situation – and will be live broadcast online on various social media channels and on the project's website. AUTHLIB will be complemented by a major conference in the final year of the project with the participation of cultural educators and European policy makers.

Aside from the academic events, the **policy deliverables** (country- and issue-specific policy papers, recommendations, toolkits, etc.) will be disseminated through both **invitation-only closed policy briefings** organised for democratic stakeholders and **public online launch events.**

In addition to the offline and online dissemination tools and formats, two further networking settings, the **Leadership Programs Alumni Network,** and the **Open European Dialogue (OED)** Programs of TF will be used as dissemination and sounding boards to discuss the main policy aspects of the illiberal challenge to liberal democracy and the recommendations and policy toolkits developed by AUTHLIB.

Through the Leadership Programs Alumni Network and OED, AUTHLIB will have unparalleled access to leaders and democracy stakeholders from politics, civil society and business in the project countries who might be able to act as agent of change. TF is also surrounded by a large network of civil society actors that can assist in dissemination. In contrast to the Leadership Programs Alumni Network, which is an independent cohort of business leaders, civil society actors, academics, TF's **Open European Dialogue (OED)** is a politically neutral dialogue platform for Europe's policymakers, focusing on Members of Parliaments (MPs) who value open exchange. The Open European Dialogue connects European policymakers across parties and nations, providing a unique space for dialogue and promoting innovative political conversations. It aims to improve political engagement by supporting politicians in better understanding different political challenges and perspectives from across Europe. The Open European Dialogue network will be used to directly reach out to active Members of Parliaments from the AUTHLIB project countries, and to inform them about AUTHLIB's key research results, policy toolkits and recommendations, thus empowering them to counter illiberal challenges more effectively in their everyday political work.

TF will organise dedicated alumni events to share AUTHLIB research and policy outputs, to discuss the recommendations and toolkits, and to establish direct contact and exchange between the AUTHLIB team and relevant leaders/alumni from the AUTHLIB countries. The dissemination effect of the above network, both in European and transatlantic contexts, can be considered a significant added value of the format.

AUTHLIB will establish an institutionalised collaboration with the **Review of Democracy (RevDem) live platform**, an intellectual and academic journal founded by the CEU Democracy Institute and will also use the framework of RevDem to disseminate the findings of the research. RevDem provides an open platform for discussing and debating ongoing processes of de- and re-democratisation, as well as offering analyses, reflection, and opinion pieces on these processes in Europe and globally. As a platform for exploring and debating democracy, RevDem draws on the intellectual resources of several European universities and research centres. Around 25 editors and section heads, helped by a large number of assistant editors, are devoted to extending this network and fostering dialogue among researchers, practitioners, and activists worldwide. In co-operation with the RevDem, AUTHLIB will:

- publish **podcasts,** available on all major platforms, featuring interviews with principal investigators presenting major project results.
- organise **public events** together with the European Parliament Research Service, in Brussels and Strasbourg.
- publish **several op-eds**, **debates transcripts and reports** on the RevDem website.
- All dissemination, exploitation and communication activities will be examined by a mid-term review to assess their perceived and actual quantitative impact (website hits, page views, podcast listening figures).

2.3   Summary: key elements of the impact section

SPECIFIC NEEDS	EXPECTED RESULTS	D & E & C MEASURES
What are the specific needs that triggered this project?	*What do you expect to generate by the end of the project?*	*What dissemination, exploitation and communication measures will you apply to the results?*
- The meanings, the strengths, and the weaknesses of democratic order in the 21st century in Europe cannot be understood properly without a systematic analysis of the new alternatives to liberal democracy. In the absence of such an analysis, no toolkits aiming to improve the legitimacy of liberal democracies can be developed. This is the basic need inspiring the project. - While in the past it was plausible to assume that all members of – and all established actors within – the European Union shared a basic liberal democratic minimum, the conflicts about the rule of law during the 2010s shattered this assumption. Therefore, we face a pressing need to comprehend the sources and implications of the normative divergence.	- Data sets on contemporary ideological configurations, complemented analyses of their historical antecedents, their social bases, and of the associated emotional strategies. - Data set on the reactions of citizens to political stimuli and ideological frames in an experimental setting. - Data set on the international co-operation between authoritarian forces. - A toolkit for policy makers to face the illiberal challenges, based on descriptive data, interventions, and normative review. - Policy recommendations concerning tasks for education, aiming to socialise future citizens to the values of liberal democracies. - A significant number of academic papers that tackle various aspects of the illiberal challenge and the normatively and practically acceptable responses thereto.	- Communication of new knowledge through the project website, working papers, academic publications and podcasts, public events, and debates and reports organised by and published in the Review of Democracy (RevDem). - Raising awareness and creating engagement through the project newsletter and regular meetings of the project team with academics and practitioners. - Interacting with mass and social media – co-operation with major European newspapers and using the social media accounts of the institutions participating in the project. - Expanding the network through broad participation of stakeholders, of TF alumni and of the International Advisory Board.

TARGET GROUPS	OUTCOMES	IMPACTS
Who will use or further up-take the results of the project? Who will benefit from the results of the project?	*What change do you expect to see after successful dissemination and exploitation of project results to the target group(s)?*	*What are the expected wider scientific, economic, and societal effects of the project contributing to the expected impacts outlined in the respective destination in the work programme?*
Various groups will benefit from the project: • Policy-makers may use the toolkit described above in framing their message to the citizens, as well as understanding the forces undermining liberal democracy. • Journalists will acquire knowledge on how to report on the challenges to democracy without losing impartiality. • Activists will obtain theoretical and practical knowledge about the key challenges to the liberal democracy. • Academics will benefit from the project through the opportunity to use the data sets mentioned above, as well as deeper understanding of the major challenges to liberal democracy. • PhD students and post-docs will benefit from obtaining new skills and working together with senior researchers. • Citizens involved in the mini-publics will benefit from the distributed information and the experience of dialogue.	A better understanding of the nature of the illiberal ideological configurations and their appeal, and a more efficient response in defence of liberal democracy. The key results would then be twofold: • expanding the understanding of liberal democracy, its challenges, its premises, and of the necessary changes • intellectual strengthening of those who are devoted to the idea of liberal democracy.	*Scientific:* • To provide a new, and more accurate conceptualisation and description of the contemporary authoritarian ideological offering. • To create a map of illiberalism taking into account the distinctions between its different versions. • To understand better both the social and historical factors behind illiberalism and their degree of tenacity. *Policy-oriented:* • To provide a set of mechanisms that can strengthen the support for the fundamental values of liberal democracy within society. • To provide policymakers with a comprehensive toolbox to improve the quality of democracy. • To contribute to the crystallisation of norms among the EU Member States. *Societal:* • To contribute to the deepening of the political support for liberal democracy. • To demonstrate the scale of opportunity for active citizenship and participation, particularly regarding democratic governance.

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3. Quality and efficiency of the implementation

3.1 Work plan and resources

The project will be structured into three large blocs: desk-research until month 6; multidimensional empirical research starting in month 6 and ending in months 21-24, aimed towards substantive primary data collection to draw up, test and validate a map of challenges; and the third phase of aggregation of the collected information, intervention, and dissemination, mainly between months 24 and 36, but with partial results disseminated from the very beginning. The precise content of the primary research will be shaped by phase I, but the principal dimensions are theoretically defined and described below.

Table 3.1a: List of Work Packages

WP No	Work Package Title	Lead Participant No	Lead Participant Short Name	Person-Months	Start Month	End month
1	**Research ethics, data, and project management**	1	CEU	34.50	1	36
2	**Identifying the challenges to liberal democracy**	6	SWPS	15.50	2	6
3	**Ideological configurations**	3	SCIENCES PO	70.20	7	24
4	**Survey-based data-collection and experiments**	6	SWPS	61.50	7	24
5	**Rhetorical and emotional appeals**	2	UOXF	44.60	7	24
6	**Illiberalism in power**	1	CEU	24.90	7	15
7	**International co-operation and diffusion**	5	SNS	39.70	7	21
8	**Historical embedding**	1	CEU	17.40	21	28
9	**Building and validating the multi-dimensional map**	1	CEU	19.00	21	28
10	**The normative limits of interventions**	2	UOXF	15.10	21	26
11	**Mini-publics**	4	CUNI	30.50	18	34
12	**Delivering the results – impact and outreach**	7	TF	27.00	1	36
			TOTAL PMs	399.90		

17

	Months																																			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
WP1 Research ethics, data, and project management (CEU)																																				
WP2 Identifying the challenges to liberal democracy (SWPS)																																				
WP3 Ideological configurations (SCIENCES PO)																																				
WP4 Survey-based data-collection and experiments (SWPS)																																				
WP5 Rhetorical and emotional appeals (UOXF)																																				
WP6 Illiberalism in power (CEU)																																				
WP7 International cooperation and diffusion (SNS)																																				
WP8 Historical embedding (CEU)																																				
WP9 Building and validating the multi-dimensional map (CEU)																																				
WP10 The normative limits of interventions (UOXF)																																				
WP11 Minipublics (CUNI)																																				
WP12 Delivering the results – impact and outreach (TF)																																				

Table 3.1b: Work Package description

Work Package number	1			Lead beneficiary		CEU		
Work Package title	Research ethics, data, and project management							
Participant number	**1**	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Short name of participant	**CEU**	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	**24**	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Start month	1			End month		36		

Objectives

The objectives of this WP are three-fold: (1) to manage the project's resources effectively, to ensure efficient communication between partners within the consortium and between the consortium and the Commission, to produce periodic and final reports, manage the finances of the Consortium; (2) to ensure suitable ethical reviews for key empirical research elements; (3) to set up appropriate data management structures for the whole research initiative.

