RESIST

Fostering Queer Feminist Intersectional Resistances against Transnational Anti-Gender Politics

The RESIST Project Report

Effects of, and Resistances to 'Anti-Gender' Mobilisations Across Europe:

A Report on France

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PUBLICATION INFORMATION

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Executive Summary

This case study report investigates the pervasive forms of attacks faced by feminist and LGBTIQ+ people in France, illustrating a continuum of violence that ranges from verbal and physical abuse to the fear and apprehension of potential attacks.

The French context is shaped by a historical legacy of Catholicism, colonialism, conservatism, and secularism, which permeates and informs the discourses and actions of 'anti-gender' movements. This report provides an analysis of the effects of, and resistance to, anti-feminist and anti-LGBTIQ+ movements, discourses, and politics in France.

Participants frequently reported insults, threats, and even physical assaults, both in public spaces and on social media, as a result of their feminist or LGBTIQ+ positions. These attacks are carried out by individuals or organised groups. While property damage was less commonly cited, cases of vandalism and threatening messages directed at offices or premises were mentioned. These movements appear to be complex, intricately woven into everyday discourse.

The role of media and political narratives was seen as normalising and, in some cases, encouraging stigmatisation and marginalisation, deeply affecting the daily lives of those targeted. Media and political rhetoric often sensationalises gender-related issues, further polarising public debate. Legal recourse appears limited, with challenges such as underreporting and lenient legal outcomes making it difficult for victims to seek adequate protection. As a result, many individuals adopt self-defence strategies or alter their behaviours to reduce exposure to risks.

One of the most significant impacts of these attacks is the persistent fear and anxiety felt by feminist and LGBTIQ+ people. An intersectional approach reveals how racism and sexism compound stigmatisation and isolation, even within these communities. The psychological effects are profound, often resulting in isolation, depression, and, in some cases, suicide. There are also professional consequences, as the lack of institutional support exacerbates these challenges. In educational settings, the impact is particularly noticeable, with efforts to address gender issues facing resistance. For instance, groups have formed to advocate for greater awareness of gender diversity in schools, but such initiatives face significant obstacles.

Despite these challenges, resistance remains a crucial force, with knowledge production identified as a key tool for countering prejudice and oppression. The report highlights the struggles faced by initiatives aimed at integrating comprehensive gender education. Efforts to disseminate knowledge and create safer spaces are essential in fostering inclusive environments. The concept of safer spaces is emphasised as fundamental to ensuring that individuals can thrive, free from both physical and political violence.

Finally, collective action and solidarity within these communities emerged as vital strategies for building resilience and advocating for rights. Participants stressed the importance of collective mobilisation and the establishment of robust support networks, both online and offline, as essential to resisting systemic discrimination and violence. Participants discussed various factors influencing their

engagement and disengagement, particularly in relation to exhaustion. Their perspectives highlighted a continuum between individual attacks and broader systemic, intersectional violence and oppression.

Introduction

This case study explores the lived experiences of encountering 'anti-gender' discourses, mobilisations, and politics, and analyses their effects and everyday resistances in France. Notably, the term 'anti-gender' was not used by participants, nor did it resonate with how they narrate and conceptualise their experiences. Instead, participants framed their struggles within the language of 'anti-feminist' and 'anti-LGBTIQ+' discourses and politics. To remain faithful to their rhetoric and better reflect the specific forms these discourses take in the French context, we have adopted the terms 'anti-feminist' and anti-LGBTIQ+' discourses and politics in this study.

This report outlines how 30 feminist academics, activists, journalists, public intellectuals, and members of civil society experience, negotiate, and resist attacks related to their identities, lives, politics, and work in the fields of sexualities and gender. For further details, see [Table 1: Respondent profiles France](#).

The findings are based on data from four focus groups—with 15 participants, ranging from 3 to 4 per group—and 15 face-to-face interviews conducted with people from different regions of France. Participants responded to invitations to join focus groups or interviews because they had experienced various forms of 'anti-gender' hostility in their lives. Recruitment was done through targeted emails sent to people, communities, and groups likely to have been affected.

Following an overview of the French context, this report will present the key findings, bringing together the main themes that emerged from both the focus groups and interviews.

Context

'Conservatism' is an enduring feature of French society even though France has changed in relation to genders and sexualities since the seventies.

To understand what kind of experiences are faced by people and collectives targeted by anti-feminist and anti-LGBTIQ+ discourses, movements and policies in France, it is essential to consider that a combination of historical and cultural contexts, political landscapes, social dynamics, international influence and recent debates shape these phenomena in France.

A history shaped by Catholicism, colonialism and secularism

France has a strong tradition of secularism, which is enshrined in the French constitution and is a fundamental aspect of French identity. This principle, known as *laïcité*, separates religion from the state and aims to ensure religious neutrality in public spaces[1]. This has sometimes led to tensions with religious communities, particularly around issues of gender and sexuality[2]. Despite the secular state, Catholicism has historically played a significant role in French society and continues to influence conservative discourses, mobilisations and values, particularly regarding family structures, gender roles, and sexuality[3].

In addition, the historical legacy of French colonialism, past and present, in so-called overseas territories has also shaped contemporary social and cultural dynamics in France. These legacies contribute to ongoing debates and challenges concerning racism and discriminations, migration patterns, multiculturalism and

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[1] Rémond, R. (1981) *Religion et société en Europe: La sécularisation aux XIXe et XXe siècles.* Paris: Le Seuil.

[2] Scott, J. W. (2007) *The Politics of the Veil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[3] Kselman, T. (2013) *Conscience and Conversion: Religious Liberty in Post-Revolutionary France*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

citizenship in contemporary French society[4]. For example, France regularly debates the removal of the word 'race' from article 1 of its Constitution:[5] The word appeared in the government reshuffling of 1946, just after the end of the Second World War, with the aim of reaffirming the rejection of racism. In 2018, the National Assembly removed the terms 'race' and 'sex distinction' from the Constitution text.

The geopolitical context in the Middle East and the attacks in Paris in 2015 and Nice in 2016 have incited a firestorm that has been brewing for a long time, with a growing rejection and stigmatisation of Islam in France, fuelled by far-right movements[6]. This trend has existed since the 1990s, exemplified by hijab/niqab bans, echoing the colonial 'unveiling' policies in Algeria[7].

The rise beyond far-right and the reconfiguration of conservative movements

Since 2002, there has been a notable increase in electoral support for far-right parties in France. One of the most well-known is the *Rassemblement National* (RN) which had 8 deputies in 2017, 89 in 2022 and 139 in 2024. It defends a conservative, security-oriented policy, particularly targeting immigration. In a country with an ageing population, combined with the COVID-19 pandemic and economic insecurity, such as inflation, fears and resistance to social changes can be exacerbated within the population[8]. These voters, often from lower middle-class backgrounds, express fears of social downgrading and competition for access to public services. This insecurity reinforces their attachment to conservative policies aimed at protecting the existing social order. The racist dimension remains deeply ingrained and even foundational among these voters, as demonstrated by Félicien Faury's work (2024), which shows that concerns about immigration and security are often framed through racialised representations and a sense of cultural threat.

