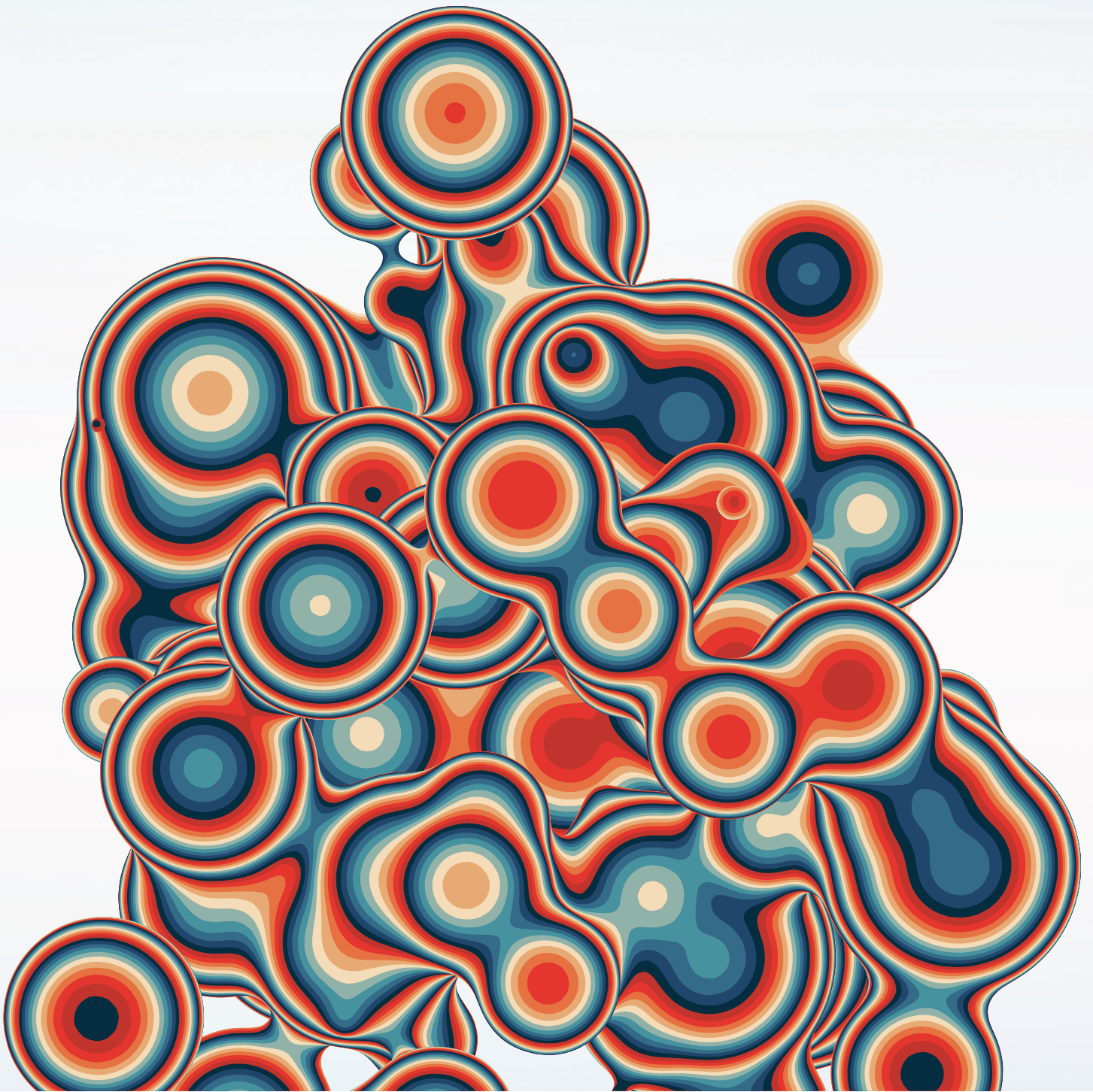
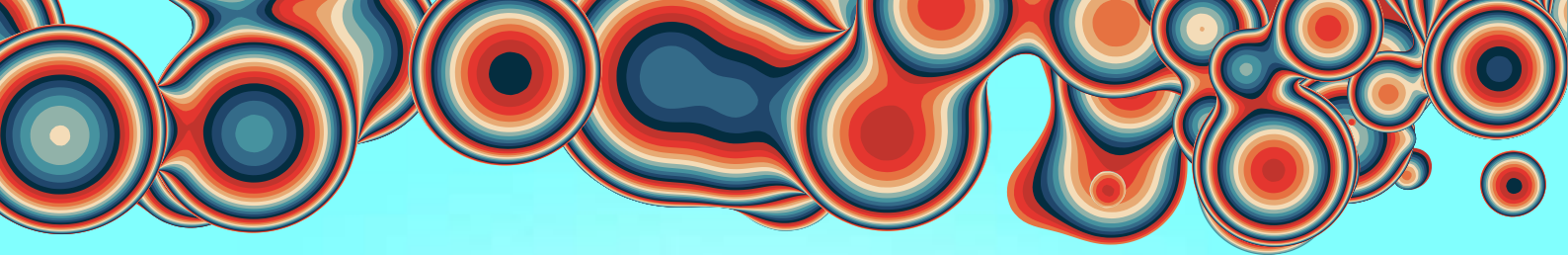




Mapping Anti-gender Movements in the UK

Summary Report





Copyright © 2022 GATE

This work may be reproduced and redistributed, in whole or in part, without alteration and without prior written permission, solely for non-profit advocacy and/or educational purposes provided all copies contain the following statement:

© 2022 GATE. This work is reproduced and distributed with the permission of GATE. No other use is permitted without the express prior written permission of GATE. For permission, contact gate@gate.ngo

Author: GATE

Design and Layout: Kira Xonorika

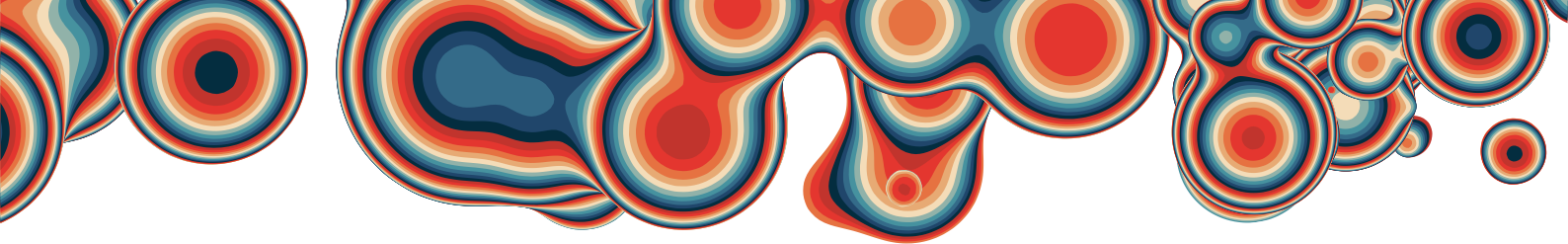
Suggested citation:

GATE (2022) Mapping Anti-gender Movements in the UK. New York: GATE.

About GATE

GATE is an international advocacy organization working towards justice and equality for trans, gender diverse and intersex communities. Rooted in our movements, we work collaboratively with strategic partners at the global level to provide knowledge, resources and access to international institutions and processes. Our vision is a world free from human rights violations based on gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics. Our strategy is to transform the landscape of global advocacy, knowledge creation and resource distribution through critical inclusion of trans, gender diverse and intersex movements at all levels of political, legal and socio-economic processes.

Find out more about GATE by visiting www.gate.ngo



PREFACE

This summary report makes part of a broader mapping project commissioned by Global Action for Trans Equality (GATE). The project was focused on the United Kingdom (UK) as one of various global hotspots, where anti-gender movements have enjoyed increased efficacy in the past few years. GATE wished to know more about the actors involved, their approaches, impact, and responses GATE and others might offer. Wider mapping work by GATE and partners, was also undertaken in Spain (country research), and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean (regional research).