Description of work

Task 1 – Project management: CEU will act as the primary liaison towards key staff at the European Commission; it will ensure smooth coordination and communication between project partners and will assist partners in making all planned subcontracts, if necessary. CEU will put in place all the internal communication channels and document management structures necessary for effective co-working.

CEU will facilitate the drafting of an internal Consortium Agreement which sets the cornerstones of partners' co-operation in this project, in addition to adherence to what the Grant Agreement sets forth. Confidentiality issues, and management of knowledge and outputs will be addressed in the CA.

Decisions will be made at the following levels: (1) at the level of the consortium, decisions associated with the design and planning of work tasks and communications will be made by the Management Team (one representative per partner institution) and the leaders of particular Work Packages, if necessary; (2) at the individual participant level, decisions concerning a particular participant's activities will be made within this participant's team – these decisions will then be communicated to the Coordinator for approval, co-ordination, recording and reporting requirements; (3) decisions about liaison with the local academic communities, and other stakeholders, will be made jointly by all the participants; (4) decisions related to the day-to-day running of the project will be the responsibility of the Coordinator.

Regular/periodical co-ordination conference calls will be organised with all or some participants to review the major milestones and the progress of the project's tasks, mitigate risks if necessary, and ensure adherence to the workplan. Periodic and final reports (activity reports, management reports, summary financial reports, technical reports, and reports on the distribution of the Community financial contribution between contractors) will be produced and audit certificates requested for and produced by each participant. The coordinator will distribute the Community financial contribution between partners without unjustified delay.

Task 2 – Research ethics: Each partner will be responsible for conducting an internal research ethics review, as required by their own institution. This is the first level of approval/endorsement. As a second level, since the project will involve the processing of personal data and experiments, the consortium will establish its own Ethics Board, consisting of experts working across the partner institutions, and the consent of the Ethics Board will be needed for approving empirical investigations. The consortium, under the leadership of CEU will draft a research ethics review document, to identify and address any key points or phases in the planned project where ethical guidelines and procedures need to be set forth. These will be consulted with the Ethics Board, and a formal Ethics Review will be completed by month 6.

Task 3 – Data management: With CEU's leadership the AUTHLIB consortium will produce a Data Management Plan to describe data management life cycles of all types of data the project will collect, store, and analyse. We will ensure that the data generated and used by the project is findable, accessible, interoperable, and reusable. CEU will conduct a review and re-assessment of the DMP throughout the lifetime of the project, as it becomes necessary.

Deliverables

D1.1: Consortium Agreement (month 1)

D1.2: Ethics review (month 6)

D1.3: Data Management Plan (month 6)

D1.4: Periodic report (month 21)

D1.5: Final report (month 36)

Work Package number	2			Lead beneficiary			SWPS	
Work Package title	Identifying the challenges to liberal democracy							
Participant number	1	2	3	4	5	**6**	7	8
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	**SWPS**	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	4	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	**7**	0.5	1
Start month	2			End month			6	

Objectives

The goal is to identify challenges based on the already accumulated, albeit fragmented, knowledge and to prepare for the phase of new empirical data-collection.

Description of work

The task of this WP is to prepare a list of theoretically justifiable dimensions that can be used in the subsequent, data-gathering stage.

The WP will define the nature and processes of liberal democracy, and its principal challenges, along constitutional, social and ideological dimensions. The theoretical work will produce definitions and ontological claims that will help to structure the review of the literature and the existing data. We will identify the variety of constellations of challenges to liberal democracy across Europe, both with respect to the presence and the intensity of a challenge in any given country.

The historically informed perspective on social, economic, and technological tendencies will not only help to identify current challenges, but it will also provide possible scenarios for the near future. Tendencies such as growing executive dominance, the pernicious social implications of artificial intelligence (especially regarding the silencing of social groups), the lack of accountability in the case of transnational activities or Anthropocene-driven threats are increasingly relevant for the future-oriented elements of the contemporary ideological struggles. The WP will consider whether, how and to what extent illiberals can exploit these tendencies and challenges.

This Work Package will consider the potential for diverse shades of both liberal democratic and neo-authoritarian ideological proposals, and how these various ideological dimensions may interact. It will unpack the contents and attachments within and across political dimensions, such as cultural cosmopolitanism vs. nativism, moral liberalism vs. traditionalism and secularism vs. religiosity; as well as the question of how hierarchical views on ethnic and racial politics and gender-issues are related to other issues, such as economic protectionism and support for European integration.

While some of the dimensions that AUTHLIB will use to describe ideologies will be constructed in an inductive fashion, and others, such as religious orientation, attitude towards ethnic supremacy, social hierarchy, or individual autonomy, are provided by the standard models of political values, the task of WP2 is to provide a comprehensive list of theoretically justifiable dimensions that can be used in the subsequent, data-gathering stage.

Deliverables

D2.1: A literature review of the theoretically relevant ideological stakes and dimensions (month 5)

D2.2: Guidelines for the empirical data collection (month 6)

Work Package number	3			Lead beneficiary			SCIENCES PO	
Work Package title	**Ideological configurations**							
Participant number	1	2	**3**	4	5	6	7	8
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	**SCIENCES PO**	CUNI	SNS	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	23	2	**25**	3.6	3.6	4	0	9
Start month	7			End month			24	

Objectives The goal is to identify the ideological alternatives to liberal democracy, and their relative position in the new ideological-political space in 21st century Europe.

Description of work

The identification and mapping of liberal and illiberal ideologies will rely upon an extensive empirical data-collection module at the centre of WP3. The focus will be both elite and citizen communication through textual data. Liberal democracy and its challengers take a variety of stances on diverse political issues, both in terms of the position and the salience they attach to it. Actors compete not only on long-standing issues that divide societies through positioning, but also through the introduction of new or under-emphasised issues. The process of political competition, including the contest between liberal democratic actors and neo-authoritarians, thus revolves around the construction of ideological packages produced through associations between political stances on diverse issues and novel frames attached to such issue stances.

This Work Package will analyse the diverse shades of liberal democratic and neo-authoritarian ideological proposals through both unsupervised and supervised computational text analysis methods combined with qualitative approaches. Interpretation of results and inputs for deductive approaches will heavily rest on the theoretical and conceptual work of WP2.

The key deliverable of this Work Package will be an ideological map, highlighting the distinctive ideological features of different forms of neo-authoritarianism, as well as the liberal democratic appeals in a common space. To achieve this, the Work Package (and WP5 below, which draws on the same data sources to investigate the emotional content of neo-authoritarian texts) will utilise and combine distinct data sources and two analytical processes:

Task 1 – Construction of elite communication data set: The political elite communication data set will consist of five different types of text data that will be combined into a common data frame. First, manifesto data provide information on the formally communicated position of parties on various topics and their salience. These raw text data and annotated data sets are available via the Manifesto Project Database (MARPOR) of WZB. Secondly, the data will integrate text transcripts of parliamentary debates. These data will be partially drawn from the ParlSpeech data set (Rauh & Schwalbach, 2020) and otherwise will be obtained via scraping directly from the respective parliament websites. Thirdly, speeches by heads of parties and government will be included, partially drawing upon and extending the work of Maerz and Schneider (2019) and Jenne et al. (2021), using party websites and archives of associates foundations. Fourthly, we will draw upon social media communication by political actors as another source of public communication of their preferences. To do so, we will use the Twitter Academic

API to utilise all tweets posted by all members of parliament in our country cases that have verified Twitter accounts for the past 10 years, and, finally, we will use the posts on the Facebook pages of political parties. The linkage points to integrate these five data sets relate to time, party affiliation and individual politicians. WP3 will co-operate with the OPTED project for insights into data availability and linking.

Task 2 – Unsupervised and semi-supervised inductive analysis of elite communication: Given that our conceptual theoretical work may not uncover all types of illiberal discourse, we will take a bottom-up approach to analyse our data frame. This will combine a qualitative analysis of a given set of speeches, and a topic modelling approach. The latter extends to topic modelling with interpretative loops to refine the roster of alternatives. The results will capture the salience of certain topics and claims within the discourse.

Task 3 – Supervised analysis of elite communication: We will use the information available on the political affiliation of certain actors (political elites) and treat their speech acts as typical instances of their respective ideologies. With this labelled data set of texts associated with ideological features, we expect to train classifiers that would be able to recognise such attitudes in other unlabelled corpora.

