

Critical Perspectives on Anti-gender, PhD Course (7,5 ECTS credits)

Course literature, Autumn term 2026

Venue: Stockholm University, Campus Frescati (for details see Canvas; remote participation will also be possible).

Session 1. Friday, October 9, 13–16

Course intro: Theoretical entry-points to the anti-gender phenomenon

Seminar including lecture by Åsa Eriksson

Literature:

- Roman Kuhar & David Paternotte, "Disentangling and Locating the 'Global Right': Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe", *Politics and Governance*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2018): 6–19, <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v6i3.1557> or <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/1557/861>
- Doris Buss, "Finding the Homosexual in Women's Rights. THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS" *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2004): 257–284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674042000211326>
- Phillip Ayoub & Kristina Stoeckl, "The Global Resistance to LGBTIQ Rights", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2024): 59–73, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2024.a915349> or via SUB: <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezp.sub.su.se/issue/51645>
- Sonia Corrêa, David Paternotte & Claire House, "Dr Frankenstein's Hydra: Contours, Meanings and Effects of Anti-Gender Politics", in *Routledge Handbook of Sexuality, Gender, Health and Rights*, eds. Peter Aggleton, Rob Cover, Carmen H. Logie, Christy E. Newman & Richard Parke (London: Routledge, 2023), 484–493. Available at: https://sxpolitics.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Correa-et-al_Dr-Frankensteins-Hydra_2023-1_231213_191745.pdf
- Elżbieta Korolczuk, Agnieszka Graff & Johanna Kantola, "Gender danger. Mapping a decade of research on anti-gender politics", *Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 34, no. 5 (2025): 621–640, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2025.2489584>
- Clare Hemmings & Sumi Madhok, "Theorizing Contemporary Anti-Gender Politics: Transnational Resistance, Solidarities, and Futures. An Introduction", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 51, no. 3 (2026): 553–567 <https://www.journals-uchicago-edu.ezp.sub.su.se/doi/full/10.1086/739059>
- Clare Hemmings, "Unnatural feelings: the affective life of 'anti-gender' mobilisations", *Radical Philosophy*, 2.09 (2021), <https://researchonline.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/107433/>

Sources/empirical examples:

- The White House, Executive Order January 20, 2025: "Defending women from gender ideology extremism and restoring biological truth to the federal government". Link on Canvas.

Optional extra readings:

- Roman Kuhar & David Paternotte (eds.), *Anti-gender campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing against equality* (London & New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2017).
- Agnieszka Graff & Elżbieta Korolczuk, *Anti-gender politics in the populist moment* (London: Routledge, 2022).
- Judith Butler, *Who's Afraid of Gender?* (London: Allen Lane, an imprint of Penguin Books, 2024). [This book can be used as additional reading during the whole course]
- Åsa Eriksson, Lena Gemzöe, Annika Berg & Stina Malmén, "Striden om genus. En introduktion", in A. Berg, Å. Eriksson, L. Gemzöe & S. Malmén (eds.), *Striden om Genus: politik, vetenskap och social kamp* (Stockholm: Appell förlag, 2025).
- Emil Edenborg & Jenny Gunnarsson Payne, "Affekt, anpassning och allianser. Föreställningar om »genus« som ett hot mot barn i USA, Ryssland och Sverige", in A. Berg, Å. Eriksson, L. Gemzöe & S. Malmén (eds.), *Striden om Genus: politik, vetenskap och social kamp* (Stockholm: Appell förlag, 2025).

Session 2, Friday, October 23, 13–16

Historicizing anti-gender rhetoric and political mobilization of "the natural"

Seminar including lecture by Annika Berg

Literature:

- Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: Harvard University Press, 1989), ca 15 pages (part of chapter 8, "The Triumph of Complementarity"). On Canvas.
- Angela Saini, *Inferior: How Science Got Women Wrong – and the New Research That's Rewriting the Story*, 1–12 (Introduction). On Canvas.
- Quinn Slobodian, *Hayek's Bastards: The Neoliberal Roots of the Populist Right* (London: Allen Lane, 2025), "Introduction" (pp. 7–24, pdf on Canvas); optional reading chapter II: "The Rock of Biology", pp. 37–64 (or the corresponding chapters in the US edition, *Hayek's Bastards: Race, Gold, IQ, and the Capitalism of the Far Right* (Zone books, 2025)).

