

# GENDER IDEOLOGY

Mobilization of conservative groups against gender equality and sexual citizenship

UPDATED VERSION



David PATERNOTTE

Roman KUHAR

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Report on the meeting, held in Budapest, 24-25 April 2015 and in Brussels, 16-17 November 2015.

The project was made possible by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.



The report written by  
David Paternotte and Roman Kuhar

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## 1. Introduction

This report is an updated version of *"Gender Ideology: Mobilization of conservative groups against gender equality and sexual citizenship"*, which came out as a report from the meeting on anti-gender mobilizations in Europe in April 2015 in Budapest. Like previous report, the updated report lists and discusses good and bad practices in countering the anti-gender movements in Europe, with the goal of contributing to political strategies. The discussed strategies are updated with new information gathered during our second meeting on anti-gender mobilizations in Europe in November 2015 in Brussels. Both meetings were organized and made possible by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Initially the crucial role of the Catholic Church as a discourse producer and a mobilizing network must be reminded. We should not, however, restrict the analysis to the Vatican or the heads of national churches. The Church is complex and the involvement of lay Catholics – often as “angry” or “concerned” citizens – appears as a crucial feature of these mobilizations. We must also pay attention to the articulation of Catholic strategies with broader anti-gender struggles or gender fatigue to understand the resonance of such movements. It would finally be misleading to believe in a wide anti-gender conspiracy, led from Rome, Moscow or the United States. Instead of a single offensive, we observe the convergence, sometimes intentional, of different actors and strategies.

This report compiles data from Austria, Belgium, Croatia, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain, which are combined with the contents of the discussions held in Budapest and Brussels. Although we find common strategies across borders, their use and their articulation is partly dependent on the national context. Therefore, this report should not be considered a universal recipe book, with ready-made solutions to counter the anti-gender offensive in Europe. Furthermore, instead of presenting good and bad practices as if they could be easily labelled this way, we prefer to list strategies used on the ground, mentioning their drawbacks when needed.

## 1. Linguistic/Discursive level

*Anti-gender strategies appear as discursive and conceptual struggles. Sometimes explicitly relying on Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony and/or on Orwell's critique of "newspeak", they reclaim progressive notions such as gender or feminism as an attempt to change their meaning. Expressions like "gender ideology" or "gender theory" are carefully chosen to increase confusion among average citizens and to re-signify what progressive voices have been trying to articulate over the last decades. It also offers an easy interpretative grid to understand social change, in particular controversial ethical reforms. John Paul II's "new feminism" relies on a similar objective. Understanding the nature of this attack, several countering strategies have directly worked at a conceptual or discursive level.*

A. Some activists reversed this conservative strategy and took over traditionally conservative terms to make them more inclusive. This led them to reclaim notions such as family or marriage. In Spain, LGBTQ activists have long reclaimed the slogan "Family does matter" (which connotatively tried to establish differentiation between heterosexuals and LGBTQ people) and carved the slogan "All Families matter". More recently, in Slovenia, while opponents to marriage equality called themselves "Civil initiative for family and the rights of children", LGBTQ activists named their group "For all families. For the rights of all children."

Although with less success, defenders of the right to abortion often labelled themselves as "pro-choice" and tried to contest the "pro-life" label by reframing it as "anti-choice". Emphasis on love, well-being or care are other attempts to link feminist or LGBT claims to positively valued notions.

Activists also used the expression "Gender Ideology" as an attempt to alter its meaning. This strategy seems to be ineffective, mostly due to the fact that gender scholars and activists have very limited access to the media and the format they are usually put in does not allow for hijacking the phrase on their own terms.

B. Reclaiming concepts such as gender has been used as a strategy in some countries. Austrian activists, feminist academics and journalists, for example, decided to re-affirm the importance of "feminism" and "gender" by deliberately claiming these labels as their strategy to respond to the attacks against "gender mainstreaming", "gender budgeting" or "gender studies".

C. Shifting the focus towards human rights and presenting sexual and reproductive rights or LGBTQ rights as "mere" human rights appears as a third strategy. Activists contest the idea that rights for women or LGBTQ people are special rights and claim these social movements are merely achieving equal access to (already existing) human rights. This strategy, however, can be regarded as ambivalent and less successful. While it looks - at least partially - successful in some contexts, it remains fragile in others, for both sides keep contesting

the very definition and the scope of human rights. We must also bear in mind that this is the move towards a human rights discourse at the United Nations, which sparked the anti-gender offensive in the nineties.