Task 4 – Construction of social media data set from the larger engaged public: We will make use of the Academic API for Twitter to collect tweets from citizens who discuss specific political events or ideologically relevant issues (same-sex marriage, immigration policy, etc.). Going beyond the top political elites, we will exploit our previously trained classifiers to predict the ideological preferences of engaged citizens. We will strive to incorporate into our analysis the social position of users as publicly shared in their description.

Task 5 – Scaling and network analysis of social media data set: With ideology scaling methods we will assign every engaged Twitter user in every country a position in an attitudinal space based on its structural position (followers/following network). In the last stage of the analysis, we will further probe the data to find out how these attitudinal characteristics correlate with ideological preferences (as measured in task 4) and translate into certain behavioural features, such as the propensity of users to retweet, to refer to mainstream media sources, the ideological homogeneity of their ego-networks, etc.

Task 6 – Integration of analyses into ideological map: The results of the different analytical steps above will be brought together in a final mapping exercise and will be compared to the configuration of the party-political space as derived from expert survey data on party positions (Chapel Hill data).

Deliverables
D3.1: A paper on measurement and methodological innovations (month 10)
D3.2: A visual map of the ideological space (month 18)
D3.3: A paper on the ideological space and on the contemporary ideological configurations, with particular emphasis on types of illiberalism, as reflected in the various datasets (month 22)
D3.4: Integrated data set of text analyses (month 24)

Work Package number	4			**Lead beneficiary**			SWPS	
Work Package title	**Survey-based data-collection and experiments on public attitudes**							
Participant number	1	2	3	4	5	**6**	7	8
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	**SWPS**	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	10	3	7	4	0.5	**24**	0	13
Start month	7			**End month**			24	

Objectives The purpose is to embed the ideological orientations into a social context, and to identify the mechanisms behind the acceptance and rejection of particular authoritarian frames.

Description of work

This Work Package will focus on the individual level, and it will identify the propensity of citizens to support different authoritarian forces and different illiberal ideologies. It is divided into two main tasks:

Task 1 – Identification of a set of individual social characteristics associated with illiberal views: We will identify a broad set of individual social characteristics associated with illiberal orientation, and we will use them to predict the probability of supporting diverse authoritarian actors and frames. In a first step, we will analyse existing surveys. In a second step, our own survey carried out in Task 2 will provide new data on illiberal orientations that are currently not present in the aforementioned survey programs. This data will enrich our understanding of the relationships between social characteristics and illiberal orientations. This comprehensive analysis of social characteristics in conjunction with illiberal attitudes will allow us to develop typologies in which we can categorise various individual citizens and draw a picture of (il)liberal citizen types across the Member States of the EU. Task 1 will be led by Sciences Po.

Task 2 – Identification of citizens' responses to illiberal frames: The overall aim of is to obtain knowledge of how citizens respond to the various illiberal frames produced by political elites, and how they solve the potential dilemmas of contradictory stimuli. To do so, we will conduct surveys in all seven countries, including survey experiments, complementing the laboratory analyses conducted in WP5. The surveys will allow us to capture the relevant socio-political configuration of the adult populations, while the experiments will make it possible to test the malleability of attitudes and to separate commitment to ideological values, attitudes to decision-making procedures, and self-identifications. The latter is particularly important, because many illiberal and neo-authoritarians claim they are the "true democrats," supporting what Welzel and Kirsch (2017) call "authoritarian notions of democracy".

Survey experiments will expose citizens to specific (ideational, rhetorical, and emotional) elements of the current illiberal discursive strategies that we will obtain from WP3. This will enable us to estimate the potential appeal of these elements. Whether one ends up in the camp of liberal democracy or not depends upon a host of factors that can be grouped into two major clusters and are important co-variants for our models: social context (bonds, interactions, social pressure) and strictly political phenomena factors (party identification, political polarisation, ideological identities). The experiment is embedded in questions, which will contain items representing all these factors. To separate support for cultural-political objectives from preferences for particular modes of political decision-making, we will use conjoint design. The choice of conjoint analysis is motivated by the complexity of the phenomena and multi-dimensionality of the decision-making processes, allowing us to control and vary several factors and estimate the impact of multiple components (Hainmuller et al 2014). The timing of polling will take into account the election cycles to filter out the campaign-related politicisation of certain attitudes. Task 2 will be led by SWPS.

Deliverables

D4.1: An analysis of the relationship between socio-demographic attributes and the propensity to support particular types of neo-authoritarianism (month 22)

D4.2: A data set that integrates information on the social characteristics of neo-authoritarianism (based on previous surveys – ESS, ISSP, EES, EVS) with the ideological configurations that emerge from WP3 (month 23)

D4.3: A paper including a typology on the distribution of the types of illiberal orientations across EU Member States (month 23)

D4.4: A data set on the reactions of citizens in experimental setting (month 24)

D4.5: A paper on the survey experiments, focusing on factors shaping attitudes towards liberal democracy (month 23)

Work Package number	5		Lead beneficiary			UOXF		
Work Package title	**Rhetorical and emotional appeals**							
Participant number	1	**2**	3	4	5	6	7	8
Short name of participant	CEU	**UOXF**	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	5	**25.5**	0.5	1.8	1.8	2	0	8
Start month	7		End month			24		

Objectives

The goal is to map the emotional strategies used by supporters and opponents of liberal democracy, the reactions they stir, and the ways in which ideological goals, rhetorical formulae, and affections cluster.

Description of work

We start with the hypothesis that liberal democracy and its challengers offer strong rhetorical and emotional appeals, and that the success of illiberalism in particular contexts may be due to the emotional connections it achieves. The emotional content of these appeals and how emotional appeals map on to programmatic content – or indeed whether they do at all – is weakly understood. Is the appeal based on anger or disgust? Does it have a positive or largely negative valence? What is the connection of emotionality to other aspects of illiberalism? Does emotionality support or substitute for programmatic appeals? What kinds of people may be most moved by illiberal emotionality? How does illiberal emotionality vary across countries and contexts? And, in line with our aim to build a toolkit to combat illiberalism, how might supporters of liberal democracy provide emotional alternatives suited to specific contexts and citizens? Outlining which emotional appeals are present or salient in any given constellation of liberalism/illiberalism will therefore be a significant contribution.

We will investigate emotionality via analysis of text and data that will also be considered in the programmatic analysis (WP3 above). We will employ sentiment analysis tools, and we will exploit the fact that, in certain settings, e.g., on social media, we can expect the textual material to also show the social reactions (anger, surprise, adhesion, conversation, etc.) that the speech triggers. This Work Package will directly build on the results of WP3, matching the ideational aspects of the new political landscape with the strategies focused on channelling and exploiting the emotions of citizens. To address these questions, this Work Package will analyse political texts including party manifestos, press releases, and social media output from key illiberal politicians. In what follows, we describe the two principal methodologies we will use to analyse political rhetoric, and our strategy to measure mass responses to different styles of rhetoric.

Task 1 – Measuring rhetoric using dictionaries: The most straightforward way to analyse political content is by utilising validated dictionaries like the Linguistic Inquirer and Word Count (LIWC) or the Affective Norms of English Words (ANEW). These dictionaries contain thousands of words that are scored across several dimensions pertaining to emotion. For example, ANEW scores words in terms of Enthusiasm, Dominance, and Arousal, while LIWC add Anger, Fear, and Positive and Negative Emotion. The ANEW is an English dictionary that has been validated in other languages, while later versions of the LIWC dictionary are multilingual. Importantly, when these dictionaries are combined with 'word embeddings', researchers can learn a lot more by analysing a more precise account of rhetoric. Word embeddings denote distances from key-words (e.g., the dictionary words) and can highlight how politicians from different parties use language to put forward their political views. A typical example in the literature is the use of 'immigration' by the left and right. The left tends to combine 'immigration' with 'reform', while right-wing orators combine it with 'illegal'.

Task 2 – Measuring rhetoric using Machine Learning: While dictionaries offer a rich set of words that are commonly used in politics, elite rhetoric is often more nuanced, and meanings change in response to context. To get a better sense of our measures, we will deploy machine learning algorithms to measure political text. The advantages of this approach are obvious: 1) we will be able to measure the dimensions of political rhetoric that matter most (divisiveness, polarisation, anger, hope, attacks etc), and 2) because our training sets will be created by 'crowds', we will have full knowledge of their predispositions and exploit their heterogeneity. This is important for our project, because if context matters, divisiveness and polarisation will also be in the eye of the beholder and thus different coders might produce different training sets. Once we have scores for our text samples, we will extrapolate our results from the training sets to measure unseen text. To train our text effectively, we will deploy the state of the art in AI algorithms (e.g., Penalised LASSO, random forests, neural networks) and judge them in terms of fit statistics.

Task 3 – Measuring emotional reactions in laboratory experiments: Finally, and in parallel with the work undertaken in surveys of citizens' opinions. we will also conduct laboratory experiments to better understand the lability of emotional responses to different illiberal stimuli. Our hypothesis is that citizens receiving (or rejecting) illiberal appeals do so on the basis of distinctive emotional responses – such as anger, disgust,

surprise, happiness, fear, or sadness – and it is possible that different varieties of illiberalism have their own emotional response bases. Understanding whether and how emotional responses to illiberal messages in each rhetorical configuration may vary depending on how these messages are framed may prove a vital element in the construction of the toolkit to combat such messages. Building on the analysis of rhetoric using dictionaries and machine learning, we plan to undertake laboratory experiments to see to what extent emotional responses to illiberal messages may be altered in the groups that we identified as most and least likely to receive them.

