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RIGHT-WING POPULISM AND GENDER IN DIGITIZED CULTURE WARS

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR »MEDIA, POPULISM & CORRUPTION«
NOVA FCSH, LISBON, 9-10, NOV. 2022

1. Neoliberal Conjunctures, Re-Framed Culture Wars

**2. Right-Wing Populist Patterns of En-Gendering
(Gender as »Affective Bridge« in Mass Media)**

**3. Orchestrating Contradictions Affectively Toward New Forms of
Political Communication**



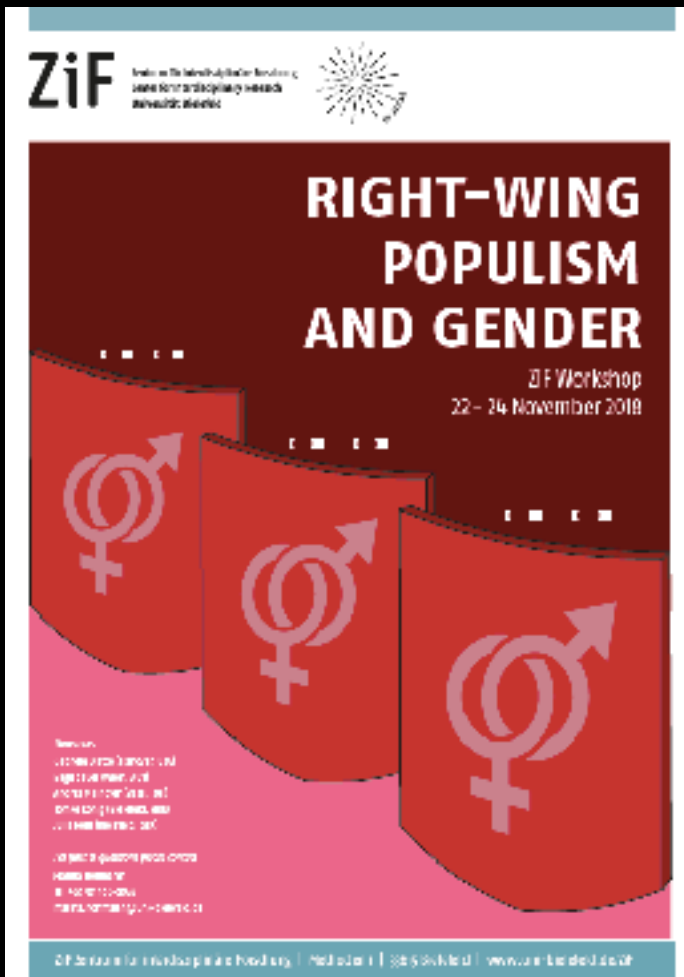
At the White House on Tuesday, Mr. Bolsonaro pledged that the United States and Brazil would “stand side by side in their efforts to ensure liberties and respect to traditional family lifestyles, respect to God our creator against the gender ideology or the politically correct attitudes, and against fake news.”

March 19, 2019: Bolsonaro's visit to the US

United in the opposition to „gender ideology“ and „fake news“
(NYT, 19 March 2019)

RIGHT-WING POPULISM AND GENDER

- ▶ Observation: »**Obsession with Gender**« in the discourse of right-wing populist complex (Dietze/Roth 2020)
- ▶ Gender ideologies: always important for right-wing, but: »**only recently** has a **gender-based strategy** moved to the **forefront** [...] of right-wing populist actors.« (Sauer 2017: 1, translation and emphasis JR)
- ▶ »**Right-wing Populist Complex**« (to grasp complexity and multiple actors)