The conservatism of RN voters is partly driven by a desire to preserve a perceived social norm under threat. This norm includes traditional values and a certain social order, which voters feel is under pressure from both the top (economic elites) and the bottom (ethnic and immigrant minorities). Political parties like *Reconquête*, the *Rassemblement National* and *Les Républicains* have gained traction due to factors such as dissatisfaction with traditional parties, concerns over immigration and security[9], but also by promoting traditional family values and opposing what they call "gender ideology".

Movements such as *La Manif Pour Tous*, which emerged in opposition to same-sex marriage laws in 2013[10], and *Le Printemps Républicain* a political movement founded in 2016 to promote secularism, rally against

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[4] Stora, B. (2009) *La gangrène et l'oubli : La mémoire de la guerre d'Algérie*. Paris: La Découverte. See also Blanchard, P., Bancel, N., & Lemaire, S. (Eds.). (2011) *La fracture coloniale : La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial*. Paris: La Découverte.

[5] See LaBreck, A. (2021) Color-Blind: Examining France's Approach to Race Policy. Harvard International Review. Available at: https://hir.harvard.edu/color-blind-frances-approach-to-race/

[6] Mayer, N., Michelat, G., Tiberj, V., & Vitale, T. (2020) *La lutte contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et la xénophobie. Année 2019*. Paris: La documentation française.

On the multi-scalar dimension of islamophobia, see also: Najib, K., & Teeple Hopkins, C. (2020) Geographies of islamophobia. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *21*(4), 449-457.

[7] Sabrina Ahmed Ali, « Du corps politique au corps colonisé : chronique d'une domination orchestrée », *Aleph* [En ligne], 7 (4) | 2020. Available at: https://aleph.edinum.org/2754

[8] To Yuma Ando, Nonna Mayer, Vincent Tiberj, Tommaso Vitale, French political researchers, "conversely, the more [the person] feels a deterioration in their personal economic situation, the more likely they are to become intolerant and scapegoat minorities. This variable has gained increased importance in recent years, within the context of economic insecurity generated by the pandemic and, since the war in Ukraine, by the energy crisis and rising inflation" (Ando, Y., Mayer, N., Tiberj, V. and Vitale, T. (2023). Mesurer les préjugés racistes. Le regard des chercheurs. In: La documentation française, *La lutte contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et la xénophobie*. Rapport pour la Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme (CNCDH), 171.)
See also Faury, F. (2024) *Des électeurs ordinaires: Enquête sur la normalisation de l'extrême droite*. Paris : Au Seuil.

[9] Faury, F. (2024) *Des électeurs ordinaires: Enquête sur la normalisation de l'extrême droite*. Paris : Au Seuil.

[10] Perreau, B. (2020). *Queer Theory: The French Response*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

what they perceive as threats to the traditional family structure, often targeting trans* rights and gender equality initiatives particularly in the area of education[11].

Educational reforms, debates and controversies

Efforts to introduce gender education into curricula have sparked significant resistance and debate. Media representation and public discourse around gender issues are highly polarised. Some media outlets and public figures promote 'anti-gender' rhetoric, framing the so-called '*théorie du genre*' (gender theory) as an external, often Anglo-American, influence that threatens French identity and social cohesion. For instance, recent debates over '*la théorie du genre*' have sparked widespread misinformation and fear-mongering, such as false claims that sexuality education, including masturbation, would be taught in nursery schools, influencing public opinion and policy[12].

There has been pushback against gender studies and related fields within French academia, particularly in the context of accusations like '*Islamo-gauchisme*'[13] (Islamo-leftism), which accuses left-wing academics and researchers in social science of being associated with the values of political Islam, and the 'anti-woke' campaigns led by Education Minister Jean-Michel Blanquer in 2020 who argued that this is an 'ideology' that is "wreaking havoc"[14]. This opposition reflects broader concerns about the influence of critical and intersectional theories in French institutions[15].

Challenges facing gender and LGBTIQ+ rights

France has made significant strides in gender equality and LGBTIQ+ rights, including the law on parity between women and men in politics (January 2017); the inclusion of the right to have an abortion enshrined in the Constitution (March 2024); and the legalisation of same-sex marriage and adoption rights for lesbian and gay parents (May 2013). However, these advances have been met with resistance from conservative groups[16]. French feminism has a complex relationship with 'anti-gender' discourses: while mainstream feminism often supports gender equality and LGBTIQ+ rights, there are internal debates and divisions, particularly around issues like hijab bans, trans* issues, sex work and surrogacy[17]. In this report, we use the term 'queer-feminist', to express the idea that feminism is against essentialism.

People advocating for gender and LGBTIQ+ rights face significant challenges. Reports indicate a rise of violence, highlighting the increasing hostility faced by the LGBTIQ+ community[18]. Quantitative data reveals that in 2023, there were 4,560 reported incidents of anti-LGBTIQ+ attacks in France, a 13% increase from the

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[11] Paternotte, D. (2018). Unpacking oppositional success: The French laboratory. In *Varieties of opposition to gender equality in Europe*, pp. 154-171. London: Routledge.

[12] Kuhar, R., & Paternotte, D. (2017) Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing Against Equality. Rowman & Littlefield.

[13] Radio France. (2021) 'Ce que veut dire le terme "islamo-gauchisme" pour ceux qui l'emploient et pour ceux qu'il vise', *France Inter*, 18 février. Available at: https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceinter/ce-que-veut-dire-le-terme-islamo-gauchisme-pour-ceux-qui-l-emploient-et-pour-ceux-qu-il-vise-1211090 (Accessed: 1 July 2024).

[14] This was said during an interview on the radio station Europe 1, a trace of which can be found here: Durand, M. (2020, 22 octobre) *"Ce qu'on appelle l'islamo-gauchisme fait des ravages", dénonce Jean-Michel Blanquer*. Europe 1.

https://www.europe1.fr/politique/ce-quon-appelle-lislamo-gauchisme-fait-des-ravages-denonce-jean-michel-blanquer-4000366

[15] Rabier, C. (2022) 'Savant·es et politiques contre l'«islamo-gauchisme»(2). Le fantôme de Raymond Aron', *Mouvements*, 112(4), pp. 36-47.

[16] Paternotte, D. and Kuhar, R. (2018) 'Disentangling and Locating the "*Global Right*": *Anti-Gender* Campaigns in Europe', *Politics and Governance*, 6(3), pp. 6-19.