Deliverables

D5.1: Data set and report on rhetorical and emotional strategies of illiberal actors (month 22)

D5.2: Data set and report on the laboratory experiments of emotional responses (month 24)

Work Package number	6			**Lead beneficiary**		CEU		
Work Package title	**Illiberalism in power**							
Participant number	**1**	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Short name of participant	**CEU**	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	**8**	1.6	0.3	6	2.5	4	1.5	1
Start month	7			**End month**		15		

Objectives

The goal is to identify the nature of public policies and discourse of those illiberal forces that attain governmental power.

Description of work

Political forces with strong ideological profiles occasionally follow pragmatic policies in government, but there is increasing evidence that illiberal values induce illiberal policies (Jenne 2021). Contrary to stereotypes about protest-based populists, illiberal parties do not necessarily behave in a myopic way in government, but instead pursue policies that are designed to have long-term consequences (Enyedi and Whitefield 2020). They can implement institutional reforms, using the state to nurture a new social elite, they invest in structures of socialisation, they build geopolitical alliances, and they influence the patterns of social reproduction (Fodor 2021, Enyedi 2020). With the help of a manufactured crisis-atmosphere, illiberals in power complement or replace traditional arenas of interest-articulation with top-down mechanisms of representation (Pitkin 1967, Körösényi 2005).

Task 1 – Identification of policies and narratives developed by neo-authoritarians: WP6 will review policies and narratives developed by neo-authoritarians in power, focusing on the policy areas that are most relevant in this context: education, welfare, media, family-support, childcare, citizenship-rights, religious freedoms, and foreign policy. These policies are examined from the point of view of how they affect various minority groups and social integration. We will record the differences between various authoritarian actors in government, examining whether they openly reject international standards and agreements (such as the Istanbul convention), and whether they provide actual support to vulnerable segments of the population. We follow the assumptions that various policies are compatible with illiberalism on such issues (see Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser 2013; Scheiring 2021; Szikra and Öktem 2020). The empirical basis of this WP is provided by decrees and laws introduced by governments or proposed by government parties, and those practices and discourses that have emerged once illiberals transitioned from opposition into power.

Task 2 – Use of democratic rhetoric by the illiberal regimes: Finally, WP6 will analyse the use and abuse of

democratic rhetoric and practice in cases where illiberals are in power, especially concerning the institutionalisation of phony consultations, and the development of discursive strategies that allows illiberals to appear as the defenders of the 'real people' against threatening 'internationalist, secretive' forces.

Deliverables

D6.1: Paper on the commonalities between and variation among the policies of illiberal actors in power (month 15)

Work Package number	7			Lead beneficiary		SNS		
Work Package title	International co-operation and diffusion							
Participant number	1	2	3	4	**5**	6	7	8
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	**SNS**	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	6	1.6	0.4	3	**22**	3	2.5	1.2
Start month	7			End month		21		

Objectives The purpose is to record and analyse the forms of interactions among political and intellectual forces that advocate illiberal alternatives.

Description of work

The task of this WP is the exploration and mapping of the co-operation of illiberal organisations. Illiberal frames and initiatives increasingly travel across national borders, with the help of coordinating organisations. Domestic responses to the challenges of such issues as same-sex marriage or immigration are influenced by foreign illiberal political entrepreneurs, and common authoritarian arguments are developed in newly established think tanks and through various other forms of coordination. With the help of social network analysis based on online links, WP7 will explore and map the spread of such new initiatives and their impact on the illiberal intellectual agenda. We will also identify the role played by external forces, such as the Russian government and radicalised U.S. think tanks, in ideational production and in providing resources for the spread of ideas. The social media analysis conducted within WP3 will provide additional information as it will uncover the role of bots (highly automated accounts). This is a resource for the dissemination of political information which can help anti-liberal parties and movements overcome their organisational or financial deficiencies (Ellinas 2009: 209) This is important because today more than 50% of accounts active in public matters on social media are bots, and they are the preferred tools of authoritarian regimes to suppress voices and influence agendas. The WP will investigate how these bots distort the processes of deliberation to amplify illiberal messages, and it will also identify strategies that civic activists deploy to resist bot attacks.

The focus on international exchange has been justified recently by the intensification of co-operation between right-wing authoritarians at the European and global levels. In Europe, the latest, and in some respects boldest, attempt happened recently, on 2 July 2021, with the 'Declaration on the future of Europe' signed by many of the parties that are the focus of our analysis. A parallel arena of co-operation exists outside the institutional setting. It has been argued that "transnational processes of exchange and learning play an important role in the success of right-wing extremism and right-wing populism in Europe" (Langenbacher and Schellenberg 2011, 22). Confronted with the global challenges of the 21st century, there are increasing efforts to create a transnational network based on a "global white identity" (Daniels 2009).

To date, however, in sociology and political science there have been few empirical analyses on the topic of the transnationalisation of illiberal forces (but see Mudde 2007; Simmons 2003; Caiani, Della Porta and Wagemann 2012, Enyedi 2021). This WP will draw on social movement studies, and research on political parties to address the dynamics of internationalisation, paying special attention to the political opportunities European integration

provides for transnationalisation, as well as the (cognitive and material) resources of the actors (Della Porta 1995). It will also consider the role of ideological and narrative frames in facilitating co-operation and the impact of new internet-based techniques.

Deliverables

D7.1: Paper on the forms of co-operation among authoritarian forces (month 20)

D7.2: Data set on the forms of international co-operation among authoritarian forces (month 21)

Work Package number	8			Lead beneficiary				CEU	
Work Package title	Historical embedding								
Participant number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE	
Person months per participant	8	1.6	0.4	1.6	1.6	2	0	2.2	
Start month	21			End month		28			

Objectives The purpose is to identify the anti-liberal and authoritarian intellectual traditions that have played a role in shaping the debate around liberal democracy today.

Description of work

The task of Work Package 8 is the identification of the ideational historical contexts of illiberalism. The existing programmatic, emotional, and social configurations behind the challenges to liberal democracy cannot be understood properly without situating them in their historical trajectories. While many of the illiberal ideological packages are novel, they usually build on country-specific or regional intellectual traditions. Those who study the dimensions of contemporary political competition rarely work together with historians who can trace the inter-generational trajectories of political ideas. Our interdisciplinary team will provide an overview of alternative, often underground, ideological developments of the 20th and 21st century that inform current political cleavages.

The usual frameworks of interpretation tend to contrast the current rise of authoritarian politics with the nostalgically evoked post-war "*Trente Glorieuses*" and focus on analogies with the inter-war radical right. Instead, we propose a multi-level comparative and genealogical analysis of key ideological components of the contemporary anti-liberal wave, highlighting the contextual differences (for instance, between the two sides of the Iron Curtain) but also the transnational transfers at different points of time (such as between various sub-cultures of anti-modernist radicalism). We will assess whether the detected ideological configurations occurred as deliberate attempts to design a socio-political order of a certain type with clearly identifiable authors (e.g., Carl Schmitt, evoked by different actors in different contexts), or instead arose as unintentional side-effects of different "axiological sentiments" dominant at a given period and a particular place.

Deliverables

D8.1: A qualitative analysis of the antecedents of current ideological alternatives (month 28)

D8.2: Workshop on placing contemporary illiberalism into historical context (month 28)

Work Package number	9			Lead beneficiary		CEU		
Work Package title	Building and validating the multidimensional map							
Participant number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	8	2.2	0.3	3	1.3	2	0	2.2
Start month	21			End month		28		

Objectives

The goal is to build the multidimensional map of illiberal challenges based on the research in the previous phase and to validate the map.

Description of work

The task of WP 9 is to integrate the results of previous Work Packages into a comprehensive map of the ideological challenges to liberal democracy and to generalize the findings of the case studies to the wider European context.

The outputs outlined above will provide the input to produce the map of challenges to liberalism that is a key component of the project. We will consider several questions concerning the dimensions analysed so far: are they aligned, such that programmatic and emotional appeals are regularly associated? If so, which kinds of programmatic appeals operate with what kinds of emotions? Are the social bases of each appeal similar across settings, or do they vary systematically with the constellation? Are the legislative and legal responses consistent across constellations, or do they also vary? And what kinds of factors at the national, party, societal and elite levels explain the variation in the constellations that we observe?

We will pay particular attention in this analytical phase to the internal and external validity of the map that we produce. In terms of internal validity, we will seek to establish theoretically plausible mechanisms that will link programmatic, emotional, societal, and legislative outcomes. This process will rely on various data reduction techniques, such as principal component analysis, and item response theory. In terms of external validity, we will look to test the expected relationships identified in the map with a most similar/most different setting.

