



# Transnational “Anti-Gender” Politics and Resistance

Thursday 22nd - Friday 23rd February, 2024

Hosted at the London School of Economics (LSE) and School  
for Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, UK

This two-day conference is the final event of the [\*Transnational 'Anti-Gender' Movements and Resistance: Narratives and Interventions\*](#) project led by Professors [Clare Hemmings](#) and [Sumi Madhok](#) of the LSE Department of Gender Studies, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and LSE Knowledge Exchange and Impact.

**Wifi:** If you have LSE or other participating institutional credentials you can access the internet via ‘eduroam’ with your institutional email and password. All other guests can access the internet via ‘the Cloud’.

**Accessibility:** There are clearly marked accessible toilets and elevators at each LSE location. For more accessibility information you can visit [Accessible LSE](#).

**Map and locations:** All LSE buildings can be found on Google Maps. You are also welcome to use the [LSE Campus Map](#). If you cannot find a specific room, please ask the front desk in the building for directions.



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## Day One: Thursday 22nd February

### Registration (9 AM onwards)

*Marshall Building 1.04 (LSE)*

### Opening and Welcome (9.30 - 10.10 AM)

*Marshall Building 1.04 (LSE)*

- Welcome: Clare Hemmings (LSE), Sumi Madhok (LSE), Alyosxa Tudor (SOAS), Senel Wanniarachchi (LSE)
- Opening Remarks: Nicola Lacey FBA (LSE), Anne Phillips FBA (LSE)

### Workshop: Funding Knowledge to Resist Anti-Gender Movements (10.15 AM - 1 PM)

*Marshall Building 1.04 (LSE) - includes a tea & coffee break (11.45 AM - 12.15 PM)*

In recent years, a number of academics have been awarded research grants from the Academy to study, analyse and generate knowledge on the exponential growth of anti-gender mobilisations across the globe. We'll hear from our 6 panelists about some of the specific challenges – institutional, political and emotional – of conducting this research, and invite audience members to share their experiences.

- Kath Browne (UCD); Sarah Lambie (Birkbeck); Sumi Madhok (LSE); Georgina Waylen (Manchester)
- Chair: Maria Rashid (LSE)

**Lunch (1 - 2 PM)** - vegan and vegetarian finger food

### Panel: Intersecting Inequalities and Anti-Gender Movements (2 - 4.15 PM)

*Marshall Building 1.04 (LSE)*

This panel asks why it is crucial to approach anti-gender movements from a perspective of intersecting inequalities. What difference does it make to resist anti-gender mobilisations from multiple, intersecting perspectives? What forms of politics emerge when anti-gender movements are resisted in this way?

- Alia Amirali (LSE); Sophie Chamas (SOAS); Eric Fassin (Paris 8); Awino Okech (SOAS); Xine Yao (UCL)
- Chair: Ratna Kapur (QMUL)

### Keynote: Transnational “Anti-Gender” Politics & Resistance (5.30 – 7.30 PM)

*Sheikh Zayed Theatre LG.08, Chen Kin Ku Building (LSE) followed by a reception*

This panel asks our keynote speakers to reflect on the rise of anti-gender politics in the geo-political contexts that they work within, and the queer, transfeminist and decolonial politics of resistance that accompany them.

- Judith Butler (UC Berkeley) in Conversation with Tooba Syed (Women Democratic Front Pakistan)
- Chair: Clare Hemmings (LSE)

## Day Two: Friday 23rd February

### Panel: Transnational Anti-Gender Conversations (10 AM - 1 PM)

*Marshall Building 2.04 (LSE) - includes a tea & coffee break (11.30 AM - 12 PM)*

This panel invites theorists, policy-makers and activists to discuss ongoing challenges to resisting anti-gender mobilisations in their specific contexts, and to connect these as part of a transnational conversation. What might a transnational politics of anti-gender resistance look like?

