



## CHAPTER 1

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# A Transnational Feminist Approach to Anti-Gender Politics

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## INTRODUCTION

This book examines anti-gender politics—coordinated attacks on the rise of ‘gender ideology’ and ‘genderism’ as a political force, the field of gender studies as an academic field, and feminist, queer, and trans individuals seen to be their embodied representatives—as a transnational formation. In 2018, the Hungarian government banned the teaching of gender studies in higher education and stepped up its work against LGBTI+ people

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and organisations in the country (Rédai, this volume). In 2019, false information about comprehensive sexuality education in schools sparked a moral gender panic among South African parents (McEwen, this volume) and the Indian parliament passed the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act constricting the rights of trans people in the country (Minj and Pandit, this volume). In 2020, the racist and anti-gender narratives of the great replacement conspiracy fuelled white supremacist terrorist attacks in the cities of Hanau and Halle in Germany (Holzberg, this volume). In 2021, the Turkish government withdrew from the Istanbul Convention on violence against women (Özkazanç, this volume), while in Peru and Chile the national elections were partly fought on anti-gender positions (Meneses Sala and Rueda-Borrero, and Vivaldi, this volume), and the Chinese government censored non-traditional expressions of masculinity banning ‘sissy pants’ celebrities in dramas and TV shows (Yee-man NG and Chen, this volume). In 2022, the Kuwaiti Ministry of Commerce and Industry attacked *mithliyya* (homosexual) slogans and objects containing rainbow colours as a violation of public morality (Almazidi, this volume), while a major nationalist campaign in Pakistan targeted the organisers of the Aurat Azadi International Women’s Day marches, and the US Supreme Court overturned Roe vs Wade and US states like Florida and Texas criminalised parents’ support of trans children (Amirali and Gill-Peterson, this volume). What, at first glance, might look like isolated incidents scattered across the globe, needs to be understood as interrelated events that are in dialogue with one another. The contributors to this volume examine what holds these events together and draw out their commonalities and differences by analysing them as the many-headed manifestations of what Sonia Corrêa has described as ‘the hydra’ (2022a) that is transnational anti-gender politics.

Understanding and confronting these events is imperative. Transnational anti-gender politics have deleterious effects on the bodily, psychic, and economic well-being of the women and non-normative sexual and gender subjects who are denied basic rights and dignity, access to healthcare, economic and state support, and who are made even more vulnerable to

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different forms of violence. They undermine political achievements and fields of study that feminist and other social justice movements have fought hard to establish. They cause, in other words, harm that is both symbolic and material; that is epistemic and bodily felt. The questions of how these movements work, what animates them, and how we—those of us who name our commitments as feminist—can resist them are thus of urgent importance. As editors and contributors to this volume, our collective response to this political moment is to examine anti-gender politics in a specifically transnational frame. This approach is grounded in transnational feminist commitments, which insist on the need to build feminist analyses that learn from interconnected struggles in diverse locations across the globe, and that insist on retaining in view how the legacies of colonialism and imperialism, the workings of racial capitalism, and global structures of inequality shape gendered and sexual dynamics at any given site (Grewal and Kaplan 1994; Alexander and Mohanty 1997; Kapur 2005; Tudor 2017). In drawing on cases from a wide (albeit necessarily selective) geopolitical range of sites, the transnational frame that guides this volume opens up questions of how the object of study—anti-gender politics and mobilisations—is itself a transnational phenomenon. It highlights the power relations and points of connectivity in epistemic frames, political strategies, and material support that make up anti-gender politics today, while interrogating the unequal effects these have in different geopolitical sites.

While there is growing interest in understanding and resisting anti-gender attacks worldwide, scholarly work on the subject has primarily focused on the European context (Kováts and Pöim 2015; Bracke and Paternotte 2016; Kuhar and Paternotte 2017; Verloo and Paternotte 2018; Graff and Korolczuk 2021), with a strong body of scholarship being developed on Latin America (Viveros and Rodríguez 2017; Corrêa and Parker 2020; Bárcenas Barajas 2022). This book expands on these geographical focal points by interrogating the dominant narratives and temporal assumptions through which anti-gender politics have been understood in academic scholarship and feminist discourse through reflections from Argentina, Chile, China, Germany, Hungary, India, Kashmir, Pakistan, the Persian Gulf, Peru, South Africa, Spain, Turkey, Uganda, the UK, and the US. Each of the interventions of this book asks about the critical utility of an anti-gender framework and maps out how the concept of gender and its counter expressions such as ‘anti-genderism’, ‘gender critical’, and ‘gender ideology’ have travelled and been reacted to in

particular geographies and in relation to specific triggers. The interventions are based on the various authors' encounters with anti-gender politics and the struggles that have animated the academic and activist response to these attacks.

Taken together, this volume calls for an analytical disposition that focuses on *transnationalising* our ways of inquiry into the epistemic, affective, and political nature of the anti-gender phenomenon. What are the networks and transnational connections through which current opposition to gender is organised and executed? What new configurations of power, alliances, and coalitions are being articulated in these attacks, and what differences can we observe in their deployment? Conversely, how does the attention to grounded struggles, claims, and historical conjunctures trouble the ways scholarship has approached anti-gender politics thus far? In other words, how do these situated knowledges transform our understanding of the phenomenon of anti-gender politics more generally? In highlighting connections and convergences, differences, complexities and ambivalences, this volume challenges taken-for-granted frameworks developed within mostly Western feminist research. It thus disrupts totalising epistemologies for understanding contemporary anti-feminist and anti-gender politics and highlights how anti-gender mobilisations are located in wider histories of colonialism, racial capitalism, and growing authoritarian nationalism.

The contributions were developed out of and alongside a blog series that we, alongside our colleagues from the *Engenderings* editorial collective and the Department of Gender Studies, launched in 2018 on the LSE Gender blog. The blog series was established to explore how we can make sense of and resist the current attacks on gender studies, 'gender ideology', and feminist scholars and activists working within the field. For this book, several contributors to the blog series, alongside other scholars and activists working on anti-gender politics, extended their analyses to develop more intricate book chapters in conversation with each other and with us, the editors. As we lay out in the remaining part of this introduction, the transnational approach that develops out of this collective project troubles the 'origin stories' we tell about where anti-gender politics come from, helps us better locate the various sources, actors, and networks behind their enactment, and push us to sharpen and rethink the conceptual vocabularies and strategies we use to understand and challenge them.