Findings presented in this brief summary report are informed by desk review, including a detailed social network mapping of 368 anti-gender and linked actors in the UK and internationally, and 1,036 relationships between them. These were analysed using Gephi, open-source social network analysis software. Initial research was conducted in December 2020-February 2021. Additional mapping work to add to, test, and verify findings was also undertaken in May-June 2021.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	1
ACRONYMS AND TERMS	1
INTRODUCTION	2
Trans rights in the UK	2
Broad impact of anti-gender mobilisations in the UK	3
In focus: campaign to reform the Gender Recognition Act	3
Cultural and political context	4
Scope and methodology	6
Limitations	7
KEY FINDINGS	7
Actors	7
Approaches	8
ACTORS AND APPROACHES: MAPPING AND OVERVIEW	9
Main groups	9
Discussion	9
CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RESPONSES	12
Concluding remarks	12
Responses	13
ENDNOTES.....	14
REFERENCES.....	16

ACRONYMS AND TERMS

CSE	Comprehensive Sexuality Education
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
GATE	Global Action for Trans Equality
GRA	Gender Recognition Act
LGB	Lesbian, Gay, and Bi
LGBTIQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Trans, Intersex, and Queer
LGR	Legal Gender Recognition
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

INTRODUCTION

Trans rights in the UK

Over the past two decades, the UK has commonly performed amongst the best of states globally for its Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Trans, Intersex, and Queer (LGBTIQ+) rights record. This has set a strong example of a country which is accepting of LGBTIQ+ people and rights. Whilst this is still broadly the case, the UK's record on trans and intersex equality is of increasing concern amongst LGBTIQ+ communities and advocates in the UK, and elsewhere¹. A growing range of states now have stronger laws for trans and intersex communities, leaving the UK moving down international indexes tracking LGBTIQ+ equality. For example, the UK currently ranks 10th out of 49 states mapped by ILGA Europe on their LGBTI rights record; down from 1st during 2011-2015.² Stronger legal measures for trans people are on the books in at least 13 states worldwide, where, for example, trans people do not require a medical or psychological diagnosis or opinion to access Legal Gender Recognition (LGR).³ Whilst key UK legislation such as the Gender Recognition Act (GRA, 2004) was progressive when it was drafted, it now falls below standards set by these laws. This is the background for campaigning by LGBTIQ+ and human rights Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the UK, who recognised a need for UK law to improve.⁴

In general, anti-gender movements appear to be out of step with the views of the British public. Recent polls show:

- 70% of Britons believe trans people face discrimination, with a quarter of those (26%) saying they face a great deal (IPSOS MORI 2020).
- 69% of UK respondents say, 'transgender people are brave' and 81% say they 'should be protected from discrimination by the Government' (IPSOS MORI 2018).
- Almost four times as many women (66%) are 'comfortable' rather than 'uncomfortable' (17%) with 'trans men and women using public toilets corresponding to their gender identity' (Morgan et al 2020).

At the same time, there is some evidence that attitudes have become slightly less accepting in recent years⁵:

- In 2016, 58% agreed or strongly agreed trans people should be 'able to change their sex on their birth certificate'. By 2019 this dropped to 53%.
- In 2016, 67% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that trans people's motivations to transition were 'a very superficial and temporary need'. In 2019 this dropped to 61%.
- In 2016, 61% were 'comfortable' with a trans woman using a refuge for women experiencing domestic violence. By 2019 this dropped to 51%.

Broad impact of anti-gender mobilizations in the UK

Over the past approximately six years, the UK has become home to one of the most coordinated and well-known anti-gender mobilizations in the world. Combining both traditional and radical actors, anti-gender movements have demonstrated power to shape policy and set agendas in British politics, media, and culture⁶. The principal target of campaigns has been trans rights, contributing to blocks or roll backs in areas of: LGR based on a self-determination model (see below); and access to safe and inclusive services in healthcare⁷ and education⁸. Laws, policies and guidance designed to protect trans rights have been contested in areas of prisons⁹ and hate crimes¹⁰. Anti-trans rights attacks in the UK have also contributed to conditions that could place wider rights at risk, in areas of: LGBTIQ+ inclusive education¹¹, conversion therapy¹², and reproductive rights¹³. UK actors have also been present in international campaigning work. This includes in global policy spaces such as the 65th session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 2021 (Ahmad 2021).

In focus: campaign to reform the UK Gender Recognition Act (GRA)

In July 2018, following policy influencing work by the UK's largest LGBT equality organisation, Stonewall, and others, the UK Government began a widely publicised consultation on amending the GRA. The consultation aimed to understand how the Government 'might make the existing process... a better service for those trans and non-binary people who wish to use it' (GEO 2018:4). The consultation specifically addressed whether six requirements served as barriers to access¹⁴. The consultation created space for a huge debate in the UK, and attracted more than 100,000 responses from individuals, groups, and networks. The Government consulted with approximately 140 organisations, including various organisations hostile to reform. In September 2020, the Government published an analysis of the consultation results. Overall, a strong majority of respondents favoured a de-medicalised self-determination system for gender recognition.¹⁵ Key findings were:

- 2/3 respondents said the requirement of a diagnosis of gender dysphoria should be removed
- 4/5 people said the government should not ask for a medical report when applying for a Gender Recognition Certificate
- 3/4 people said you should not have to prove you have been living as your gender for two years.

However, the UK Government decided not to reform the GRA, instead responding with:

- An agreement the process needs to be 'kinder and more straightforward'
- Plans to place the process online
- Commitment to reduce the cost from £140 to a 'nominal amount'
- Plans to open three new gender clinics
- No change to the requirement of gender dysphoria diagnosis
- No change to requirement for medical report
- No change to requirement for proof of having lived for two years in alignment with gender
- Broadly, no need to reform the GRA.

Overall, LGBTIQ+ communities were disappointed and angered by the response. The UK's largest LGBT equality organisation, Stonewall, described the Government's decision as a 'shocking failure in leadership'¹⁶. Various anti-gender actors, including some trans-exclusionary feminist and/or Lesbian, Gay and Bi (LGB) campaigners, warmly welcomed the decision.

Cultural and political context

Developments in the UK are not happening in a cultural and political vacuum. Since the early 2010s, a range of researchers and campaigners have studied the rise of anti-gender movements internationally, which are pressing back on LGBTIQ+ rights, gender equality, and increasingly trans rights, in various countries¹⁷. Such movements have tended to frame progressive discussions around gender and gender identity, as manifestations of a dangerous ideology, which is said to undermine (variously) traditional values, nations, families, order, common sense, and supposedly 'natural' ideas about sex, the body, and biology (Denkovski, Bernarding and Linz 2021). They usually represent conservative or reactionary movements of the right, that may be triggered by, or pre-emptively attack, the prospect of positive policy or social change (Kuhar and Paternotte eds 2017).

An initial wave of research identified a strong role for the Catholic Church, and Eastern Orthodox Christianity, as well as right-wing populist, authoritarian, and white nationalist movements in varying country contexts (Kuhar and Paternotte eds 2017). Case studies from Europe¹⁸, and increasingly Latin America¹⁹, are prominent in the literature, with some studies also in Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa²⁰. From 2020, researchers have begun to document increased contestation of trans rights as a major strategy of anti-gender movements in various contexts. This includes research on:

- Widescale, coordinated anti-trans campaigns connected to right-wing populism and white nationalism across the **United States** from c2016, also mobilizing purportedly 'radical' or 'progressive' actors (Greenesmith and Lorber 2021; Michaeli and Fischler 2021:111).
- Anti-gender campaigning in **Spain** and **Italy** with key roles for traditional actors (e.g., Catholic, conservative, right-wing populist, and far right) and newer actors, such as trans-exclusionary, institutional and/or right-wing feminists (Obst 2020; Bojanic, Abadía, and Moro 2021).
- Counter-movements against proposed Gender Identity Laws from 2018 in **Chile** and **Uruguay** (Abracinkas 2020; Barrientos 2020).
- State-backed anti-gender mobilizations in **Japan**, in which trans-exclusionary feminists have been mobilized in support of a 'conservative moral agenda' (Shimizu 2020).
- The mobilization of some institutional feminists, within a broader landscape of 'traditionalist, nationalist and right-wing populism', to support backlash against minorities, including against positive reform of the Gender Recognition Act in **Sweden** (e.g., Alm and Engebretsen 2020:51).

