The RESIST Project Report

Effects of, and Resistances to 'Anti-Gender'
Mobilisations Across Europe:
A Report on Transnational Findings

RESIST

Fostering Queer Feminist Intersectional Resistances against Transnational Anti-Gender Politics

PUBLICATION INFORMATION

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Transnational Findings

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Executive Summary

The rise of 'anti-gender' movements, discourses, and politics poses a significant threat to gender equality, LGBTQI+ rights, and to freedom, as democratic values across Europe. The previous RESIST report[1] shows that these mobilisations, characterised by their complexity and lack of unified purpose, utilise gender and sexual diversity as a political tool to frame traditional values as being under threat. This study examines the effects of 'anti-gender' politics and resistances to those politics across nine case studies: eight national case studies and a ninth case study of people living in exile in Europe. In identifying common patterns across, and unique manifestations of 'anti-gender' in each context, we offer new insights into the lived experiences of those targeted, the forms of resistance they bring to these attacks.

Organised and targeted attacks against women, gender and sexual minorities and/or feminists are prevalent in all case studies. These attacks, ranging from physical violence to media-fueled offensives, particularly affect trans and racialised people and communities. The impacts of these attacks range from social to economic to psychological for those targeted by 'anti-gender' discourses and policies. People targeted by 'anti-gender' politics experience relationship strain, professional and academic repercussions, distress and financial instability. While support for democratic values might be expected from institutions and states, the latter have often appeared as actors in 'anti-gender' attacks, exacerbating the situation and leading to a perceived lack of legal recourse. The pervasive nature of these issues underscores the structural discrimination present across diverse European regions (and beyond). Strategies of coping with and resisting are multifaceted, including community support, public advocacy, legal actions, and the creation of safe spaces for marginalised communities. Despite the risks, collective visibility and the struggle to be seen are strategies used by feminist and LGBTIQ+ activism to counter 'anti-gender' tactics. Across the case studies, the resistance of feminist and LGBTIQ+ communities is evident through these varied, context-specific strategies.

This research showed the range of violence and oppression faced by feminist and LGBTIQ+, trans* and racialised people, including physical and verbal assaults, material violence, online harassment, discriminatory legislation, workplace discrimination, social exclusion, and institutional barriers. These acts are perpetrated not only by religious organisations, media, or far-right groups, but also by men's rights groups, certain elected officials such as members of parliament, and, in some instances, even within feminist and LGBTIQ+ communities themselves. In particular, this can lead to the further marginalisation of racialised groups, trans people, disabled people and people from working-class backgrounds within these movements.

Throughout the case studies, feminists, LGBTIQ+ people and activists face threats and attacks, particularly in public spaces, on social media, and events like drag shows, LGBTIQ+ book clubs or feminist protests. All case studies report pervasive verbal and physical assaults. Vandalism and property destruction targeting feminist and LGBTIQ+ activists are common. Coordinated online attacks, including doxing and cyberbullying, are prevalent in several study cases with media withdrawal used as a protective strategy by some feminists and LGBTIQ+ people. Institutionalised discrimination through laws and policies is evident in the case studies of Poland and Greece, whilst organised campaigns to roll back gender-affirming healthcare policies are active

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[1] RESIST (2024) *The RESIST Project. National and transnational reports on the formation of anti-gender politics*. European Union. Available at: https://theresistproject.eu/sdc_download/617/?key=547he6potvfpe1ur4w4edmxu9ah9s3

in the case study of Spain. Inclusive language is banned in Germany and contested in France. Gender and sexual minorities face professional repercussions, including job loss, labour-market discrimination and unemployment. More specifically, academics face pressures to avoid certain research topics. Social exclusion driven by 'anti-gender' rhetoric leads to family estrangement and community isolation. This is particularly acute for LGBTIQ+ persons in exile, who experience racism and structural exclusion simultaneously in society and often seek to rely on communities or family of origin to survive this. Access to essential services is restricted by institutional barriers, complicating daily life for gender and sexual minorities. Finally, the different perceptions of the participants revealed what might be called a continuum between experienced attacks and systemic and intersectional violence.

Introduction

This transnational report examines the effects of 'anti-gender' movements, discourses and policies on feminist and LGBTIQ+ communities across Europe. Through an in-depth examination of nine case studies (Belarus, people living in exile in Europe, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Poland, Spain, Switzerland), this report discusses how participants in the research have experienced a multiplicity of attacks, the effects these have had on them, and the diverse strategies employed by affected communities to cope with and resist attacks.

We used the term 'anti-gender' cautiously recognising that it is not used, or only used in very specific ways, across the case studies (indeed, a word had to be created in some languages in order to communicate with research participants) and there is no agreed definition of the term. In this research, we focused on anti-LGBTIQ+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersex and Queer plus)[2], anti-feminism, anti-abortion and anti-sex work, as well as sexualised/gendered racisms and other intersectional marginalisations to undertake qualitative work with 254 feminist and LGBTIQ+ academics, activists, public intellectuals, and affected communities (see Appendix 1 for an outline of data collection methods).