## TROUBLING ‘ORIGIN STORIES’

In examining when and how anti-gender mobilisations become a political and epistemic force in different geopolitical contexts, the chapters in this volume develop in relation and speak back to certain ‘origin stories’ produced in scholarly literature on anti-gender politics in the last decade. The volume is a departure from a mode of analysis that foregrounds women’s rights debates in the 1990s and the role of the Vatican, European right-wing populism, and the intellectual influence of US neoconservatives. It de-centres the role that specific time periods, actors, and geographical locations have played in the emergence of anti-gender politics as a research object and concept for analysing current political forces. In troubling these ‘origin stories’, we take inspiration from Sumi Madhok’s (2021) discussion of the ‘politics of origins’ in her critique of the Eurocentric logic that pervades discussions on human rights, which keeps the epistemic hierarchies between the West and *the rest of the world* intact. By bringing this insight into our argument, we show that the search for clear and often singular origin stories of anti-gender politics can result in a lack of attention to anti-gender struggles that take place in various locations in ‘most of the world’ (Madhok 2021, 7) that often travel under different signifiers which do not always neatly translate into the language and political grammar of anti-gender politics, anti-genderism, or gender backlash.

In that sense, the aim of this volume is to ‘move beyond an account of origins that locates anti-genderism as “emanating” out of specific geographic locations’, as Nolina S. Minj and Niharika Pandit suggest in their chapter on anti-gender mobilisations in India for this volume. By doing so, we aim to shed light on the dangers of epistemic erasures and silences that this centring can produce. In thinking with Madhok (2021, 34) this volume underscores ‘the lack of conceptual attention’ and transnational solidarity to varieties of gender backlash and anti-feminist attacks that take place in *different regions of the world*. We challenge the binary distinctions produced by the centring of particular origin stories in our theorisations of anti-gender ideology that can trap us in the ‘binarism of nomenclatural politics of West and non-West’ (Madhok 2021, 13) and which reduce the transnational to a mere mapping exercise of listing different geographies of various anti-gender struggles.

Many accounts within the scholarly literature on the history of anti-gender politics focus on its religious, specifically Christian, and conservative political origins. They chart the different genealogies that gave rise to

the invention of ‘gender ideology’ as ‘the result of a broader intellectual output’ between ‘neo-conservative intellectual activists (mostly parishioners) in collaboration with the discursive system of the Holy See’ (Morán Faúndes 2019, 407). This coalition is said to have emerged in response to feminist and women’s rights activism at the United Nations (UN) Conferences on population in Cairo 1994 and on women in Beijing 1995; as a conservative counter-movement to oppose the ‘gendering of the agenda’ at the UN level, which became a transnational battleground of pro-family and anti-abortion advocacy (Wilkinson 2020; Friedman 2003). This oppositional force forged an ‘Unholy Alliance’ led by the Vatican, between countries with a strong Christian, Catholic as well as some Islamic leadership (Friedman 2003; Case 2016; Corrêa 2022a).<sup>1</sup>

A related strand of literature has looked at the emergence of anti-gender politics more directly as a form of conservative ‘backlash’ or right-wing ‘counter-movement’ to gains made by women’s and LGBTI+ movements (Corredor 2019; Cupać and Ebetürk 2020). In these analyses, rights enshrined in treaties passed by international organisations like the European Union or the United Nations in the 1990s and 2000s are said to have led to local national backlashes that have pushed against the alleged imposition of ‘gender ideologies’ on other contexts, specifically in Central and Eastern Europe (see Antić and Radačić 2020; Biroli and Caminotti 2020; Halperin-Kaddari and Freeman 2016)—often expressed through discourses that appropriate anti-colonial frames (Korolczuk and Graff 2018). From here, scholars trace the spread and popularisation of anti-gender politics as a key element in the rise of right-wing populist and outspokenly illiberal politics in the early 2010s. Specifically in Central and Eastern Europe and the US, anti-gender politics is often understood as a helpful scapegoat for wider anxieties and disappointments born out of the ruins or excesses of neoliberalism (e.g. Pető 2015; Grzebalska 2016; Fassin 2020a; Graff and Korolczuk 2021).

While most accounts discuss these histories in much more depth and complexity than our summary here allows, and highlight how these histories often overlap and are necessarily more complex, what many of

<sup>1</sup> Conservative oppositional forces that emerged at the UN in the 1990s were supported by the well-financed infrastructure of the US Christian Right, which was instrumental in founding transnational NGOs to lobby at the UN like the International Federation for the Family (founded in the US, with its headquarters in Spain) and the Centre for Family and Human Rights (US-based) (Wilkinson 2020).

these accounts have in common is that they locate the origins of the phenomenon of anti-gender ideology in European and US-American ideologies and political formations as the sites from which anti-gender ideology travels and gets translated into other geographical spaces. In response to this tendency, emerging transnational scholarship has started looking at how religious and political anti-gender movements have been formed in and spread to other locations like Latin America, particularly Brazil, which is often discussed as the other key geographical ‘laboratory’ in which ultra-neoliberalism, neo-fascism, racism, and anti-gender ideology have merged (Careaga-Pérez 2016; Corrêa and Kalil 2020; Fassin 2020b). Here scholars like Corrêa (2018, 2022b) have shown how anti-gender politics played a key role in reconstituting reactionary forces in a period when different countries were recovering their democracies after years of dictatorial regimes. Examining its wider transnational nature, other scholars have started studying anti-gender mobilisations in the African continent (Kojoué 2022), particularly the effects of the global pro-family movement (Kaoma 2016; Camminga 2020; McEwen 2021), as well as in South and East Asia (Aher 2022; Szendi Schieder 2019; Wilson 2023).

Extending the geographic range for this book even further has prompted us to think about what is gained but what might also be foreclosed by accounts that focus on historical and geographical origins, especially if those accounts travel under the sign of the transnational. What, in other words, does framing anti-gender politics within the limits of these spatial-temporal and theoretical-political references foreground but also leave out? Of course, there are good reasons for a strong focus on Europe, the Vatican, and the US in most work on anti-gender politics given that these were the spaces in which the articulations of anti-gender politics can be observed in its most pronounced forms. It is the development of this specific kind of political formation in places like Hungary that has led scholars like Andrea Pető (2021, 42) to argue that the ‘anti-gender movement is not merely another offshoot of centuries-old anti-feminism’ but that ‘the anti-gender movement is a fundamentally new phenomenon that was launched to establish a new world order’. Pető’s framework usefully highlights that anti-gender politics is not simply anti-feminism in new disguise but that, in its ideologies, strategies and reach, needs to be understood as a distinct formation, in which, after a period of key advances in international women’s and LGBTI+ rights initiatives accompanied by economic neoliberalisation, and the resurgence right-wing nationalism, ‘gender’ becomes a central target of wider political mobilisation.