D. In several countries, activists tried to reframe the whole debate and not to accept the framing imposed by conservative activists. This is the case in Slovakia and France. In Slovakia, activists decided to step outside of conservative discourse, to forget about journalists' questions, and to focus on their topics and terminology. They were not willing to attend discussions with the initiators of the referendum. As a consequence, dichotomised media framing, based on a *pro et contra* debate, was challenged, LGBTQ representatives were not willing to participate and be constructed as those "against family", LGBTQ representatives were not taking defensive positions, and new actors were included into the discussion (such as sociologists, psychologists, lawyers)... In brief, this strategy led to a broader and more diverse debate. However, one should mention a major drawback: the voice of LGBTQ organizations in TV and radio debates were missing while conservatives were still offered enough time and space to present their ideas.

As illustrated in the French case, quite often, opponents are "dictating" the content of the debates. Against this, pro-gay and feminist organizations stuck to a simple message about equality and liberty that did not adequately engage or address the concerns of undecided people.

Similarly, activist attempts to counter discourse against "gender theory" were often reactive: arguing that such a theory did not exist or that gender is simply about parity between men and women. Consequently, the more radical and liberating aspects of gender were downplayed even as anti-gender activists point them out as something to fight against.

E. Although generally dialogue is something that we should strive for in democratic societies, there are examples in which attempts to make dialogue did not turn out to be a good political strategy as no fruitful dialogue was possible at all. In Slovenia, for example, the proponents of marriage equality tried to establish a reasonable dialogue with the opponents, trying to explain their points of view, explaining the problems same-sex families and partnerships are faced with in their everyday life etc., but no fruitful dialogue was possible. One of the opponents, when discussing scientific research in a radio show, said (when off the air), he was not interested in truth as "this is a cultural war".

Dialogue however might be a viable strategy in a country where the debate has not unfolded or escalated yet. The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) is pursuing such an initiative, which aims not only to explain our point of view to the (potential) opponents but to provide a space for critical self-reflection and trust building for all actors. Pető and Kováts (forthcoming) report that in February and June of 2014 the FES organized their first forums explicitly focusing on the anti-

gender mobilizations in Europe. The aim was to understand why these movements are so popular, and to initiate a dialogue between conservative and progressive opinion makers in Hungary in order to prevent similar fundamentalist movements locally. Because of the great interest, the series proceeded from the fall of 2014 on, touching upon social issues that representatives of different worldviews and disciplinary backgrounds could connect to (e.g. motherhood, manhood, childbearing, and love). The idea behind that was, that if the different actors are capable to reflect on their own framework and language, and to comprehend why theirs can fill the others with dread or passions, then they can possibly develop common points and efforts which go beyond (party) political and institutional taglines and ideological labels. Such self-reflection could even perhaps hinder the construction of conspiracy theories designed to demonize the other side. The idea behind that was, that preventing/overcoming the rigid them/us divide is a prerequisite to come to new consensuses on gender equality, LGBTQ rights and more broadly on language of politics.

## 2. Dissemination

*Conservative activists can easily attack the notion of gender or caricature it because it is often poorly understood by average citizens. Constructivist claims are often counter-intuitive and it is easier to claim sex and sexuality rely on natural differences. Feminists and LGBTQ activists have often not spend enough time and resources in explaining and spreading their discourse in society, leaving the floor open for conservative attempts to reframe it.*

Understanding this, feminist and LGBTQ activists sometimes reacted by devoting more time to dissemination. They aimed to demystify their claims and the way they understand the world. In several countries, activists created easy-to-understand materials (such as booklets, websites, leaflets, manuals for teachers and journalists etc.), written in a simplified language, explaining what gender is in relation to sexual orientation, sexual expression and biological sex, as well as highlighting feminist and LGBTQ claims.