The report is structured in three parts: first, experiences of 'anti-gender' mobilisations, attacks and structural discrimination; then, effects of this; and finally, resistance strategies.

The first section examines the nature and characteristics of attacks by 'anti-gender' movements, providing a brief overview of attacks on feminists and LGBTIQ+ people. The second section highlights the effects of these attacks on the people and communities affected. It offers a detailed account of participants' perceptions of the social, economic, and psychological impacts on those targeted by 'anti-gender' discourses and policies. The final section documents the various strategies employed by affected communities to resist and counteract these attacks. It emphasises the resistance of marginalised communities, which have developed multifaceted approaches to mutual aid, advocacy, and support. The report aims to shed light on the complex dynamics of 'anti-gender' mobilisations and the critical responses they generate, contributing to the broader discourse on gender equality, human rights, and feminist and LGBTIQ+ liberation.

Experiences of 'anti-gender' mobilisations, attacks and structural discrimination

Attacks and systemic discrimination are present across Europe and are increasing, or have already reached alarmingly high levels, for example in Poland, Belarus, and for people living in exile. These attacks take place across, and shape, all spheres of life, illustrating the cumulative effects of 'anti-gender' ideology and structural discrimination that affect the people and communities.

Attacks and systemic discrimination against women, feminists, and/or LGBTIQ+ people are frequent and occur in all case study contexts. This phenomenon is prevalent across Europe. In many Western, Central, and Eastern European contexts, the rise of 'anti-gender' movements is seen as significant and concerning by participants. Clearly, identities and groups overlap and are not mutually exclusive; this means that some participants identify as both feminist and queer, for example. Whilst we want to underline that not all communities are targeted in the same way, nevertheless what participants have reported highlights the pervasive nature of such attacks and violence towards these communities.

The data suggest that attacks and violence tend to affect people and communities who are targeted either because they belong, or are perceived to belong, to particular social groups, or because they hold certain views, values, and/or political positions. These attacks appear to be perpetrated by a broad spectrum

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[2] This term is used in the report introduction and the transnational findings, however, each case study uses the terms that best reflect their context.

of people and groups, including but not limited to, far-right actors. In several countries, participants frequently referred to threats and attacks coming from both state actors and private individuals.

Physical and verbal assaults were reported across all case studies. Nearly all participants described having experienced verbal and/or physical attacks, ranging from harmful remarks to acts of physical violence. Such attacks are often characterised as both organised and targeted, involving physical violence, threats, and intimidation. In many contexts, public space emerged as the primary domain where these incidents occur. Additionally, several participants recounted disruptions of events such as drag shows, LGBTIQ+ book clubs, or feminist and anti-racist protests, often accompanied by physical violence. These perceptions point to a continuation and accumulation of such attacks over time.

The data also indicates a pattern of violence targeting property, particularly those of feminist and LGBTIQ+ activists, with acts of vandalism, hateful graffiti, and physical destruction being common occurrences. **Workplaces were frequently cited as targets**, with some participants reporting significant damage to the premises of their associations, including the throwing of excrement. Break-ins were also described as a method used to exert pressure on people working within these associations.

Participants further noted that their intimate and personal spaces, such as their homes, were also targets, with reports of threatening letters, messages, or objects being sent to them. Death threats were also commonly mentioned, as illustrated by Sara in Ireland, who recounted: "I had a piece of paper put through my door which obviously just basically says, 'if you ever exit this door again, you won't be here anymore'".

Participants observed that online harassment is becoming increasingly coordinated and sophisticated, with digital platforms being used to amplify harm. Reports from several countries suggest that organised online harassment, including coordinated **doxing campaigns [the publication of personal details online to incite physical attacks], and cyberbullying or online attacks aimed at discrediting and threatening activists, is a growing concern**. In Belarus, for instance, BLRINT03 recounted:

> There was a period, as they recall, when all their social media were populated with **death threats, threats of rape, threats of sexualised violence**. So, it really silenced them to an extent that they felt there was no safe space to express yourself anymore.

Additionally, **participants highlighted that the media often plays a role in amplifying these attacks**, exacerbating hostility towards these communities by portraying negative images or constructing sensationalist and objectifying narratives.

'Anti-gender' attacks and discourse are often perceived as a contemporary expression of **structural discrimination**. These dynamics seem to reinforce traditional gender roles and hierarchies that marginalise and oppress gender and sexual minorities by promoting rigid binaries and normative behaviours. The data suggests that 'anti-gender' mobilisations frequently target LGBTIQ+ people while also perpetuating **broader systems of sexism**, thereby maintaining and potentially intensifying heteropatriarchal and patriarchal[3] structures that **discriminate against all those who deviate from conventional gender norms**. In public spaces, gender and sexualities appear to be controlled and regulated. This suggests that there is a strong interplay between structural discrimination and 'anti-gender' movements. Examining this entrenchment reveals how these attacks function **both as a manifestation and a reinforcement** of broader efforts to regulate and control gender and sexual diversity in the public sphere.

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[3] We emphasise a distinction here, as certain manifestations of patriarchy are not always linked to heteronormativity. As lesbian feminists have pointed out for decades, patriarchal structures can also manifest in attacks by gay men, illustrating that heteropatriarchy and patriarchy do not always overlap.