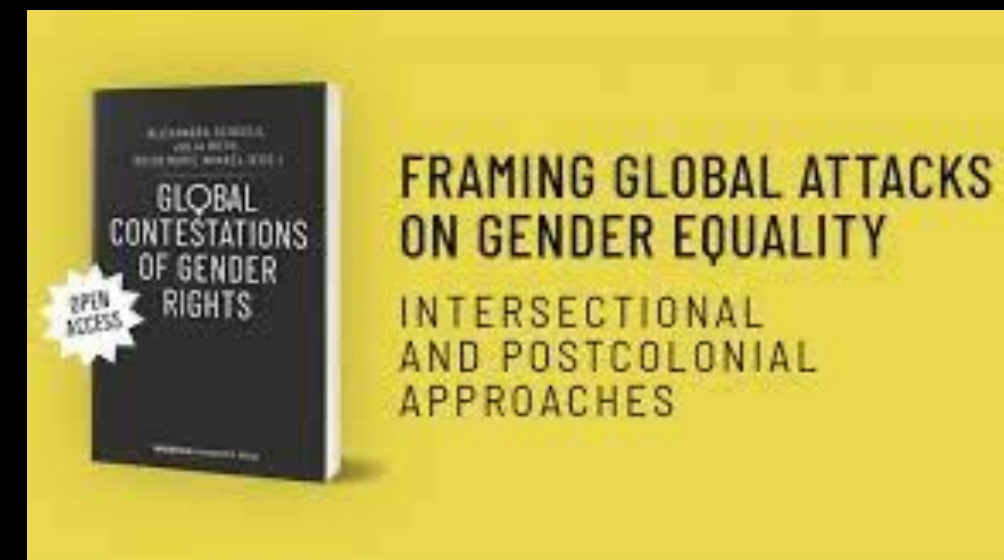
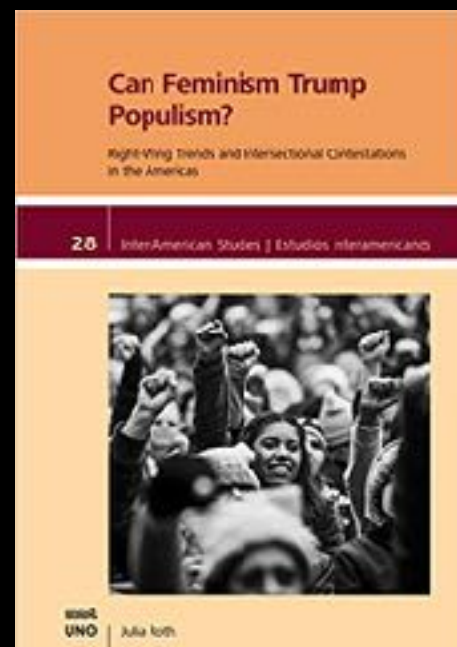
ZiF-AG, Opening Workshop:
Nov. 22-24, 2018



Publication, March 2020



Gorki Conference 2019



2021 (ZiF Research Group)

Own publications (2020 + 2021)

Communicative Pattern	Patterns of (En-)Gendering	Antagonistic Populist Logic
Gendering of Scandals + (“ethnic”) Others	Gender as “Affective Bridge” in Mass Media	Emotional Appeal Simplicity of Argument Facts vs. (Gender) Ideology
“Normal” people vs. politically correct gender police	Appropriating Women’s Politics for Femo-nationalist Alliances	(Re-)naturalization of binary roles, heteronormative order
(White) (Re) Masculinization: Against “Gender Ideology” + Affirmative Action	“Genderism” as existential threat	“Genderism” + immigrants as scapegoats for inequalities + fears
Radical Religious and Femoglobal Alliances	Gender as “Ideological Colonization”	Reverse Anti-Colonialism (Self-Victimization) “Natural” order vs. “chaotic”, menacing gender diversity
Gendering of Social Inequalities Gendering of Fear	“Ethno-Sexism” + “Exclusive Intersectionality”	Sexual Exceptionalism Superior vs. inferior sexual regimes Modernization + Retraditionalization