Deliverables
D9.1: The integrated and validated map of illiberalism (month 28)

Work Package number	10			Lead beneficiary		UOXF		
Work Package title	The normative limits of interventions							
Participant number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	3	6	0.3	1.3	1.3	1	0	2.2
Start month	21			End month		26		

Objectives

The goal is to delineate the normative boundaries for the defence of liberalism.

Description of work

The overall aim of AUTHLIB is to build a toolkit for liberal democracies to push back against the challenges of varieties of illiberalism. Any toolkit, however, must provide policy-makers and agents in favour of liberal democracy with resources that are not only effective, but that are also normatively acceptable. As obvious as that statement sounds, contemporary illiberalism raises new challenges for political philosophers and normative theorists about the limits that liberal democracies may reach in their own defence. Therefore, the principal aim of this Work Package is to convene a principled discussion of those limits that will guide other Work Packages, particularly those that seek to develop interventions. For this Work Package, therefore, we envisage seeking the input of normative political theorists, who will assist the team to address two sets of questions.

Task 1 – Theoretical analysis of illiberalism and the key concepts behind it: First, there is the **conceptual** work of analysing what illiberalism is, and how it differs from germane concepts and ideologies such as populism, traditionalism, illiberal democracy, democratic backsliding, etc. We intend to update this literature by considering more current controversies that appear to motivate cultural divisions over 'woke culture' in which illiberals demonstrate their capacity to co-opt liberal language (freedom of speech, academic freedom) to undermine causes that liberal democrats hold dear (anti-racism, minority rights).

Task 2 – Identifying normative boundaries for liberal intervention and the free speech: Secondly, 'what should liberal democracies do to defend themselves?' is a **normative** question. We will seek to build on two salient debates in the field. The first is the question, raised by John Rawls, of what the liberal state can legitimately do to 'contain' illiberal ('unreasonable') citizens. This concerns the question of whether the full set of liberal rights must in principle be extended to those who reject those rights and are ready to use them to undermine liberal democracy. In short, we plan a sophisticated update, in contemporary normative philosophy, of the old 1789 question: how much liberty should be granted to the enemies of liberty. The second debate that is relevant (and connected) is about the limits of free speech, and particularly the regulation of hate speech. This is of considerable interest to philosophers, partly because the idea that free speech is an absolute liberal right is central to the US liberal tradition – but other philosophers disagree.

The question, 'what should liberal democracies do to defend themselves?' of course involves not only ethical questions but also issues of feasibility, practicality, legitimacy, etc. Moreover, normative constraints on the defence of liberal democracy are not free-floating, but are bounded by specific national and international laws and other norms. In some cases, for example, imposing significant limits on illiberal freedom of speech might be illegal or for other reasons undesirable even if they could be argued to be potentially legitimate elements in the toolkit of liberal democracy. In convening a discussion of limits, therefore, we will also involve legal scholars and take full account of other aspects of our research on the broader normative landscape of the countries that we will study.

This Work Package will bring the empirical research and policy intervention aspects of the project into ongoing productive dialogue with political philosophy and legal scholarship to ensure that our conceptual approach to illiberalism is tightly focused, and that the toolkit we produce will be robust and compatible with the norms of liberal democracy and national contexts.

Deliverables

D10.1: Workshop and report on the normative boundaries of interventions aiming to safeguard the liberal order (month 26)

Work Package number	11			Lead beneficiary		CUNI		
Work Package title	**Mini-publics**							
Participant number	1	2	3	**4**	5	6	7	8
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	**CUNI**	SNS	SWPS	TF	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	6	3	0	**14.5**	1	3	1	2
Start month	18			End month		34		

Objectives

The goal is to implement a set of interventions to gauge the impact of illiberal ideologies and possible responses.

Description of work

Based on project inputs such as ideological arguments, narratives, and various forms of appeal, this Work Package will (1) develop targeted interventions, in the form of deliberative forums – the Ideological Opponents' Forum (IOF), the Professionals of Democracy Forum (PDF) and the Citizen Forum (CF); (2) develop and test novel educational toolkits; and (3) create a virtual e-learning platform.

The IOF and CF will be domestic groups, while the PDF will be transnational. The IOF will allow us to record the arguments (narratives), the room for convergence (to adjust toolkits), and the group-based stereotypes that shape political attitudes. In the CF, we will also see how face-to-face exchange of arguments differs from the ideological communication embodied by political texts (narratives and toolkits). The IOF and CF will provide information on how ideological values, or the lack of such values, shape deliberation about problems that require practical solutions.

The transnational character of the PDF will allow us to shape the instruments for the IOF and CF before their deployment (input phase) and after the assessment of the two mini-publics (output), as well as shape policy recommendations and act as multiplicators in their dissemination. With the help of the mini-publics, AUTHLIB will co-operate with the School of Transnational Governance (STG) initiative on Transnational Democracy organised within the European University Institute and complement the Policy Dialogues conducted within that framework with discussions focusing on the most effective anti-liberal arguments.

Task 1 – Organisation of Ideological Opponents' Forum (IOF): In the first phase we will train facilitators and prepare pilot experience workshops in selected localities to identify issues that pose a direct challenge to the functioning of liberal democracy in general, and to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in particular (migration, gender, LGBTQ+ and reproductive rights, the environment, etc).

In the second phase, upon evaluation of phase one, two issues will be identified, and deliberative fora will be organised around them. We will prepare neutral background information, as well as various forms of cues. Assisted by facilitators, the ideological opponents will be tasked with finding a problem. Their positions will be measured pre- and post-participation in the deliberative forum. Participants will be split into smaller groups. Each group will be provided factual information plus one type of cue (e.g., emotional appeal or rational argument). All groups will have the same task and a trained facilitator, whose role will aid the process without shaping it. This will enable us to analyse whether and under what conditions ideological opponents can co-operate and whether participation in a deliberative forum can lead to changes in (illiberal) positions. We will also be able to assess which type of illiberals are open – and under what impulses – to the acceptance of the values and procedures of liberal democracy.

Finally, in the third phase, upon analysis of the outcomes we will be able to put narratives and methodologies forwards to the Professionals of Democracy Forum (PDF).

Task 2 – Organisation of Professionals of Democracy Forum (PDF): In the first phase, practitioners, educators, civil society representatives, and journalists will be provided detailed findings of the IOF for a detailed discussion. The aim is to assess the input, process, and outputs of the IOF.

In the second phase, the PDF will provide toolkits within their area of expertise, including target groups, communication strategies, and forms of outreach. In terms of professional standards, a crucial question will be how journalists and educators should choose between the strategies of treating liberal and illiberal alternatives as equally valid, showing commitment to fundamental values of liberal democracy, and providing factual information to facilitate debates. The aim of the second phase is to identify target groups, arenas for intervention, and to generate input into toolkits.

In the third phase, the PDF will engage with the outputs of the project more broadly to generate policy recommendations and validate the final dissemination strategy for toolkits and other project outputs. An offline meeting will be complemented with two online discussions.

Task 3 – Organisation of Citizen Forum (CF): This forum will mix the approaches deployed in the IOF and the

PDF. Combining deliberative mini-publics and action research methodology, we will engage citizens into co-creating concrete tools for fighting illiberalism and defending liberal democracy. Two such deliberative fora will be convened. The aim will be to test narratives and methodologies and to provide input into toolkits and the e-learning platform– especially validating communication strategies.

In the first phase, using the blueprint for the deliberative mini-public, the CF participants' political attitudes (especially to liberal democracy) will be tested before and after their participation. The CF participants will be tasked with finding a solution to a salient issue (e.g., combating hate speech, challenging misinformation online and offline, convoking democratic imagination). Like the IOF, participants will be provided with different types of information, and a facilitator will aid their deliberation.

In the second phase, outcomes of the CF deliberation will be analysed, providing information on how ideological values, or the lack of such values, shape deliberation about problems requiring practical solutions. The findings will be utilised in building the e-learning platform.

Finally, in the third phase, the CF participants will be invited to test the e-learning platform and provide feedback, thus validating the toolkits. In organising the mini-publics, representativeness and inclusiveness will be paramount goals. Multiple recruitment channels will be utilised. For the IOF we will count on open calls and on the assistance of party-affiliated think tanks and NGOs. For the CF, special attention will be paid to ensuring participation of the least engaged citizens – thus additional measures such as co-operation with NGOs catering to minorities, the elderly, the homeless, etc. are necessary to ensure inclusiveness in the mini-public.

Transparency about the process will be key for the participants – enabling them to trust the process, even if they might not, in the end, agree with its outcomes. The presence of trained facilitators will ensure conflict resolution during the debates and a productive atmosphere. Before participation, all participants will be pre-screened for basic demographic information and political attitudes. Before deliberation, trained facilitators will provide communication training and accompany the deliberation to ensure all voices can be heard. As with other mini-publics, impartial information prepared by experts will be provided to all participants. Post-deliberation attitudes will be measured alongside satisfaction with the process and outcome. The selection criteria are age, gender, education, employment status, and level of political information & engagement (especially key for the IOF, but also informative for the CF to ensure inclusiveness). Transparency about the process and aim will be key for the participants, enabling them to trust the process, even if they might not, in the end, agree with its outcomes. The presence of trained facilitators will ensure conflict resolution during mini-publics and a productive atmosphere. We will take into consideration the input from these fora in considering how to respond to the authoritarian arguments mapped in the previous phases of the research, and how to tailor our proposition for specific arenas such as classrooms, media, and grass-roots activities.