'Anti-gender' politics are often observed to include **legislative actions** such as anti-LGBTIQ+ laws, the establishment of 'LGBT-free zones', anti-abortion initiatives, and bans on inclusive language, all of which are perceived to **curtail rights and freedoms**. Institutional barriers continue to be reported as significant obstacles to equality. In several countries, participants highlighted **discriminatory laws and policies** that appear to exacerbate the challenges faced by gender and sexual minorities. For instance, in Greece, trans* participants—particularly non-binary people and refugees—described facing substantial barriers to the legal recognition of their gender identity. In Poland, the wave of 'LGBT-free zones' was seen as an attempt to institutionalise discrimination against LGBTIQ+ people. In Spain, participants described organised campaigns that aim to roll back gender-affirming healthcare policies. Discriminatory patterns were also identified in the professional sphere, where gender and sexual minorities frequently face repercussions such as job loss, labour-market discrimination, unemployment, or professional isolation and targeting, as seen in Switzerland, Spain, and Belarus.

Participants indicated that access to essential services is often restricted by institutional barriers, which they perceived as forms of systemic discrimination. In several countries, including Germany and Ireland, 'anti-gender' sentiments were described as being embedded within healthcare and education systems, thereby complicating the daily lives of gender and sexual minorities. In contexts such as France and Poland, the perceived lack of institutional and state support further exacerbates these challenges. **Participants reported that recourse via the criminal legal system remains low—rarely used or inaccessible—and that protections are perceived as insufficient**, even in cases where attacks have been reported. Additionally, some participants suggested that policing and legal systems themselves can contribute to these challenges, with certain actions or inactions perceived as producing or enabling further harm.

Participants noted that the compounding of attacks and systemic discrimination contributes to a pervasive **fear of extreme violence** against individuals and organisations. This rhetoric seems to foster an atmosphere where gender and sexual minorities, as well as people who hold progressive or non-traditional values more broadly, report feeling unsafe and undervalued. Several participants described being specifically targeted because of their identities as trans and/or racialised people, with these experiences manifesting across various aspects of their daily lives, including in public spaces, healthcare, workplaces, and social settings. In the case study with people living in exile in Europe, Lila, a trans woman activist, explained:

> I was now caught up in this cycle. I experience the violence of the state, I experience it in the social sphere, I experience it in the bureaucratic sphere [...] I experience it in my personal relationships. I have nowhere else to go. I did not know what to do.

Each instance of discrimination and violence was perceived as reinforcing the next, contributing to a cycle that participants described as difficult to break. This cycle was understood as not only impacting the immediate victims but also having broader implications for the community as a whole. It was seen as perpetuating structural discrimination.

Effects of 'anti-gender' mobilisations, attacks and structural discrimination

Communities and individuals appear to be significantly affected by these attacks. Participants reported that the impacts touch on various aspects of their lives, including economic conditions, social relationships, and overall well-being. While certain effects seem common across cases, individual variations were also noted.

The attacks mentioned above seem to create an environment characterised by cumulative effects, contributing to a difficult and, at times, unbearable context. Those targeted are often selected based on their real or perceived belonging to specific groups, such as queer, trans*, and/or racialised people, or

individuals living in exile. They are also targeted for holding particular political views, such as being anti-racist, feminist, pro-immigration, or advocating for sex workers' rights, among others.

The impact on mental health has been frequently reported, with many participants describing both personal and collective experiences of distress. However, **despite the profound negative effects** on mental and physical health, professional opportunities, social relationships, and financial stability, **many of those affected also show resilience and continue to resist these attacks**. This resistance, often expressed through solidarity and community support, highlights the strength of the targeted communities in navigating these challenging circumstances.

Pervasive dehumanisation and erasure appear to contribute to various forms of distress, ranging from constant harassment, violence, and social stigma. Across all case studies, individuals affected by 'anti-gender' politics frequently reported experiencing emotional and psychological challenges, such as fear, burnout, and mental health issues. FRAINT01, a French trans participant, spoke poignantly about the erasure of trans lives and the concept of gender, sharing the sentiment: "You erase the concept; you erase the people."

People with intersecting marginalised identities (e.g. race, class, migration status, disability) seem to face compounded oppression and **may often prioritise immediate survival needs over addressing issues related to sexuality and gender identity**. For those awaiting refugee status, this process is described as exhausting and stressful. The cumulative effect on people, particularly those navigating **multiple forms of oppression**, appears to pull them in different directions, creating numerous fronts of struggle. In Greece, Pati remarked

> The sites of struggle are so many, and taking care of ourselves and of each other is so necessary because a [feeling of] exhaustion prevails [...] Specifically, I think that in recent years in Greece, we have several collectives that articulate the issues, however, the blows we receive are so constant, so targeted, that I think they follow a shock doctrine against which you will not be able to stand up because it's so common on all fronts.