Yet, making such a clear demarcation also carries the risk of marginalising other histories and locations. Even though there are spatial-temporal origins and trajectories that account for the invention of specific concepts (i.e. gender ideology, anti-genderism) and political strategies (i.e. anti-gender campaigns and mobilisations), addressing them should not neglect accounting for the existence and unfolding of oppositional forces to gender that have taken place in temporal and spatial ‘elsewheres’ that often operate under different banners and thus go unnoticed. In their chapter on anti-gender politics in China, Scarlett Yee-man NG and Zhifeng Chen, for instance, show how the state’s resistance to feminist movements stems from internal dynamics within the Chinese Communist Party that sees formal gender equality as a dedicated goal while framing existent feminist and queer movements as gender politics gone ‘too far’ and a threat to the harmony of the nation. While not entirely separate from transnational flows and networks of anti-gender politics, these developments cannot be reduced to the Vatican’s ideological machinery, the neoliberal crash of 2008, or a simple ‘backlash’ to the gender mainstreaming of international UN treaties. Similarly, in their chapter, Nolina S. Minj and Niharika Pandit trace the ways in which crackdowns on gender initiatives and feminist and queer movements in India need to be understood in relation to Hindutva fascism. This political project develops in relation to other global right-wing nationalist projects of the 2000s and 2010s but follows its own internal dynamics which run back to the complex gendered and sexual politics of anti-colonialism and partition on the South Asian continent.

What then, the authors in this volume provoke us to reflect, happens to our understanding of anti-gender politics if we do not start our story of the spread of anti-gender politics with the Vatican but with Chinese party communism or Hindutva nationalism? What if we do not focus on Victor Orbán or Ron DeSantis but on Narendra Modi and Xi Jinping? While we do not aim at any definitive answer to such questions, this volume is intended to open the ‘politics of origins’ as a political and epistemic problem. We suggest that anti-gender politics and their contestations might be best understood as a vernacular (Madhok 2021), a form of discourse that cannot be reduced to a purely Western framework of gender and its reactive responses, nor to some untainted space outside of it. In tracing the history of anti-gender politics and writing about its transnationality, we, then, embark on the complex endeavour to extend the analysis of anti-gender to locations rarely considered through this lens, while heeding calls made by scholars who have warned not to use research agendas and



hypotheses as if they were universal analytic grids for interpreting anti-gender phenomena in every context (Kuhar and Paternotte 2017; Corrêa 2022b).

First, we suggest that origin stories have repercussions for the ways anti-gender mobilisations are studied and for defining which locations have the capacity to become ‘a case’ of anti-gender politics in the first place. Constructing certain genealogies and localities as *non cases* produces uneven attention to different regions of the world that replicates some of the problems of origin stories, again placing Europe and the US at the centre of academic attention. This can result in the erasure of the intellectual and activist production that has been developed in various other locations in ‘most of the world’ (Madhok 2021) including before its temporal localisation in the 1990s and beyond the English language (see Bonet-Martí 2021; Corrêa 2022a; Obst 2022; Morán Faúndes 2019). Second, the implicit construction of certain spaces as *non cases* of anti-gender politics might end up ‘strengthen[ing] the hand of those for whom opposing “gender ideology” is part of demarcating borders’ (Çağatay 2019). The very meanings of gender, feminism, and woman are arenas of contention, wherein competing claims about their proper objects and attempts to fix them into stable, exclusionary definitions, seem to be part of the restorative, hetero-patriarchal project of the anti-gender crusade, whose forms of expression are further analysed in the book. While we and the contributors of this volume do not claim to offer a corrective to tell necessarily a better and truer story (Hemmings 2011), we do contend that challenging both the epistemic and geopolitical boundaries that seem to saturate scholarly conversations on anti-gender ideology does the work of revealing new ways of making sense of and resisting these attacks in their current expression.

Such a perspective is particularly important in a context in which the strategic use of an ‘anti-colonial’ frame is used as a powerful discursive device by anti-gender ideologues and state propaganda in a range of contexts. Several of the chapters in this volume focus on anti-gender attempts of painting feminist, queer, and gender-based critiques and struggles as ‘foreign’, ‘colonial’, and/or ‘imperial’ imports. They show the harm that such cynical appropriation of anti-colonial discourse does in sites such as Uganda and South Africa (see Nyanzi, McEwen, this volume), the Persian Gulf region (see Almazidi, this volume), South Asia (see Amirali, Minj and Pandit, this volume) as well as Central and Eastern Europe (see Rédaï, this volume)—and the double bind that these put local feminist actors in. As Alia Amirali, Mauro Cabral Grinspan, Jules Gill-Peterson and Stella Nyanzi

warn us in the roundtable published in this volume,<sup>2</sup> the framing of ‘gender’ as a Western imposition by anti-feminist actors not only appropriates important de- and anti-colonial work but can also force us to simplistically defend a troublesome category like gender which has been historically used as a tool of colonial and racial governance. The focus on problematising ‘origin stories’ then, is about contesting either-or positions and showing the importance of troubling both the colonial and imperial histories of gender and anti-gender, while calling out the use of such perspectives for nationalist and anti-feminist endeavours.