Deliverables

D11.1: Report on the Ideological Opponents' Forum, including policy recommendations (month 34)

D11.2: Report on the Professionals of Democracy Forum, including policy recommendations (month 34)

D11.3: Report on the Citizens' Forum, including policy recommendations (month 34)

D11.4: E-learning platform (month 34)

Work Package number	12			Lead beneficiary			TF	
Work Package title	Delivering the results – impact and outreach							
Participant number	1	2	3	4	5	6	**7**	8
Short name of participant	CEU	UOXF	SCIENCES PO	CUNI	SNS	SWPS	**TF**	UNIVIE
Person months per participant	7	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	**17**	0.5
Start month	1			End month		36		

Objectives The main objective is to disseminate the results of the project to the wider academic community and to other stakeholders, including governmental and political figures and civil society organisations, with an interest in using the project's toolkit to strengthen liberal democracy.

Description of work

The Work Package will consist of seven interrelated dissemination tasks and outputs. In co-ordination with all the project partners, the Work Package lead will develop a detailed communication strategy that assigns specific dissemination and communication measures for all the project outputs.

Task 1 – Creation of the website and organisation of the project's social media presence: The Work Package lead will set-up a dedicated **website and social media accounts** for AUTHLIB to facilitate and encourage scholarly, policy, and public discussion considering the theoretical and empirical achievements of the project on the illiberal challenge to liberal democracy.

The AUTHLIB **data sets, reports and recommendations** will be made available as **open-access public goods** for scholars, stakeholders, and the public on the project's website.

All project partners will publish academic papers, articles, policy papers and policy toolkits, including an edited special issue of a high-ranking academic journal, and a book proposal for a major publishing company representing the main findings and key milestones of the project.

The academic outputs will be regularly presented at large international **conferences**, with a major closing conference being planned in the final year of the project and organised by AUTHLIB itself. Policy outputs will be disseminated at **closed stakeholder workshops** and public launch events.

Task 2 – Organisation of active dissemination: Policy outputs will be disseminated among active policy, civil society, and business leaders (including acting MPs) through TF's Leadership Programs Alumni Network and Open European Dialogue (OED) network. Through institutionalised co-operation with the Review of Democracy (RevDem) platform op-eds, podcasts, e-books, and debate transcripts will be made accessible to the public. The publishing of op-eds with influential legacy media outlets will be facilitated by the communication team of the Work Package leader to facilitate public discussion on the main challenges addressed by the project and to enhance AUTHLIB's public footprint.

Deliverables

D12.1: Project website and social media channels (month 1)

D12.2: Plan for dissemination and exploitation, including a communication strategy (month 2)

D12.3: Regular updates on the activities of the AUTHLIB network via all communication channels (months 2-36)

D12.4: Supporting AUTHLIB network members in their interaction with the international press (op-eds, interviews) (months 2-36)

D12.5: RevDem publications covering topics and issues of interest for the AUTHLIB network (months 2-36)

D12.6: Quarterly newsletter informing subscribers about the latest developments and updates related to the activities of the AUTHLIB network (month 3-36)

D12.7: Policy papers on the impact of illiberalism on specific, ideologically charged issues such as gender equality, integration of immigrants, and citizens' engagement (months 30-33)

D12.8: Country-specific policy papers covering all project countries with policy recommendations (months 30-33)

D12.9: Online launch events for the issue- and country-specific policy papers (months 33-36)

D12.10: Dissemination and discussion of the policy recommendations in TF's Leadership Programs Alumni Network and Open European Dialogue (OED) network (month 36)

D12.11: Closing conference (month 36)

Table 3.1c: List of Deliverables

Deliverable	Deliverable name	WP no.	Lead	Type	Dissemination level	Due date
D1.1	Consortium Agreement	1	CEU	R	SEN	M1
D12.1	Project website and social media channels	12	TF	DEC	PU	M1
D12.2	Plan for dissemination and exploitation, including a communication strategy	12	TF	R	SEN	M2
D12.3	Regular updates on the activities of the AUTHLIB network via all communication channels	12	TF	R	PU	M2-36
D12.4	Supporting AUTHLIB network members in their interaction with the international press	12	TF	DEC	PU	M2-36
D12.5	RevDem publications covering topics and issues of interest for the AUTHLIB network	12	TF	R	PU	M2-36
D12.6	Quarterly newsletter informing subscribers about the latest developments and updates related to the activities of the AUTHLIB network	12	TF	R	PU	M3-36
D2.1	Literature review	2	SWPS	R	PU	M5
D1.2	Ethics review	1	CEU	ETHICS	SEN	M6
D1.3	Data management plan	1	CEU	DMP	SEN	M6
D2.2	Guidelines for empirical data collection	2	SWPS	R	SEN	M6
D3.1	A paper on measurement and methodological innovations	3	SCIENCES PO	R	PU	M10
D6.1	Paper on the commonalities between and variation among the policies of illiberal actors in power	6	CEU	R	PU	M15
D3.2	A visual map of the ideological space	3	SCIENCES PO	OTH	PU	M18
D7.1	Paper on the forms of co-operation among authoritarian forces	7	SNS	R	PU	M20
D1.4	Periodic report	1	CEU	R	SEN	M21
D7.2	Data set on the forms of international co-operation among illiberal forces	7	SNS	DATA	PU	M21
D3.3	A paper on the ideological space and contemporary ideological configurations, with particular emphasis on types of illiberalism, as reflected in the various datasets	3	SCIENCES PO	R	PU	M22
D4.1	An analysis of the relationship	4	SWPS	R	PU	M22

	between socio-demographic attributes and the propensity to support particular types of neo-authoritarianism					
D5.1	Data set and report on rhetorical and emotional strategies of illiberal actors	5	UOXF	R	PU	M22
D4.2	A data set that integrates information on the social characteristics of neo-authoritarianism (based on previous surveys – ESS, ISSP, EES, EVS) with the ideological configurations that emerged from WP3	4	SWPS	DATA	PU	M23
D4.3	A paper including a typology on the distribution of the types of illiberal orientations across the EU Member States	4	SWPS	R	PU	M23
D3.4	Integrated data set of text analyses	3	SCIENCES PO	DATA	PU	M24
D4.4	A data set on the reactions of citizens in experimental setting	4	SWPS	DATA	PU	M24
D4.5	A paper on the survey experiments, focusing on factors shaping attitudes towards liberal democracy	4	SWPS	R	PU	M24
D5.2	Data set and report on the laboratory experiments of emotional responses	5	UOXF	R	PU	M24
D10.1	Workshop and report on the normative boundaries of interventions aiming to safeguard the liberal order	10	UOXF	R	PU	M26
D8.1	A qualitative analysis of the antecedents of current ideological alternatives	8	CEU	R	PU	M28
D8.2	Workshop on placing contemporary illiberalism into historical context	8	CEU	OTH	PU	M28
D9.1	The integrated and validated map of illiberalism	9	CEU	OTH	PU	M28
D12.7	Policy papers on the impact of illiberalism on specific, ideologically charged issues such as gender equality, integration of immigrants, and citizens' engagement	12	TF	R	PU	M30-33
D12.8	Country-specific policy papers covering all project countries with policy recommendations	12	TF	R	PU	M30-33
D12.9	Online launch events for the issue- and country-specific policy papers	12	TF	OTH	PU	M33-36
D11.1	Report on the Ideological Opponents' Forum, with policy	11	CUNI	R	PU	M34

	recommendations					
D11.2	Report on the Professionals of Democracy Forum, with policy recommendations	11	CUNI	R	PU	M34
D11.3	Report on the Citizens' Forum, with policy recommendations	11	CUNI	R	PU	M34
D11.4	E-learning platform	11	CUNI	DEC	PU	M34
D1.5	Final report	1	CEU	R	PU	M36
D12.10	Dissemination and discussion of the policy recommendations in TF's Leadership Programs Alumni Network and Open European Dialogue (OED) network	12	TF	OTH	PU	M36
D12.11	Closing conference	12	TF	OTH	PU	M36

Table 3.1d: List of milestones

Milestone number	Milestone name	Related Work Package(s)	Due date (in month)	Means of verification
1	Project launch and establishing internal structures and external connections	1, 12	M3	Public website and communication channels, project announcements of each partner, setting up an International Advisory Board
2	Finalisation of the preparatory stage and embarking on empirical research	2	M6	Guidelines for empirical data collection
3	Completion of the text analyses	3	M24	Integrated data set of text analyses
4	Finalisation of the survey-based data collection	4	M24	A data set that integrates information on the social characteristics of neo-authoritarianism with the ideological configurations that emerged from WP3 and a data set on the reactions of citizens in experimental setting
5	Connecting the various databases into a multidimensional map of ideological alternatives	9	M28	The integrated and validated map of illiberalism
6	Educational outreach	11	M34	E-learning platform