[17] Lépinard, É. & Mazouz, S. (2021) *Pour l'intersectionnalité*. Paris: Anamosa.

[18] SOS Homophobie. (2023) Annual Report on Homophobia in France. Available at: https://www.sos-homophobie.org/rapport-annuel

previous year[19].

International influences: global 'anti-gender' movements and European Union dynamics

France is not isolated from global 'anti-gender' movements. Transnational networks and organisations, often with religious or conservative affiliations, influence and support local movements in France. These networks spread 'anti-gender' rhetoric and strategies across borders, reinforcing local opposition to gender equality and LGBTIQ+ rights[20]. As a member of the European Union, France engages with broader European debates on gender and LGBTIQ+ issues. EU policies promoting gender equality and anti-discrimination sometimes clash with national conservative movements, adding another layer of complexity to the French context. This context helps explain the hostility to gender equality and LGBTIQ+ rights, as well as the strategies and rhetoric employed by 'anti-gender' and anti-LGBTIQ+ movements.

Findings

1. Attacks against women and LGBTIQ+ people are pervasive

The research suggests that women and LGBTIQ+ people face a broad spectrum of attacks, ranging from verbal abuse to legislative measures aimed at restricting their rights. The repertoire of violence reported by participants is notably wide and appears to be perpetrated by both isolated individuals and coordinated groups.

These assaults seem to form part of **a continuum of violence** that includes attacks on both property and people, which under French law are classified as infractions, offences, or crimes. Participants often reported experiences of verbal harassment and physical violence, contributing to ongoing feelings of fear and anxiety.

More than two-thirds of participants (22/30) recounted having been verbally abused or insulted by politicians, far-right activists, or opponents at protests, in public spaces, or on social networks, due to their feminist or LGBTIQ+ commitments, gender identity, or sexual orientation. Half of the participants mentioned having received public threats, either on social media or at their homes, with threats to their physical integrity, sometimes extending to death threats. Five participants recalled receiving anonymous phone calls or letters at home, with one such letter including a miniature coffin. **Women in the study indicated that they were frequently targeted for their appearance and were threatened with rape**. Additionally, five participants had faced false accusations or public defamation, with serious charges such as complicity in terrorism.

Sylvie, one participant, reflected on the level of hate she encountered on social media, noting, "And I don't understand why there aren't moderating machines. When there are slutty words, bitchy words". This statement underscores **the extent of online abuse and targeting reported by participants**.

In addition to attacks on individuals, **damage to property was also a recurring theme**. Six participants reported vandalism targeting their associations, workplaces, or office premises. The most common forms of damage involved insulting or threatening graffiti on façades or the throwing of excrement at doors during the night. While destruction or intrusion into homes or premises seemed to be less common, such incidents, including some involving participants or their relatives, were still reported.

Physical attacks against individuals were also highlighted, with one in five participants recounting that

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[19] See data of the Ministry of the Interior:
https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/actualites/communiques-de-presse/bilan-annuel-des-infractions-anti-lgbt-enregistrees-en-2023 (Accessed: 20 June 2024).

[20] Forest, M., & Lombardo, E. (2012) *The Europeanization of gender equality policies: A discursive-sociological approach*. Palgrave Macmillan.

they had been physically assaulted at least once. Enza, for example, shared: "I went through a fortnight of hell, threatened with death, whatever. And well, it went very far. And then it degenerated afterwards." Jake, a trans* man, also recounted:

> I've been physically attacked in the street once or twice, two or three times even. Not beaten up, but hit with "dirty faggot", just the person passing in the streets. It was just a gratuitous physical assault, "you dirty faggot". It's pretty brutal when you're not expecting it.

Attacks on local associations by far-right groups are another concern, particularly in several large and medium-sized towns. Guy, a participant, testified: "We (Center LGBT+) were vandalised last year", while Annie C. noted: "So every time there's a political breakthrough on these issues, they're there on our doorstep, tagging, pasting, staging situations to alert public opinion." **These actions contribute to a climate of intimidation, fear, and permanent insecurity.**

Participants reported a **cumulative effect of these experiences, some of which have persisted over time and become part of daily life**. This situation is perceived as being exacerbated by media and political discourses that are seen to perpetuate or even legitimise such practices. Examples cited include accusations of '*Islamo-Gauchisme*' directed at academics or the framing of intellectuals as responsible for Islamic attacks. Additionally, participants pointed to the violent debates and political stances in the National Assembly on equality legislation as contributing to a broader context of systemic 'anti-gender' attacks.

2. On an intersectional ground, attacks converge, and so do collective struggles

French participants belonging to multiple marginalised groups reported facing specific challenges where different forms of discrimination and oppression interweave and mutually reinforce one another. This sheds light on the particular difficulties encountered by those with intersecting identities, illustrating how their multiple affiliations are negotiated and experienced within overlapping structures of social domination.

LGBTIQ+ people frequently encounter intersecting forms of oppression, including racism, sexism, and homophobia. FRAINT12 explores the intersections between racism and homophobia, indicating that **the effects of racism seem particularly profound and detrimental in his daily life.** He also pointed to the complexities of negotiating one's identity in environments where multiple forms of oppression intersect.

> That's where the question of intersectionality comes in, if you come back to it, there's something [...] If we really think of an intersection, an entanglement of social relations of domination, that's precisely the problem. There isn't a me who is the racialised me and a me who is the queer me. Even if socially there is something organised like that, as if there were a unity between these two forces, or these two subjects within the subject, I don't know what. If I try to bring all that together, there are things that I experience specifically as a racialised, queer person. And not things I experience as a queer, things I experience as a racialised person. Because otherwise, there's a sort of cleavage and fragmentation. I think that's what's a bit crazy.

This testimony underscores the complexity of living with intersecting identities, despite societal pressures to separate them. Participants noted that oppressions are often interconnected and must be understood as such.

Additionally, some participants highlighted misunderstandings within feminist and LGBTIQ+ communities, which they found particularly painful. Oumaima, for instance, described how their immigrant background and participation in queer feminist circles in Paris made integration into these communities more challenging:

> And here in France, there's actually, I think it's this thing, given that there's Islamophobia, given

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that there's a lot of racism and all that, it's a bit this thing of saying, in fact, you can't point the finger at these people, of being homophobic or of being this and that and that. I come from a Muslim background, but I'm not a practising or believing Muslim. But [...] I'm still perceived as a Muslim. And as a result, I think that poses a problem too. [...] And so in this "saying" thing, I think it's very complicated to deal with queerness and being racialised in the French context.

This participant described how the intersection of anti-feminist and anti-queer discourses contributes to feelings of exclusion, particularly when they are perceived as having to choose between being Muslim or queer. **She never feels in a sustainable position**. She expressed that Islamophobia is so prevalent that it seems impossible to be recognised as both. This reflects broader tensions between the racist elements of anti-feminist and anti-queer rhetoric.