Anti-gender movements generate tremendous challenges for LGBTIQ+ and gender equality campaigners, especially for the most marginalized (Shameem et al 2021). They have demonstrated capacity to mobilize broad public support against legal and policy reform on priority issues for LGBTIQ+ and feminist campaigners, including same-sex partnerships, Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE), abortion rights, and trans rights. They have also demonstrated significant power to set political agendas and frame societal developments. For example, concerning whose rights matter, and whose – apparently – do not (Denkovski, Bernarding and Lunz 2021). In some instances, they have played a key role in dramatic shifts towards, and elections of, right-wing governments (Corrêa ed. 2020).

Mapping and literature review shows anti-gender movements have the following qualities that are relevant to analysis here:

- **Anti-gender movements focus on 'contentious' issues.** They tend to capitalize on issues concerning gender, sexuality, and culture, that are the easiest to render contentious in different settings, and the most likely to spark public fear and outrage (D'Elio and Peralta 2021). Thus, concerns around children and gender/sexuality are common to anti-gender movements whether traditional or radical streams are predominant (Denkovski, Bernarding and Lunz 2021:10-11). Outrage around inclusive education materials being provided to children and young people, and apparent concerns about their safety, are also a common early rallying point (for example, in Peru, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, Brazil, and Costa Rica; Corrêa and Parker 2020:12-14).
- **Common sub-groups are involved.** Anti-gender movements comprise several wings or sub-streams, that are constituted differently in different contexts. Still, in all contexts where desk review was conducted for this project, the following pattern is evident: large right-wing populist, conservative and/or authoritarian blocks are present, tending to overlap with more extreme, alt/far right and/or fascist blocks, and fundamentalist or socially conservative religious blocks (see also Corrêa and Parker 2020:12-13). Networks of 'concerned parents' or other seemingly mainstream actors are commonly involved (see especially Martinez, Duarte, and Rojas 2021; Denkovski, Bernarding, and Linz 2021:10). In places where trans rights have been one of the primary targets, seemingly progressive actors are also typically mobilized and platformed, including some feminists and left-wing actors (see Denkovski, Bernarding, and Linz 2021:10-19; Bojanic, Abadía, and Moro 2021).
- **Anti-gender movements are enmeshed with broader anti-progressive movements.** They shape, and are shaped by, broader geo-political developments in many contexts. This includes the rise of authoritarian, right-wing populist, and (other) anti-democratic movements, and the socio-cultural changes they generate (Kuhar and Paternotte eds 2017; Corrêa ed. 2020). Overlaps can commonly be found between anti-gender movements and: a) racist, anti-migrant, anti-Semitic, white nationalist, and/or pro-imperialism groups; and b) male supremacist, misogynistic, and/or men's rights activist groups (see for example: Blee 2021; Nicholas and Agius 2018; and Greenesmith and Lorber 2021).

- They support efforts to 'restore' and legitimize traditional economic and social hierarchies. Anti-gender campaigning approaches commonly serve to popularize broad conservative, neoliberal and/or authoritarian social movement frames (Datta 2018; and more broadly Brown, W. 2019). Such broader frames may reference:
 - The idea that social change has gone too far, or civil society has overreached, e.g., as in attacks on political correctness, identity politics, or wokeness (Paternotte and Verloo 2021)
 - Arguments that greater social order/hierarchy, discipline, and a widescale 'return' to common sense or traditional values is needed (Datta 2018; Denkovski, Bernarding, and Linz 2021).

Scope and methodology

To shed some light on these actors and dynamics in the UK, this project mapped 368 actors that have been active on (or closely linked to actors) campaigning against trans rights in the UK, and 1,036 relationships between them. These actors span: campaigning groups and individuals; NGOs, think tanks and research institutes; legal representatives and firms; publishers; mainstream, sectoral and alternative media; commentators; authors; publications; podcasts; social media platforms and channels; grant-making organisations; parliamentary and government actors; and political parties and groups linked to them. Relationships include: personnel links (e.g., employment, appointment, board, or freelancing at); organisational partnerships (e.g., network members, joint initiatives); campaigning, collaborating, or endorsing/promoting; co-authorship, publishing, or other writing links; participation in interviews, podcasts, videos, or panels; collaboration in legal actions; and funding links.

Methods included snowballing out from initial actors (identified through existing knowledge of the research team, early consultation, and media reports). This process involved immersion in content (e.g., key cases, campaigns, and event records generated by actors) and recognising repeat connections. Iteratively, some purposive data collection tactics arose, such as use of formal records of companies and charities (e.g., in the UK, data held at Companies House and the Charity Commission) to trace registered individual affiliations, consult organisational records, and move via hyperlinks from actor to actor. Research also increasingly involved compilation and analysis of legal cases (ensuring to look at the whole legal team involved, and key actors cited in court documents) and of funding flows, where records are available. All data cited in the full dataset, that this summary report relies on to draw its conclusions, is freely available in the public domain (or behind a paywall).²¹

The dataset was then analysed using Gephi, an open-source social network analysis programme, which generates maps based on datasets of actors and relationships. Gephi uses algorithms and filters to identify communities, shed light on dynamics between actors and communities, and describe the extent of direct and indirect relationships across maps generated. An anonymised Gephi map for this project is provided as an example below.

Limitations

Whilst the five main groups presented in this report were clearly predominant in the analysis, and shape the overall structure of the map, there will certainly be smaller sub-networks of actors not yet mapped, that would be found by mapping to 400+ actors. This could, for example, provide more detail on different religious denominations; political parties and Parliamentary groups; and key networks centred in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. There are probably many more trans-Atlantic and legal case connections than so far identified. Diving deeper on issues such as sport, sex workers rights, and prisons could also be instructive.

It is worth underscoring that qualitative analysis and critical thinking needs to accompany the interpretation of results, considering the kinds and weights of relationships, and how they may affect results. For example, nodes may be judged particularly significant by Gephi, even though most of the connections are light (e.g., signatory to a declaration, or participation in a joint podcast – rather than personnel or financial links). Such reflection becomes particularly important when moving from high-level overview to a more localised focus. Finally, the network analysis doesn't consider the audience reach or other power (e.g., policy-level access) of actors, in addition to their authority as an actor within the map. For all these reasons, this project also draws in additional contextual information, wider insights, and critical thinking when assessing which actors to highlight and how.

For several reasons, this summary report does not itself name specific individual or organizational anti-gender actors and provides a high-level analysis only. These reasons include potential unfairness in singling out individual actors for scrutiny and/or to imply their involvement in or support for tactics or wider associations they may not support (since social movements are more complex than this).²² They also include resourcing and risk issues for trans researchers and campaigners, amplified by the current hostile context.

KEY FINDINGS

Actors

The main findings of the project are, in terms of actors and efficacy:

- **Anti-gender movements in the UK have become significantly larger, more visible, and more effective since 2015/2016** to the time of writing in 2021-2022.
- Fringe groups within feminist and LGB communities, and the religious right, are very centrally or visibly involved in contesting trans rights (in the media, courts, and policy spaces). However, they are **not compelling drivers for this increase in mobilisation and effectiveness in the past approximately six years**.
- Rather, there is **an important driving role played by right-wing groups**, especially on the UK populist and conservative right (and with some important links with trans-Atlantic, and US-based groups).
- These right-wing actors interlink with much of the UK media, commentariat, wider political class, and traditional conservative groups, and parts of the left-leaning media and political class. Together they constitute a large coalition of the right/media that is the most influential block in this mapping.²³

- As a collective movement, these various streams and their allies are enjoying **significant success, including rollbacks or blocks on trans rights** in education, healthcare, LGR, and (potentially) justice and employment.
- **The UK religious right is having marked success in anti-trans litigation** and neither the media nor even (at times) trans activists and allies have realised the scope of their involvement in this space.
- **There is also an important role for 'alt lite' and associated online actors**, who act to popularise alt/far right ideas, messages, and channels. Key figures within an 'alternative influence network' (Lewis 2018), spanning key social media and especially Web 2.0 channels (notably YouTube and similar) **play an important role in linking, mobilisation, and message dissemination in anti-gender and anti-trans attacks in the UK, and internationally.**
- More research is needed on the role of the US religious and broader neo-conservative and populist right (e.g., regarding resourcing). However, so far, the evidence is that **there is significant overlap and impact coming from the US in terms of key networks, ideas, learning, strategy, technical assistance, and resourcing.** Certainly, US actors are prominent 'bridgers' in the movement; playing a key facilitating role between actors not otherwise linked around the map.
- At the same time, **the UK anti-gender movement also has its own forms of home grown, national (and nationalist) roots and power** that an international origin-story over-simplifies.

