

# ANTI-GENDER NARRATIVES AND STRATEGIES

REPORT FOR EUROPEAN INSTITUTE  
FOR GENDER EQUALITY

NEIL DATTA & DAVID PATERNOTTE

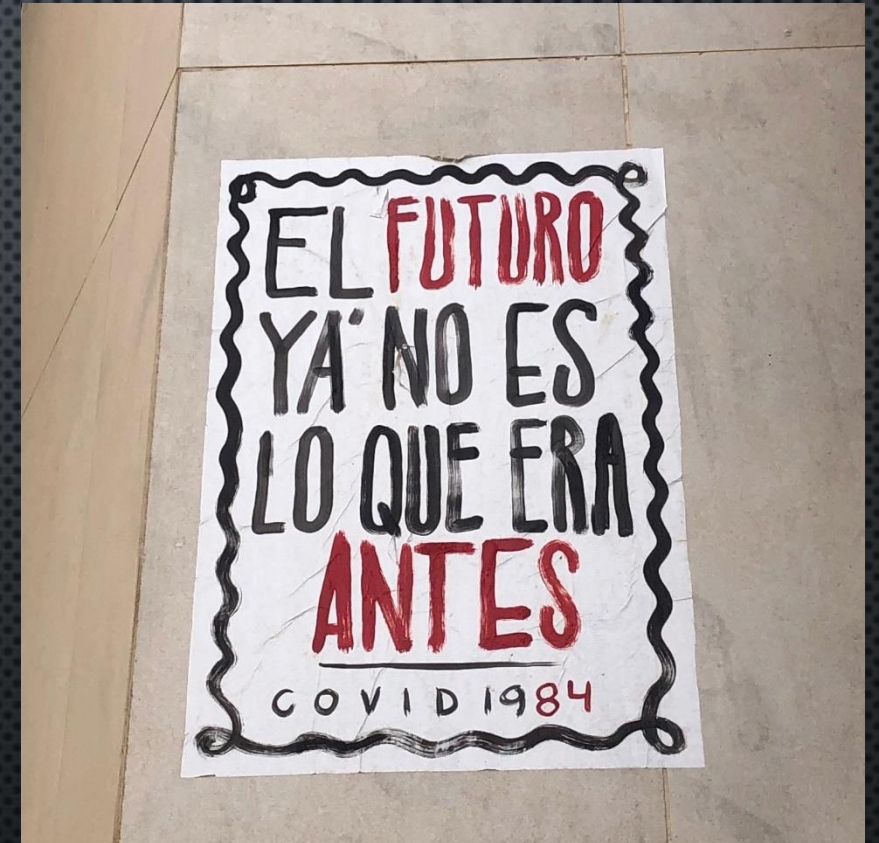
5 NOVEMBER 2020

25<sup>TH</sup> EIGE EXPERTS' FORUM MEETING



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# 0. THE CRUCIAL POLYSEMY OF 'GENDER'

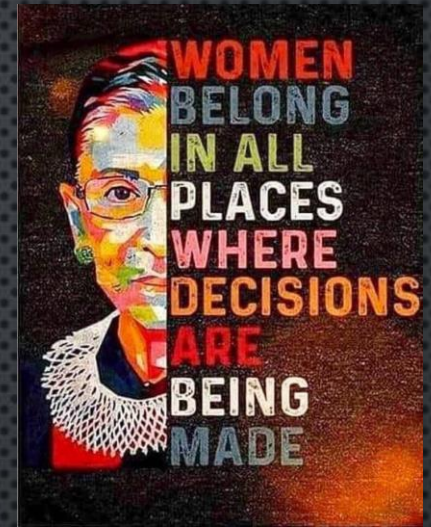
THE NOTION OF 'GENDER' HAS A LONG HISTORY, WHICH EXPLAINS A **MULTI-LAYERED MEANING**