This is for instance the case in Poland. Books, manuals, encyclopaedias and articles on gender, using simplified language, were designed for specific groups (teachers, journalists, academics etc.) and spread directly to them or via mainstream media. As illustrated by several cartoons featuring the "gender monster", humour was crucial. As reported by Graff and Korolczuk, these books counter the anti-gender myths and invite readers into a calm (and often

humorous) consideration of the issue at stake. In France, gender studies scholars published several books targeted for a general audience, which could be presented as “gender for dummies”. Organizing meetings, debates, conferences and workshops for a broader audience and outside of the main urban and intellectual centres was also effective, especially when involving face-to-face contact.

### 3. “Everyday life” stories and personal narratives

*Conservative activists often depicted feminists and LGBTQ people as selfish and wicked people, and portrayed their families as a dangerous place for children to grow up. In the context of populist politics, often employed by conservative activists, it is very effective to proclaim “our children” (and consequently “our nation” and its future) endangered. It is therefore crucial to counter such images in order to show how distorted they are.*

For years, activists have used personal stories to promote their claims and show they are not that different from the general population. In France, stories and presentations of same-sex couples and in particular same-sex couples with children put a human and tangible face on the debate. Similarly, in Slovenia the decision of one lesbian family to be featured on the TV news, in several newspaper articles and on a poster, which was displayed at bus stops, had positive effects on the debate, and increased support for marriage and family equality.

Playing with emotions, these stories – which rely on the well-known coming out script – try to convince citizens that claims concern average people, who are just like them, and to solve practical issues in these people’s everyday lives. Often, the mobilization of the children raised by same-sex couples helped counter arguments against gay parenting, to a certain extent. Similarly, trans people come out in several countries and women who had had abortion claimed it publicly.

### 4. Research

*Unlike in the United States, conservative actors are poorly known, mirroring their recent emergence in public debate. Therefore, research appears as a crucial political tool. A good understanding of what is at stake is needed before designing political strategies.*

This project fits in this category. Members of the team have also been involved in other initiatives. Paula Irene Villa is coediting a book on “anti-genderismus” in Germany, which targets a wide audience in this country. Amir Hodzić has collaborated with Zagreb Pride and the NGO CESI (Center for Education, Counselling and Research) in the project #InTheNameOfLove, co-authoring report on neo-conservative threats to sexual and reproductive health and rights in EU. David Paternotte organized the Habemus Gender conference in Brussels in May 2014. Strongly influenced by the French experience of the Manif pour Tous, this

conference was designed as a response to attacks on gender studies. At the same time, it relies on a clear refusal to engage in a debate set by conservatives and rather tried to uncover the strategies behind these mobilisations. It was also a first attempt to connect researchers across borders and to dig into the transnational similarities and connections between these movements. Several participants of the project of the Ebert Foundation participated at this event. Roman Kuhar organized a panel on “gender theory” at the annual meeting of the Slovenian Sociological Association in 2014, bringing together academics from Slovenia and Croatia dealing with gender and religion. In 2015 a research project “*Gender in Schoolbooks*” was initiated in Poland.<sup>1</sup> Schoolbooks used in Polish schools were examined in detail by a group of gender experts, who published a report under the auspices of Plenipotentiary for Gender Equality. The report targeted specific groups (academics, teachers, journalists) and gave them information about how the question of gender and gender (in)equality are presented in schoolbooks

In Poland a special academic association *Polish Gender Society* was set up in 2014 as a reaction to the anti-gender movements. Among others it aims at defending the good name of scholars who use gender as a concept in their research, to foster debate and intellectual collaboration among scholars. Its first conference “*Gender on the Vistula: Feminism after 25 years*” took place on December 18, 2015 and

featured three sessions: on war on gender as cultural phenomenon; on gender in education; on effects of anti-genderism on academia.<sup>2</sup>

However academia is not necessarily always a safe place for scientific deconstruction of anti-gender ideology. As reported by Kevin Moss (forthcoming) in Russia the Sociology Faculty of Moscow State University is a haven for conservative and anti-gender theorizing. Alexander Dugin, considered by many to be Putin’s favorite intellectual, holds a chair and has lectured on the Sociology of Gender there, and Anatoly Antonov, a founder of the World Congress of Families and long-time anti-gay and anti-gender theorist holds a chair in that faculty.

## 5. Exposure

*Conservative activists often present themselves in neutral terms. They use the mask of “concerned citizens” to intervene in public debates and generally hide the most controversial elements of their biographies.*

A. In close connection to the former point on research, some activists tried to use knowledge to expose opponents. The goal was to uncover who is behind these mobilisations, and to unmask apparently neutral actors. This can be done at various levels: ideology, networks, funding, etc.