- Nour Almazidi (LSE); Sonia Correa (Sexuality Policy Watch, Brazil); Aiko Holvikivi (LSE), Dorottya Redai (CEU)
- Chair: Abeera Khan (SOAS)

**Lunch (1 - 2 PM)** - vegan and vegetarian finger food

### Panel: Intersecting Inequalities and Anti-Gender Mobilisations II (2 - 4 PM)

*Marshall Building 2.04 (LSE)*

This panel continues the exploration of intersectional approaches to resisting anti-gender mobilisations. Specifically, it asks: What modes of resistance to anti-gender violence emerge when we do not see 'gender' as a single issue? What forms of politics are essential to building intersectional and transnational resistance?

- Jana Cattien (UvA); Gail Lewis (Yale); Senel Wanniarachchi (LSE); Irina Zhrebkina (Kharkiv)
- Chair: Shirin M. Rai FBA (SOAS)

### Keynote: Transnational "Anti-Gender" Politics & Resistance (5.30 – 7.30 PM)

*Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre (SOAS), followed by a reception*

This panel asks our keynote speakers to reflect on the rise of anti-gender politics in the geo-political contexts that they work within, and the queer, transfeminist and decolonial politics of resistance that accompany them.

- Zethu Matebeni (UFH) in conversation with Jules Gill-Peterson (Johns Hopkins)
- Chair: Alyosxa Tudor (SOAS)



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**Workshop: Funding Knowledge to Resist Anti-Gender Movements**  
**Thursday 22 Feb (10.10 AM - 1 PM) Marshall Building 1.04 (LSE) -**  
**includes a tea & coffee break 11.45 AM - 12.15 PM**



**Kath Browne** (Professor of Geographies of Sexualities and Genders at University College Dublin) Her research focuses on social justice, inequalities and polarisations. Working with marginalised LGBT people, she has explored how lives can be ameliorated, including through Liveable Lives (with Niharika Banerjea). She has also worked on those who are opposed to sexual and gender equalities (including through the concept of heteroactivism with Catherine Jean Nash) and associated socio-legal changes. The latter is the focus of the Beyond Opposition research that investigates the experiences of people who are concerned about these changes, and how we might engage with each other where we seek different realities and futures. She will speak today about the European Horizon Project RESIST, where she is the project co-Ordinator



**Sarah Lambie** is Professor of Criminology & Queer Theory at Birkbeck, University of London. Lambie is currently undertaking a Leverhulme-funded research project, Beyond sex versus gender: Rethinking the 'gender wars' in Britain. Lambie is an organiser with the Bent Bars Project, an LGBTQ+ prisoner penpal scheme, and with Abolitionist Futures, which develops resources and education around alternatives to police, prisons, and punishment.



**Sumi Madhok** is Professor of Political Theory and Gender Studies and Head of the Department of Gender Studies at LSE. Her work combines theoretical, conceptual and philosophical investigations with detailed ethnographies of the lived experiences, political subjectivation, and political struggles for rights and justice, specifically, in South Asia. She is most recently the author of *Vernacular Rights Cultures: The Politics of Origins, Human Rights and Gendered Struggles for Justice* (Cambridge University Press 2021), which won both the Susan Strange Book Prize and Sussex International Theory Prize in 2022. Professor Madhok is also the author of *Rethinking Agency: Developmentalism, Gender and Rights* (2013); the co-editor of *Gender, Agency and Coercion* (2013); and of the *Sage Handbook of Feminist Theory* (2014).





**Georgina Waylen** is WJM Mackenzie Professor of Government at the University of Manchester. She has written and researched extensively on various aspects of gender and politics and political economy. Her books include *Engendering Transitions: Women's Mobilization, Institutions and Gender Outcomes* (OUP 2007) which was awarded the Victoria Schuck prize in 2008, and she was lead editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics* (OUP 2014). She has published in a range of journals including most recently *Review of International Political Economy*, *Journal of European Public Policy* and *Social Politics*. Between 2012-17 she held a European Research Council Advanced Grant on Understanding Institutional Change from Gender Perspective and until 2023 she was a Co-Director of the Feminism and Institutionalism International Network (FIIN). She is currently completing a one year Leverhulme Fellowship on right-wing populism and democratic erosion in the UK.