1. A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MEDICAL TERM  
MONEY (1955), STOLLER (1968)
2. AN ACADEMIC TERM: WOMEN'S AND GENDER STUDIES  
[BEAUVOIR (1949)], OAKLEY (1972), RUBIN (1975), DELPHY (1976), SCOTT (1986), BUTLER (1990), ETC.
3. AN ACTIVIST TERM
4. A POLICY TERM  
1972: RUTH BADER GINSBURG (MORITZ VS. COMMISSIONER)  
1995: BEIJING: [GENDER] IN ANNEX IV  
2011: ISTANBUL CONVENTION (CoE): ""GENDER"" SHALL MEAN THE SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED ROLES, BEHAVIOURS, ACTIVITIES AND ATTRIBUTES THAT A GIVEN SOCIETY CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE FOR WOMEN AND MEN""

ANTI-GENDER ACTIVISTS DO **NOT** DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THESE INTERRELATED MEANINGS,

BUT BUILD ON THE CONSTITUTIVE POLYSEMY OF THE NOTION OF 'GENDER.'

'GENDER IDEOLOGY' IS A FLOATING/EMPTY SIGNIFIER. ADAPTABILITY AND PLASTICITY ARE KEY TO SUCCESS.



# 1. WHAT ARE ANTI-GENDER CAMPAIGNS?

- A SPECIFIC SET OF INITIATIVES AGAINST GENDER AND SEXUAL EQUALITIES (INCLUDING REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS)
- STARTED IN MID-2000s, BLOSSOMED 2010 ONWARD
- RENEWAL OF ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE ACTIVISM
- NOT BE CONFUSED WITH RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN GENDER STUDIES OR GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES WHERE GENDER IS DEFINED AS *“THE SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED ROLES, BEHAVIOURS, ACTIVITIES AND ATTRIBUTES THAT A GIVEN SOCIETY CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE FOR WOMEN AND MEN.”*

**INTRODUCCIÓN EN LA SOCIEDAD DEL GÉNERO**



22 de noviembre  
20:30 horas  
Gran Hotel Almería

**PONENTE: FRANCISCO MARTÍNEZ.  
PRESIDENTE ASOCIACIÓN LIBERTAS DE MURCIA.**

**HO HAZTEOIR.ORG**  
Víctimas de la ideología de género

## 2. INVENTING 'GENDER IDEOLOGY'

- INTERPRETATIVE FRAME AND A STRATEGY OF ACTION FOR PERCEIVED LOSSES OF 1990s
- REINTERPRET THE MEANING OF 'GENDER' IN PUBLIC AND POLICY DEBATES
- CATHOLIC INTELLECTUALS IDENTIFIED 'GENDER' AS THE HIDDEN VEHICLE BEHIND THE POLICY REFORMS COMBATTED BY THE CHURCH



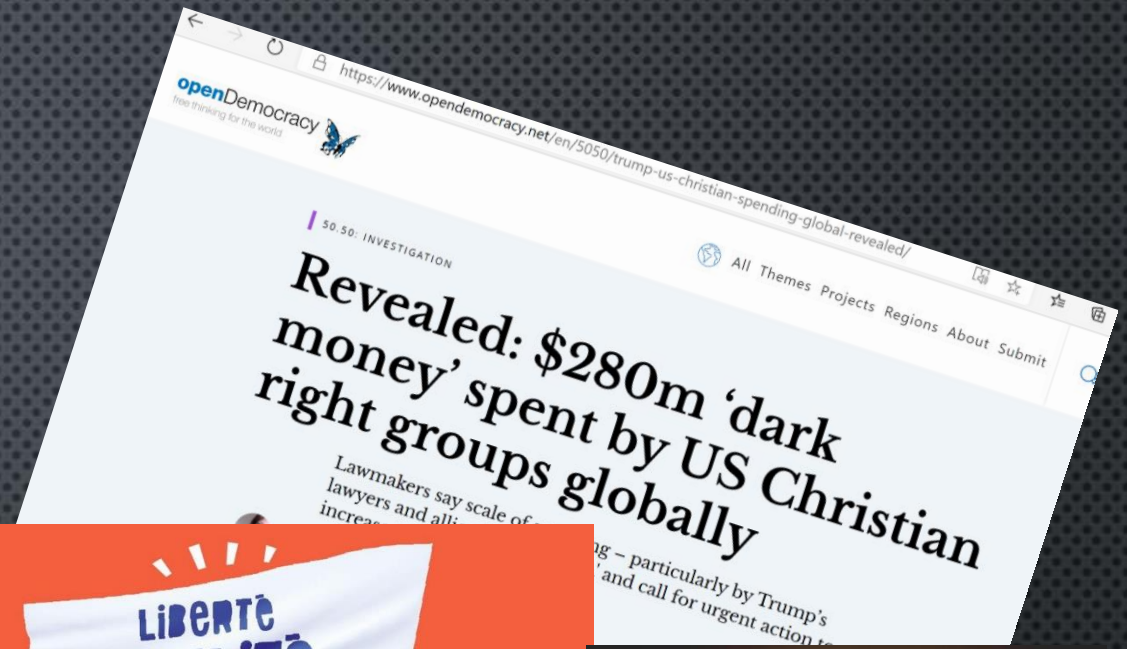
### 3. 'GENDER IDEOLOGY' SPREADS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