### RE-LOCATING THE POLITICS OF ANTI-GENDER ATTACKS

Rethinking the origins of anti-gender politics through a transnational frame also troubles our understanding of the assumed key sources, strategies, and actors—the networks, parties, and movements—behind these attacks. Agnieszka Graff, Ratna Kapur, and Suzanna Danuta Walters (2019) have traced how transnational right-wing movements have become key players in (anti-)gender politics in places as diverse as Argentina, Brazil, Germany, India, Ireland, the Philippines, Russia, Turkey, and the US. They show how these movements actively oppose critical feminist and queer analyses which seek to challenge naturalised understandings of gender and sexual norms, and instead, aim to restore such norms and racial, ethnic, or religious superiority. Building on this key intervention, this book continues the project of studying anti-gender politics transnationally by highlighting that anti-gender mobilisations are by no means confined to religious and/or right-wing actors. Instead, anti-gender politics need to be understood as a wider and more complex formation that also draws from centrist, liberal, leftist, secular, and even supposedly feminist argumentations. In countries like Germany, for instance, ‘gender ideology’ has long been ridiculed from across the political spectrum with liberal magazines and commentators targeting gender-neutral language, trans rights and gender studies as aberrations of common sense (Hark and Villa 2015, Holzberg, this volume). Similarly, in her contribution to this book, Nour Almazidi shows how in the Persian Gulf it is not just fundamentalist religious actors but also coalitions between conservative religious and civil society actors, human rights, and nonprofit organisations that are targeting queer movements, and that have led to the silencing of local queer feminist activism.

<sup>2</sup>The chapter is an edited version of an online roundtable that took place on 25 March 2022.

In other contexts, it has been more clearly leftist positions that have turned on ‘gender’ as a problem to be corrected. In their contribution, Daniela Meneses Sala and Corina Rueda-Borrero analyse the 2021 elections in Peru to show how right-wing and liberal, as well as the successful leftist candidate Pedro Castillo, all positioned themselves against ‘gender ideology’ to stir up support for their parties, while advocating for specific ideas around gender that produce women and LGBTI+ people as vulnerable victims that need to be managed by the state. Anti-gender narratives, then, can also be found in some leftist political movements that have built their platform, partly in opposition to the politics of gender and sexuality. A common leftist narrative circulating in the US and the UK, for instance, blames the rise of the populist right seen in the Brexit vote and the election of Trump on a weakened left that, so the story goes, has become obsessed with ‘identity politics’ and the cultural politics of gender and sexuality over the concrete material struggles of class and political economy (Lehtonen 2023). As a result, it is suggested that the real concerns of the ‘left behind’—imagined as white male working classes—are ignored and their frustration manifests in a turn to the nationalist right. This narrative ignores both the reality that working classes in these contexts are disproportionately made up of racialised people, in particular women of colour (Bhambra 2017), and the key interventions of transnational Black and Marxist feminist thought and organising that highlight gender and sexuality as material structures that cannot be separated from the politics of class, and race, especially in the present crises of racial capitalism (Davis et al. 2022; Bhattacharya 2017; Gill-Peterson, this volume).

The push against ‘gender’ as a complex intersectional and radical project can also be observed in some liberal feminist movements that, while championing the advent of women’s rights and equality, are rallying against the ‘rise of gender ideology’. Chelsea Szendi Schieder (2019), for instance, documents a shift in Japan from an interest in gender studies as a critical mode to understand social inequality and oppression to a more neoliberal, pro-diversity rhetoric of female empowerment at universities in the service of economic growth. She argues that the ensuing attacks on gender studies and feminist movements seen as having gone ‘too far’ come from some of the same people involved in earlier campaigns of ‘women’s emancipation’—most clearly embodied in the figure of the former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe dedicated to new forms of ‘womenomics’. Similarly, in their chapter for this volume, Scarlett Yee-man NG and Zhifeng Chen show how the ‘Chinese party-state strategically adopts gender equality

discourse as a means to achieve population development, economic growth, and national stability yet has little actual interest nor commitment to advancing women's equality in both public and private spheres'. While some formal feminist ideas have become part of the state rationale, the regime simultaneously punishes people who fail to comply with this exercise of nation-building by diverting from productive heteronormative gender roles.

Some of the most vicious and potentially surprising attacks on gender, however, have come from feminist actors themselves. Specifically in the UK, we can see the formation of self-declared 'gender critical' feminists who have mobilised in the name of biologically essentialist understandings of gender as sex to attack trans and non-binary people (GATE 2022; Pearce et al. 2020). While there seems to be something specific to the growth of anti-trans feminism in the UK, anti-gender feminisms can be found in contexts as diverse as Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Mexico (Campana et al. 2022; Guerrero Mc Manus and Stone Neuhouser 2023; Ortiz Ordóñez et al. 2023), Japan (Yamada 2022), Nigeria (Camminga 2020), Spain (Obst and Ablett, this volume), and Turkey (Özlen 2020). Despite differences in their specific articulations, all these developments operate by 'conjuring a moral panic around the breakdown of conventional notions of sex/gender' (Pearce et al. 2020, 682). They work as a discursive means for keeping their distinction in place as a commonsensical truth, producing *sex* as 'biological or material reality' and *gender* as social construct, subjective and, even, *merely cultural*, delinked from other axes of power such as race, class, caste, and disability (Pearce et al. 2020, 679). As Sara Ahmed (2021) asserts, this discursive operation aims at turning gender 'into a stranger', and with it all 'those who are assumed to rely on a category for their existence'. Sex, in this context, 'is used tactically' and 'turned into a project' (Ahmed 2021). In doing so, gender and, we would argue, gender studies, are 'turned into a conspiracy' by gender critical activists, who insist on the 'immutability of sex' (Ahmed 2021).

Ironically, some of these anti-gender logics even play out in the scholarship on anti-gender ideology itself. Some perspectives in anti-gender scholarship suggest that it is queer feminist definitions of gender as 'gender identity' that have given fuel to anti-gender dynamics, asserting a fictional divide between a structural versus an identity-based feminist agenda. As Erzsébet Barát (2022, 186) points out in the context of Hungary, in this strand of anti-gender scholarship, as in the case of the 'gender critical project', the search for consensus around the *correct* meaning of gender,

understood as ‘gender roles attached to biological sex’, operates as a political truth project that reiterates exactly the biologically essentialist framing of a naturalised gender binary that right-wing nationalist movements like that of Orbán are relying on. Her study highlights that, while the analysis that queer feminist perspectives are often most viciously attacked might be correct, the insinuation that queer feminist perspectives should therefore be rejected within feminist activism so as not to put off right-wing actors and to ensure liberal gains for some (mostly white cis-heterosexual) women, means not only throwing many marginalised people in the movement under the bus; it also means discarding some of the most powerful epistemological tools we have for dissecting and contesting contemporary anti-gender movements.