Approaches

In terms of approaches, the study highlights tactics that generate significant challenges, including:

- The promotion of **zero-sum conceptions of rights**, which rely on us vs. them thinking, and serve to disseminate (and sometimes essentialise) the viewpoint that one community's rights can only come at the expense of another's (more broadly, see Rosenthal 2020). **This way of framing rights was highly typical of anti-gender actors right across this mapping – whether feminist/LGB, right-wing populist or conservative, religious right, or alt/far-right actors.** One of the effects of this way of framing rights, is to undermine conceptions of human rights as indivisible, universal, and inalienable (Denkovski, Bernarding, and Linz 2021).
- Widespread social movement framing approaches that repeatedly seek to cast the right, or the people they represent, as **'true victims'** of an apparently oppressive regime centred on liberalism, political correctness, wokeness, etc. Desk review found various examples of right-wing and conservative groups repeating and disseminating this strategy.
- **Widespread fearmongering and disinformation** presenting trans people, or so-called 'transgender ideology' as dangerous, predatory, or otherwise threatening, particularly to women, children, and freedom of speech.²⁴

- Evidence of **structural astroturfing**; a practice seen right across UK anti-gender movement spaces, of repeatedly platforming seemingly grass roots ordinary people (e.g., women, children, parents) and issuing unverified claims of mass support, with exclusionary political effects.
- In some parts of the map, the study found numerous examples of **alt/far-right, anti-Semitic, and otherwise racist tropes and conspiracy theories** concerning, for example, Cultural Marxism, Replacement Theory, and the alleged existence of a so-called 'transgender industry'. Such tropes and theories were at times interwoven with more popular concerns concerning globalisation, neoliberalism, postmodernism, queer theory, and critical race theory.
- The study also found examples of the **widespread mobilisation and instrumentalisation of experiences of (cis and almost always white) women's victimhood/survivorship** to generate alleged justifications for exclusion and aggression, including by actors with a history of anti-feminist organising.²⁵

KEY ACTORS AND APPROACHES

Main groups

At the highest level, this mapping and analysis shows **there are broadly five main wings of the UK's anti-gender movement, most of them on the ideological right**. These groups structure the overall layout of the network map (see Fig. 1, below). This basic shape of the movement has been apparent since mapping had been completed of around 150 actors on the map and has remained basically stable since then. The five groups are:

- The right/media
- UK religious right
- US religious and neo-conservative right
- Trans-exclusionary feminists/LGB actors
- The alt/far right

Discussion

It is worth briefly emphasising that some of these communities are more stable and separate within the map, whereas some parts of the movement are subject to shifting forms and affiliations depending on changes in data or tools used to analyse it (i.e., as more data is added, or different settings are applied to algorithms and filters). For example, there is a subset of trans-exclusionary feminist/LGB actors located at the intersections of Groups 1, 3 and 4, that often bridge with or are absorbed into Groups 1 (the right/media) and 3 (the US-led religious and neo-conservative right). Indeed, occasionally, Gephi interprets this 'bridging' part of the map as a single large community linking actors as diverse as: a) mainstream US neo-conservative and neoliberal NGOs, think tanks or foundations; b) prominent parts of the trans-exclusionary feminist movement (especially Trans-Atlantic or UK media-linked actors); and c) influential anti-feminist actors connected to figures on the alt/far right, sometimes via the so-called 'manosphere'.²⁶

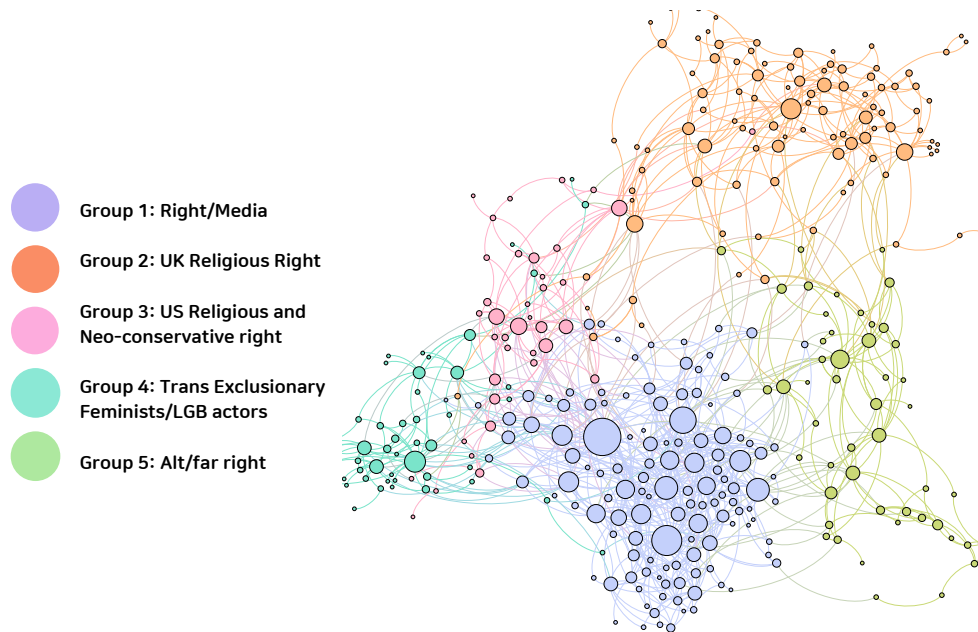


Figure 1. Gephi map of UK anti-gender movement (at 368 actors; 1,004 relationships; modularity class resolution 1.8)

The fact that this part of the map morphs into different shapes and disappears into larger alliances so frequently, supports data and analysis presented elsewhere: **this is not a movement significantly driven by trans-exclusionary feminist and LGB actors.** Together with wider data, this suggests a level of enmeshment with, instrumentalisation by, and/or overshadowing by wider actors with far greater resources, policy-level access, public and media influence, and agenda-setting power. For example, in contrast, the UK religious right appears as a separate group in a highly consistent manner, regardless of small changes in data, or which filters or algorithms are used to analyse the data.²⁷

Wider desk review shows that trans-exclusionary feminist/LGB actors negotiate these dynamics in varying ways. There are some who refuse to (directly) engage with right-wing actors, and the feminist/LGB actors who partner with them. However, other trans-exclusionary feminist/LGB actors on the map do collaborate with right-wing actors, either directly or indirectly. Such 'collaborative adversarial relationships' (Whittier 2014) involve complex trade-offs with powerful (many times right-wing, male, white, conservative and nationalistic) political agendas many of them may not consciously ascribe to, but nevertheless align and may collaborate with, for a variety of reasons. In such trade-offs, they can gain audience reach, policy-level access, networks, and strengthened capacity to appeal for resources.

However, in turn, these actors may face allegations from other trans exclusionary feminist/LGB actors (some themselves linked with hard or extreme right actors) for, for example, being co-opted.

The second set of evidence to add to this analytic is historical. In the UK, as in some other (generally Anglophone) contexts, key fringe radical feminist and/or lesbian feminist actors have been involved in contesting trans rights since the late 1970s, in campaigning and academic contexts, at key festivals and conferences, and in grass roots community and academic spaces (for a brief overview, see Michaeli and Fischler 2021:111). This history has been a highly contentious one for many involved, involving radical feminists, trans activists, sex workers, and sex positive campaigners, for example. However, such contestation has almost exclusively taken place within the confines of LGBTIQ+ and feminist communities and movements; indeed, often in fringe spaces within those communities and movements (for a broad overview see Vincent, Erikainen, and Pearce 2020). In this case, what has happened in the UK (since c2016) is a sharp rise in the relevance of these kinds of actors, and newer and more mainstream actors linked to them.

Mapping and wider desk review for this project found that whilst Group 4 had grown to some extent, with many new small groups and individuals now taking part, it is still comprised of majority small grass roots groups. Moreover, detailed immersion in campaigning approaches shows that we can see some innovations in strategies and tactics. However, key policy and media successes have typically rested on capital (economic, legal, and political) and partnerships provided by groups further to the right. Additionally, many newer movement adherents after 2016 (and especially after 2019) are not drawn from traditional bases. Whilst they may align with the positions of traditional LGB/feminist groups, many actors are more closely linked with online and offline 'concerned parent' mobilisations, wider socially conservative popular movements, and with alt lite and alt/far right politics directly (or one step removed).