- MOBILISATIONS STARTED IN THE MID-2000s:
  - SPAIN (2004-2005)
  - CROATIA (2006)
  - ITALY (2007)
  - SLOVENIA (2009)
- 2013 A CRUCIAL YEAR:
  - LA MANIF POUR TOUS
  - CROATIAN REFERENDUM ON MARRIAGE
  - AGENDA EUROPE
  - CITIZEN GO
  - EP REPORT ON SRHR



# 4. ANTI-GENDER ACTORS

1. RELIGIOUS ACTORS
2. CIVIL SOCIETY
3. KNOWLEDGE PRODUCERS AND CAMPAIGN ENGINEERS
4. FUNDERS
5. POLITICIANS AND POLITICAL PARTIES
6. STATES



# 5. ANTI-GENDER TARGETS

1. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND RIGHTS (SRHR)
2. LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANS, QUEER AND INTERSEX (LGBTQI) RIGHTS
3. CHILDREN'S RIGHTS
4. 'GENDER'
5. LAWS AND POLICIES PROMOTING EQUALITY AND INCLUSION (AND CRIMINALISATION OF HATE SPEECH AND DISCRIMINATION)





## 6. KEY STRATEGIES AND THE ANTI-GENDER TOOLBOX

1. 'SALAMI SLICE' STRATEGY

2. (DE)FUNDING

3. 'POISON THE WELL'

4. 'WEDGE ISSUES'



1. PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS

2. PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY TOOLS

3. SOCIAL MEDIA MOBILIZATION AND ALTERNATIVE NEWS CHANNELS

4. POLITICAL ADVOCACY

5. LEGAL MOBILISATION AND LITIGATION

# 7. ANTI-GENDER DISCURSIVE FRAMES

## CORE ARGUMENTS:

- ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVOLUTION
- NATURE AND SCIENCE
- 'COMMON SENSE'
- CONSPIRACY
- 'POLITICAL CORRECTNESS'
- TOTALITARIAN PROJECT
- CENSORSHIP
- CULTURAL MARXISM
- CORRUPT ELITES

*"Gender ideology is destructive, obscurantist, anti-social, anti-popular as much as it is anti-natural."*