After all, returning to ‘true’ meanings of gender does little to circumvent the wider cis-heteronormative nationalist projects that anti-gender attacks are embedded in, nor does it help to protect women’s rights. As Alev Özkazanç (this volume) shows in her work on the repeal of the Istanbul Convention in Turkey in 2021, it is often through exploiting potential fissures in the feminist movement that state projects of ‘masculinist restoration’ (Kandiyoti 2016) in Turkey operate. Given the widespread support for initiatives against violence against women in society, even in parts of the Erdoğan regime, Özkazanç charts how anti-gender actors stirred up moral panics claiming that by using the term ‘gender’ the Convention ‘endorses LGBTI+ “perversity”’. In light of these homophobic and transphobic techniques, Özkazanç argues that the only chance for the feminist movements to resist the wider erosion of women’s rights in Turkey is to be in solidarity with the LGBTI+ rights movement. Moreover, in his chapter, Billy Holzberg shows that attacks on ‘gender’ in places like Germany need to be understood as part of wider racist and nationalist projects. Focusing on the anti-gender logics embedded in transnational conspiracies of the ‘Great Replacement’—which proclaims a population swap through mass migration and the decline of national birth rates engineered by conspirational elites—he shows how anti-gender actors aim to cement a naturalised sex/gender binary and mobilise demographic and ultimately eugenicist arguments to strengthen the white nuclear family as the backbone of the nation. A cutting out of queer, trans, and intersectional understandings of gender that exactly question the association of the heteronormative family with that of the white nation would do little to resist this dynamic and instead play directly into the discursive and affective dynamics that fuel anti-gender politics today.

Pointing out that anti-gender attacks also come from ostensibly feminist, liberal, and/or leftist positions, should not be misunderstood as saying that these actually enact feminist, leftist, and/or liberatory politics, or that the main centres of attack do not continue to be right-wing nationalist movements. In contrast, and in response to transnational anti-gender politics, scholars like Sara Ahmed (2021), Judith Butler (2021), Serena Bassi and Greta LaFleur (2022), as well as several of the authors in this volume, are increasingly relying on the concept of fascism to describe the political effects as well as the affective and ideological life of anti-gender politics. We can understand the convergences between outspokenly fascist right-wing and other forms of anti-gender politics as what Graff and Korolczuk (2021) have described as ‘opportunistic synergy’. The key problem with such convergences is how presumably progressive positions can play into right-wing projects. It is in this vein that Butler has recently suggested that the key problem with ‘gender critical’ feminists is that they ‘will not be part of the contemporary struggle against fascism, one that requires a coalition guided by struggles against racism, nationalism, xenophobia and carceral violence, one that is mindful of the high rates of femicide throughout the world, which include high rates of attacks on trans and genderqueer people’ (2021, as cited in Gleeson 2021)<sup>3</sup>—just like leftist positions that reject intersectional analyses for single-issue politics will do little to contest the increasingly authoritarian present we find ourselves in.

We can, however, also understand these convergences as not just opportunist synergies but also in how they share similar ideological and affective logics productive of potentially fascist politics. Clare Hemmings (2020) has captured some of the affective logics that underlie the current rise of anti-gender politics. She describes the feeling of being ‘under threat’ as key to how anti-gender politics positions sexist white cis-heteronormativity as ‘the besieged, rather than the routine agent of misogynist, homophobic or racist violence’ (31). This affective reversal of how power dynamics are experienced is exemplified in Dorottya Rédei’s contribution to this volume, where she shows how the notion of the ‘innocent child to be protected’ is exploited by anti-gender actors in Hungary as a fear-mongering

<sup>3</sup>This quote is taken from Butler’s interview with the Guardian UK. Soon after its publication, the British newspaper decided to redact the interview between queer historian Jules Gleeson and Butler (2021), omitting the question and answer about the antifascist implications of Butler’s work from the published version.

strategy to demonise LGBTI+ people, which is discursively achieved through the construction of the figure of the ‘paedophile monster’. She convincingly shows how this strategy is manufactured to defend the traditional family and distract people from the actual problem of child sexual abuse: given that the majority of the cases occurred within the heterosexual nuclear family, Rédai argues, the Fidesz government needed a scapegoat to protect the structure of the normative family from being questioned and displacing the suspicion onto LGBTI+ people. With this, the reversal of power dynamics is complete: queer people are the perpetrators, the threat to be defended against.

In many ways, the convergences between right-wing politics and neo-fascist sentiments, and their entanglements with misogyny, racism, homo- and transphobia are not surprising. After all, if transnational and intersectional feminism has taught us anything, gender is never just about gender but is always inflected by hierarchies of race, class, nation, and sexuality. If gender is never just about gender, then it follows that anti-gender attacks are also never just about, or rather against, gender. Jana Cattien (2023) has warned against a singular focus on gender in anti-gender scholarship arguing that anti-gender movements in places like Germany do not ‘care less about their racial privileges than their gender privileges but that, in a context of German “race” and colonial denial, the marginalization of antiracist claims is constitutive of the political status quo in a way that the marginalization of antisexism is not’ (828). Her intervention highlights that ‘gender’ in itself cannot be the corrective to anti-gender politics but that we need more intersectional responses grounded in anti-racist politics. Her intervention reiterates the wider insight that a sole focus on ‘gender’ or ‘woman’ as a normative and unitary category that tends to focus on the most privileged women won’t get us far in understanding or combatting anti-gender attacks as it easily slips back into nationalist and conservative projects (see also Farris 2017; O’Sullivan and Krulišová 2020; Abu-Lughod 2013; Phipps 2021).

Instead, we need to build on the expansive archive of intersectional, post- and decolonial, trans and queer feminisms. From this perspective, anti-gender attacks are understood as part of the defence and production of the wider power structures of racial capitalism, colonialism, and re-emerging fascisms. As Alyosxa Tudor (2021, 238) has highlighted in their work on anti-gender from a decolonial feminist perspective, gender is ‘always already trans’. As such, the move against ‘gender’ as critical heuristic and political practice needs to be understood not just as a reactive but

as an ongoing productive project aimed at cementing a sex-gender system inherent in colonial ideas of Western modernity (Lugones 2007; Oyěwùmí 1997). Pushing against anti-gender attacks, then, can also not mean defending ‘gender’ in its white, and ultimately, colonial definition (see also Amiralí, Cabral Grinspan, Gill-Peterson, Nyanzi, this volume). Instead, we need a more contextual intersectional understanding of anti-gender politics that pays close attention to the wider power dynamics that such attacks are embedded in and that it comes to cement.