Pati's description highlights the continuous and targeted pressures that contribute to a pervasive sense of exhaustion and the constant struggles faced by many. The fear of extreme violence, as reported by several participants, appears to be less a response to isolated incidents and more the result of the cumulative effect of overlapping forms of attacks and marginalisation. This compounding of experiences seems to foster a broader **atmosphere of fear and insecurity**. In Switzerland, Mo shared a similar sentiment:

> At events where I had no fear at all in Switzerland—queer events—that something could happen, I now go with an uncomfortable feeling, e.g. at Drag Story Time. A few years ago, I never had the feeling that something would happen when I went to a queer event.

This compounding effect appears to contribute to **a pervasive sense of vulnerability** among gender and sexual minorities. Across all case studies, **participants frequently reported a state of fear,** with individuals often **avoiding public events and modifying their daily behaviours to minimise the risk of confrontation**. This dynamic seems to generate widespread fear, leading to instances of **self-censorship and withdrawal from public life**. As a result, some targeted communities also reported experiencing heightened vigilance. Participants described observing their surroundings to assess whether the environment might pose a threat.

In all case studies, participants described experiencing significant **mental and emotional strain as a result of dehumanisation and living in a prolonged state of fear**. These experiences were often associated with feelings of heightened **anxiety, exhaustion, and emotional distress**, with some participants noting a deterioration in their physical health, which they attributed to chronic stress. While these reactions are not pathological, they are understood as responses to the ongoing sense of threat and insecurity.

The data suggests that self-silencing is a common response, with participants increasingly refraining from speaking out in order to protect themselves and their loved ones from potential backlash. Several participants described how anti-feminist attacks appear to have a 'silencing effect' on them. For instance, one participant in Germany (GERINT08) noted: "**I silence myself. That's an effect.**"

The impacts on careers, livelihoods, and academic pursuits were frequently reported, with isolation at work and financial instability being significant challenges for feminist and LGBTIQ+ people. In contexts such as Germany, Greece, and among people living in exile in Europe, academic participants spoke of job insecurity and restricted research topics. Financial challenges were particularly highlighted in Poland and Spain, where job loss and legal fees strain personal finances.

Migration emerged both as a consequence of 'anti-gender' violence and as a strategy to escape it. As the case studies of Belarus, people living in Exile and Greece reveal, many individuals seek asylum or relocate to safer environments, though these moves are often accompanied by difficulties related to refugee status and integration. Additionally, the idea of moving to the countryside or migrating to other countries was considered by participants in several case studies.

Resisting 'anti-gender' mobilisations, attacks and structural discrimination

Various strategies to resist 'anti-gender' politics take shape across all case studies, although some strategies exhibit particularities depending on the context. The varied and adaptive strategies of feminist movements and LGBTIQ+ people, groups, and communities reveal a form of resistance in response to attacks and systemic discrimination, with a focus on solidarity and strategic considerations around visibility.

The data indicates that resistance efforts by feminist movements and LGBTIQ+ communities are evident in all case studies, with **participants describing a range of strategies to navigate adversity**. In some cases, visibility is employed as a deliberate form of resistance, while in others, participants noted a more cautious approach, avoiding visibility to mitigate risk. Despite the inherent dangers, visibility continues to be a tool for resisting oppression.

The strategies reported include community building, advocacy, legal action, the creation of safer spaces, and measures to enhance digital security. These approaches frequently involve community support and solidarity, as individuals come together to form networks and coalitions that resist 'anti-gender' rhetoric and offer mutual aid. Activism, public protests, and social media campaigns were also highlighted as common methods used to challenge 'anti-gender' narratives and promote gender equality, as well as LGBTIQ+ and feminist liberation.

Building communities and developing networks emerge as key strategies, with a focus on strengthening collective efforts. Participants frequently emphasised the importance of **sharing knowledge, strategies, and resources**. Learning how to argue objectively was also noted as a useful tactic in countering attacks. Participants highlighted the value of political alliances and fostering local and national collaborations. By strengthening these connections, social groups can pool resources, share knowledge gained from their experiences, and amplify their collective impact in addressing the diverse challenges they face. Additionally, community outreach was consistently underscored as a crucial method of resistance.

Ensuring safety and protection appears to be a key strategy among communities facing threats. Various approaches are employed to create safer spaces, which are commonly seen as forms of resistance. Some participants reported avoiding state institutions to safeguard themselves and emphasised the importance of maintaining boundaries. **The formation of communities, often referred to as 'bubbles,' and the concept of chosen families play a crucial role,** as many rely on alliances, solidarities, and friendships for support. These strategies include living in close-knit groups or 'bubbles' to foster a sense of

security, focusing on self-defence, and creating more comfortable, liveable spaces that preserve boundaries while offering opportunities for communal resistance.

Some individuals expressed a preference for avoiding protest marches and other acts of resistance that might increase their visibility and vulnerability, whilst others identified migration or leaving their country as a form of resistance. These diverse approaches illustrate the variety of tactics that are used to cope with and counteract threats. As Magda from Poland told us:

> That it's a teaming up of all these people who are just in this besieged fortress, and it's also for me some kind of, I don't know [...] communication problem and [...] I'm also always trying, we've been trying for years with [name of the organisation] to build this activism just based on, you know, on trying to co-create some friendly, safe and open spaces and [...] to carve out a space for ourselves in this difficult reality, which we had and still have, scraps of a sense of security, a sense of community.