Experiences of systemic discrimination, such as racism or antisemitism, were frequently recounted by participants, particularly those who are part of migrant LGBTIQ+ communities. This intersectionality leads them to reflect on various minority positions, whether they are directly affected or acting as allies. Moreover, **Islamophobia, antisemitism and xenophobia were often linked to other forms of discrimination, including gender-based discrimination and queerphobia.** As Rokhaya explained

This year with the abaya, I think there was a lot of that, wanting to go after young girls, considering that their dress was too long. So we've seen this in schools, with head teachers explaining to young women that they had to take off their tunics because they didn't conform. I think this has freed up the possibility for men in particular to tell women, or at least teenage girls, how they should dress. In a post #MeToo era, this is quite worrying. Because, on the one hand, we're told that it's important for women to be able to control their own bodies, but on the other hand, for some women, it's not up to them to define the conditions of their presence in the public space.

Therefore, it seems that rights are not for every woman.

Online harassment, too, reflects intersecting forms of discrimination, including racism, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia. Enza shared a particularly poignant example:

Where I was attacked, it was with insults. Islamophobic, obviously, with montages, well, an Islamic Barbie in place of a pubis, very sexist stuff, very Islamophobic stuff, anti-Semitic stuff. But I come from a Jewish communist background and I never in my life thought I'd be accused of all that.

Participants described the feeling that society consistently denies their existence. Familial rejection, often linked to homophobia and transphobia, was a significant theme in their narratives, with many describing the profound psychological impacts of these experiences. As CC noted, this extends beyond verbal or physical attacks, affecting daily life in pervasive ways and contributing to feelings of displacement. These oppressive environments also seem to impact professional opportunities, as participants discussed challenges in the workplace.

Moreover, **anti-trans* policies were described as a significant source of stress and emotional difficulty for trans* participants**. FRAINT01 emphasised how the appointment of transphobic figures to government positions exacerbates these challenges, making advocacy more difficult: if you erase the concept, you erase the people. Supporting people who face these daily risks, including the threat of death, echoes the 'non-existence' of gender in far-right discourse.

The constant dehumanisation and denial of trans* existence was described as pervasive and diachronic, especially for trans* and racialised people. Yet, this dehumanisation appears to be a core

element in the experiences of all those targeted by 'anti-gender' movements and rhetoric.

3. Significance of collective mobilisations

The importance of collective action appears evident in the context of grassroots movements and community solidarity, which are often viewed by participants as crucial in combating 'anti-gender' rhetoric and policies. Such collective efforts are perceived as essential in challenging systemic and intersectional oppression, while also advocating for more inclusive rights.

Solidarity and support from within the community appear to play a vital role in counteracting negative experiences. Leïla, for instance, noted that "the positive backlash comes faster and faster because it's easier and easier to see that I'm being attacked, and people respond. So sometimes the wave of support outweighs the wave of hate." This suggests that **timely and visible support can help mitigate the effects of hostility.** When a community quickly rallies in defence of an individual, it not only counters the immediate negativity but also reinforces a sense of belonging and protection. Such rapid responses may be crucial for maintaining mental health, as Leïla indicated.

Veronica also highlighted **the unifying potential of collective action,** stating: "Yes, that's why I think there's a link in oppression. Despite all the differences, there is this link. After all, I think the link that touches me the most is the link of working together."

This insight seems to reflect the shared experiences of oppression that transcend individual differences. In her words, this collective struggle appears to not only focus on resisting oppression, but also on **forging strong, empathetic connections among community members. Participants highlighted the importance of knowing that they are not alone in their experiences.**

In the context of **sex work**, Wanda, herself a sex worker, shared:

> [...] we're a community of colleagues. We support each other. That's my way of protecting ourselves. It's about showing that there are a lot of us, that we're together and that, in fact, I'm not here on my own.

Her statement points to **the significant role that community solidarity plays in providing both emotional and practical support within marginalised groups.** In France, a mutual aid platform for sex workers has been developed to report inappropriate behaviour from clients, such as issues related to negotiation, violence, and humiliation. Through this platform, sex workers can communicate with each other to share information about clients they have reported, ask about the outcomes, and make more informed decisions. As Wanda explained, "I used to jasmine them, on the Jasmine platform, which is a platform for mutual help and all that, where you can report customers." This account highlights the collective strength and unity of sex workers, suggesting **that solidarity offers not only protection but also empowers individuals by reinforcing the idea that they are not alone in their experiences and struggles.**

This underscores the necessity of forming alternative communities where individuals can find peers who understand and share their experiences. Oumaima mentioned navigating the intricate web of loyalties between various stigmatised communities in France, particularly concerning Islamophobia, racism, and homophobia. They highlighted the complexities faced by individuals like themselves, who straddle multiple marginalised identities, **emphasising the need to find solidarity among similarly marginalised groups.** They said "And so, to stay in this thing of, well, in fact, you have to find people who are in the middle of things. So, look for racialised queer people, religious queer people."

One strategy identified by participants involves sticking messages in public spaces. However, these feminist messages are frequently removed or covered up, as Michèle observed:

We stuck them up recently for our feminist actions, they came and pasted them back on. It's hellish, these are signs that are supposed to be for public speaking, and in fact they're just commercials.

The overlay on the message seems to indicate that feminist visibility is not always appreciated, particularly as this participant was prosecuted in her local context.

Finally, participants highlighted the strategic importance of collective visibility. They suggested that by demonstrating supportive bonds within their communities, they may be able to deter aggression and foster a more supportive environment.

4. You said justice? Ways of building protection are various, from legal recourse to self-defence

Participants reported concerns about inadequate protective legislation, limited institutional and financial support, and a poor legal culture, which, according to them, restrict their ability to access justice.

During discussions on combating discrimination, participants highlighted various legal measures and actions aimed at addressing legal obstacles and challenges. They underscored **the importance of actively engaging in the defence of equality and justice, even in the face of numerous barriers such as limited institutional support, financial constraints, and a lack of robust legal frameworks.** Additionally, they pointed to **the significant underutilisation of the legal remedies available.**

Rokhaya, for instance, shared her experiences regarding the inadequacy of protective legislation when attending public events. Despite receiving death threats and experiencing assaults, she noted that she has never been placed under protection. In one case, after filing a complaint and providing the name of her assailant, she explained that the individual was neither arrested nor questioned by the police. This situation, she suggested, illustrates a broader pattern of disregard for her safety as a Black woman and public figure.

Enza recounted her experience of public defamation and the institutional barriers she encountered when attempting to lodge a complaint. She noted: "You have to pay a deposit for that. And the university told me it would do it. They didn't." **This lack of financial and institutional support hinders access to justice for many victims**. Similarly, Annie shared her ordeal of having her personal data exposed and receiving threatening messages on her phone, with no follow-up from the justice system.