### RETHINKING CONCEPTUAL VOCABULARIES

If a transnational frame troubles the temporal and political narratives we tell about anti-gender politics today, it also helps us further rework and refine our conceptual vocabularies to make sense of and resist these politics. Jules Gill-Peterson states in the concluding chapter that our task as scholars and activists is ‘about learning from different struggles and connecting dots’. This entails recognising that what we know about anti-gender politics has emerged from debates, differences, and collaboration, and not through one single, consensual voice or foundational moment. As Mieke Verloo and David Paternotte argue (2018, 2): ‘instead of promoting vague and catch-all categories such as “populism”, “global right” or even “democracy”, or assuming a mere export of US oppositional dynamics’, we need to amend and re-assess existing ones with the aim of ‘apprehend[ing] transnational and global trends while accounting for local specificity and acknowledging the agency of local actors’. Or as Selin Çağatay suggests we need ‘to vernacularize existing knowledge[s] while forging global frames of analysis in relation to imperialism, [coloniality], neoliberalism, and [cis-]heteronormative patriarchy’ (2019). In doing so, our book complicates and expands some of the core concepts that have been key to understanding the phenomenon under investigation.

#### *Backlash*

A key term that has followed—itched and haunted—us throughout writing and editing this book is the concept of ‘backlash’, used as one of the key frameworks to make sense of what is happening with anti-gender politics today. As Fernando Serrano (2017) has pointed out in the context of Colombia, one problem with this concept is that it frames these attacks as purely reactive phenomena, underestimating how anti-gender politics are also productive projects that imagine, produce, and enact specific visions of



sex/gender, family and the nation, working also as an articulating point for collective action. To draw out this productive element of anti-gender politics, scholars like Catherine Kath Browne and Jean Nash (2017), José Manuel Morán Faúndes (2018), Emmanuel Theumer (2018), and Valentina Stutzin and Lelya Troncoso (2019) have suggested alternative frames to that of ‘anti-gender’ such as ‘heteroactivism’ and ‘heteropatriarchal activism’ to highlight the spatial politics of oppositional activism to sexual and gender rights, as well as the nostalgic affects and restorative political project these actors actively defend. In their chapter, Daniela Meneses Sala and Corina Rueda-Borrero show that although opposition to ‘gender ideology’ was an important factor in the 2021 Peruvian elections, the three most-voted candidates mobilised a particular notion of gender that serves the purpose of preserving a specific sex/gender order. Therefore, rather than analysing only the weight of anti-gender ideology discourses as a fear-mongering strategy in the electoral campaign, the authors suggested shifting the analytical focus from the reactive dimension of anti-gender politics to what is being defended. They highlight that the inclusion of certain women and LGBTI+ people in the state apparatus is conditional on them aligning themselves with a politics of respectability that contributes to the reproduction of the nation within a familiaristic logic.

In his reflections on the trouble with the concept of backlash, Paternotte (2020) has further drawn some of the key epistemic and political problems of this concept. He shows how it relies on a ‘rather mechanical understanding of history according to which certain actions would—almost automatically—unleash a counter-offensive’. Furthermore, he suggests, the notion of backlash underestimates the variety of different actors involved in anti-gender politics and maybe, most importantly, how some uses of the concept are in danger of separating gender and sexual politics from the wider nationalist and authoritarian projects that attacks on gender are often embedded in (Paternotte 2020). Another key problem of the ‘backlash’ narrative from a transnational perspective that this volume highlights is how the concept of backlash can re-cement Eurocentric origin stories that ultimately harm rather than help feminist, queer, and trans movements in the Global South (see also Raghavan 2021). As Nour Almazidi (this volume) points out in her reflections on anti-gender politics in the Persian Gulf, the idea of anti-gender politics being a mere reaction to the rise of feminist and queer progress can play into the hands of oppositional forces in the region. Such rhetoric reaffirms the narratives of local conservative forces that try to paint feminist and queer politics as a ‘foreign’ force that needs to be resisted through an ‘anti-gender backlash’. In

doing so, the narrative of the backlash participates in erasing the queer decolonial politics (Alqaisiya 2023) that exist in the region and that try to push back against the anti-gender politics in the Gulf, while also resisting the often homonationalist and neo-imperialist forms of international LGBTI+ activism.

Moreover, what a transnational perspective shows is that anti-gender politics in the Global South are often not a simple ‘backlash’ to Western forms of feminist and queer politics but rather emerge in complex conjunction between local and international politics. In her chapter on sex education campaigns in Southern and Western Africa, Haley McEwen shows how many of these are supported and funded through transatlantic ‘pro-family’ advocacy networks that often have their seat and funding spot in the US. Borrowing from the work of Rahul Rao (2014) she shows how these networks have created spaces in which ‘imperial collaboration’ and ‘anti-colonial nationalism’ unite, and which can be used by African political and religious leaders seeking to gain power. Rather than anti-gender politics being a ‘backlash’ to or a mere imposition by Western actors, McEwen’s chapter reveals the complex transnational networks that link local to international actors. An explicitly transnational approach then works to contest simple backlash ideas which can fuel colonial imaginaries that exceptionalise Africa as a specifically ‘homophobic continent’.

Instead of the concept of backlash from a transnational perspective we might better trace connections, convergences, and entanglements that emerge from close attention to the local articulations of anti-gender politics while situating them in a wider global context. In this regard, Marcel Obst and Liz Ablett argue for ‘the study of situated knowledges that emerge from empirical investigations’ in their quest to account for the *messiness* of the field. In their chapter, they give equal value to scholars’ conceptual efforts to grasp ‘the tangle of localised and transnational connections’ that shapes the Spanish anti-gender landscape, as well as the importance of studying them empirically. In that sense, they suggest, more inductive approaches are needed; conceptual questions need to be responded to in dialogue with the lived experiences of those who use and/or contest specific languages and terminologies.

### *Symbolic Glue*

Other key concepts that have been used to make sense of the multifarious campaigns of anti-gender politics, specifically in Europe, are terms like ‘symbolic glue’ (Kováts and Põim 2015; Grzebalska et al. 2017) and

‘empty signifier’ (Mayer and Sauer 2017; Graff and Korolczuk 2021). In this body of work, gender is understood as an enabler of ‘discourse coalitions’ (Edenborg 2021) for otherwise disparate political movements, alliances, and oppositional strategies. This expression, that gender operates as a symbolic glue, has the value that it helps us to capture the multiple political projects and opportunistic synergies that come together through the shared enemy of ‘gender’, ‘gender theory’, or ‘gender ideology’. It also allows us to see how gender is and can be used as a ‘scapegoat’ and ‘mobiliser’ for other struggles and structural problems such as the economic devastation of wide parts of the globe through neoliberal policies over the last decades.