Collective mobilisation and solidarity actions appear to be vital elements in the strategies of activist communities. This often involves the formation of alliances or coalitions between groups, aimed at protecting themselves from physical threats while fostering a sense of community support and safety. Participants described how these efforts often hinge on the sharing of emotional bonds with members of communities where they feel a sense of belonging, as well as the exchange of strategies, resources, knowledge, and information. In addition, participants highlighted the importance of engaging in transformative discourse. In several countries, such coalitions were perceived to play a crucial role in sustaining both the daily lives and the resistance efforts of activist communities.

Social media has been identified as a powerful tool for advocacy and shifting public perceptions. Activists frequently utilise social media platforms to promote LGBTIQ+ rights and gender equality, addressing hate speech by removing hate comments and engaging with the media, either by speaking with media outlets or, in some instances, boycotting them. Several participants also reported efforts to create online visibility while advising against giving too much attention to online aggression. In response to aggression, **legal actions and advocacy** have been noted as important, although these avenues of redress are reported to be insufficiently accessible in most of the case studies. **Legal proceedings are sometimes used as a strategy to challenge laws or seek recognition for damages and injuries.** The role of documentation also emerged as critical for holding systems accountable. In some cases, **monitoring 'anti-gender' activism, documenting attacks, and filing formal complaints** were highlighted as key strategies employed by activists.

Education, art, and knowledge production appear to be significant strategies employed by participants to make information more accessible. One of the recurrent themes is the desire to convey knowledge that is not solely academic and to ensure it is accessible to a wider audience. This sentiment is reflected in the following quote from a participant in Spain (ESPINT01), who shared their experience of addressing common questions through a more pedagogical approach:

> One of the questions that worried us is how to respond to well-intentioned questions. We are tired of not being able to answer quickly [...] We made a very short document [...] in which we answer questions that people have asked us and then we answer them [...] in a pedagogical way so that everyone can understand. Now every time we have a situation like this we send this document which is something we think is accessible. Until now we had only generated academic articles in English, a language that no one understands here, but we think academics must not only generate content for scientists but rather we have to do an exercise in pedagogy of transferring knowledge to people.

The data suggests **that activists and allies engage in the production and dissemination of recommendations aimed at raising awareness through education and rethinking conceptual tools**, including the reclamation or creation of new terms for 'gender'. In some instances, participants reported being involved in research, particularly in areas related to sex workers' rights. Art and visibility were also cited as important forms of resistance, used to assert presence and identity. The case study data highlights that participants' forms of resistance are associated with a range of emotions, including joy, fear, excitement, disbelief, and anticipation, **creating spaces for collective joy being an important aspect of this resistance.**

Conclusion

The report suggests that **negative experiences related to 'anti-gender' movements are present across all case studies**, alongside significant resistance from feminist and LGBTIQ+ activists and communities. The overarching impacts of 'anti-gender' politics appear to threaten both individual survival and collective existence in various contexts. The data on 'anti-gender' attacks—specifically their effects on targeted communities and organisations, as well as the resistance strategies employed—indicate a consistent pattern of increased or sustained attacks, systemic discrimination, and violence across diverse countries. The findings point to the prevalence of physical and verbal assaults, online harassment, discriminatory legislation, workplace discrimination, social exclusion, and institutional barriers in all case studies, underscoring the pervasive nature of 'anti-gender' discourses and behaviours that transcend the East/West and North/South divides of Europe. Moreover, for Exile case study participants, these patterns repeat across contexts: not only do they suffer them in places outside of Europe, but yet again when seeking refuge within Europe.

Various emotional and psychological effects were reported. Some participants described the development of fears that spread from individuals to entire communities. Professionally, people face job insecurity, limited research opportunities for academics, and strained relationships with colleagues. Socially, difficulties with family and friends contribute to isolation, particularly among LGBTIQ+ people in exile, who often face compounded discrimination in host countries. Financial instability, driven by job loss, legal fees, and security-related costs, was also mentioned as a significant source of stress and vulnerability.

Resistance strategies appear to have emerged across the case studies, illustrating the capacity and agency of feminist and LGBTIQ+ communities. Many participants highlighted the importance of building alliances and networks as key elements of resistance. Additionally, several participants underscored the significance of legal actions and formal complaints as sometimes necessary measures to challenge discriminatory laws and seek justice. Some participants emphasised the need to create safer spaces and support systems that offer refuge and solidarity for those targeted. These initiatives are often complemented by the production of knowledge by and for the communities.

Respondent Profiles

The information from this table is taken from voluntary demographic forms, where the participants could respond in their own words in open text boxes. Most participants filled out the demographic forms to a varying degree of completeness, frequently leaving boxes empty. Responses were coded inductively allowing for multiple answers for each variable. Therefore, numbers are not mutually exclusive: people can identify in multiple ways, for example simultaneously as 'lesbian' and 'queer', and they are counted in all areas that they identify.