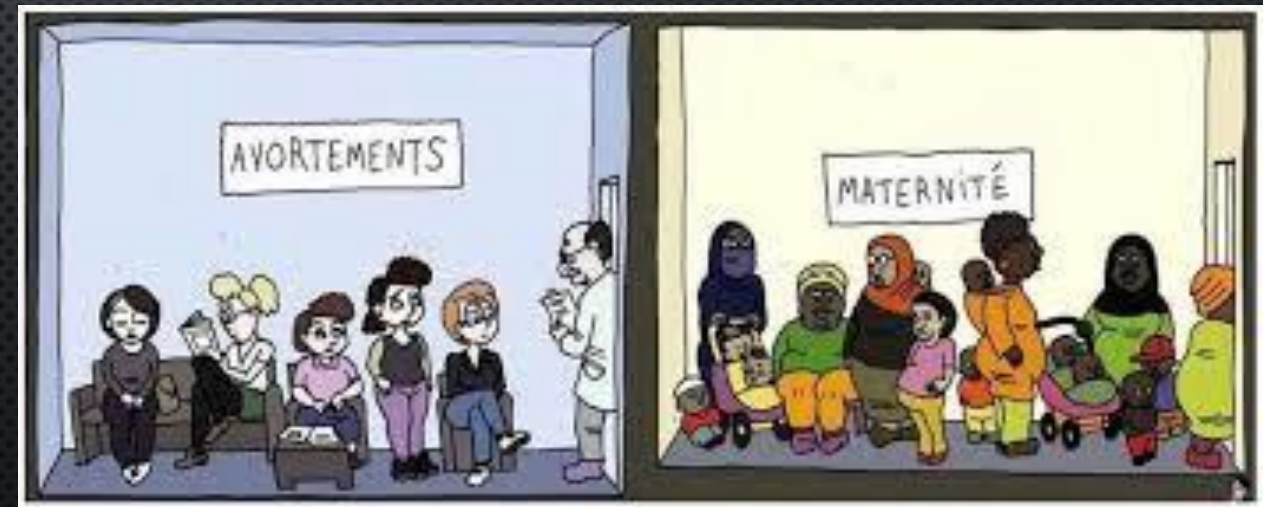
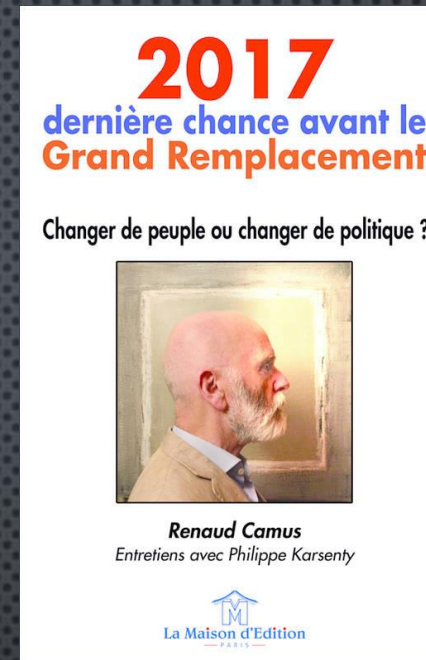
## ADDITIONAL DISCURSIVE FRAMES :

- DEMOGRAPHY
- ECOLOGY
- RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
- NEOCOLONIALISM



# 7.1 DEMOGRAPHY

1. 'DEMOGRAPHIC WINTER'
2. 'GREAT REPLACEMENT'
3. DEFENCE OF CHRISTIAN EUROPE / WESTERN CIVILISATION
4. MIGRATION OF IDEAS FROM FRINGE FRENCH FAR-RIGHT/CATHOLIC THINKING TO MAINSTREAM DISCOURSE