**Chair: Maria Rashid** is an LSE Fellow in Gender Studies whose monograph, *Dying to Serve, Militarism, Affect and the Politics of Sacrifice in the Pakistan Army* (Stanford University Press 2020) won the Barnard S. Cohn Book prize (2022). Her book is a political ethnography that questions the intimate ways militarization cultivates the forms and feelings of citizenship, including the nation state's ability to rationalise wars through its most poignant burden, the deaths of its soldiers. Her research interests lie in producing accounts of the micro politics of militarism as a discursive and material process in the global South in ways that implicate race, gender and nation, and the study of local conflict and violence as imperially constituted, and intrinsically linked to global structures of post coloniality and neo-liberalism. In addition to teaching gender, peace and security at LSE, Dr Rashid is also involved with the Partition of Identity (POI) project, a cross-university initiative, led by UCL, that studies the 1971 war and the Pakistani Bengali community in Pakistan.

## Panel: Intersecting Inequalities and Anti-Gender Movements

Thursday 22 Feb (2.00 - 4.15 PM) Marshall Building 1.04 (LSE)



**Alia Amirali** is a Left political organizer based in Islamabad, Pakistan, currently doing her PhD in Gender Studies at the LSE. Her PhD dissertation explores the political subjectivities of Pakistani domestic workers in the city of Islamabad, with whom she has been previously engaged as an organizer supporting their struggles for housing rights for over two decades. Alia played an active role in rebuilding the National Students Federation in Pakistan, and is now a member of the left-wing Awami Workers Party. She is also affiliated with the Center of Excellence in Gender Studies at Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.



**Sophie Chamas** (they/she) is lecturer in gender studies at SOAS, University of London. Their research sits at the intersection of feminist and queer political theory, Middle East Studies, political economy, and cultural studies. Their work is focused on the study of the life, death, and afterlife of the radical political imagination in the Middle East and its diaspora from a queer feminist lens. They are currently exploring the theoretical and political possibilities of thinking 'queer Arab-ness' dialectically as a political orientation, rather than through the lens of hybridity and identity.



**Éric Fassin** is a professor of sociology and gender studies at Paris 8 University in the Department of Political Science, and a senior member of the Institut Universitaire de France. He is now affiliated with the Sophiapol research center (political sociology, philosophy, and anthropology). His research focuses on contemporary sexual and racial politics with a comparative, transnational perspective. He co-founded a network in defense of gender studies ("The Gender International"). Public interventions related to his scholarly work have long been part of his political commitment as a "sociologue engagé". 2024 publications: *State Anti-Intellectualism & the Politics of Gender and Race*. *Illiberal France and Beyond*, CEU Press, Vienna; *Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven. La artista que dio cuerpo a la vanguardia* (with Joana Masó), Arcàdia, Barcelona; *La savante et le politique. Pour des sciences sociales critiques* (with Caroline Ibos), Flammarion, Paris (forthcoming).



**Awino Okech** is a Professor of Feminist and Security Studies in the Department of Politics and International Studies. Professor Okech's teaching, and research sits at the nexus of gender, sexuality, conflict, and security studies. Alongside her teaching, Professor Okech also serves as the founding Director of the Feminist Centre for Racial Justice that focuses on the majority world as geographies from which to build feminist imaginaries of "race". Prior to joining SOAS, Professor Okech worked for over a decade in the development sector across various sub-regions in Africa, supporting women rights organisations and local movements working at the intersection of gender and conflict. This work remains central to her research, teaching and public facing work.