It appears that participants **adapt their behaviour** to protect themselves. Faced with inadequate legal support, **individuals have found alternative ways to protect themselves.** Many participants mentioned that they hide their identities or modify their behaviours in public to avoid offences and violence. Stéphane explained: "After that, we have protection and avoidance strategies. There are attitudes that we don't have. In fact, you don't kiss or hold hands with a homosexual couple anywhere. We're careful." **These self-imposed restrictions highlight the daily precautions taken to minimise risks and maintain personal safety in the absence of sufficient legal protections.**

In response to physical threats, some participants indicated that they have adapted their behaviour, with a few turning to **self-defence as a means of protection**. One participant, for example, took up combat sports to feel more prepared in case of an attack. She began with boxing and later progressed to MMA, seeking to ensure she could defend herself even in situations where she might be assaulted. Others mentioned relying on their networks and allies for support. FRAINT01, who is involved in the anti-fascist movement, spoke of **finding reassurance and protection through collective vigilance**. The association he is part of has implemented concrete protective measures, such as receiving information from anti-fascist activists about potential threats, such as being listed as targets, demonstrations, or planned actions, and ensuring that some members are ready to mobilise if he is attacked at work. This network, with its tactical

and strategic knowledge of far-right modes of action, provides a vital layer of security.

5. Media and social media support a specific fiction

Media seems to play a dual role in shaping LGBTIQ+ and gender issues;the existence of targeted lists on social media has been reported by participants, affecting them in various negative ways.

Media plays a dual role in this context. On one hand, Eric suggested that **blacklisting marginalised voices reduces their visibility and influence**, effectively limiting their ability to disseminate their message. On the other hand, **media exposure can sometimes lead to defamation and sensationalism**. Enza, for instance, described how media coverage created a buzz that distorted public perceptions of gender issues. Gaspar noted that "on trans* issues, things have exploded," which he found "pleasant" in some respects, but he also expressed concern, stating, "I'm afraid of the reaction." This highlights the specific dilemma surrounding media visibility, where participants experience both satisfaction with increased visibility and fear of the potential conservative attack in reaction.

Participants expressed concern about how **the media shapes public opinion and contributes to prejudices, impacting their daily lives**. Alejandra pointed to the prevalence of hate speech in mass media, using BFM TV as an example. Furthermore, nine participants raised concerns about Cnews, a private media outlet with strong ties to the far-right, noting its significant influence on public debate, particularly regarding these issues.

Guy mentioned that many people, regardless of their political alignment, seem to be increasingly turning away from mainstream media, instead sourcing their information from social media, with all its accompanying excesses (the proliferation of misinformation, sensationalism, echo chambers, algorithm-driven polarisation, superficiality of content, and lack of verification). This shift raises concerns for him regarding LGBTIQ+ rights. Despite this, Aude observed what she referred to as a 'paradox' in media access: while media can sometimes appear both closed and open, there has also been a noticeable increase in access to platforms that were previously less accessible. She pointed to her appearance on *France 3* as an example of this expanding access, reflecting a change in media dynamics over the past decade. She expressed pride and satisfaction at having had the opportunity to convey her message about LGBTIQ+ exiles through this medium.

Michèle, meanwhile, expressed her deep outrage, recalling how she was "scandalised when [she] heard on the radio that CNews had counted abortions among murders [...] CNews, a television channel watched by many people [...]" This example underscores how media statements like these can have a significant emotional impact, particularly on feminists, as they can be distressing to hear. FRAFG4.2 also noted:

> There are organised groups or there are speeches in the media [...] And that's something, it's a bit like playing chess. We might as well see it take root in individual consciousnesses in such a way that the men I know put things in place in their concrete, individual relationships, manage to politicise it and so on.

This quote highlights the participants' concerns about how public perceptions might be shaped by media narratives, and the fear that these narratives could influence others in ways that might negatively impact them.

Several participants mentioned the **existence of targeted lists on social media** created by 'anti-gender' collectives, which appear **designed to intimidate and silence** intellectuals, journalists, feminists, and LGBTIQ+ activists. **Some participants reported either being on these lists or fearing the possibility of being added to them.** Leïla described how these lists often include personal details, such as home addresses, phone numbers, and even information about partners or children's schools. Rokhaya mentioned being listed by far-right identitarian groups. The **practice of blacklisting** was perceived by participants as

an attempt to silence them, both by limiting their access to platforms such as television and by exposing them to potential harm. Eric discussed the broader impact of this "blacklist logic", noting its detrimental effects on the visibility and influence of marginalised voices. FRAINT01 further referred to a list of trans* individuals published in the press, emphasising the ongoing threat posed by these targeted lists.

To ensure personal safety and mental health, many participants reported adopting **various online strategies, such as using pseudonyms or limiting their engagement on social media**. Some chose to disengage from social networks entirely to avoid harassment, while others actively block hateful comments. As Maëlle noted, "I don't want to manage social networks because I don't want to expose myself to that." Similarly, Leïla shared, "I'm doing it now, I'm blocking all the way. In other words, it's over now. You talk down to me, you're blocked."

This **proactive approach to managing online interactions** reflects a strategic effort to create a safer digital space. By setting firm boundaries, individuals can protect their mental health and reduce exposure to harmful content. Additionally, Nathalie employs strategies like **using pseudonyms** and limiting her participation in online debates to protect herself from personal attacks and negative emotions. This approach highlights **the need for self-protection in online spaces**. The use of pseudonyms can prevent doxing and other forms of targeted harassment, while **limiting engagement in contentious discussions** can help individuals avoid unnecessary stress and conflict.

6. Invisible and visible tensions coming from intersectional positions

Several participants noted the internal tensions within the feminist and LGBTIQ+ movement, particularly on issues such as the use of inclusive language and writing conventions, trans* inclusion, and addressing racism.

Understanding the internal dynamics of feminist and LGBTIQ+ social movements appears crucial to comprehending the effects of anti-feminist and anti-LGBTIQ+ movements, as these movements are often marked by internal tensions. Nathalie recounts her personal experiences of criticism and disagreement within her former union, illustrating the complexity of relationships between fellow activists. Her experiences suggest **the internal tensions that exist within her feminist position.** These tensions point to the broader challenge of maintaining coherence in a movement that encompasses a wide range of perspectives and priorities, with **deep disagreements and generational and political divides.**

Regarding a self-defined 'feminist' journal, which has targeted their collective, Maëlle said:

> they are part of a feminism which is extremely problematic and I realise it more and more. And in fact, just this choice of intersectional turn, as if, in fact, we were going off the rails of conventional feminism. Whereas intersectionality is feminism, in fact. So, already, there is a bad reading of what feminism is in general [...] This is a really big, big universalist rhetoric that is used to counter our work and delegitimise our work.