Similarly, some key groups within Group 2, the UK religious right (who are overwhelmingly Christian cross-denominational, Evangelical, and/or Anglican-linked groups/movements)²⁸ have been critical of trans people and rights in an organised fashion, for at least a decade, if they knew about them. However, again, such criticism and organisation largely took place within fringe community and movement spaces. Since c2015/2016 (i.e., when we see a dramatic increase in anti-trans content and activity in UK media and politics), these groups have also innovated somewhat in terms of campaigning strategies and tactics. However, analysis (e.g., through following cases promoted by groups through to media reports), shows they are not gaining drastically improved traction in mainstream media for their views on gender, sexuality, and culture. In short, the UK religious right is also not a convincing driver of anti-gender attacks in the UK although they have been activated to significant effect (and with real impact in litigation work).

What has changed in the last approximately six years has been, firstly, efforts by trans and broader LGBTIQ+ rights campaigners to press for legal and policy reform. Notably, efforts by trans and LGBTIQ+ communities and movements to prioritise advocacy around legal gender recognition from c2015. This preceded the marked rise in anti-gender mobilisations we see from 2015/2016 and is an important part of the story; contributing initial energy for reform and shaping some initial events.²⁹ More steadily, over the past 5-10 years, we have also seen rising visibility and representation of trans people in British media and popular culture (see Mediatique for IPSO 2019; Mermaids 2019).

At the same time, and perhaps most decisively, we have also seen: **rising influence and activities of Group 1 (the right/media) on trans rights and related issues in the UK.** This includes actors linked to right-wing populism, conservatism, and the post-Brexit right-wing space, and the government and policy spaces they lead and influence. This group is closely enmeshed with (and also constituted by) key conservative and centrist media, and a smaller range of left-wing media. Group 1 is the most populous group on the map and has the highest density of social relations. They are by far the most influential group, even without factoring in their tremendous power to set the media agenda, reach audiences, and influence policy and legal change. Indeed, many of these actors actually are media, government, and wider policy-makers (e.g., key UK think tanks, NGOs, and foundations linked to policy-making). The vast majority of these actors were not producing content about trans issues prior to 2015. **They represent the most compelling driving block for anti-gender mobilisations in the UK in the past six years.**

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RESPONSES

Concluding remarks

Whilst the actors in this mapping might seem to have very different (even radically opposing) political agendas in many respects, they all share key things in common. Firstly, many actors share a zero-sum conception of rights. Whether second wave feminists, lesbian rights activists, former left-wing revolutionaries, Christian fundamentalists, white supremacists, small state neoliberals, conservative traditionalists, or right-wing populists, we find the predominant belief that: for one community's rights to be respected and protected, another community must be excluded from rights protections. Whilst some actors vary on a left/right spectrum, and some may champion progressive social movements focused on a particular marginalised community (e.g., for women's rights, or for labour rights) all groups in the mapping are generally, anti-intersectional, and in some way critical of younger social movements (e.g., those that have risen up in the past decade). Equally, many actors also share a belief they are the true victims of an apparently ascendent, excessively liberal new status quo, overlapping, in places, with neoliberalism, globalisation, multiculturalism, and/or postmodernity.

What these approaches don't do is foster or hold space for the sharing of dissonant perspectives, nor help us imagine societies in which all might be meaningfully included. They also don't help us to consider building political coalitions in which multiple minority and human rights issues can be advanced simultaneously and intersectionally. In this and other cases, we can also see that anti-gender mobilisations directly attack target communities – sending marginalised communities into localised, often bruising battles, and away from a focus on broader drivers and conditions for change. Indeed, oftentimes, anti-gender frames invoke a fearful, austere, and limiting world in which, apparently, rights are in short supply, dangerous characters and coercive industries lurk in the shadows, and 'our' most basic freedoms are under attack on all sides.

Ultimately, few benefit from this way of understanding politics, society, culture, and economics; it amounts to a race to the bottom, which places a wide range of rights at risk. In this case, in which reactionary anti-intersectional actors in progressive spaces have been instrumentalised by anti-rights actors, we can see **tremendous political and human costs for trans communities, and for progressive movements generally**. What the case also shows, therefore, is just how critical intersectional models for change are, in which social movements can develop collaborative, mutually beneficial, compassionate, and solidarity-based approaches to change. This is work that cannot be done in isolation and will need ongoing resourcing and support for trans communities and movements.

Responses

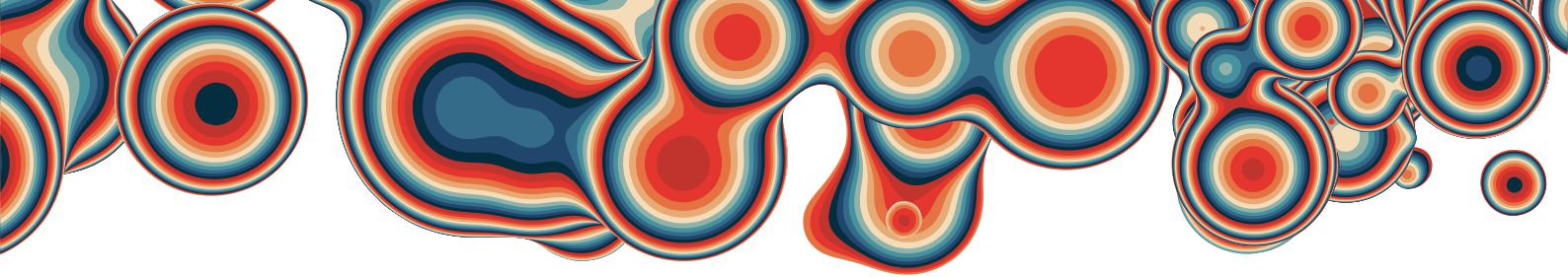
In terms of responses, this mapping highlights:

- **An incentive for trans and allied groups to look beyond the current limited and limiting line of sight** the movement presents them with where possible, i.e., beyond groups, issues, and tactics most immediately visible to them (such as trans-exclusionary feminist/LGB activists and gender and LGBTIQ+ issues) and beyond the negative focus and effects of the backlash, to potential new alliances and opportunities for change.
- **The strategic potential of alliance-building (and learning) on a wider, more intersectional basis** where possible. For example, with anti-racist and migrant rights movements, children and young people's rights organisations, faith communities, anti-poverty and inequality campaigners, freedom of expression groups, pro-democracy, and transparency groups, etc. – and expanding out from the current coalition focused predominantly on (those willing to stand up for trans communities amongst) LGBTIQ+ communities, feminist groups, and key human rights actors.
- **Incentive to press to re-occupy more centre ground**. For example, around issues such as freedom of expression and belief, fairness, openness, truthfulness, and transparency – potentially drawing on stronger coalitions with pro-democracy, and civil society strengthening coalitions.
- A need to develop campaigning approaches which can de-centre, disrupt and/or speak past the core messages of anti-gender actors, which emphasise safety of women and children, and threats to freedom of speech and belief – and rely strongly on fear-based messaging and anger-based mobilisation. This could include **alternative agenda (and role) setting and framing approaches, considering a focus on hope-based communications; material needs of trans communities; and the importance of collaboration and solidarity**.
- Incentive to address the astroturfing, fearmongering, and disinformation challenge – e.g., through supporting fact-checking resources, effective rebuttal, and improved standards amongst reporters and policy-makers.
- A need to continue on key fronts, including ramping up defence of trans rights in the courts, strengthening existing policy influencing work, and further building the evidence base – all work that will also require strengthened investment.