Source: (Roth 2019, cf. Ajanovic, Mayer and Sauer 2017, Diehl 2017, Dietze 2015, Mudde and Kaltwasser 2017, Sauer 2017)

(Roth 2020: 65-66)

RIGHT-WING POPULIST PATTERNS OF (EN-)GENDERING

► (En-gendering (following Pelizzon: „defining into nature”))

Pattern I: Gender as Affective Bridge in Mass Media

(Gendering of scandals + Others)

Pattern II: Appropriation of Women's Politics,
Femonationalist Alliances

Pattern III: White (Re)Masculinization
(»Genderism« as existential threat)

Pattern IV: Radical Religious and Femoglobal Alliances
(Gender as »Ideological Colonization«)

Pattern V: Gendering of Social Inequalities, Gendering of Fear
(Ethnosexism, exclusive intersectionality)

Logics/Affinities of Mass Media & Populism

Populism: logic, ideational, thin-centered ideology: Manichean, binary worldview

Core Concepts: – The people – The elite– The general will

– Key elements: »the (pure) people« vs. »the (corrupt) elite« – provides mental map (to analyze and comprehend reality)

These criteria apply neatly to populist stories:

CRITERIA OF MASS MEDIA

Personalisation

Degree of complexity

Appeal to the extraordinary

Emotional appeal

Drama

Conflict structure

Immediacy

ELEMENTS OF POPULISM

Centrality of the charismatic leader

Simplicity of argument

Production of scandal, disregard for taboo

Emotional appeal

Narrative of the betrayed people

Manichean thinking

Rejection of mediation



FOTO: PICTURE ALLIANCE / DPA i
n Der Tagesspiegel, September 1, 2015

»Gender Ideology as Existential Threat«
(for family and nation):
Link to the pandemic



<http://maranathacristoessalvacion.blogspot.com/2018/10/la-ideologia-de-genero-contra-la-familia.html>

Gender-Wahnsinn stoppen!
Eine absurde Ideologie erobert unseren Alltag
Was ist zu tun?

JUNGE FREIHEIT
Hört auf mit dem Unsinn!

Internetportal
gender-mich-nicht.de
jetzt online

Gender Mainstreaming
2018
Gender
Tüde, Bildung, Gruppen

Riesenerfolg!
Bereits über 1,7 Mio.
Broschüren verteilt

Lesen, was Sache ist.

Junge Freiheit







<https://albertorg.wordpress.com/tag/arrogance/>

'Feminism is sexist': The women backing Brazil's Bolsonaro

By Katy Watson
BBC South America correspondent, São Paulo

23 October 2018

f     Share

Brazil general elections 2018



Opinion polls suggest 43% of women voters will cast their ballot for Jair Bolsonaro



Minister Damara Alves
(Women, Family and Human Rights)