Table 3.1e: Critical risks for implementation

Description of risk (indicate level of (i) likelihood, and (ii) severity: Low/Medium/High)	Work Package(s) involved	Proposed risk-mitigation measures
Failure of a project partner to deliver its tasks (Likelihood:	All WPs	Although the consortium consists of carefully chosen partners who have proven their high level of responsibility, there is always a risk that certain partners, due to unforeseen circumstances, might fail in delivering their

Medium; Severity: Medium)		task(s). The division of tasks and responsibilities within the project has been created in such a way that it ensures that if one partner fails to deliver the task it will be covered by others. As a general rule, a project partner must inform the coordinator of any changes in personnel or delay of work as soon as possible. If this causes any serious problems which cannot be resolved, the contingency plan is to shift the task leadership to another partner organisation or to recruit additional staff from the partners already involved in the respective tasks. The project's management structure is designed in such a way so as to constantly monitor progress and allow for flexibility. In case of withdrawal of a partner, which is very unlikely given the history of successful co-operation, the consortium would seek an appropriate replacement and ensure an effective and efficient hand-over.
Failure to engage citizens in citizens' arenas and project results (Likelihood: Low; Severity: High)	WP 11, 12	Previous examples suggest that both ordinary citizens and professionals are willing to join deliberative and dissemination events, but we will use material incentives and the inclusion of prestigious individuals to make our events more attractive. Enhanced co-operation with the network of journals and journalists, as well as intense presence on social media, will keep the level of dissemination high. Periodic impact evaluations of the Work Packages will mitigate this risk by updating and re-framing messages as necessary throughout the duration of the project.
A partner leaves the project (Likelihood: Low; Severity: High)	All WPs	The partners in the project have a very good relationship which was established long before the start of the project. Therefore, the risk of a partner leaving the project is minimal. However, if this does occur, the partners will discuss whether the tasks of the partner that leaves the project can be distributed amongst the remaining partners. If the amount of work to be divided is too much, the partners will use their combined networks to find a suitable replacement for the departing partner.
Global pandemic restrictions (Likelihood: Medium; Severity: Medium)	All WPs	If containment measures are enacted and they are short in duration, the partners will co-operate via digital means to take the project work forward, and certain project events might be rescheduled to a later date. If the duration of containment measures is longer, the Project Manager would explore the feasibility of moving more completely to a virtual environment, using resources saved on travel and venue spaces to cover the eventual technical costs for managing project event(s) virtually.
The planned action cannot be reached within 36 months (duration of the project) (Likelihood: Low; Severity: High)	All WPs	The project will be continuously monitored to ensure that milestones and deliverables are met. If there is the threat of a delay, the project manager will contact the partner to discuss the delays and mitigating actions. If this is not possible, the work will be distributed across the different partners.
The cost will be higher than budgeted or a partner requires more/less funds of the budget than originally planned (Likelihood: Low; Severity: High)	All WPs	The project manager will monitor the costs spent by the partners. If there is over-spending, the project manager will contact the partner to discuss the reasons behind the over-spending and they will discuss mitigating actions. If a redistribution of funds between partners is necessary during the project (e.g., if final eligible costs of one partner appear to be lower than expected, while those of another partner exceed the level initially planned), an amendment proposal will be prepared by the Project Manager in discussion with the Project Coordinator and submitted to the EC Project Officer for approval.

Table 3.1f: Summary of staff effort

	WP 1	WP 2	WP 3	WP 4	WP 5	WP 6	WP 7	WP 8	WP 9	WP 10	WP 11	WP 12	TOTAL PMs per partner
1/CEU	**24**	4	23	10	5	**8**	6	**8**	**8**	3	6	7	112
2/UOXF	1.5	1.5	2	3	**25.5**	1.6	1.6	1.6	2.2	**6**	3	0.5	50
3/SCIENCES PO	1.5	0.5	**25**	7	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0	0.5	36.7
4/CUNI	1.5	0.5	3.6	4	1.8	6	3	1.6	3	1.3	**14.5**	0.5	41.3
5/SNS	1.5	0.5	3.6	0.5	1.8	2.5	**22**	1.6	1.3	1.3	1	0.5	38.1
6/SWPS	1.5	**7**	4	**24**	2	4	3	2	2	1	3	0.5	54
7/TF	1.5	0.5	0	0	0	1.5	2.5	0	0	0	1	**17**	24
8/UNIVIE	1.5	1	9	13	8	1	1.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2	0.5	43.8
Total Person-Months	34.5	15.5	70.2	61.5	44.6	24.9	39.7	17.4	19	15.1	30.5	27	399.90

Table 3.1g: 'Subcontracting costs' items

2/UOXF		
	Cost (€)	**Description of tasks and justification**
Subcontracting	83,000	Knowing the ideological aspects of authoritarian appeal is not sufficient, as the emotional side also needs to be taken into consideration. To identify the exact impact of various emotional appeals, the consortium will contract with specialists on laboratory experiments which will, under the direction and instruction of the researchers, examine the extent to which emotional responses may be altered. The use of a specialist laboratory will ensure that the experiments are run by highly trained researchers.

4/CUNI		
	Cost (€)	**Description of tasks and justification**
Subcontracting	48,000	AUTHLIB will rely on deliberative meetings to study how the illiberal arguments and the pro-liberal democracy arguments play out in group settings. For such events, participants must be recruited from various groups in society, the discussions need to be recorded and moderated, and the participants need to be assisted, transported, and catered for. In convening the mini-publics, we will rely on professionals with a strong record in facilitating such events, while our own researchers will also actively participate in designing, implementing, analysing, and disseminating the results.

6/SWPS		
	Cost (€)	**Description of tasks and justification**
Subcontracting	197,000	The consortium will commission a polling company to run online surveys in the seven target countries and to implement within these surveys an experimental design. This task is crucial for drawing up the social profile of the ideological groups and for identifying the attitudinal mechanisms behind the support or rejection of liberal democracy. To achieve close to representative results, the online component will have to be complemented with face-to-face or telephone surveys. The company will work in close collaboration with the researchers of AUTHLIB who will design the questionnaires.

Table 3.1h: 'Purchase costs' items

1/CEU (19% of personnel costs)		
	Cost (€)	**Justification**
Other goods, works and services	78,000	Hosting and convening two interim mid-sized workshops related to the work of two WPs (36k); Hosting and convening a final large-scale international conference in Y3 for impact and dissemination (25k); open access publishing fees and editing/publication cost (12k); financial audit costs (5k)
Travel and subsistence	20,550	Consortium travel costs for the CEU team, provisions to attend a BXL mid-term review meeting, travel for Advisory Board members throughout the project, conference participation of CEU project early-stage researchers
Remaining purchase costs (<15% of pers. Costs)	0	
Total	98,550	

4/CUNI (16% of personnel costs)		
	Cost (€)	**Justification**
Travel and subsistence	15,800	Fieldwork/mission for WP11, consortium internal travel for CUNI team, attendance at BXL mid-term review meeting, if necessary, participation at two interim mid-sized workshops related to the work of two WPs, participation in final large-scale international conference
Other goods and services	8,000	Open access publishing fees and editing/publication cost
Remaining purchase costs (<15% of pers. Costs)	0	
Total	23,800	

5/SNS (18% of personnel costs)		
	Cost (€)	Justification
Travel and subsistence	15,800	Fieldwork/mission for WP7, consortium internal travel for CUNI team, attendance at BXL mid-term review meeting, if necessary, participation at two interim mid-sized workshops related to the work of two WPs, participation in final large-scale international conference
Other goods and services	8,000	Open access publishing fees and editing/publication cost
Remaining purchase costs (<15% of pers. Costs)	0	
Total	23,800	

6/SWPS (16% of personnel costs)		
	Cost (€)	Justification
Travel and subsistence	12,800	Consortium internal travel for SWPS team, attendance at BXL mid-term review meeting, if necessary, participation at two interim mid-sized workshops related to the work of two WPs, participation in final large-scale international conference
Other goods and services	13,000	Open access publishing fees and editing/publication cost
Remaining purchase costs (<15% of pers. Costs)	0	
Total	25,800	

7/TF (16% of personnel costs)		
	Cost (€)	Justification
Other goods and services	22,000	Web, visuals for WP12: designing visual identity, creating a project website and other online presence, purchasing software & domain. Editing and proofing dissemination materials
Travel and subsistence	5,100	Consortium internal travel for TF team, attendance at BXL mid-term review meeting if necessary
Remaining purchase costs (<15% of pers. Costs)	0	
Total	27,100	

3.2   Capacity of participants and consortium as a whole

AUTHLIB's consortium has been designed to meet the specific requirements of the call. The following criteria were considered:
- Academic excellence of the research teams. Collaborators from all involved institutions have a robust track record of researching socio-political processes and institutions, ideologies, and political behaviour.
- Experience in managing international network-based projects funded by the European Union, including projects funded by the Commission's Framework Programme.
- High reputation of the institutions as internationally renowned centres of academic excellence.
- Appropriate mix of units focusing on academic work and units involved in dissemination and policy-relevant think tank-activities.
- Well-established expertise in the fields which AUTHLIB will investigate. Each partner will be involved in

most WPs, following a division of labour based on complementary skills.
- Geographic diversity, with partners from both old and new democracies in Europe.
- Contextual knowledge, with each of the seven country-cases represented by an institution.
- Proper balance among researchers on key criteria such as gender, seniority, disciplinary background, theoretical vs empirical skills, basic research, and applied research.