ENDNOTES

- 1** A small range of actors and relationships based in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales were included in this project, but it mainly considered developments in England and at UK Government policy-level. Future mapping work which centres these cases would be invaluable.
- 2** See ILGA Europe (2021, and previous years).
- 3** These states include Argentina, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, New Zealand (2023), Norway, Portugal, and Uruguay. With slight variations, all these legal frameworks are based on a self-determination model. This model is widely considered the better legal standard by communities, experts, and key human rights bodies, as it allows trans people the right to legally self-declare their gender identity, without needing to navigate complex bureaucracies, get permission from gatekeepers, or require a (pathologising) mental health diagnosis. See for example, ILGA Europe (2021) and GATE/Kara (2020:17-25).
- 4** See, for example, the vision for change set out by Stonewall Trans Advisory Group (2017).
- 5** All figures from Morgan et al (2020).
- 6** GATE distinguishes between: a) 'traditional' anti-gender movements (or streams within them) that comprise actors traditionally associated with anti-feminist and anti-LGBTIQ+ appeals (e.g., right-wing conservative and authoritarian political movements, religious fundamentalists); and b) 'radical' anti-gender movements (or streams within them) that comprise reactionary forces associated with radical or progressive social movements (e.g., trans exclusionary feminists, traditional left-wing groups, etc.).
- 7** In the past two years, there have been three major court rulings on access to puberty blockers for young trans people, with access currently assured with parental consent, in principle. See NHS England (n.d.).
- 8** For instance, the reported, controversial, withdrawal of trans inclusion toolkits in some schools and county council areas (see Loft and Long 2020).
- 9** Notably, legal contestation around access to same-gender prisons (e.g., Law Library of Congress 2021).
- 10** For example, legal contestation around UK Crown Prosecution Service guidance (e.g., Parsons 2021).
- 11** Broad efforts to contest and review trans inclusion measures in schools have led some to warn of a 'new Section 28' in the UK (see, for example, Brown, A. 2021).
- 12** For example, in April 2022, reportedly the UK Government u-turned on a commitment to outlaw conversion therapy for LGBT people after allegedly meeting with a range of groups including those linked to 'anti-trans lobbying' (see Ramsay and Bychawski 2022). The Government subsequently announced it would proceed with a ban, but not for trans communities; meeting with widespread contestation from LGBTIQ+ groups in the UK (see GATE 2022).
- 13** Notably, the potential for the Bell v. Tavistock ruling (or argumentation successfully used in it) to restrict Gillick competence (see for example, Duffy 2021).
- 14** 1) Two medical reports including official diagnosis of gender dysphoria; 2) proof of living in acquired gender for two years; 3) statutory declaration of intention to live in acquired gender until death; 4) consent from partner (if married); 5) consideration of the cost; and 6) the extent to which the GRA protects the privacy of people who have applied for a Gender Recognition Certificate.
- 15** King, D. et al (2020)
- 16** Stonewall (2020)
- 17** For helpful overviews see: Kuhar and Paternotte eds (2017); Denkovski, Bernarding and Linz (2021); Corrêa ed. (2020); and Shameem et al (2021).
- 18** Prominent cases include the rise of a popular Catholic anti-gender movement in Italy (Lavizzari and Prearo 2019); the emergence of the 'La Manif pour tous' ('Protest for all') movement in France from 2012 (Harsin 2018); mobilisations around the 2013 marriage referendum in Croatia (Vučković et al 2020); and the rise of far-right linked movements in Hungary, Poland, and elsewhere by 2015 (Kováts and Pöim eds. 2015).
- 19** Key examples include the transnational campaign 'Con mis hijos no te metas' ('Don't mess with my kids') contesting Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE), and wider progressive cultural and political reform, in Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador (González Vélez et al 2018), and Argentina (Chain 2021); the role of anti-gender organizing in the 2018 election of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil (Corrêa and Kalil 2020); and anti-abortion mobilizations in, for instance, Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, and regionally (see Corrêa ed. 2020).
- 20** For example, the direct application of Vatican anti-gender rhetoric in Kenyan national policy in 2016 (Kaoma 2016); global and national anti-gender organizing to 'manufacture moral panic' around CSE and LGBTIQ+ rights in Ghana from 2019 (Martinez, Duarte, and Rojas 2021); international anti-gender organizing against progressive CSE in South Africa (McEwan 2020); and the continual use of anti-gender rhetoric to consolidate state repression in Tunisia, Egypt, and Turkey (Griffon et al 2021).



21 Some relevant evidence was not included in the dataset. For example, cases where there was no evidence of a relationship of some order (i.e., a two-way social relation). For example, detailed desk review focused on specific individuals, revealed an unreported instance in which an alt/far-right activist attended a trans-exclusionary feminist event and published online about her experiences. However, no evidence was found that they were invited, selected as a speaker, or featured in some other way by organisers (or other key people at the event, e.g., speakers). Conceivably, they could have attended entirely of their own volition, and to the horror of organisers had they known who this person was. Whilst compelling background information, it was not included in the mapping dataset. Meanwhile 'speaker on the same panel' was included as a relationship, since deciding to speak on a panel with someone entails a (common) decision for being platformed with that actor. Though speakers may disagree, they are implying some level of tolerance for platforming the other actor, and willingness to interact socially, and in associated roles.

22 Indeed, in some ways, it is simplistic to speak of a unified 'anti-gender movement' in the UK. The constellation of actors mapped in this project constitute multiple overlapping (and partially shifting) movements of people who have coalesced around somewhat shared, and somewhat different agendas, interests, and tactics. Although they sometimes function as a coordinated social movement (with common frames, resources, tactics, interests, and alliances, etc.), many actors may not (and likely do not) identify as having affinities or even alliances with other actors on the map. For important efforts to ask how such considerations could inform tools within social movement theory, see: Whittier (2018).

23 As this brief analysis suggests, the 'right/media' is therefore a simplified term, that glosses over some important nuances. A longer descriptor could be: populist-centered actors, mostly of the right-wing, but with a smaller number of traditionally left-wing and liberal media/institutional actors involved.

24 These have been the three principal focus areas for anti-gender movements in the UK over the past six years. Actors vary according to which issues they prioritise, with many focusing on a combination of all three, in different ways. There are though clear patterns in terms of which parts of the map tend to contribute more activity, discourse, and symbols, on different focus issues. For example, the UK religious right has tended to emphasise protection of children and freedom of belief/speech. Populist and conservative actors have tended to emphasise freedom of speech. Many feminist/LGB actors have framed trans rights as a question of (cis) women's rights/protection, and young women and girls' protection. 'Concerned parent' actors (most often 'concerned' mothers) have tended to blend apparent concerns with women's and children's protection.

25 For scholars of right-wing studies and/or black feminism, this is an unsurprising finding. Instrumentalisation of white (cis) women's victimhood, to construct figures of sexual menace has been identified as a long-standing and normal tactic of white supremacist and associated movements, and an important aspect of everyday racism and political culture in the contemporary UK, and various other contexts. For important early texts see Davis (1981) and Blee (1991). More recently, in the UK and other contexts, see Phipps (2021), Farris (2017), and Hamad (2020).

26 See for example, Marwick and Caplan (2018) and Ribeiro et al (2020).

27 Exceptions are a small number of – nevertheless influential – key litigants, who sometimes merge into Group 3 and occasionally 4, and a small number of far-right Christian nationalists, who sometimes merge into Group 5.

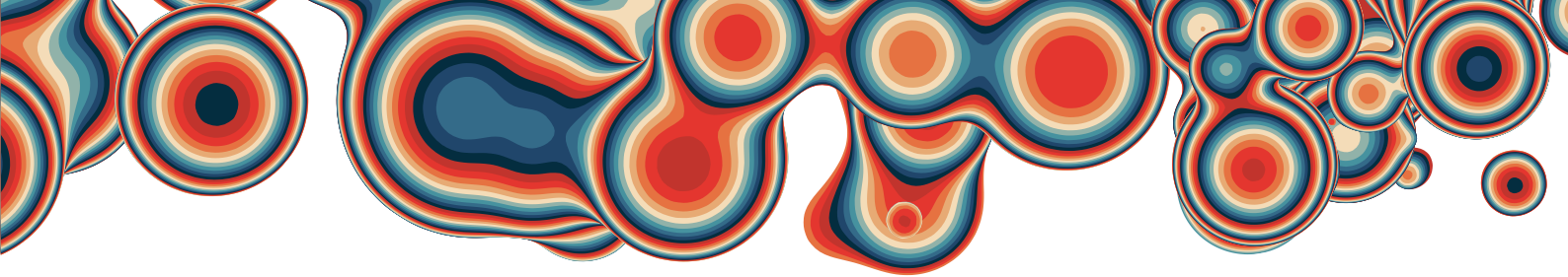
28 Interestingly, this mapping did not in general find a strong role for Catholic groups in England or at UK Government policy level, although further mapping could challenge this (taking in more detailed Catholic network and Northern Ireland deep dives). The UK religious right block was overwhelmingly comprised of Christian (cross-denominational, Evangelical and/or Anglican) groups, with a smaller number of fundamentalist, traditionalist, or otherwise hardline positions within British Muslim and Jewish communities (who were not well-linked with wider faith-based groups and appear to be mostly active on issues around gender, sexuality, and education/schools).