Abortion clinic

Maternity ward

# 7.2 ECOLOGY

- 1. 'HUMAN ECOLOGY'
- 2. 'INTEGRAL ECOLOGY'
- 3. HUMAN INTERVENTIONS AGAINST OF NATURE AND A MISUSE OF TECHNOLOGY



## 7.3 RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

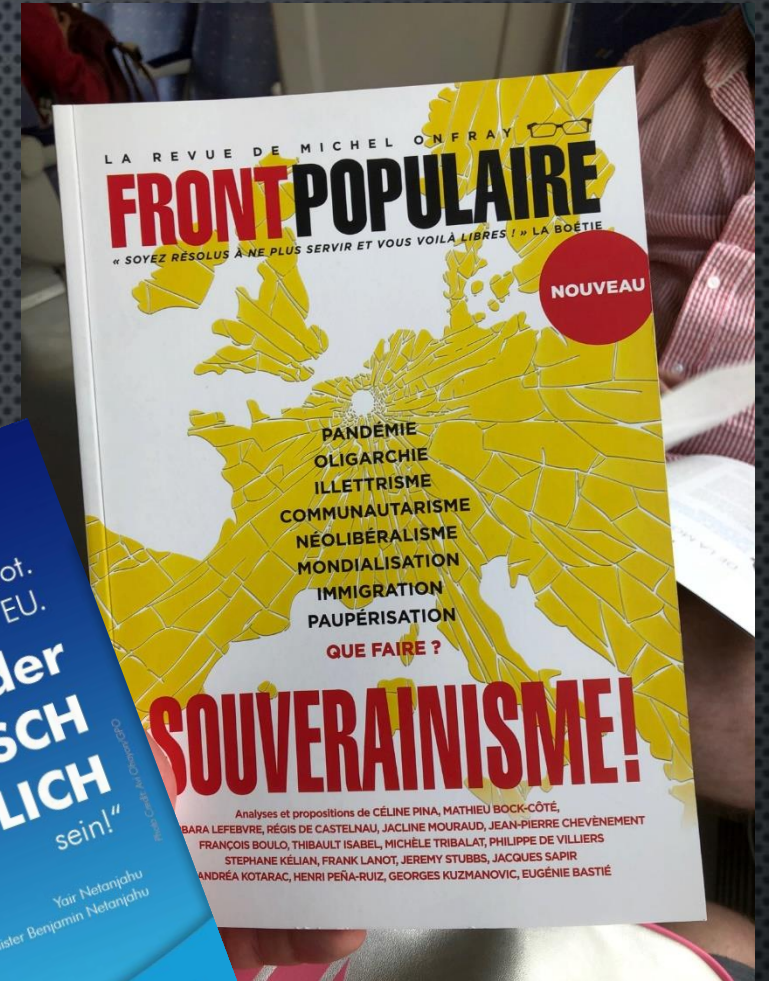
1. SELF-VICTIMISATION / DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHRISTIANS
2. ADVANCE OF OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS IS ITSELF AN ATTACK ON RIGHTS OF CHRISTIANS
3. LEGAL PROTECTION FOR RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
4. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION (DENIAL OF DUTIES/ CARE)

**"THE MOST DANGEROUS AREAS ARE THOSE WHICH LIMIT THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION OF CHRISTIANS WHO DO NOT WANT TO COOPERATE IN ABORTION, THE SALE OF ABORTIFACIENT PILLS, OR THE CELEBRATION OF SAME-SEX MARRIAGE."**



# 7.4 NEOCOLONIALISM

- 1. 'IDEOLOGICAL COLONIZATION'
- 2. INFRINGEMENT ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY
- 3. "EBOLA FROM BRUSSELS"
- 4. PARALLEL OR 'ALT-' DIPLOMACY



## 8. TIPS TO BUILD SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-STRATEGIES

1. UNDERSTAND THE THREAT OF ANTI-GENDER CAMPAIGNS AND INITIATIVES
2. MOVE OUT OF SECTORAL SILOES AND BUILD COALITIONS ACROSS ISSUES AND SECTORS
3. LEARN TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN WHO ARE ENEMIES OF GENDER EQUALITY AND WHAT ARE DISAGREEMENTS AMONG FRIENDS
4. INVEST IN RESEARCH
5. DESIGN STRATEGIES THAT CONSIDER THE RISK OF BACKFIRE
6. WORK ON THE GROUND
7. TAKE RELIGION SERIOUSLY AND ENGAGE WITH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES
8. THINK TRANSNATIONALLY... AND LOOK BEYOND NATIONAL BORDERS
9. BEWARE OF 'BACKLASH' THINKING

THANK YOU

NEIL DATTA & DAVID PATERNOTTE