'I don't see any reason for feminism': the women backing Brazil's Bolsonaro

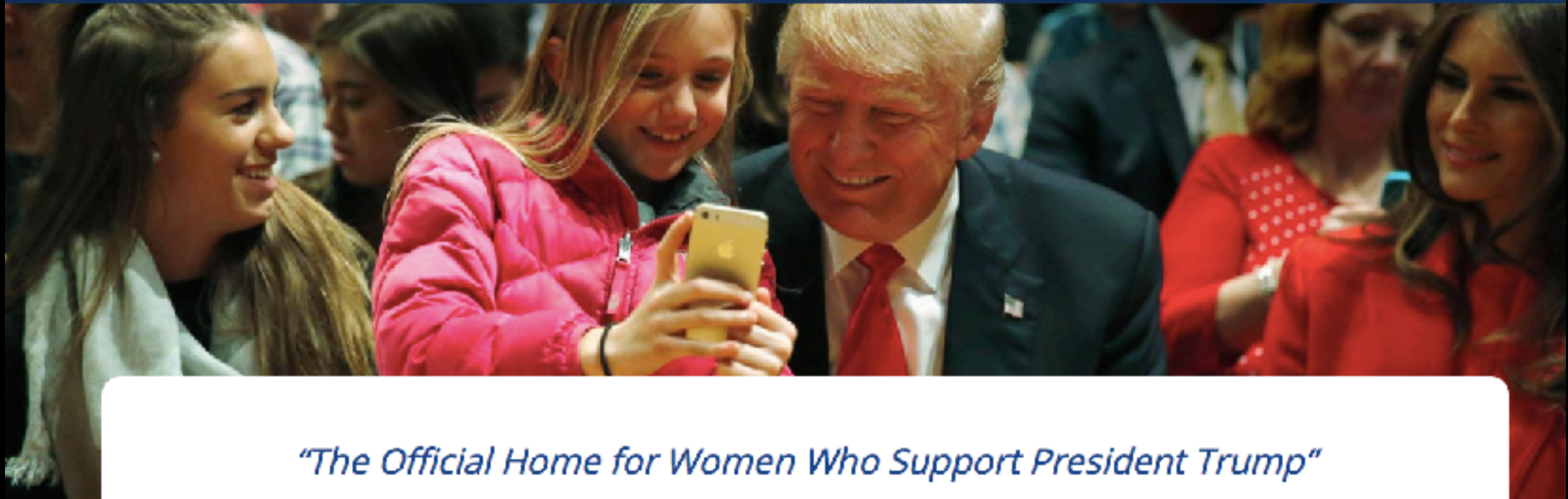
The openly sexist presidential candidate has faced an extraordinary backlash. So why do many women support him?



»Femonationalism«



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"The Official Home for Women Who Support President Trump"

WOMEN VOTED SMART. WOMEN VOTED
TRUMP.

»Women for Trump« (Necessity of female supporters)

Jair Bolsonaro: la verdadera identidad de la "brasileña negra y pobre" del polémico video difundido por el candidato a la presidencia de Brasil