Table 1: Overall respondent profiles

Profile	No. of Responses	Responses (multiple responses)
Age groups	223	Based on 223 filled out sociodemographic forms participants distribute as follows over the age groups: six participants are between 18-24, 69 participants are between 25-34, 81 participants are between 35-49, 36 participants are between 50-64 and twelve participants are over 65.
Gender	246	(Cis) women (128), (cis) men (40), non-binary (35), trans (22), trans women (10), trans men (5), trans non-binary (3), queer (3), inter person (2), inter non binary (1), genderfluid female (1), genderqueer (1), transmasculine (1), Two Spirit (1), genderqueer (1) and agender (1).
Sexual orientation / identity	223	Heterosexual (45), lesbian (44), gay (38), bisexual (29), queer (27), pansexual (6), asexual (2), demisexual (1) and transbutch (1).
Country of origin	212	Poland (31), Ireland (27), Belarus (18), Switzerland (18), France (16), Germany (12), Spain (13), Catalonia (8), Basque Country (6), Turkey (4), Ukraine (2), Catalonia/Spain (2), Switzerland/Germany (2), Switzerland/Italy (2), Morocco (1), Asia Minor (1), Eastern Europe (1), Greece (1), Kurdistan (1), Latin America (1), Madagascar (1), Palestine (1), North Africa (1), Albania (1), Sierra Leone (1), Haiti (1), India (1), Austria (1), Russia (1), Galicia (1), Brazil (1), western Europe (1), Switzerland/Eastern European roots (1), Switzerland/India (1), Switzerland/Somalia (1), Syria (1), Italy (1) and Portugal (1).
Country of residence / legal status	251	Poland (44), Germany (39), Switzerland (36), Ireland (35), France (30), Spain (17), mixture Barcelona/Spain, Catalonia/Spain or Basque Country/Spain (6), Catalonia (5), Basque Country (5), Belarus (2), Georgia (1), Sweden (1), France and another country (1), Austria (1) and Netherlands (1). Other participants referred to Greece as citizens and also as refugees, asylum seekers or immigrants (naturalised citizens and precarious statuses).
Racial / ethnic identity	236	White or white + European country (106), Kurdish and/or Alevi (14), Polish (12), Belarussian (11), racialised (6), Polish and other ethnic groups (6), PoC (5), Swiss/German/Central European descent (4), Turkish (4), European (2), Jewish (2), Belarussian and Russian (1), white-passing with Roma-roots (1), Slavic (1), black (1), white hispanic

		(1), German with Indian background (1), Russian (1), Gypsy (1), latin (1), Greek (1), Albanian (1), Arab (1), Sierra Leonean (1), Haitian (1), Kurdish (1), Palestinian-Syrian (1), mixed (1), socialised as Turkish (1), Yezidi-Armenian and Kurdish (1) and Laz (1).
National identity	186	Polish (20), French (15), Catalan (14), German (12), Belarussian (11), no national identity (explicit) (10), Basque (8), Greek (6), European (4), Polish-European (4), Spanish (3), German with Indian background (1), German-Turkish (1), Spanish (1), Murcian/Catalan/Spanish (1), Brazilian (1) and Galician (1).
Educational training	228	University degrees (192), higher education (11), secondary education (7), college eligibility (6), professional training (3), vocational training (1), no formal education diploma (1) and art school (1).
Religion	202	Atheist (30), Muslim (10), Catholic (8), Orthodox (7), Christian (6), no religion (5), Lapsed/ex-Catholic/raised catholic (4), Agnostic (3), Protestant churches (3), other beliefs (2), Jewish (1), Spirit (1), Roman Catholic (1), non-practicing Catholic (1), Christian (1), Umbanda (1), Jewish roots (1) and Deist (1).
Social class	211	Middle class (89), Working class (24), (Upper) middle class (14), Upper/higher middle class (11), Lower middle class (9), Working class/low income (7), Bourgeois (1), lowest class (1), Precarious (previously lower middle-class) (1), Precarious (1), Pensioner (1), Privileged working class (1), lower class (1), sociologically middle class, politically working class (1), Upper class (1) and Refugee as social class (1).
Settlement type	250	Big city (162), medium sized city (45), small town (7), village (10) and rural area (7).
Other aspects	229	Participants also had the possibility to add other aspects important for their lives: Parent/carer of children (23), living with a disability (19), chronic disease (10), living with an illness (10), mental health (7), Basque speaker (3), potential neurodiversity (1), being academic (1), polyamorous (2), having an activist experience (2), trans guy/man/boy (1), feminist since 13 years old (1), transfeminist (1), feminist (2), and defender of defenders (1).

Relief Maps

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Introduction

In addition to focus groups and interviews, data was collected using Relief Maps. Relief Maps is an online tool that enables the collection, analysis and visualisation of data. It includes a theoretical model for conceptualising intersectional inequalities from a spatial and emotional perspective and combines and integrates qualitative, quantitative, digital and spatial (GIS) approaches. Data gathering took place from February 2024 to May 2024 and 58 participants completed their own Relief Map through an online tool (reliefmaps.upf.edu) (for the composition of the sample see Appendix 2, Table 2). The Relief Maps were adapted for the RESIST project, and asked participants how they felt in different places of their everyday life, regarding the effects of 'anti-gender' politics related to their gender, sexual identity/orientation and other axes of inequality.