**Xine Yao** is Associate Professor in American Literature to 1900 and co-director of the queer studies network qUCL at University College London. Yao's *Disaffected: The Cultural Politics of Unfeeling in Nineteenth-Century America* received the Robert K Martin Book Award from the Canadian Association of American Studies, Duke University Press's Scholars of Color First Book Award, honourable mention for the Arthur Miller First Book Prize from the British Association of American Studies, and was shortlisted for the University English Book Prize. Her work has appeared or is forthcoming in *American Quarterly*, *American Literary History*, *J19*, the *Journal of Asian American Studies*, *Occasion*, as well as edited collections including *Q&A 2.0: Voices from Queer Asian North American*, *The Cambridge Companion to American Literature and the Body* and *The Cambridge History of Queer American Literature*. Her honours include the American Studies Association's Yasuo Sakakibara Essay Prize. She is a BBC Radio 3/AHRC New Generation Thinker and the co-host of PhDivas Podcast.



**Chair: Ratna Kapur** is Global Law Chair and Professor of International Law, Queen Mary University of London. She is also a Senior Faculty with the Institute of Global Law and Policy, Harvard Law School. Ratna has been a Visiting faculty at a number of universities including Yale Law School, NYU School of Law, Georgetown Law School, and Melbourne Law School. Ratna has written and published extensively on post colonial and feminist legal theory, human rights and international law. Her latest book is *Gender, Alterity and Human Rights: Freedom in a Fishbowl*. Other books include *Makeshift Migrants and Law: Gender, Belonging and Postcolonial Anxieties* (2010); *Erotic Justice: Law and the New Politics of Postcolonialism* (2005); *Secularism's Last Sigh?* (co-authored, 2000); and *Subversive Sites: Feminist Engagements with Law in India* (co-authored, 1997). Her current book project is on the Politics of Faith and Human Rights.



**Keynote: Transnational “Anti-Gender” Politics and Resistance  
Thursday 22 Feb (5.30 - 7.30 PM), Sheikh Zayed Theatre LG.08,  
Chen Kin Ku Building (LSE) - followed by a reception**



**Judith Butler** is Distinguished Professor of the Graduate School and former Maxine Elliot Professor in the Department of Comparative Literature and the Program of Critical Theory at the University of California, Berkeley. They were the Founding Director of the Critical Theory Program and International Consortium of Critical Theory Programs at UC Berkeley. Butler is active in gender and sexual politics, human rights, anti-war politics, and serves on the advisory board of Jewish Voice for Peace.



**Tooba Syed** is the secretary of the socialist-feminist women collective and organisation Women Democratic Front. Syed has regional expertise in Pakistan and South Asia and eight years of experience working as a feminist researcher, trainer, campaigner, writer and teacher in the areas of gender studies, gender-based violence, feminist education and climate change adaptation.



**Chair: Clare Hemmings** is Professor of Feminist Theory in the Department of Gender Studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science. She works across feminist and queer studies exploring the political and epistemological impact of the stories we tell about these fields. Hemmings is the Principal Investigator on the AHRC Network 'Transnational "Anti-Gender" Movements and Resistance' and her current work is on affect and temporality in 'anti-gender' discourse and on family stories.

**You will need to show your official LSE Events ticket to enter this keynote. Without it, you will not be able to enter. If you have not received your ticket by Thursday morning on the 22nd of February, please contact [v.fox@lse.ac.uk](mailto:v.fox@lse.ac.uk).**



**Panel: Transnational Anti-Gender Conversations**  
**Friday 23 Feb (10 AM - 1 PM) Marshall Building 2.04 (LSE) -**  
**includes a tea & coffee break 11.30 AM - 12 PM**



**Nour Almazidi** is a PhD student at the LSE Department of Gender Studies. Her archival, ethnographic, and oral history research focuses on stateless subaltern politics, subjectivities, and epistemologies in the Arabian Peninsula. With the stateless Bidoon narrators, activists, protestors, and political prisoners as her thesis' chief protagonists, Nour gives a theoretical accounting of their epistemic and political presence, collective politics of refusal, nomadic histories, and alternative imaginaries of citizenship. Her other lines of research include queer intimacies, death and grief studies, and contemporary anti-gender politics. She is an Editor for the Engenderings collective.