For instance, Slovenian, Croatian or French activists showed that

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<sup>1</sup> See: <http://gender-podreczniki.amu.edu.pl/>

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<sup>2</sup> See: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1215175411831877/>

conservative activists in their country were closely connected to the Roman Catholic Church, groups such as the Opus Dei or far right groups. They also tried to understand where the money came from, looking into international funding network involving the Vatican, Russia and the US Christian Right. This strategy follows a model long experienced by progressive think tanks such as Political Research Associates in the United States. It also implies spreading information, which would otherwise remain confidential, and disseminating academic knowledge. Several of us have been involved in public events and have shared their knowledge in the media.

Two examples are detailed below:

1. In Croatia, activists, in collaboration with journalists, tried to expose opponents' lack of financial transparency and relations to religious hierarchies. They showed that the mobilization for a referendum on constitutional definition of marriage is run by a small group of people (i.e. members of few families), who work through 12 different civil initiatives and are closely connected to the Croatian leaders of the Roman Catholic Church. Member from all these families are interconnected through friendship and business connections, while the source of their financial means are the Opus Dei, the Croatian Catholic Church, the Croatian diaspora and the pharmaceutical lobby. Media exposure of such information to a certain extent weakened the opponents' movement.

2. In Poland, feminist organisations prepared a report stating that many Catholic organizations received EU

funds, which are given only to organizations, which comply with gender equality standards. Activists held press conference, ensuring the involvement of several MPs, and urged Polish authorities to control the allocation of these funds, so that Catholic and other organizations, which do not fulfil these criteria, would have to give the money back. This strategy got wide media coverage, but the results are yet to be seen: so far the authorities did not act on this.

B. Disqualifying opponents, by ridiculing conservative actors and some of their fears, may complement this strategy. As mentioned earlier, Polish activists used humour against their opponents. French LGBTQ organisations also produced visual materials mocking some of their opponents' most outrageous claims, for instance those announcing the end of civilization or the disappearance of the notions of "father" and "mother".

C. An alternative strategy, used in Poland, entails making conservative actors invisible. For instance, campaigns on violence against women aiming to support the Istanbul convention did not stress conflict with conservative groups. It rather focused on "safety", "lives", "freedom" and publicised the support given by famous Polish men to the Istanbul convention. Feminist activists assumed it would be more difficult for conservatives to attack well-known hockey players, actors or singers than human rights activists and experts.

D. One should however remain extremely cautious when using

exposure as a strategy, as early exposure may restrain access to important sources of information. This can also increase a climate of polarization, which may not serve progressive goals. Finally, we must be aware conservatives are also watching their opponents, including researchers. They sometimes know who we are and what we do. Several members of our team were openly attacked in mainstream or conservative media, or were denied access to their field, with interviewees and contacts asking what he was doing at specific pro-gender conferences.

## 6. Traditional media

*Progressive claims are not always depicted adequately in the media, fuelling opposition.*

A. In several countries, activists worked closely with mainstream media, which are open to their claims without always depicting them properly, and provided them with first-hand information about their claims. In some cases, activists also “leaked” information about opponents. For instance, in Slovenia, close work with media in terms of de-constructing the arguments and the allegedly scientific data used by the opponents - consequently exposing their lies - turned out to be a fairly successful strategy. Opponents often referred to some “American studies” in order to claim that same-sex families are a dangerous environment for children to grow up. However a closer look at these studies showed that the results were misinterpreted and abused. Once

media exposed these lies, the opponents were less successful in referring to these studies as journalists and others would point out that such conclusions cannot be made on the basis of (sociological and psychological) studies.

B. In several countries, mainstream media regularly publish sternly anti-feminist, misogynist or homophobic commentaries as a secure strategy to attract attention, counter-commentaries and debate. This happened for example in France and in Austria. Until now, no efficient counter-strategy has been mentioned. Similarly in Russia the national television has been particularly active in recycling anti-gender discourse as a way to distinguish Russia from the decadent West, where “gender ideology” is part of the problem.