This quotation highlights the fact that this could be a 'good' and a 'bad' reading of 'being a feminist'. She goes further and highlights the fact that these tensions are also strategically maintained:

> It's truly the trick of divide and conquer. This is exactly what is happening. And for now, that worries me a little because it's difficult to find areas that bring us together. And as a result, we feel that for once, they have gained ground. These anti-gender movements or these far-right movements or whatever their emanation, their manifestation and their ideological positioning [...].

This suggests not only the presence of conflict, but also **the strategic dimensions of these tensions within the feminist movement**. Participants pointed to the challenges of solidarity and the risks posed by external forces that seem to exploit internal divisions.

The French post-colonial context; "what is happening in Palestine", FRAFG3.1; and in particular the "Israeli-Palestinian context" (Maëlle), were mentioned several times in both the interviews and the focus groups as issues perceived as divisive, used by the media and politicians in order **to place intersectional feminist collectives and racialised people at odds with allegations of separatism, anti-republican behaviour, anti-semitism, or complacency with political Islam.**

Alejandra noticed:

> I think that Islamophobia in France is mainly directed at women. I feel targeted by this anti-Arab rhetoric […] My collar is slightly up, covering my face a bit. And then some old people come up to me and say that if we're in the land of freedom, I have nothing to be ashamed of covering my face. I say, "But it's cold out. I don't cover my face for religious reasons".

Then she adds:

> And then **I feel concerned. Very concerned, yes, as a migrant.** We see immigration laws supported by hate speech about migrants. I think this affects […] very intimate aspects of everyday life, the encounters we have, the things people say in everyday life.

Oumaima discussed the complexity of navigating loyalties within various stigmatised communities in France, particularly in relation to Islamophobia, racism, and homophobia. They pointed to the challenges encountered by people who, like them, inhabit multiple marginalised identities. This complexity was further elaborated when they said:

> My homosexuality doesn't necessarily appear much in France, and it's not expressed much in France because there's this fear of being symbolised and used by feminists or homosexual people who might be racist. I always say to myself that I'm also afraid of being the symbolic Arab, afraid of being used for that, and afraid of expressing myself.

These reflections underscore the discomfort and the fear of being exploited by people seeking to include the so-called 'symbolic Arab,' with participants expressing caution towards this kind of tokenism. At the same time, they report a feeling of estrangement and fear of expressing themselves.

Tensions have also been noted when well-known groups take a public stance. Following the denunciation of crimes of genocide in Gaza, several intersectional feminist associations were reportedly threatened with the withdrawal of their public subsidies. A participant mentioned that the #NousToutes collective, which receives no public funding, had been threatened by the Minister for Gender Equality with the potential withdrawal of financial support. This situation appears to reflect **the political and financial challenges faced by feminist organisations in sustaining their activities and defending stigmatised communities.**

7. Barriers to Gender Education

*This case study **illustrates** the difficulties faced by initiatives aimed at integrating ambitious and comprehensive gender education.*

Some associations appear to face significant obstacles in implementing prevention work in schools, according to a participant. One participant highlighted that Family Planning, a very active association offering training about sexist and sexual violence, gender discrimination, and sexual health, is reportedly facing **financial challenges**, exacerbated by the withdrawal of certain organisations. She also observed that the structuring of the 'anti-gender' movement relies on its growing financial resources and powerful relays. She added: "We can see that they are making progress, that they are structuring themselves, that they are financed, that they have resources."

Beyond the financial threat, there have been reports of attacks against Family Planning's efforts to provide prevention and sexual education activities, leading to bans and even death threats, according to Annie. She described how Vigilant Parents—a conservative and 'anti-gender' collective—**infiltrate parents' representatives' elections and actively lobby at the departmental level to disrupt gender education**. This opposition is said to range from attempting to ban classes to threatening teachers.

Challenges in understanding and accepting non-binary and transgender identities seem to persist. Stéphane, a professor, shared an observation on the atmosphere in his high school: a "left-wing", "very open" colleague spoke to him about what Stéphane characterised as Eric Zemmour's rhetoric on LGBTIQ+ issues. Stéphane also mentioned that his colleagues, working in what he perceived as a school with "aware" people, expressed concern that "they're bugging us" about trans* and non-binary people. Even in places where inclusion might be expected, there are issues around respecting trans* identities. This contributes to the creation of hostile atmospheres, and raises questions about trans*/non-binary inclusion in this high school.

In the specific context of medical education, Marie, a doctor, reported encountering 'anti-gender' discourse during her studies and expressed feelings of isolation because gender violence was not denounced. Working in the hospital was described as being in an environment where women were denigrated, and the prevailing models appeared to be those of the male and white doctor. This seems to reflect **the pervasive impact of sexist prejudice in higher education**.

Participants indicated that in the health field, the adherence to certain policies by professionals can lead to 'anti-gender' practices. FRAINT01 highlighted the use of pathologisation, which requires trans* people to meet doctors and psychiatrists in order to begin their transition process. For him, "this is an anti-gender policy", the overall aim appearing to be to prevent trans* people from exercising self-determination, gaining access to rights, care, and social spaces. Resistance in this context included the production of recommendations for good medical practice and the development of training courses for healthcare workers to improve their awareness of trans*-identity issues. Challenges in understanding and welcoming non-binary and trans* identities persist, revealing underlying systemic issues in education and healthcare.

8. The impact of 'anti-gender' movements leads to personal and professional repercussions

Participants reported experiencing profound personal and professional repercussions, including mental strain, depression, job loss, and professional discrimination, along with challenges in personal relationships and societal rejection. 'Anti-gender' attacks contribute to long-term psychological distress and have significant implications for individuals' well-being, interpersonal relationships, and overall quality of life.

Many participants (70%) reported **experiencing feelings of isolation and rejection in response to attacks**. For example, Lucie shared her experience, stating, "I felt quite alone, because nobody defended me. I didn't have that thing on the networks of having accomplices or allies or people defending me. I felt very alone". This sense of isolation seems to reflect the psychological impact of lacking a supportive community. Without allies or a network, individuals may feel abandoned and vulnerable, which can heighten the emotional toll of being targeted by 'anti-gender' rhetoric.

Oumaima reflected on the isolation resulting from her intersectional positionality and the attendant impact on her mental health, particularly depression. She said:

> [...] it's also anti-gender, but in a way that [...] And I think that one of the arguments is also the argument that gender is a European issue and that it's not part of our culture, it's not part of our traditions, it's not us. My mother keeps telling me that I've been westernised. I've been living in France for ten years too [...] And as a result, I think that these experiences [...] lead to a

kind of isolation from a social group to which I belong.