This tool allowed us to systematically collect data on the effects of 'anti-gender' based on spatial and emotional dimensions. Participants had to indicate the level of dis/comfort in the following places or spheres of everyday life: *Family, Home, Affective relations, Friendship, Workplace, Public space, Community, Social networks, Institutions, Educational spaces and Places of worship/faith communities*. Participants could also write about their experiences for each place or sphere and select from a list of emotions: *Acceptance, Frustration, Humiliation, Worry, Anger, Joy, Anxiety, Guilt, Empowerment, Freedom, Fear, Rejection, Safety, Loneliness, Tranquillity, Sadness, Shame*. Participants were also asked to classify the places or spheres in four types: places of oppression (places where one has a considerable experience of discomfort even if only caused by one axis), controversial places (where one feels discomfort due to one specific axis but that are a source of comfort or relief for another one), neutral places (where no axis is significantly accentuated) and places of relief (places that are sought or created because they provide release from some axis and generate significant comfort). No profile data was collected for ethical and data protection reasons.

Findings

The aggregate Relief Map (Figure 1) shows that participants experience different levels of dis/comfort depending on the places and spheres of their everyday life, and also that there are differences regarding the more salient categories. This shows that the effects of 'anti-gender':

- vary across the places of everyday life.
- are differently configured depending on the interrelationship among different axes.
- have an important emotional dimension that conditions the lived experience.

Specifically, it is systematically shown that place matters in understanding the effects of 'anti-gender' politics. The implications of the attacks and their prevalence are not the same everywhere, and participants have the ability to find or create places of relief. As the data shows (see Appendix 2, Table 3: Characterisation of spaces in percent), public space is the space which creates more discomfort, followed by social networks. Institutions and educational spaces also score very high as controversial places. Conversely, home and friendship are places where comfort scores highest, despite the problematisation some participants make, specifically in relation to the family home and the loss of friendships due to 'anti-gender' discourses. More than half of the participants also consider affective relations as spaces of relief, although the qualitative data shows important discomforts in this sphere too. Private spaces like home and friendships, when they are

chosen, are often seen as refuges, while public and institutional spaces are perceived as hostile, although all places and spheres are contested and the way they are experienced vary across the sample.
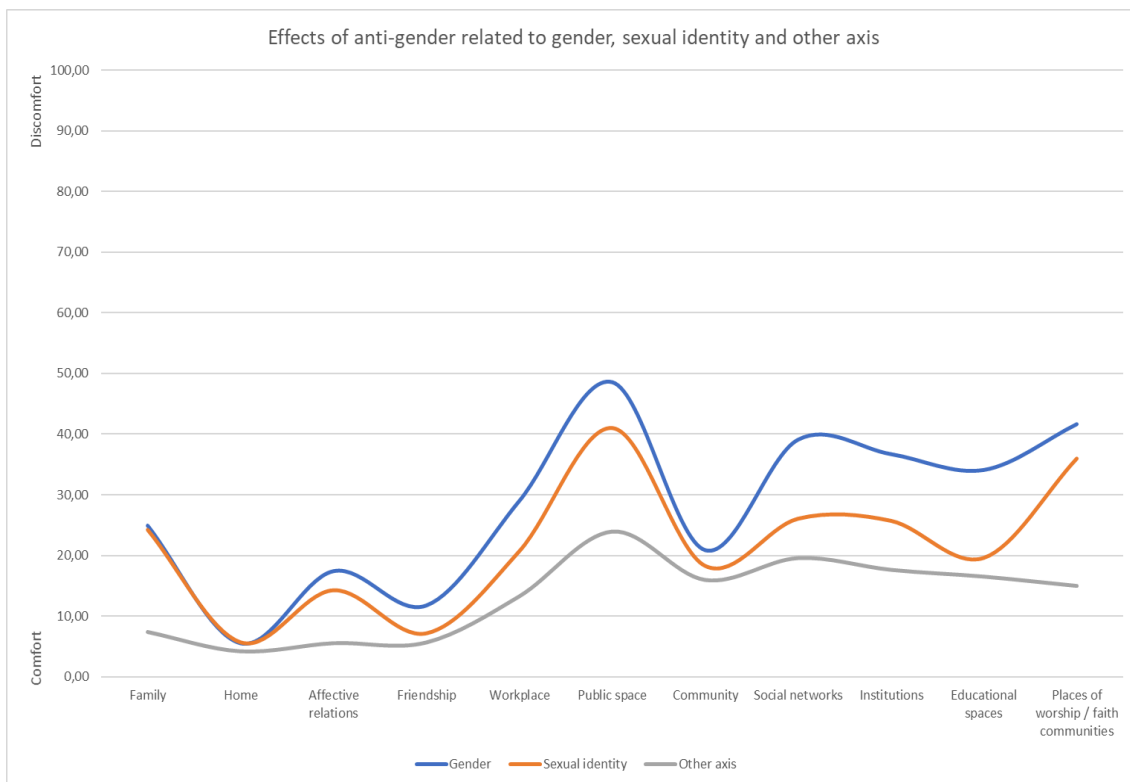