## 7. Internet and social media

*Conservative actors are extremely present on the Web. There is a dense network of conservative websites, and information travel easily across borders. They make heavy use of social media to share their concern and to mobilise citizens.*

A. To counter this, pro-gender activists have invested time and resources in increasing their online presence. In Slovenia, for example, every roundtable discussion on marriage equality was filmed and posted on Youtube. Additional interviews with experts (and later celebrities) were produced for social media.

B. In Germany activists launched 'laugh'-campaigns and actions such as reading out hate e-mails or hate messages that appeared on social media, e.g. Facebook, creating a semi-public and safe space of solidarity and laughter.

C. In Poland a new type of organization emerged – an open platform established as a foundation Akcja Demokracja (Action Democracy)<sup>3</sup> with the goal to mobilize broad public in the name of social and gender justice, democracy and solidarity. The establishment of AD was partly a response to the popularity of conservative open platforms such as CitizenGo which managed to mobilize large numbers of internet users to protest against “gender ideology”, social and sexual rights etc in recent years. In other words – though not a direct response to anti-genderism – it is a response to the New Right’s web presence and activism, an effort to take back initiative.

## 8. Joining forces, building coalitions and involving celebrities

*According to conservative actors, gender is a conspiracy mounted by feminists, LGBTQ activists and gender studies scholars, erasing internal debates and discrepancies.*

A. Although feminists, LGBTQ activists and gender studies scholars were often historically divided, they joined forces to counter the anti-

gender offensive. This curiously works into conservative arguments, which act as a self-fulfilling prophecy. But it appears as a condition for success in numerous countries, especially when working with limited constituencies. Such coalitions may also include political parties, humanist organisations and progressive religious voices.

In France, coordination and unity between feminist and LGBTQ groups during the legislative debates afforded a certain amount of clarity in messaging, though with some negative side effects. In Croatia and Slovenia, a wide civil society organizations coalition was established. In Slovenia this coalition included supporting political parties. Both coalitions also worked together with celebrities supporting marriage equality. In Croatia, for example, the queer feminist choir Le Zbor recorded a cover version of a famous Croatian song *Love for Everyone* (Ljubav za sve) together with several Croatian celebrities who support marriage equality (actors, TV personalities, singers etc.). The video went viral and was used as an effective way to raise awareness and to show the broad support for marriage equality. Although originally a pop love song, the lyrics got a slightly new meaning in the context of political struggle for marriage equality: “Love for everyone! Love for everyone! Let only love lead the way, towards a new world, towards a better world, go on and do not turn around. Take me to the world, where only love remains, and don’t

<sup>3</sup> See: <https://www.akcjademokracja.pl/>

worry about us, there are better years coming our way.”<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, in Slovenia, Zlatko, a popular Slovenian rap singer, recorded a song in which he expresses his support for marriage equality and an inclusive society. The video features other famous Slovenian singers and actors, who deliver their own messages of support for marriage equality on small posters holding in front of them.<sup>5</sup>

B. Transnational coalitions and support from European institutions has proved to be useful. However, we should be careful, as it is exactly what opponents are attacking. This could therefore reinforce their claims. Indeed, anti-gender activists have been successful at framing gender as a foreign import tied to the United States and linked to globalization and financial liberalism, which are generally unpopular in many countries. They also claim gender is a totalitarian invention imposed by the UN and the EU without consulting citizens.

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<sup>4</sup> See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KmeHnaEGrQE>.

<sup>5</sup> See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=okWQpY2K-I>.

## 9. Reinforcing internal critical voices and finding allies

*The Catholic Church is not a monolith and pro-gender activists can also be found within this institution. These are crucial allies, and should be systematically looked for. The involvement of liberal, feminist and gay-friendly religious groups helped mitigate the centralized messages of the Catholic Church. It showed that many queer people are religious themselves and that it was incorrect to categorize the debate as an opposition between faith and atheism or agnosticism.*

Three remarks must be made.

A. We need to make sure we find actors with some influence within their own community, and who are not regarded as mere outsiders. After two conservative pontificates, these voices are often weak and discouraged, leaving public debate to conservative Catholic groups. They should be supported and empowered. This should be done with tact not to diminish their internal credibility.

B. Dialogue should also be started with open-minded religious actors, who are willing to better understand gender and are ready to revise their position or have not taken one yet.