**Sonia Corrêa** has been involved in research and advocacy activities related to gender equality, health and sexuality since the late 1970s. Between 1992 and 2009 she coordinated the sexual and reproductive health and rights research program at DAWN – Development Alternatives with Women for a new Era, a global South feminist network, of which she is a Board Member. Since 2002, she is a research associate at the Brazilian Interdisciplinary Association for AIDS where with Richard Parker, she co-chairs the Sexuality Policy Watch program, a global forum comprising researchers and activists engaged in the analyses of global trends in sexuality politics.



**Aiko Holvikivi** is Assistant Professor of Gender, Peace and Security at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). She is co-editor, with Billy Holzberg (KCL) and Tomás Ojeda (LSE), of the volume *Transnationalising Anti-Gender Politics* (forthcoming June 2024 with Palgrave's 'Thinking Gender in Transnational Times' - series). This project also received a grant from the Open Society University Network's Transnational Feminism, Solidarity, and Social Justice Program, in collaboration with Haley McEwen (Wits University) to facilitate dialogue around 'Troubling Anti-Gender Attacks' in May 2022.



**Dorottya Rédei** is an independent scholar, affiliated with Central European University – Democracy Institute, Budapest, Hungary. Her research interests include gender equality in education, sex education, the intersectional reproduction of social inequalities in education, and anti-gender education politics in Central Eastern Europe. Her monograph *Exploring Sexuality in Schools. The Intersectional Reproduction of Inequality* was published in 2019 by Palgrave Macmillan. Currently she invests most of her time and energy into activism; she works in Labrisz Lesbian Association in Hungary; and has recently become the organisation’s Executive Director. In Labrisz she has been the coordinator of the internationally renowned A Fairytale for Everyone book project. She received the Emma Goldman Snowball Award for her feminist academic and activist work in 2020 and various honours and awards for her work with the fairytale book. Her most recent article is “Lesbian resistance through fairy tales. The story of a children’s book clashing with an authoritarian anti-gender regime in Hungary”, published in 2023 in the Journal of Lesbian Studies, Special Issue: Neo-Fascism’s “Gender Ideology” & Queer/Lesbian Resistance.



**Chair: Abeera Khan** is Lecturer in Gender and Sexuality at the Centre for Gender Studies, SOAS. Her knowledge production and pedagogy is concerned with the interrelatedness between empire, gender, race and sexuality. Abeera’s work provides critical interventions in queer of colour critique particularly regarding the category of ‘queer Muslim’. She has published in *Feminist Review*, *Feminist Formations*, *lambda Nordica* and *Religion and Gender*. She is co-editor of *Abolitions: Writing Against Abandonment*, a special issue of *Wasafiri Magazine for International Contemporary Writing*, forthcoming Summer 2024. Currently, she is developing her book monograph, titled *Becoming Deviant: Race, Sexuality and the Queer Muslim*.

## Panel: Intersecting Inequalities and Anti-Gender Mobilisations II

**Friday 23 Feb (2- 4 PM) Marshall Building 2.04 (LSE)**



**Jana Cattien** is Assistant Professor in Social and Political Philosophy at the University of Amsterdam. She works at the intersection of political theory, psychoanalysis, feminist theory, and postcolonial theory, and has published two articles on anti-gender mobilisations that inform her contribution to this conference: an article for *Signs* on German anti-genderism and scholarly responses to it; and an article for *New Formations* which develops a theory of the psychic life of anti-genderism as it both overlaps with, and departs from, racialized fantasies.



**Gail Lewis** (she/her/they) is Visiting Professor at Yale University and Reader Emerita in the Department of Psychosocial Studies at Birkbeck College. She trained as a Psychodynamic Psychotherapist and a Psychoanalytic Psychotherapist at the Tavistock Clinic. Their political subjectivity was formed in the intensities of black feminist and anti-racist struggle and through a socialist, anti-imperialist lens. She was a member of the Brixton Black Women's Group and one of the founder members of the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent, Britain's first national organisation for black and other women of colour. Gail is currently writing a book on black feminism in Britain and has written on feminism, intersectionality, the welfare state, and racialised-gendered experience.