- Wendy Brown, *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism: The Rise of Anti-Democratic Politics in the West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), chapter 3. Available as an e-book via Stockholm University Library.
- Melinda Cooper & Ben Mabie, "Family Matters" [interview with Melina Cooper about her book *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and New Social Conservatism*], *Viewpoint Magazine*, March 19, 2018, <https://viewpointmag.com/2018/03/19/family-matters/>
- Veronica Gago, "The fascistisation of social reproduction", *Radical Philosophy* 2.18 (Spring 2025), <https://www.radicalphilosophy.com/article/the-fascistisation-of-social-reproduction>
- Billy Holzberg, "The Great Replacement Ideology as Anti-Gender Politics: Affect, White Terror, and Reproductive Racism in Germany and Beyond", in *Transnational Anti-Gender Politics: Feminist Solidarity in Times of Global Attacks*, eds. Aiko Holvikivi, Billy Holzberg & Tomás Ojeda (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2024), 183–202. Available as an e-book via Stockholm University Library.
- Donna Zuckerberg, *Not All Dead White Men: Classics and Misogyny in the Digital Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018), Introduction + Chapter 1. Available as an e-book via Stockholm University Library.
- Kjell Vowles & Martin Hultman, "Dead white men vs. Greta Thunberg: Nationalism, misogyny, and climate change denial in Swedish far-right digital Media", *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 36, no. 110 (2022), 414–431. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2022.2062669>

Sources/empirical examples:

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile* (1762), pp. 321–332 in digitized English translation. On Canvas.
- [Project 2025] *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise* (Washington D.C.: Heritage Foundation, 2023), pp. xiii-xiv, 1-6, 16-17. Link on Canvas.

Optional extra readings:

- Annika Berg, "Feminister, biologister och en och annan professor: Strider om genus i 1990-talets svenska offentlighet", in A. Berg, Å. Eriksson, L. Gemzöe & S. Malmén (eds.), *Striden om Genus: politik, vetenskap och social kamp* (Stockholm: Appell förlag, 2025).
- Lina-Maria Murillo, "Fears of white population decline: the politics of race, gender, reproductive justice, and white supremacy in the US", *Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 34, no. 5 (2025): 716–731. <https://doi.org.ezp.sub.su.se/10.1080/09589236.2025.2468809>.

- Gina Rippon, *The gendered brain: The new neuroscience that shatters the myth of the female brain* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019).
- Mari Ruti, *The age of scientific sexism: How evolutionary psychology promotes gender profiling and fans the battle of the sexes* (New York & London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).
- Lucas Gottzén, "Antifeminism och manlig identitetspolitik i manosfären. Könsseparatistiska mäns sårade anknytning", in Annika Berg, Åsa Eriksson, Lena Gemzöe & Stina Malmén (eds.), *Striden om genus: Politik, vetenskap & social kamp*, (Stockholm: Appell förlag, 2025), pp 219–236.

Session 3. Friday, November 6, 10–12, 14–17

Decolonial perspectives on anti-gender

Seminar (morning) + open lectures by Haley MacEwen and Elzbieta Korolczuk (afternoon)

Literature:

- Haley McEwen, "Inventing Family: Colonial knowledge politics of 'family' and the coloniality of 'pro-family' activism in Africa", *Africa Today*, vol. 67, no. 4 (2021): 30–49, <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/3/article/794676>
- Agnieszka Graff & Elzbieta Korolczuk, "Gender as 'Ebola from Brussels'. The uses and abuses of the anti-colonial frame", in *Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Moment* (London & New York: Routledge, 2022), 92–113. Available as an e-book via Stockholm University Library.
- Agnieszka Graff & Elzbieta Korolczuk, "'The West Is Trying Too Hard': Gender and the Right-Wing Critique of Globalization", *Critical Sociology*, vol. 51, no. 4–5 (2025): 743–760. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205241260001>
- Rahul Rao, *Out of Time: The Queer Politics of Postcoloniality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), chapters 1, 2. Available as an e-book via Stockholm University Library.
- Haley McEwen, "Contesting Norms and Challenging Order: Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Act 2023 and the Geopolitics of LGBTIQ+ Human Rights", *Politics & Gender* (2026), First View pp. 1–31. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X26100968>
- Sophie Chamas, "The Devil's in Decline: Western Anti-Gender Politics and the Evolution of Queerphobia in Lebanon", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 51, no. 3 (2026): 569–593, <https://doi.org/10.1086/738989>
- Sara R. Farris, "Introduction: In the Name of Women's Rights", in *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*, (Duke University Press, 2017). Available as an e-book via Stockholm University Library.

Sources/empirical examples:

Will be added on Canvas.

Optional extra readings:

- Awondo et al (2022) "Étudier l'anti-genre en Afrique- un phénomène social orphelin d'un concept, vraiment", entretien avec Patrick Awondo, Rose Ndengue, Fatou Sow, réalisé par Emmanuelle Bouilly et Marième N'Diaye, *Politique Africaine*, 2022/4 no. 168, <https://shs.cairn.info/revue-politique-africaine-2022-4-page-115?lang=fr> (English abstract: <https://shs.cairn.info/journal-politique-africaine-2022-4-page-115?lang=en>)
- Maria Lugones, "Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System", *Hypatia*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2007): 186–209. <http://www.jstor.org.ezp.sub.su.se/stable/4640051>
- Ann Laura Stoler, "Making empire respectable: The politics of race and sexual morality in 20th-century colonial cultures", *American Ethnologist*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1989): 634–660. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/645114>