29 Further detailed research would be helpful on the precise inter-relation between trans rights influencing and campaigning work and dynamics of anti-gender countermovement/backlash. Certainly, there is an important dynamic inter-relation at work at times, which involves various sub-groups in a collective social and political process. For example, policy influencing work by Stonewall to pursue LGR, was met by successive Conservative governments as a reform area requiring public consultation. Resulting UK Government consultative spaces generated opportunities for more actors in Groups 1, 2 and 4 (as well as trans rights supporters) to input into policy-making discussions, and to mobilise their supporters. Public and media discussion grew as a result. It may be helpful to conceptualise these less as 'initial trigger' and 'response', and more as different elements in a circuit or 'political process' in which social movements collectively respond to each other (see McAdam 1982).



REFERENCES

- Abracinskas, Lilián; Puyol, Santiago; Iglesias, Nicolás; and Kreher, Stefanie (2020) 'The Case of Uruguay' in Corrêa, Sonia ed. (2020) *Anti-Gender Politics in Latin America: Summaries of Country Case Studies*. Sexuality Policy Watch. Available from: <https://sxpolitics.org/GPAL/uploads/E-book-Resumos-completo.pdf>. pp. 146-163.
- Ahmad, Umyra (2021) 'Trojan horses in human rights spaces: anti-rights discourses, tactics and their convergences with trans-exclusionary feminists.' AWID. (17 June 2021). Available from: <https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/trojan-horses-human-rights-spaces>
- Alm, Erika and Engebretsen, Elisabeth Lund (2020) 'Gender Self-Identification'. *Lambda Nordica* 4/2019-1/2020. Available from: <http://lambdanordica.org/index.php/lambdanordica/article/download/613/564>
- Barrientos, Jaime (2020) 'The Case of Chile' in Corrêa, Sonia ed. (2020) *Anti-Gender Politics in Latin America: Summaries of Country Case Studies*. Sexuality Policy Watch. Available from: <https://sxpolitics.org/GPAL/uploads/E-book-Resumos-completo.pdf>. pp. 66-78.
- Blee, Kathleen (1991) *Women in the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press
- _____ (2021) 'Women in White Supremacist Extremism'. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*. 4 (2): 315-317.
- Bojanic, Sanja; Abadia, Mónica Cano; and Moro, Valentina (2021) 'Feminist Responses to Populist Politics'. *European Journal of English Studies*. 25(2): 113-132
- Brown, Alexander (2021) 'Angela Rayner vows to fight new "section 28" following trans row'. *The Scotsman*. (28 September 2021). Available from: <https://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/angela-rayner-vows-to-fight-new-section-28-following-trans-row-3399809>. Accessed 9 May 2022.
- Brown, Wendy (2019) *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism: The Rise of Anti-Democratic Politics in the West*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chain, Romina (2021) 'La Campaña "Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas" en Córdoba, Argentina: Reflexiones Acerca del Uso del Espacio Público por Parte de Iglesias Evangélicas Conservadoras en la Política Local'. *Conexión Queer: Revista Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Teologías Queer*. Vol. 4: 177-211. Available from: <https://repository.usfca.edu/conexionqueer/vol4/iss1/7>
- Corrêa, Sonia. ed. (2020) *Anti-Gender Politics in Latin America*. Rio de Janeiro: Sexuality Policy Watch.
- Corrêa, Sonia and Kalil, Isabela (2020) 'The Case of Brazil' in Corrêa, Sonia ed. *Anti-Gender Politics in Latin America*. Rio de Janeiro: Sexuality Policy Watch, pp. 47-65.
- Datta, Neil (2018) *Restoring the Natural Order: The Religious Extremists' Vision to Mobilize European Societies against Human Rights on Sexuality and Reproduction*. European Parliamentary Forum (EPF).
- D'Elio, Fernando and Peralta, María Luisa (2021) 'Gender Ideology' in Shameem, N. et al (2021) *Rights at Risk – Time for Action: Observatory on the Universality of Rights Trends Report*. Toronto: Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID).



Davis, Angela (1981) *Women, Race and Class*. New York: Random House

Denkovski, D.; Bernarding, N.; and Linz, K. (2021) *Power Over Rights: Understanding and Countering the Transnational Anti-Gender Movement*. Vol. I and II. Berlin: Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy

Duffy, Sandra (2021) 'Bell v Tavistock: The Medico-Legal Consequences'. Univeristy of Bristol Law School Blog. (21 February 2021). Available from: <https://legalresearch.blogs.bris.ac.uk/2021/02/bell-v-tavistock-the-medico-legal-consequences/>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

Law Library of Congress (2021) 'England and Wales: High Court Rules on Lawfulness of Policies Regarding Allocation of Transgender Prisoners to Women's Prisons (2021)'. Available from: <https://www.loc.gov/item/global-legal-monitor/2021-08-24/england-and-wales-high-court-rules-on-lawfulness-of-policies-regarding-allocation-of-transgender-prisoners-to-womens-prisons/>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

Farris, S. (2017) *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press
GATE/Kara, S. (2020) *Depathologizing Gender Identity Through Law*. GATE Series on Legal Depathologization, No 1. New York: GATE.

GATE (2022) 'Statement on the UK Government's decision to allow the continued abuse of trans and gender diverse people with "conversion therapy"'. [Press release]. 26 April 2022. Available from: <https://gate.ngo/statement-uk-government-conversion-practices/> Accessed 9 May 2022.

GEO (2018) 'Reform of the Gender Recognition Act – Government Consultation'. [Consultation document]. Government Equalities Office, July 2018. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/721725/GRA-Consultation-document.pdf

González Vélez, Ana Cristina; Castro, Laura; Cristina, Burneo Salazar; Motta, Angélica; Amat y León, Oscar (2018) *Develando la Retórica del Miedo de los Fundamentalismos: la campana "Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas" en Colombia, Ecuador y Perú*. Lima: Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán.

Griffon, Lucille; Clough, Laura; Pruth, Charlotte; and Johansson, Maria (2021) 'Contesting Gender Equality in the MENA Region: Case Studies of Tunisia, Egypt and Turkey' in Denkovski, D.; Bernarding, N.; and Linz, K. (2021) *Power Over Rights: Understanding and Countering the Transnational Anti-Gender Movement*. Vol. II. Berlin: Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy pp. 64-73.

Hamad, R. (2020) *White Tears/Brown Scars: How White Feminism Betrays Women*. London: Trapeze.

Harsin, Jayson (2018) 'Post-Truth Populism: The French Anti-Gender Theory Movement and Cross-Cultural Similarities'. *Communication, Culture and Critique*. 11(1): 35-52.

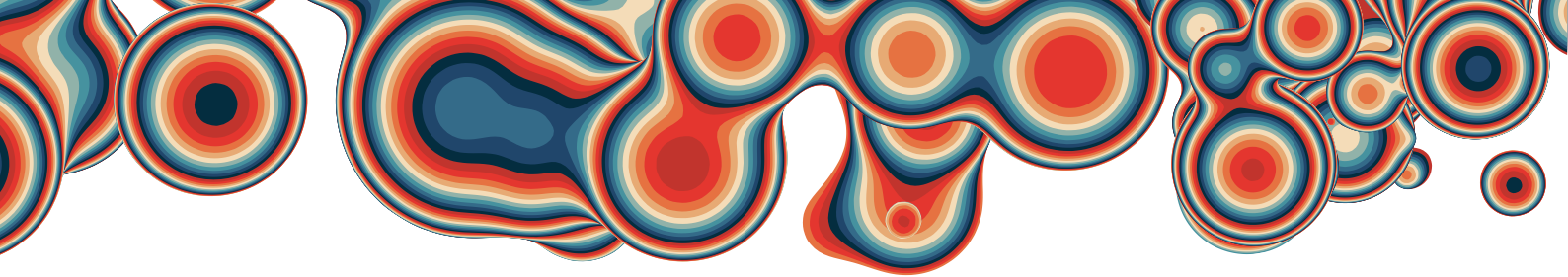
ILGA Europe (2021, and previous years) *ILGA Europe Rainbow Index* (online resource).

IPSOS MORI (2018) *Global Attitudes Toward Transgender People*. Accessed 1 July 2021.