Figure 1: Aggregated Relief Map of all the participants

The research based on the Relief Maps highlights the interrelation between 'anti-gender' and structural sexism, the difficulty in separating gender and sexual orientation issues, and the emotional and spatial dimensions of 'anti-gender' experiences. In this sense, the spatial and emotional perspective allows a comprehension of the phenomena as less rigid or victimised, where it can be seen that participants navigate the different spaces of their everyday life, encountering different configurations of 'anti-gender' politics, as diverse actors and with different consequences for their lived experiences. As an important finding, the private/public divide appears as a reinforced and contested issue at the same time, which points at the relevance of contextualising the effects. Moreover, emotions play a significant role in both the experience and perpetuation of 'anti-gender' violence, underscoring the need for coordinated responses to protect and support affected communities. In this sense, it is important to consider the spatial perspective when analysing the effects of 'anti-gender', specifically in relation to the public/private dimension of it. In the same line, it is also important to analyse the role of emotions not only as consequences of 'anti-gender' discourses and politics but also as factors that can be productive of these, both in terms of how they reinforce and also configure the actions and resistances of the ones affected by them.

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Appendix 1: Data Collection Methods

The findings of this report are based on qualitative techniques: focus groups and semi-structured interviews. Focus groups are a key method that taps into group dynamics allowing for shared narratives and stories and commonalities, as well as divergences, to emerge, creating in-depth data.

Data was collected between February and May 2024 through 9 case studies (Ireland, Spain: Catalonia and Basque Country, France, Switzerland, Germany, Poland, Belarus, Greece, and a transnational study of people living in exile in Europe). Overall, 36 focus groups were conducted and 104 interviews were undertaken with a **total of 254 participants** (see Table 1: Overall respondent profiles).

Focus groups and interviews across all case studies used a shared list of topics to explore and understand participants' lived experiences of the impact of 'anti-gender' discourses, tactics, and actions in various social spaces (for example: family, home, sexual and affective relations, friendship, work, and public spaces), as well as the impact of 'anti-gender' politics, discourses and actions on various aspects of everyday life. Whilst allowing for contextual differences, the data collection process in each case study covered the same topics and focused on areas of relevance. Given that the interview and focus group guides used were semi-structured, we did not work with a fixed set of questions to be asked in a specific order. Instead, as is standard practice in semi-structured interviewing, researchers followed participants in covering key topics in an order responsive to their experiences; this ensured that participants could speak about what they wished to. Researchers explored key areas and developed new lines of enquiry as they emerged, as is expected in qualitative data.

Participants were recruited from four key target groups: (1) activists; (2) academics; (3) public intellectuals; (4) the general public. Inclusion criteria were: (1) being affected by 'anti-gender' politics, discourses and actions; (2) being 18 years old or older; (3) agreeing to have data collected and summaries created; (4) being able to speak or understand the language of the focus groups and/or interviews or interpreter; (5) living in one of the eight case study countries or being a person living in exile in Europe. In some of the case studies, the focus groups were composed of a mix of the target groups—considering also that some participants identified with more than one category—whilst in others, the focus groups were divided based on the target group. Geographical location also defined how groups were organised across the case studies.

Focus groups and interviews were audio recorded when participants consented; these recordings were transcribed and summarised. Where participants did not consent to being recorded, such as in Belarus, notes were taken and summaries produced, which were then member-checked and their content approved by the participants. Participants could opt in to be named with their first names. We anonymised participants who did not opt in to be named using the following coding convention: country code, e.g. ESP, interview code INT01 for the first interview, and/or FG1 for the first focus group. The second number following 'FG' identifies the participant within the focus group. Participants were asked to optionally complete a demographic form and hand it back to the researchers with their consent forms. This was an opt-in and no participant was forced to complete it in part or full, or hand in the demographic form. This form is the basis of the respondents' profiles presented at the end of each case study report, and included age and an age range; gender; sexuality/sexual orientation; country of origin; country of residence/legal status; ethnic group/race; national identity; education level; religion; disability; and an open question.

Appendix 2: Tables - Overall Indicators Relief Maps

Table 2: Respondents per case study (Relief Maps)

Case study	N
Spain: Catalonia and Basque Country	16
Ireland	7
Poland	10
Germany	7
France	11
Switzerland	4
Greece	2
In Exile	1
Total	**58**

Table 3: Characterisation of spaces in percent (Relief Maps)

Space	Relief	Oppressive	Neutral	Controverted	I don't use it	Total
Family	31	9	24	36	0	100
Home	**72**	0	19	7	2	100
Affective relations	**55**	0	24	19	2	100
Friendship	**72**	0	19	7	2	100
Workplace	21	10	31	34	3	100
Public space	2	**31**	9	**57**	2	100
Community	19	5	**36**	33	7	100
Social networks	9	22	22	**40**	7	100
Institutions	0	22	29	**45**	3	100
Educational spaces	0	12	31	**40**	17	100
Places of worship/faith communities	2	31	3	9	55	100