What ironically can get missed through a primarily, if not exclusive, focus on the symbolic, however, are the material ways in which gender itself operates. Our approach to transnational anti-gender politics understands gender and sexuality as also material rather than *merely* cultural spheres of life (Butler 1997), and it aligns with the transnational feminist work centred in materialist understandings of feminist and queer politics (e.g. Bhattacharya 2017; Olufemi 2020; Salem 2018). A focus on the material, of course, includes the material networks and financial flows of anti-gender campaigns, as discussed by Haley McEwan in this volume who shows how US-based ‘pro-family’ organisations like the *Family Watch International* that sponsor campaigns against sex education in South Africa and Uganda—often through transnational pro-family coalitions and networks, including Agenda Europe, the UN Family Rights Caucus, and the World Congress of Families. Likewise, Marcel Obst and Liz Ablett outline in their chapter some of the transnational synergies present in the Spanish anti-gender scene, stressing the existing cross-border collaborations between the Catholic Church, the Trans-Atlantic platform Political Network for Values,<sup>4</sup> the far-right party Vox and the ultra-catholic organisation *HazteOír*. The latter was responsible for the exportation of

<sup>4</sup>At the time of writing, the current president of the Political Network for Values is the Chilean former presidential candidate and far-right politician José Antonio Kast, whose presidential programme had well-established connections with other ultra-conservative organisations linked with the political base of Donald Trump, Jair Bolsonaro, Victor Orbán, and Vox in Spain (see Vivaldi, this volume). In 2017, and with the financial aid of the US Christian advocacy group Alliance Defending Freedom, Kast was one of the signatories of the ‘Mexican Declaration’, which was instrumental to launching the Hemispheric Congress of Parliamentarians aimed at lobbying governments to prevent them from legislating in favour of ‘gender ideology’ (Ramírez 2019).

various campaigns including the circulation of the so-called freedom bus with banners against trans rights, which has made its way into other Spanish-speaking countries such as Chile, and translated into English for circulation in the US. Similar mapping work of material and financial flows has been and is currently done by scholars, activists, journalists and human rights and advocacy organisations like the Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, Global Philanthropy Project, Global Action for Trans Equality, Sexuality Policy Watch, the Association for Women's Rights in Development, the European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights, and the journalist project *Transnacionales de la Fe* (Transnationals of Faith) among others.

Yet, a material perspective also includes a focus on the material logics and effects that anti-gender politics have in the contemporary present. This material dimension is represented clearly in the erosion of gendered violence protections agreed upon in the Istanbul Convention in Turkey as analysed by Alev Özkazanç in this volume, as well as in the devastating effects of anti-abortion activism in Chile as that discussed by Lieta Vivaldi. Vivaldi shows how the COVID pandemic has facilitated the conditions for the strengthening of the links between what she calls 'reactionary biopolitics' and anti-gender attacks by making the struggle for access to safe abortions and contraception an almost impossible task. In that way, she suggests, life and women's bodies become an ideal to defend in anti-abortion activism only in their reproductive capacity. The lives of those who want to pursue an abortion are therefore rendered non-essential and not worthy of protection, which is particularly critical in a context where the abortion law has been slowly implemented and fiercely resisted. The material can also be seen in the material focus of anti-gender politics in the UK focused on constricting the body of the transgender individual. While all of these anti-gender politics, of course, also often used strategically to cement wider conservative and nationalist projects, they do follow and cement their own material logics, focussed on the erosion of people's access to rights, healthcare, and protection. An exclusive focus on the symbolic, then, can downplay the embodied realities of people that are framed as the living representatives of 'gender'. This includes marginalised women and intersectional feminist actors as well as trans, non-binary, intersex, and queer people (see Cabral Grinspan and Gill-Peterson, this volume).

A focus on the material can also help us attend more closely to the demographic, reproductive, and racial policies that get enshrined through anti-gender politics. In his examination of conspiracies of the Great

Replacement, Billy Holzberg shows how gender does not simply function as a ‘symbolic glue’ that ties together seemingly disparate positions. Instead, by focusing on the racial, demographic, and ultimately eugenic politics embedded in great replacement conspiracies, he reveals how ‘gender’ if operationalised as an intersectional feminist project operates as an actual material impediment to the reproduction of the nation as white and heterosexual. By highlighting the reproductive logics that drive contemporary anti-gender politics, he shows how ‘racist and anti-feminist argumentations are not just symbolically linked but intersect materially to produce violent effects on the level of society and state policy’. Gender then is not just a symbolic element that political groups use to form new coalitions and align seemingly disparate positions, a cause for something else, but a material target in itself that anti-gender forces aim to overcome or destruct.

### *Anti-Gender Politics*

A transnational focus does not only ask for a careful revision of key terms used within scholarship on anti-gender politics but also the frame of anti-gender politics itself. As several contributors to this volume point out, we need to put a question mark behind the question to what extent ‘anti-gender’ is actually the concept that is best able to capture the different phenomena brought together under its umbrella. While in European and Latin American contexts like Germany, France, Peru, Chile, Brazil, and Hungary ‘gender’ or ‘gender ideology’ are clearly named and understood as the focus of attacks, in China, Pakistan, or India, ‘gender’ is mentioned yet less clearly invoked as the only threat. Instead, many of the attacks develop in conjunction with wider anti-feminist, anti-queer, and anti-trans politics. In their chapter on Spain, Marcel Obst and Liz Ablett further share their uneasiness with having to choose ‘one overriding concept’ to analyse the Spanish anti-gender landscape, especially when the language of anti-gender, which has been primarily used to account for right-wing, religious conservative oppositional forces, is used in an attempt to stretch its meaning to accounting for anti-gender actors that fall outside this framework, like left-wing anti-trans feminist activists.