**Senel Wanniarachchi** is a final year PhD Researcher at the LSE's Department of Gender Studies. His research is interested in understanding how discourses on 'culture' and 'heritage' are instrumentalised in frameworks that are anti-imperialist, but also nationalist, patriarchal, heteronormative and anti-human rights in the postcolony. Senel is the Research Coordinator for the AHRC Project on Transnational 'Anti-Gender' Movements and Resistance: Narratives and Interventions. His research has appeared in *Cultural Politics* and is set to appear in the upcoming Handbook on Contemporary Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka, Senel co-founded an activist group called Hashtag Generation which works in the intersections of human rights and technology.



**Irina Zhrebkina** is Professor of Philosophy in the Department of Philosophy at V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Ukraine), Director of the Kharkiv Center for Gender Studies and Editor-in-Chief of the Gender Studies Journal. Her books include *Passion. Women's Sexuality in Russia in the Era of Modernism* (St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2001, 2018); *Gender 90s, or the Phallus does not Exist* (St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2003); *Judith Butler's War and Peace* (with Sergei Zhrebkin) (St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2019); *Stalinist Antigone. Feminist Intervention in Stalinism* (St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2019); *Contemporary Western Philosophy. Introduction* (with Sergei Zhrebkin) (St. Petersburg: Alethea 2022). Since the beginning of Russian aggression in Ukraine, Zhrebkina has positioned herself as a strong critic of Putin's militaristic politics in her numerous journalist publications and interviews.



**Chair: Shirin M Rai** FBA is Distinguished Research Professor of Politics and International Relations and a Fellow of the British Academy. Shirin is an interdisciplinary scholar and has written extensively on issues of gender, governance and development and gender and political institutions. She is currently working on the impact of COVID-19 on older people and their carers in Coventry and Leicester and is writing two books - *Depletion: the human cost of care* (OUP) and *Doing Politics Sideways* (Routledge).



**Keynote: Transnational “Anti-Gender” Politics and Resistance  
Friday 23 Feb (5.30 - 7.30 PM), Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre  
(SOAS) - followed by a reception**



**zethu Matebeni** is the South Africa Research Chair in Sexualities, Genders and Queer Studies at the University of Fort Hare. zethu has published various key essays, articles, poetry, films and volumes on African sexualities and gender diversity including: *Reclaiming African: queer perspectives on sexual and gender identities* (2014); *Queer in Africa: LGBTQI Identities, Citizenship and Activism* (with Surya Munro and Vasu Reddy, 2018), and *Beyond the Mountain; Queer life in 'Africa's gay capital'*. zethu has been Visiting Professor at the Marie Jahoda Centre for International Gender Studies at Ruhr University Bochum, and at the Women's Gender and Sexualities Studies (WGSS) Department at Yale University. Trained in Sociology, zethu has been instrumental in the development of African queer theory and queering decolonisation efforts in higher education.



**Jules Gill-Peterson** is Associate Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University. She has held fellowships from the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Kinsey Institute, and was honoured with the Chancellor's Distinguished Research Award from the University of Pittsburgh in 2020. Jules is the author of *Histories of the Transgender Child* (University of Minnesota Press, 2018), the first book to shatter the widespread myth that transgender children are a brand new generation in the twenty-first century.



**Chair: Alyosxa Tudor** is Reader in Gender Studies and the Chair of the Centre for Gender Studies at SOAS, University of London. Their work connects trans and queer feminist approaches with transnational feminism and postcolonial studies. They have published widely on their work and given international keynotes (Turku/Finland, University of Uppsala/Sweden, NYU/USA) and numerous national and international papers and SOAS hosted two conferences under their lead. For their article 'Im/Possibilities of Refusing and Choosing Gender', they won the 2019 Feminist Theory Essay Prize. Alyosxa's next monograph project builds on archival research in Holocaust/Porajmos (Romani genocide) archives in Heidelberg, Berlin and Brandenburg/Germany.