She clarifies how her immigrant background and membership in queer feminist circles in Paris further compound her sense of isolation, hindering her integration into these communities and exacerbating her mental health struggles. **People with multiple identities or who face conflicts of loyalty between the several communities to which they belong often encounter heightened isolation.**

The personal and professional repercussions of 'anti-gender' discourses, movements, and politics are profound, affecting participants both psychologically and materially. Participants described the **mental overload** and emotional strain resulting from harassment, particularly after their names were published in far-right media outlets. In this context, Oumaima reflected on the intersectional isolation she experiences, which contributes to depression and a sense of **psychological censorship**. Participants mentioned that these attacks not only reopen past traumas but also create new ones, perpetuating long-term psychological distress. Pinar shared her own experiences of repression, including unjust imprisonment, torture, and the ongoing threats and harassment she faces as a result of her activism, saying, "What doesn't kill me, hurts me," highlighting that **hostility or attacks are never without affective effects.**

Professionally, the consequences for some participants can be drastic. Several participants reported losing their jobs due to discrimination against their sexual orientation, while others mentioned facing unfair treatment and significant professional costs for expressing their gender and political beliefs openly. Jean-Loup recalled being fired simply for being seen leaving a gay club, while Rokhaya pointed out the material repercussions of speaking out against 'anti-gender' media and politics, which can lead to fewer job opportunities.

Beyond the professional realm, **the impact was described as extending to personal relationships and societal acceptance**. The pressure to conform to heteronormative standards was said to put a strain on personal relationships, while societal rejection and harassment were described as creating additional burdens. Threats received due to public speaking not only affect the individual but also cause concern for their families and loved ones, highlighting the broader societal implications of 'anti-gender' attacks.

Insecurity seems to permeate various aspects of life, as evidenced by Wanda's description of the emotional toll interactions with clients take on her as a sex worker. This continuum of stigma appears to create a feeling of insecurity that extends beyond the individual, affecting various marginalised identities, including LGBTIQ+ individuals, sex workers, female journalists, and left-wing intellectuals. Ultimately, **these attacks, and the atmosphere they generate, have profound repercussions on individuals' well-being, relationships, and way of life by leading to feelings of insecurity.**

In contexts such as sex work, the body is portrayed as playing a multifaceted role, embodying both vulnerability and the pride that comes from mastery and assertion. **The body can appear to be a place of vulnerability, susceptible to physical threats and attacks on appearance, as Wanda testifies, which exacerbates underlying complexities.** Respect for boundaries emerges as paramount, as Wanda explains, insisting on negotiating limits around monetary transactions and comments about her body. Conversely, respecting established limits appears to foster a sense of reconciliation with the body in sex work.

However, exhaustion, weariness, and discouragement were recurrently mentioned in the interviews. For example, most participants (80%) shared feelings of frustration at constantly having to educate others about subjects or issues they had known about for a long time. **The feeling of having to start from scratch, reiterate the obvious, and deal with the same ignorant or fallacious arguments was often seen as contributing significantly to a sense of powerlessness and exhaustion.**

9. Living in safer spaces to combat hostile environments to minorities

The notion of safer spaces appears to be fundamental for participants, in fostering environments where people can flourish without threat, violence or prejudice. Furthermore, the discourse on mobility and relocation is particularly relevant to participants living in hostile environments, reflecting the demand for sanctuary in a context of escalating hostility and violence.

Faced with a persistent fear of physical harm, several participants (6) reported **considering seeking asylum or migrating abroad** with their family members if the political climate deteriorates further; relying on their international network, their experience of working abroad, or even the fact that they already have a bank account abroad as a result of occasional professional activities. This reflection underscores the seriousness of the situation and suggests **the profound impact of 'anti-gender' rhetoric and policies on people's daily lives. It also indicates how the material and symbolic resources available can support this solution, as all the participants considering this option are from the upper class.**

FRAINT01 mentioned considering moving to Canada, despite his lack of familiarity with the country, which he perceived as potentially more protective due to the presence of colleagues there. Jokingly, he even referred to 'the planet Mars' as a potential refuge in response to the increase in threats. In the short term, on a local level, he is seriously considering leaving his current region, citing increased exposure to the media and a desire to avoid emotional tensions, while aspiring to a less violent environment.

Seven participants reported using protective strategies such as regularly changing their itinerary, always remaining vigilant in public spaces, or declining any appointments or invitations. For example, CC described using peripheral vision to detect potential threats following a public attack. Additionally, Etienne's decision to hire a bodyguard during a trip abroad, following the recent attack on a colleague, illustrates the increased vigilance in response to perceived risks.

For Loa, a trans* woman, public spaces such as **the street and metro are experienced as hostile**. She said:

> For me, it's actually the part of the population that refuses this emancipation of multiple gender expressions, particularly in the public space, because the discourse is "do what you want in your own home".

This leads the participants to different strategies. Sometimes, even in her **interactions with her partner's family**, FRAFG3.1 has had to deal with remarks that don't make her feel safe. She observed that "'racism is actually very commonplace," especially in the social circles of a partner: "you wish you didn't have to carry it. But sometimes it's not the person directly, it's their family, their circle of friends."

In contrast to the desire to move, participants made **efforts to create safer spaces at the local level**. For example, Stéphane focused on schools, Alejandra on activist spaces, or Marie in health facilities catering to minority populations. These initiatives aim to **create environments sensitive to past trauma, in order to avoid the perpetuation of violence**. Marie, a doctor, highlights the role of mutual exchange in creating these spaces, stressing the need to challenge existing practices and promote inclusion.

10. Factors of Engagement and Disengagement

Several participants mentioned the importance of being active in the 'fight' as a response to the mental burden they face, as well as the factors that contribute to disengagement from the 'struggle'.

Participants expressed that they feel they have a place in the 'fight'. CC said, "What you go through keeps you going because you know that your struggle is just"; Eric echoed this sentiment, stating: "You know who your enemies are, they recognise you, and you know it's legitimate".

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Participants shared their concern that the lack of resources significantly hinders the sustainability and impact of feminist and LGBTIQ+ organisations, exacerbating the burden on activists and contributing to their exhaustion. FRAINT01 noted that trans* organisations struggle to secure necessary funding, affecting their sustainability and impact. The challenge of obtaining grants hampers their ability to carry out essential programs and services, creating economic instability that presents a significant barrier to the long-term success of trans* advocacy efforts. FRAINT01 shared a wish:

> I'm going to tell you that if there were plenty of money to subsidise what we do, it would clearly be great, really. Money to pay for the work we do, to sustain the activities we currently manage on a shoestring budget, to pay the people who work. At the trans* health space, we have the equivalent of between one and two full-time positions in terms of volunteer work.

Participants noted that financial difficulties hinder the sustainability of trans* organisations and limit their ability to advocate and support their communities. The lack of resources committed to equality and the fight against discrimination was described as increasing the burden of activist commitments, often leading to exhaustion.