C. We must avoid stigmatising believers and religious people in order not to enter a debate about religious freedom and not to reinforce the on-going polarisation process.

## 10. Litigation

In Croatia, activists filed a collective complaint to the European Committee of Social Rights against the Republic of Croatia because of the extra-curricular abstinence-based sex education program TeenSTAR, originally developed in the USA. This program was administered since 1997 in approximately 100 schools in Croatia. It claims that masturbation was a sign of grave moral disorder, while homosexuality was a form of sexual harassment. The European Committee ruled that the program is indeed discriminatory, which resulted in replacement of one biology textbook containing homophobic statements.

One should however be extremely careful when using judicial strategy. Research on law and society, especially in the United States, has shown litigation can be a double-edge sword and sometimes reinforced the Christian right or other conservative actors. In addition, Christian actors are increasingly using and referring to religious freedoms provisions to advance their claims (for instance by claiming moral objection or by denouncing christianophobia).

## 11. Expert/Institutional support

In order not to leave expertise claims to opponents, pro-gender activists searched for institutional support and public statements from academic or political associations and institutions. In Germany, the German Sociological

Association (DGS) officially reacted when academics and scholars were improperly attacked and threatened.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in France in 2014, a public statement defending gender as a valuable analytical tool was signed by several professional organisations, such as the French sociological association and the French political science association.<sup>7</sup> In Slovenia the Association of psychologists prepared a public statement in support of gay families – that importantly resonated in media.<sup>8</sup> In Belgium, the Habemus Gender conference was an official event of the Université libre de Bruxelles, openly supported by the Chancellor, three Faculties and the Alumni Associations, as well as by the Belgian political science association. A Vice-Chancellor and three Deans opened the conference, along with the Director of the Federal Institute for Equality between Women and Men, and the Head of the Gender Equality Unit of the Regional government. The conference was financially supported by five regional Ministries and the City of Brussels.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See:

<http://www.soziologie.de/de/nc/aktuell/meldungen-archiv/aktuelles-singleview/archive/2014/07/23/article/erkl%C3%A4rung-der-deutschen-gesellschaft-f%C3%BCr-soziologie-dgs-zu-aktuellen-kampagnen-der-diskreditierung.html>,

<http://www.icsu.org/publications/cfrs>

<sup>7</sup> See: <http://www.apses.org/initiatives-actions/actions-2013-14/article/nouvel-article-5205#.VVCEX1oRnGI>

<sup>8</sup> See: <http://narobe.si/myblog/psiholosko-drustvo-se-enkrat-pojasnjuje-svoje-stalisce>.

<sup>9</sup> See

[http://www.ulb.ac.be/is/ags/RESUMES/Habemus\\_gender\\_2013.html](http://www.ulb.ac.be/is/ags/RESUMES/Habemus_gender_2013.html).

## 12. What should be avoided ...

### A. At the level of arguments

Vague and conflicting messages from pro-gender groups and allied government officials should be avoided. It is better if there is a strong coordination between the two, focusing on the same or at least congruent messages. This was particularly a problem in France, where different official voices (the President, the Prime Minister, the Government, the Parliament, the Socialist Party) were contradicting each other and making activists' job particularly difficult (despite the fact that many of them were members of the socialist party).

Using defensive rather than pro-active arguments may also be problematic. Entering in debate with opponents often implies accepting the way they frame the debate. This is often a problematic move, although it is not always easy to resist it when you are under attack. As mentioned earlier, this may also leave the floor open for uncontrolled or unknown actors.

### B. Counter-demonstrations

To be effective, counter-demonstrations should gather more participants than conservative demonstrations. In France, same-sex marriage defenders organised a demonstration to counter the Manif pour Tous but did not manage to gather as many people. After this, they organised other sorts of events – like a

pop concert with international stars such as Mika - to avoid adverse comparisons between the two movements. In Austria, feminist groups demonstrated against anti-abortionists ("March for life" by HLL, Youth for Life and similar organisation), who marched in front of abortion clinics. However, these actions were often not successful as not enough feminist activists could be mobilised. For these same reasons, in Slovenia counter-demonstrations were never organized. It was concluded that a counter-demonstration would give some kind of legitimacy to the protests of the opponents and that is not something the proponents of gender and marriage equality should do.