Ricardo Senra
BBC News Brasil

🕒 21 septiembre 2018

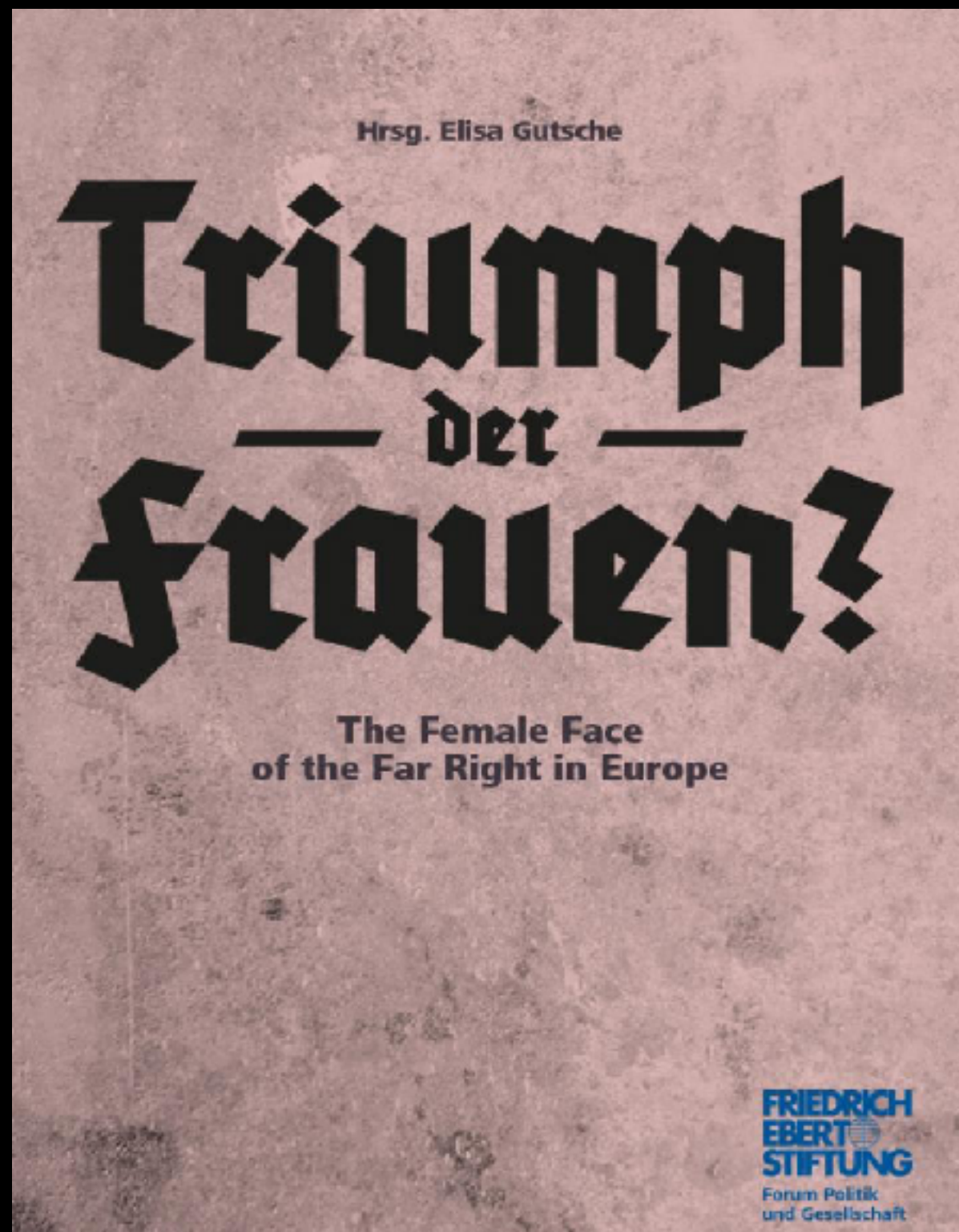


🔗 Compartir

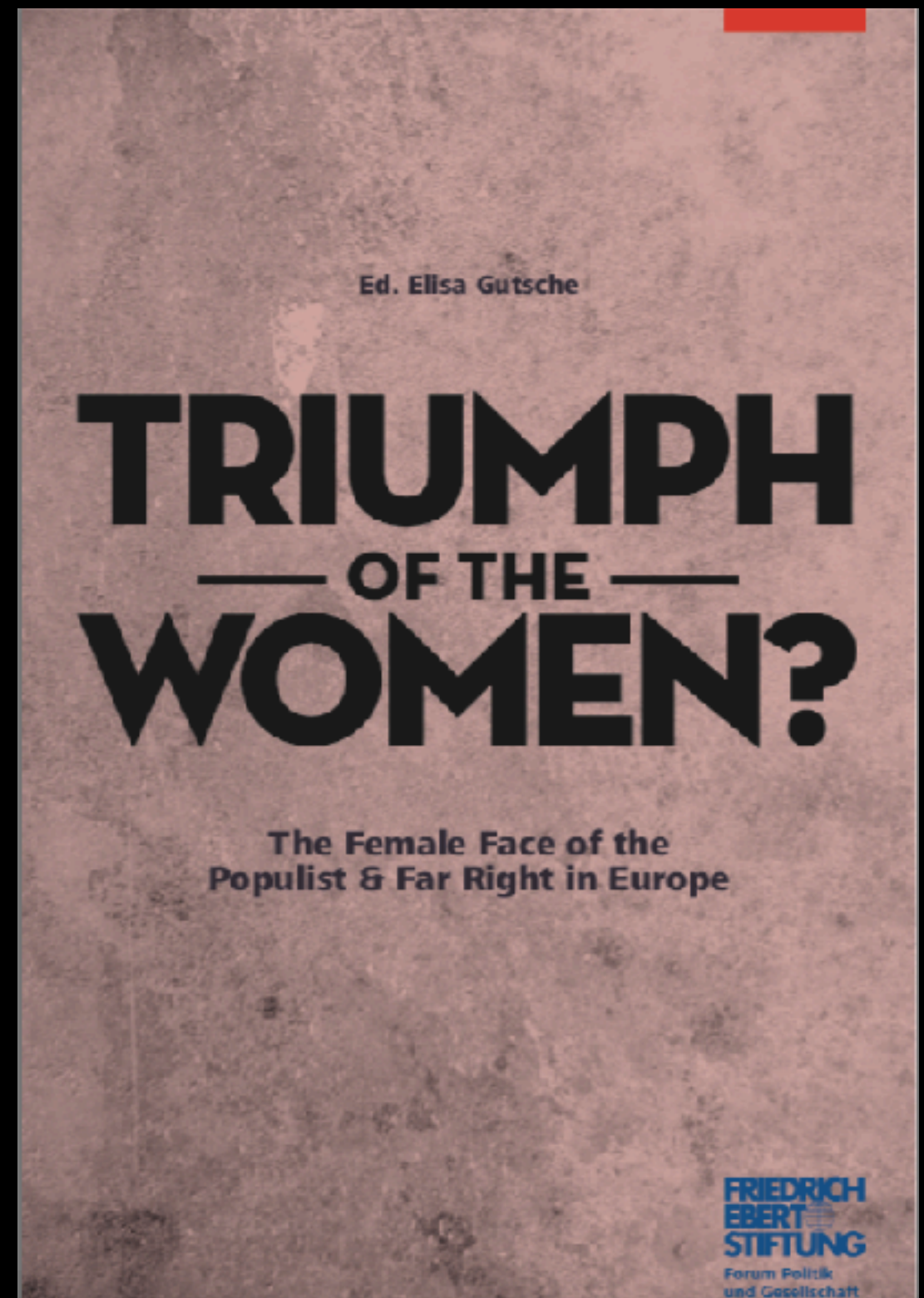


La mujer que aparece en el video relacionado con Bolsonaro es canadiense y trabaja como ejecutiva en una multinacional.

Attempt of »intersectionality«



FES Study »Triumph of the
Women«:
»Femonationalism«



»For Women, Against Feminism«

"But you have people coming in and I'm not just saying Mexicans, I'm talking about people that are from all over that are killers and rapists and they're coming into this country."



HUFF
POST

The Huffington Post, Nov. 9, 2016



Poster, march AfD party, Berlin 2016

Pope Francis: Ideological colonization a 'blasphemy against God'

Inés San Martín, Nov 21, 2017
ROME BUREAU CHIEF



»The Vatican's crusade against Gender Ideology«
cruxnow.com, 21. Nov, 2017



CitizenGo Campaign: »Stop the LGBT Colonization of Europe«
CitizenGO, 11 Nov. 2020, 16:36

Reverse Anti-Colonialism:
»Gender Ideology«
as »Ideological Colonization«

(imperial feminist imposition, capitalises on divisions within feminisms)

Radical Religious and Femoglobal Alliances (Gender as »Betrayal of Christian Values«, »Ideological Colonization«)



Bolsonaro: "ideología de género" como "denigración de valores Cristianos"

Pattern I: Gender as Affective Bridge in Mass Media

- Protection of traditional family and gender roles
- »Gender« as **existential threat** to the family and the (reproduction of) the **nation**
- Demonization of feminists, LGBTQI* activists, »gender ideology«
- »Reverse Anti-Colonialism« (Pope)
- Dynamic paradoxes
(ethno-sexism, sexual exceptionalism, femonationalism, homonationalism)

>>> no mere »backlash«, more complex
(gender as meta language, arena, »symbolic glue«, »affective bridge«)

Digitized Culture War(s)