Participants expressed **concerns about personal and family safety, along with physical threats and violence, viewing these as significant factors that can end activist commitment, often resulting in feelings of guilt and withdrawal**. Concern for family safety, exposure, and pressure from loved ones, who may also come under threat, were highlighted as significant factors that can bring an activist's engagement to an end. The systemic erasure of gender[21] and the subsequent vulnerability of trans* people were seen as highlighting **the deep-rooted challenges and traumatic experiences faced by activists. Physical threats and violence were regarded as decisive factors affecting the sustainability of activist careers.**

There is a broader sense of guilt about surviving when others have not, particularly among those providing care or support to patients or contacts who have committed suicide or been murdered due to transphobic attacks or femicide. FRAINT01 spoke of a desire to withdraw due to fear and the constant risk of death, which they experience daily. **"The reality of death exhausts me," he said, feeling "surrounded by death."** Being confronted with the deaths of trans* people, through murders and suicides, was described as deeply exhausting.

The impact of violence and threats can result in mental overload and disengagement from activism. For example, in the wake of an attack, FRAINT01 has stepped back, responding less to research and interview requests. He chose to remain anonymous when responding to journalists and has reduced his working hours, with plans to leave his position in a few months. He describes a mental overload, referring to it as an "obsession" with the forced visibility imposed on him. He says he became "disengaged" after the simultaneous attacks.

Conclusion

We sincerely want to thank all those who contributed their experiences to support this research.

Resistance and advocacy strategies against 'anti-gender' attacks take the form of navigating intersectional oppressions. Research highlights the various types of attacks targeting women and LGBTIQ+ people and underscores the interconnected nature of these oppressions and their intersectionality. Participants shared with us the impact these attacks have on their lives, particularly the feeling of existing in a hostile world. In response, they create inclusive environments and seek to collectively reflect on the intersectionality of struggles, particularly in the face of racism and violent policies against people in exile. These navigational

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[21] This systemic erasure occurs through several means, such as the denial of legal recognition of gender identity, exclusion from healthcare services, delegitimising public discourse, lack of explicit legal protections, and restrictive school policies. Each of these mechanisms reinforces the invisibility and vulnerability of trans* people, amplifying the daily risks they face.

strategies appear essential for the resistance and empowerment of marginalised groups.

The study highlighted the aggressions faced by women and LGBTIQ+ people, ranging from verbal harassment to legislative actions aimed at restricting their rights. The participants' narratives illustrate a complex network of intersecting oppressions, necessitating a nuanced understanding of how different forms of discrimination intersect and reinforce one another. A thorough discussion within Focus Group 3 revealed that recognising and addressing these intersections enables the development of more effective resistance and advocacy strategies. These collective efforts not only challenge 'anti-gender' rhetoric but also help people confront isolation and harassment.

While legal remedies are crucial, the lack of effective legal support has led people to adopt a combination of behavioural adaptations, self-defence, and community solidarity to protect themselves from discrimination and violence. Moreover, the interaction between media influence and intimidation underscores the urgent need for vigilance and proactive measures to ensure fair and accurate representation of gender issues associated with misogyny, transphobia, racism, and xenophobia. They promote education and solidarity, both at the local level and online. Collectively, these factors illustrate the multidimensional nature of the struggle for rights, their enforcement, and ongoing efforts to overcome complex obstacles. Participants told us that these challenges require a joint effort, which though thought of as not being not easy to implement but is yet desired by the participants, to cultivate environments where people with multiple identities feel valued. In the end, negotiating hostile environments demands of participants a multifaceted approach, encompassing both local initiatives to foster safer spaces and individual strategies for self-protection, as revealed by participants.

There is still much work to be done to further develop these findings and share more stories. This includes areas not covered by this case study and involving voices that ought to be part of these conversations. We hope these voices will contribute to future work within RESIST and beyond. Some areas that could build on this case study on France include significant research on the targeted effects concerning sex workers, people impacted by anti-abortion protests —including those outside clinics, broader 'anti-feminist' actions, and those affected by anti-immigration policies. Urgent research is also needed to explore the intersections of anti-racism, anti-immigration, anti-traveller, and class issues within the context of gendered, sexualised, and queer politics as they continue to evolve across France.

Respondent Profiles

We asked participants to fill out a voluntary demographic form with open text boxes for each variable. In the end, 22 participants submitted their voluntary demographic forms. We completed the information for the remaining 8 participants based on their self-identification during the interview/focus group. The variable 'parental status' was not covered by the voluntary demographic forms and is based on their narratives.

Table 1: Respondent profiles France

Profile	No. of Responses	Sample Outline
Age groups	22	The mean of the 22 participants indicating their age is 44. Participants are between 50 and 64 (10/30), 35 and 49 (9/30), 25 and 34 (8/30). Three participants are over 65 years old (3/30). Nobody in the sample fits into the youngest age group (under 25).
Gender	24	Almost half the participants self-identify as women or cis women (13/30). Five participants describe themselves as (cis) men. Four participants describe themselves as trans*, three trans* mens and one trans* woman. Two participants identify as non-binary. Six participants did not respond.
Sexual orientation / identity	27	Participants mostly identify as heterosexual (10/30), lesbian (8/30), and gay (6/30), one as bisexual, one as Pansexual when asked for their sexual identity. Three participants did not respond.
Country of origin	21	Half of the participants describe their country of origin as France (15/30). Other participants indicate Morocco (1/30), Eastern Europe (1/30), Latin America (1/30), Turkey (1/30), Madagascar (1/30), Switzerland (1/30) and nine participants do not answer.
Country of residence	30	Almost all of the participants describe their Country of residence as France (29/30). One is living between two countries.
Racial / ethnic Identity	28	In terms of racial/ethnic identity, most of the participants describe themselves as white (21/30). Other participants identify in terms such as racialised (6/30), Black (1/30). Two participants did not fill out the field.
National Identity	15	Half of the participants describe themselves as French (15/30). Other half did not answer. One said she has two national identities
Educational training	28	28 of the participants declare different universitarian degrees stating Universitarian, Bachelor, high educational level, PhD, Master, higher education, graduate etc. Two participants do not answer.
Religion	11	Most of the participants did not answer (19/30). Four participants described themselves as Muslim, four as Catholic, one as Jew, one as Atheist, one as Spirit.

Social class	29	Most participants indicated middle class (27/30). Two participants indicated working class (2/30). One does not answer.
Dis/ability	10	Only one participant declared a disability, without specifying details.
Settlement type	30	Most of the participants live in a big city (19/30) and medium sized city (8/30) and two on the outskirts of a metropolis. One person lives in a rural area.
Parental status	30	We know that 10 participants have children. For three participants we do not know if they have children. The remaining 17 participants, we know, do not have children.