Academic and management excellence

AUTHLIB will benefit from the work of highly recognised, impactful scholars. Many of the key researchers are senior experts on various aspects of democratic and non-democratic politics, and/or are authorities in methods, area-studies, or interdisciplinary research. Within AUTHLIB, sociologists, legal scholars, political philosophers, communication scholars, and historians will work alongside political scientists to provide a comprehensive understanding of the challenges faced by liberal democracy. The fact that many of the participants have a senior position in their respective institutions will help in securing a seamless management process. The senior scholars are joined by younger colleagues whose expertise in the latest methodological innovations will greatly enhance the empirical accuracy of the project. Both the planning and the execution of the project are proper collective enterprises, as the deliverables require the collaboration of many scholars from the respective institutions. Past experience of working together on other projects will help the smooth co-operation of the participants. All universities involved have excellent infrastructure and robust graduate programmes, providing an environment in which one can draw upon the help of a large pool of young researchers and advanced library and IT services.

Reputation of the partners

All partner institutions have a strong academic reputation. Three universities were among the best 10 in Europe according to the latest QS political science ranking,[2] and all institutions are among the best research centres of their respective countries.

Synergies

All institutions involved have a well-established track record in dissemination, interactions with civil society and with various levels of governance, and in working on pan-European topics. Having one think tank (TF), alongside academic institutions is critically important to secure the linkages to policymakers, parliamentarians, and journalists. The consortium can explore the research theme using different disciplinary approaches. The multiple roles of partners will help to integrate the various WPs.

The role of the partners

Next to being responsible for the management, CEU will lead the WPs on historical embedding, on illiberal governance and on the validation of the multidimensional mapping, and it will provide the venue for the planned consortium meetings and workshops. The sub-units of the CEU Democracy Institute (Democracy in History; De-/Re-Democratization; Environment and Democracy; Inequalities; Media and Technologies; Rule of Law) and its media outlet (Review of Democracy) will all be able to contribute to the research and its dissemination. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, is well prepared to play an integratory role as he has a background in sociology, history, political science, and psychology. His numerous articles in leading journals and books (the latest one with Oxford University Press) tackle issues that are directly relevant for AUTHLIB, such as party politics, illiberal ideologies, political attitudes, and authoritarianism. CEU's eminent historians (▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ provide leadership for studying the historical trajectories. The text-based and social-media analysis of political discourse will rely on the proven expertise ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ all of whom have robust track-records in these fields. The policy-aspects, and especially the gender-related implications of illiberal regimes, will be supported by ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. The moral limitations of possible interventions will be analysed by a team of political philosophers ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮.

The project will draw on the University of Oxford's leading normative political theorists and legal scholars in its work on the conceptual basis of liberal democracy and varieties of authoritarianism, as well as drawing on experts in experimental interventions to understand the emotional aspects of illiberalism. The Oxford team will take a leading role in the study of the emotional ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮) and normative boundaries (▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, but will also be active in other WPs, especially in WP11 related to surveys and deliberative mini-publics ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. The scholars of Sciences Po (▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮) will supervise the study of political text and social media based ideological mapping and will play a crucial role in

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2 https://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/university-subject-rankings/2021/politics

the survey analyses. The contribution of SNS colleagues will focus on the co-operation of illiberal forces and on the diffusion of authoritarian ideas in Europe, building on the previous work of ██████████ while the text-analysis team will benefit from the media-expertise of ████████████ SWPS will take a leading role in the crucial theoretical preparatory phase (WP2) and in the analysis of survey experiments (████████████████████ ████████████, and it will also contribute to the normative explorations, especially in terms of rule-of-law considerations ███████████). Charles University will be in charge of organising and analysing the mini-publics, but the team at the university ██████████████████████████████████████ will contribute to many other WPs, especially WP6 on illiberals in power and WP8 on historical contextualisation. The University of Vienna will channel its experience with building an infrastructure for digitally available political texts into AUTHLIB's original analytic work ██████████████ and will play a central role in the study of citizens' attitudes ████████████ Finally, the German Marshall Fund will coordinate dissemination. Exploiting the fact that the Fund's officials are also researchers, it will contribute, under the leadership of ██████████, to the analytic work of the various Work Packages, especially those studying co-operation of authoritarian forces and their behaviour in government, particularly as far as gender-issues are concerned.

All institutional representatives ██ ████████████████████████████) have experience with administrative leadership and participation in large-scale international academic enterprises. All Work Packages of AUTHLIB will be multi-institutional. Next to their thematic and methodological specialisations, the researchers involved will also constitute national teams, i.e., teams studying one of the seven countries. These teams are primarily defined by the place where the partner institution is located and whose context they know best, but scholars with interest and knowledge in a country other than their residence will also be able to join them.

Governance

The project will be governed by the AUTHLIB Management Team, consisting of the institutional representatives. The meetings of the Management Team, convened monthly, will be held online to minimise costs and travels. The meetings will ensure a smooth development of the different WPs, guarantee that there is awareness of what others are doing, and allow any potential risks to be detected. Decisions about subcontracting will be made collectively. Every year hybrid (face to face and online) plenary meetings, where all the AUTHLIB consortium partners are represented, will be organised to evaluate overall progress and achievement, co-ordinate project-related interactions among partners and evaluate progress against project plans. Work Package leaders will be free to define any bilateral meeting schedule according to the needs and the coordinating actions among partners for the implementation of the WP activities. Finally, Review Meeting will provide, together with Deliverables and Reports, the means to allow the EC to check and validate AUTHLIB project progress. The consent of the Ethics Board will be needed for approving empirical investigations.

Gender

Gender equality is given particular attention in the AUTHLIB project. It is a subject of our research, as it is one of the key targets of various forms of illiberalism. It is also a guiding principle for the composition of research teams, project bodies (e.g., the International Advisory Board), and the mini-publics. We will strive for gender balance in recruitment by actively encouraging women to apply and creating necessary conditions for work-life balance at research and training activities (e.g., childcare at research events and conferences). The kick-off conference will address the AUTHLIB gender balance action plan, and in each team, one member will be responsible for implementation and reporting.

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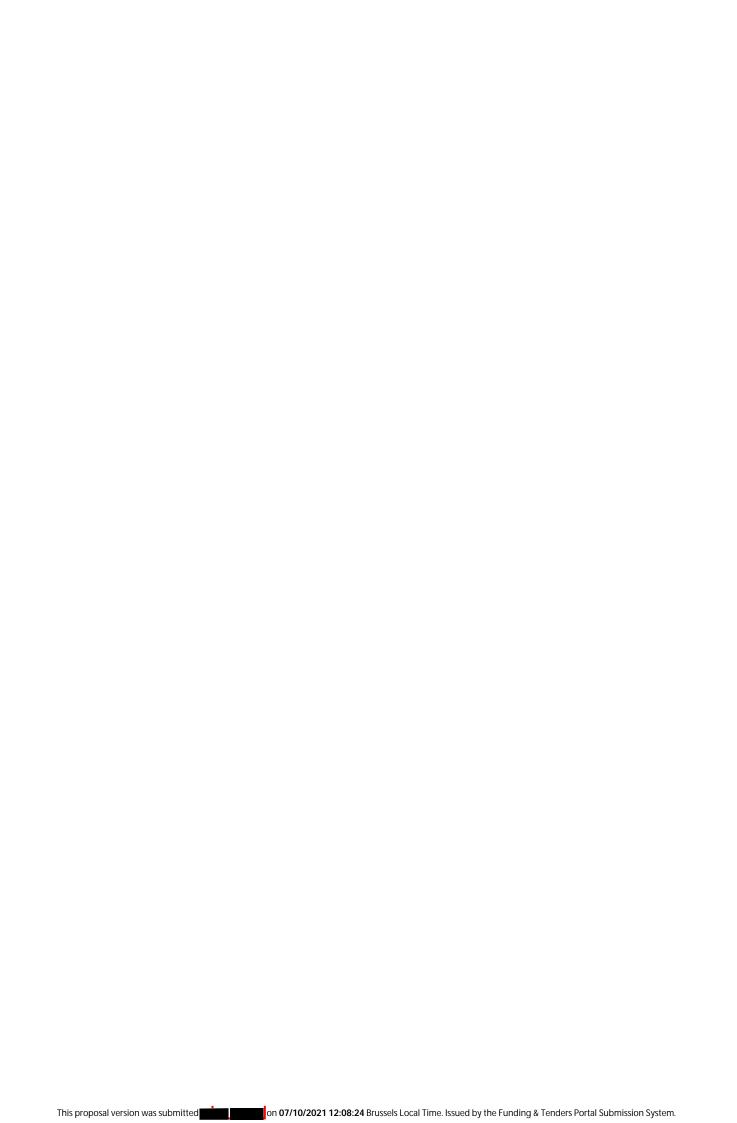
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