Session 4. November 27, 9–12

Anti-trans mobilization and hetero(cis-) activism

Seminar including lecture by Emil Edenborg

Literature:

- Mary Anne Case, "Trans Formations in the Vatican's War on 'Gender Ideology'", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2019), 639–664. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701498>
- Catherine Jean Nash & Kath Browne, *Heteroactivism: Resisting Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans Rights and Equalities* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), Introduction + chapter 3. Available as an e-book via Stockholm University Library.
- Alyosxa Tudor, "Right-wing Times: Fascism, Left/Right Convergences and the Relationship of 'Gender-Critical' to Anti-Gender", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 51, no. 3 (2026): 621–647. <https://doi.org/10.1086/738994>
- Emil Edenborg, Fanny Ambjörnsson & Elin Bengtsson, "'You Don't Want Temperature Near the Children': Drag Queen Story-Readings and the (De)Politicization of LGBTQ+ Rights in Sweden", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 2026; jxag017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxag017>

- Emil Edénborg, "Anti-Gender Politics as Discourse Coalitions: Russia's Domestic and International Promotion of 'Traditional Values'", *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 70, no. 2 (2020), 175–184. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1987269>
- Patrick Wielowiejski, "Identitarian gays and threatening queers, or: How the far right constructs new chains of equivalence", in G. Dietze and J. Roth (eds), *Right-Wing Populism and Gender: European Perspectives and Beyond* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2020), 135–146. Available as an e-book via Stockholm University Library.

Sources/empirical examples:

Will be added on Canvas.

Optional extra readings:

- Åsa Eriksson, "Trans, genus och äkta kvinnor: Transkritisk feminism i en tid av reaktionär anti-genuspolitik", in A. Berg, Å. Eriksson, L. Gemzöe & S. Malmén (eds.), *Striden om Genus: politik, vetenskap och social kamp* (Stockholm: Appell förlag, 2025).

Session 5. December 11, 13–17

Intersectional feminist resistance and counterstrategies

Seminar including lecture by Lena Gemzöe + course finale

- Smrdelj, Rok & Roman Kuhar (2025). "Productive Resistance". In Smrdelj & Kuhar (eds.), *Anti-Gender Mobilizations in Europe and the Feminist Response* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2025), 255–277, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-87693-6_10
- Maja Gergorić, Kusumika Ghosh & Anya Kuteleva. 2025. "The Global Rise of Anti-Gender Movements and Feminist Resistance Strategies: A Critical Analysis". *Politikon: The IAPSS Journal of Political Science* 25 (1, special issue on The Rise of Anti-Gender and Anti-Feminist Discourses in International Politics), pp 2–9. <https://doi.org/10.22151/politikon.12025.0>.
- Zarembek, G., Tabbush, C., & Friedman, E. J. (2021). "Feminism(s) and anti-gender backlash: lessons from Latin America". *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 23 (4, special issue on Feminism(s) and anti-gender backlash: lessons from Latin America), 527–534. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2021.1956093>

- Corredor, E.S., Avoine, P.A. (2026). "Expanding Gender, Breaking Silences: Norm Contestation, Localization and Backlash in the 2010–2016 Colombian Peace Negotiations". In: Björkdahl, A., Lorentzen, J., Skjelsbæk, I. (eds) *Backlash Against the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. Norm Research in International Relations*. Springer, Cham., pp 99–118. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-032-10853-1_6

Sources/empirical examples:

Will be added on Canvas.

Optional extra readings:

- Gemzöe, Lena and Thaïs Machado-Borges (2025). "Genus i stormens öga. Exemplet Brasilien". In *Striden om genus. Politik, vetenskap och social kamp*, A. Berg, Å. Eriksson, L. Gemzöe och S. Malmén (eds). Stockholm: Appell förlag.
- Ciccia, R., della Porta, D. and Pavan, E. (2021) "Feminist alliances: The ideas, practices and politics of intersectional solidarity", *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, vol 4, no 2, 175–179, <https://doi.org/10.1332/251510821X16177322505899>
- RESIST Project Team. (2024). *The RESIST Project Report: Effects of, and Resistances to 'Anti-Gender' Mobilisations Across Europe: A Report on Nine Case Studies*. RESIST Project. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11180745>
- Rosalind Cavaghan, Teresa Kulawik, "Experts, Idiots, and Liars: The Gender Politics of Knowledge and Expertise in Turbulent Times", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, Volume 27, Issue 4 (special issue on Experts, Idiots and Liars: The Gender Politics of Knowledge and Expertise in Turbulent Times), Winter 2020, pages 643–647, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxaa039>
- Smrdelj & Kuhar (eds.), *Anti-Gender Mobilizations in Europe and the Feminist Response* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2025), open access at <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-031-87693-6>

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