_____ (2020) *Majority of Britons say that Transgender People Face Discrimination in Britain*. Accessed 8 July 2021.

Kapya Kaoma (2016) 'The Vatican Anti-Gender Theory and Sexual Politics: An African Response'. *Religion and Gender*. 6(2): 282-292. pp. 285-287

King, D. et al (2020) *Reform of the Gender Recognition Act: Analysis of Consultation Responses*. London: GEO. Accessed 9 July 2021.



Kováts, E. and Põim, M. eds. (2015) *Gender as Symbolic Glue: The Position and Role of Conservative and Far Right Parties in the Anti-Gender Mobilisation in Europe*. Brussels: Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS)

Kuhar, R. and Paternotte, D. eds (2017) *Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield
Lavizzari, Anna and Prearo, Massimo (2019) 'The Anti-Gender Movement in Italy: Catholic Participation between Electoral and Protest Politics'. *European Societies*. Vol 21(3): 422-442

Lewis, Rebecca (2018) *Alternative Influence: Broadcasting the Reactionary Right on YouTube*. Data & Society Research Institute.

Loft, Phillip and Long, Robert (2020) *Provisions to Support Transgender Children in Schools*. [Briefing paper] House of Commons Library. Number 9078, 10 December 2020.

Lorber, Ben and Greenesmith, Heron (2021) 'Antisemitism Meets Transphobia: White nationalists and anti-trans feminists use the same conspiracies to target trans and Jewish folks' in *The Progressive*. Available from: <https://progressive.org/magazine/antisemitism-meets-transphobia-greenesmith-lorber>

McAdam, Doug (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. 2nd Edition. Chicago University Press.

McEwan, Haley (2020) *Un/knowing & Un/doing Sexuality & Gender Diversity: The Global Anti-Gender Movement Against SOGIE Rights and Academic Freedom*. SAIH.

Martinez, Juliana; Duarte, Ángela; and Rojas, María Juliana (2021) *Manufacturing Moral Panic: Weaponizing Children to Undermine Gender Justice and Human Rights*. Elevate Children's Group and the Global Philanthropy Project.

Marwick, Alice E. and Caplan, Robyn (2018) 'Drinking Male Tears: Language, the Manosphere, and Networked Harassment'. *Feminist Media Studies*. 18(4): 543-559

Mediatique for IPSO (2020) *Examining Trends in Editorial Standards in Coverage of Transgender Issues*. Available from: <https://www.ipso.co.uk/media/1986/mediatique-report-on-coverage-of-transgender-issues.pdf>. Accessed 10 July 2021.

Mermaids (2019) 'Mermaids' Research into Newspaper Coverage on Trans Issues'. Available from: <https://mermaidsuk.org.uk/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/>. Accessed 10 July 2021.

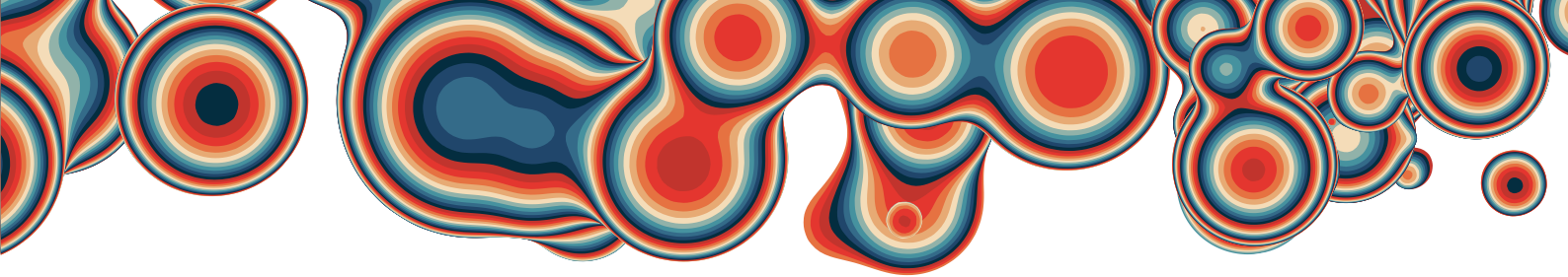
Michaeli, Inna and Fischler, Fenya (2021) 'The Links Between Anti-trans Feminists and Christian Fundamentalists' in Shameem, Naureen et al (2021) *Rights at Risk – Time for Action: Observatory on the Universality of Rights Trends Report*. Toronto: Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID). pp. 110-111.

Morgan, Hannah; Lamprinakou, Chrysa; Fuller, Elizabeth; Albakri, Muslihah (2020) *Attitudes to Transgender People*. Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). EHRC Report Series.

Nicholas, L. and Agius, C. (2018). '#Notallmen, #Menenism, Manospheres and Unsafe Spaces: Overt and Subtle Masculinism in Anti-"PC" Discourse' in *The Persistence of Global Masculinism*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

NHS England (n.d.) 'Update following recent court rulings on hormone blockers'. Available from: <https://www.england.nhs.uk/commissioning/spec-services/npc-crg/gender-dysphoria-clinical-programme/update-following-recent-court-rulings-on-hormone-blockers/> Accessed 9 May 2022.

Obst, Marcel (2020) 'How Opposition to Gender and Feminism Emerged in Spain'. Heinrich Böll Stiftung. Gunda Werner Institute. (7 December 2020). Available from: <https://www.gwi-boell.de/en/node/10395>. Accessed 10 May 2022.



Parsons, Vic (2021) 'Judge Throws Out 'Unarguable' Case Alleging Stonewall's 'Pro-Trans Bias' Influenced Crown Prosecution Service'. Available from: <https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2021/01/13/stonewall-cps-crown-prosecution-service-high-court-case-trans/>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

Paternotte, David and Verloo, Mieke (2021) 'De-democratization and the Politics of Knowledge: Unpacking the Cultural Marxism Narrative'. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*. 28(3): 556–578

Phipps, Alison (2021) 'White Tears, White Rage: Victimhood and (as) Violence in Mainstream Feminism' in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 24(1): 81-93

Ramsay, Adam and Bychawski, Adam (2022). 'Minister Met Lobbyists Ahead of Conversion Therapy U-turn, Documents Reveal'. Available from: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/minister-met-lobbyists-ahead-of-conversion-therapy-u-turn/>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

Ribeiro, M. H.; Blackburn, J.; Bradlyn, B.; Cristofaro, E. de; Stringhini, G.; Long, S.; Greenberg, S; and Zannettou, S. (2020) 'The Evolution of the Manosphere Across the Web'. *Proceedings of the 15th International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media (ICWSM 2021)*. Available from: <https://ojs.aaai.org/index.php/ICWSM/article/download/18053/17856/21548>

Rosenthal, Lawrence (2020) *Empire of Resentment: Populism's Toxic Embrace of Nationalism*. The New Press.
Shameem, N. et al (2021) *Rights at Risk – Time for Action: Observatory on the Universality of Rights Trends Report*. Toronto: Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID).

Shimizu, Akiko (2020) 'Special Contribution: From Backlash to Online Trans-Exclusionism: Response to the Lecture by Prof. Pető' in *Gender and Sexuality (Invited Presentation Manuscripts: 2019 CGS Symposium "Academic Freedom and Gender Studies: The Case in Hungary and a Response in Japan")* No. 15, pp.59-66. Available from: <https://subsite.icu.ac.jp/cgs/images/GenderandSexuality15.pdf>

Stonewall (2020) *Stonewall Statement on Gender Recognition Act reform*. Accessed 9 July 2021.

Stonewall Trans Advisory Group (2017) *A Vision for Change: Acceptance without Exception for Trans People 2017-2022*. London: Stonewall.

Vincent, Ben; Erikainen, Sonja; and Pearce, Ruth (2020) *TERF Wars: Feminism and the Fight for Transgender Futures*. The Sociological Review Monographs Series. London: Sage.

Vučković Juroš, Tanja; Dobrotić, Ivana; and Flego, Sunčica (2020) 'The Rise of the Anti-Gender Movement in Croatia and the 2013 Marriage Referendum'. *Europe-Asia Studies*. 72(9): 1523-1553

Whittier, N. (2014) 'Rethinking Coalitions: Anti-Pornography Feminists, Conservatives, and Relationships between Collaborative Adversarial Movements' in *Social Problems*. 61(2): 175–193

_____ (2018) *Frenemies: Feminists, Social Conservatives, and Sexual Violence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