Digital Media Logics	Gendering
Individualised consumer profiles	Weaponized masculinity, familial warfare
Simplicity and brevity	Naturalized binary order, Segregationist data
Gain attention, »clicks«/likes, data	»Sex sells«, Sexual scandal, taboos
Affective attachment	Moral panic
Moral panic, loss of order	Gendering of Others, Gendering of scandal
Binary oppositions (like/dislike, 0/1, friend/enemy), Polarization as goal	Binary/heteronormativity vs. plurality/ambiguity
Immediacy, echo chambers	Affective bridge

(Roth 2022, cf. Diehl 2017, Roth 2020, Chun 2021)

Digitized Culture War(s)

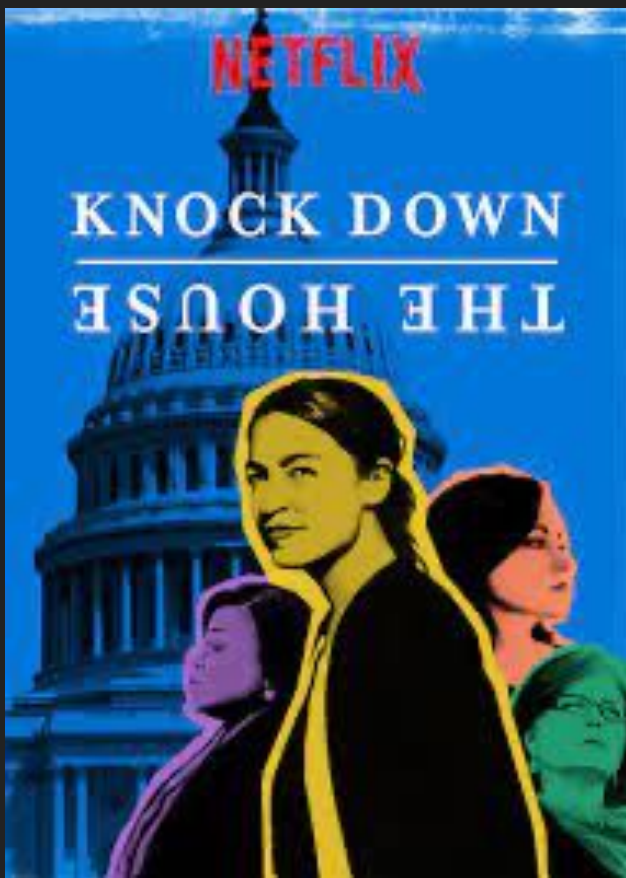
Criteria of Mass Media	Elements of Populism	Digital Media	Digital Media Logics	Gendering
Personalisation	Centrality of the charismatic leader	–	Individualised consumer profiles	Weaponized masculinity, familial warfare
Degree of complexity	Simplicity of argument	✓	Simplicity and brevity	Naturalized binary order, Segregationist data
Appeal to the extraordinary	Production of scandal, disregard for taboo	✓	Gain attention, »clicks«/likes, data	»Sex sells«, Sexual scandal, taboos
Emotional appeal	Emotional appeal	✓	Affective attachment	Moral panic
Drama	Narrative of the betrayal of the people	– / ✓	Moral panic, loss of order	Gendering of Others, Gendering of scandal
Conflict structure	Manichean thinking	✓	Binary oppositions (like/dislike, 0/1, friend/enemy), Polarization as goal	Binary/heteronormativity vs. plurality/ambiguity
Immediacy	Rejection of mediation	✓	Immediacy, echo chambers	Affective bridge

(Roth 2022, cf. Diehl 2017, Roth 2020, Chun 2021)

»Gendered Conjecture«

(Brown 2018; Hall et.al. 1978)

- condensation of contradictions
- normalization & contestation
- requires mapping of conjunctures



Documentary »Knock Down the House«, 2019, d: Rachel Lears



#NiUnaMenos



Campaign "Marielle Presente," Brazil, March 2018

MUITO OBRIGADA!

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