This call for conceptual openness is at odds with the scholarly account that sees anti-gender as a radically new and different political project as cited in the work of Andrea Pető (2021) above. While we agree that there is something new about the ways in which anti-gender politics have

operated and spread over the last decade, separating them so clearly from anti-feminist politics is in danger of cutting important historical lineages but also of separating struggles in other parts of the world from attention, by relegating them to a different temporality—an anti-feminist ‘before’ anti-gender politics in ‘most of the world’. It is in reaction to these epistemic dangers, that scholars like Judith Goetz and Stefanie Mayer (2023) have opted for the frame of anti-feminism to describe global attacks on gender equality and diversity. Their intervention shows how much is to be gained through a wider focus on anti-feminism as it allows for a more global analysis across different geographical and temporal locations. Yet, simply reverting to the old frame of anti-feminism also carries the danger of underestimating that there *is* something different about the contemporary articulations of anti-gender positions and their transnational reach. After all, the transnational objections and normative claims against a range of feminist and queer mobilisations are more often than not held together by their identification of ‘gender’—as a concept, a political project, a theory or ‘ideology’ imposed from the outside—that constitutes a threat to the nation as a cis-heteronormative and racially and/or ethnically homogeneous space.

For that reason, and thinking with Madhok (2021, 67) we opt for understanding *transnational anti-gender politics* as an open analytic that cannot be subsumed to simple either-or framings, and that confronts us with the challenge ‘to shift the direction of conceptual travel movement from the “global to the local”’. As Obst and Ablett suggest in their chapter, while we acknowledge the analytical productivity of ‘anti-gender’ as an umbrella term, we need to be wary of not ‘straining this concept’ excessively but instead being open to working with a ‘richer conceptual constellation’ that prevents us from the risk of asking our conceptual apparatuses to *stretch to fit* all the contexts. This use of a transnational approach to anti-gender politics allows us to trace and connect a wide range of interconnected actors: elected officials; political and religious leaders; well-organised transnational and/or local civil society organisations; loosely bounded interest groups including parents’ networks and online communities of so-called men’s rights and ‘gender critical’ activists; as well as academics, journalists, and public intellectuals. A transnational approach also enables us to see that, despite their local diversity, current opposition to gender repeat common sets of objections: they are against sexual and reproductive health and rights, such as access to abortion or comprehensive sex education; against women’s protections from domestic violence,

such as through divorce and child custody law; against the realisation or improvement of LGBTI+ rights such as equal marriage or the right to self-determine gender identity; and against gender mainstreaming strategies in institutions, languages, and electoral politics. Their objections coalesce around a by-now familiar set of claims to be acting in defence of wider ‘traditional values’ such as the (heteronormatively and traditionally understood) family, marriage, and the child; of biological sex, nature, and (heterosexual and cisgender) womanhood; science, common sense, and intellectual authority; and the nation framed as a homogenous and essentialist entity under threat from destructive forces.

Our contention in this volume is that much can be gained through such a transnational project. After all, anti-gender networks are already doing the work of connecting and collaborating, of sharing strategies, funding, and ideas across the globe. This means that we cannot afford not to do so. Rather than getting distracted by the multiple heads of the hydra, we likewise need to connect ideas, share strategies, and resources to confront the monster in its entirety.

## ORGANISATION OF THE BOOK

While most of the chapters focus on, or are grounded in, the analysis of a specific national context, the transnational approach of the volume allows us to highlight connections and convergences in terms of actors, their funding system, targets and normative foundations based in resurgent nationalisms, coloniality, and racial capitalism. The book is arranged in three sections, constructed by theme rather than geographic regions to show how anti-gender politics are linked and operate transnationally: firstly, on the level of the state and electoral politics, secondly, on the level of civil society and social networks and thirdly, on the level of knowledge production, affect, and ideology.

The chapters in the first part of the book focus on political movements and state projects involved in anti-gender mobilisations. In Chap. 2, Alev Özkazanç charts contemporary anti-gender politics involving the Turkish state as a crisis of masculine power. In Chap. 3, Scarlett Yee-man Ng and Zhifeng Chen interrogate the Chinese party state’s selective use of gender equality rhetoric. The part closes with Daniela Meneses Sala and Corina Rueda-Borrero’s analysis in Chap. 4 of anti-gender rhetoric in the Peruvian 2021 presidential elections. Scholars of anti-gender politics have rightly sounded the alarm over the formal political gains that anti-gender political

actors have made in different locations across the world. Together, the chapters in this part trace the ways in which right-wing, as well as some leftist and other political actors have used the power of the state to enact anti-gender politics, showing how these enactments take place differently in different contexts and, in doing so, they end up revealing their ambivalent nature.

The second part of this book analyses civil society actors, together with a varied range of grassroots groups and activist networks engaged in anti-gender movements, collective action, and liberatory politics. In Chap. 5, Haley McEwen traces the transnational networks involved in attacks on comprehensive sexuality education in East and Southern Africa. In Chap. 6, Nolina S. Minj and Niharika Pandit interrogate anti-gender and anti-feminist politics under rising right-wing authoritarianism in India. Dorottya Rédei, in turn, examines contestations around sex education in Hungary in Chap. 7. Closing off the part is Lieta Vivaldi's contribution in Chap. 8 on feminist organising in response to anti-gender and anti-abortion campaigns in Chile. The chapters in this part, then, show how anti-gender laws and policies are not simply introduced by state and government bodies, but are contested by a range of civil society actors in their resistance to rising authoritarian forces and autocratic leaders.

The third part of the book shifts focus from actors to highlighting the epistemic frames, knowledge projects and discourses that enable anti-gender movements to operate, troubling the conceptual vocabularies we use to counter them. The part begins with Billy Holzberg's interrogation of the conceptual work that 'the great replacement' conspiracy does in enabling anti-gender logics in the German context in Chap. 9. In the following chapter, Nour Almazidi examines the epistemic frames of anti-gender politics in the Persian Gulf. In Chap. 11, Marcel Obst and Liz Ablett engage critically with the conceptual frames used to understand anti-gender politics, drawing from grounded fieldwork in Spain. As the contributions to this part demonstrate, at the core of anti-gender politics are epistemic and affective contestations with material effects that are often made invisible in dominant scholarly literature.

The book closes with a recounting of a roundtable event with Alia Amirali, Mauro Cabral Grinspan, Jules Gill-Peterson and Stella Nyanzi, facilitated by Haley McEwen. In Chap. 12, they engage in a conversation, drawing from both activist and academic perspectives on work in Pakistan, Argentina, the US, and Uganda, as well as the institutions of global governance, around organising against such attacks. The discussants here urge



us to think not only in reactive terms—what can we do in the face of such attacks—but importantly also help us envision alternative political imaginaries and renewed world-making practices.

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