

Online Methodological Appendix for “Changing Frames: Actors and Digital Networks in Colombia's Anti-Gender Mobilization”

January 2026

This article studies transformations in the discursive repertoires of anti-gender activism in Colombia and the tactics used by different actors to propagate these discourses. In this methodological appendix, we describe in detail the steps taken to collect and analyze information on three fronts:

1. Discursive repertoires of anti-gender actors
2. Social Network Analysis of anti-gender actors on X
3. Educational Programs

1. Analysis of Discursive Repertoires

Our analysis of discursive repertoires was based on a comprehensive review of content disseminated by RAR actors in online spaces between 2019 and 2025. This review had two stages: Stage 1 was exploratory and Stage 2 zeroed in on the discourses we identified as emerging during the initial stage, during a specific observation window.

1.1. Stage 1: Exploratory review of discursive repertoires

In this first stage, we conducted an exploratory review of anti-gender content available on social media and websites. By *anti-gender content*, we mean content that spreads messages contrary to the rights of women and the LGBTIQ+ population, as well as against groups that defend these rights. For example, this category includes content that opposes abortion and spreads messages that denigrate groups such as feminists and LGBTIQ+ activists.

Our sources were social media and websites, and we followed three steps. First, we conducted an exploratory review of the websites and social media profiles (X, Instagram, and Facebook) of the 112 actors that were identified in the RAR database as actors who mobilize against the rights of and policies in favor of women and the LGBTIQ+ population in Colombia. We found that 62 RAR actors had their own website, 87 had a Facebook profile, 84 had an Instagram profile, and 78 had an X profile. We collected the relevant anti-gender content made public by these actors in these digital spaces. We qualitatively

analyzed this information to identify, in a preliminary manner, collective action frames, narratives, and targets.

Second, with this same objective—to identify frames, narratives, and targets—we reviewed and analyzed the content of 1,133 tweets that we captured manually to carry out the network analysis (see section 2 in this appendix for more information on the network analysis). In addition to identifying discourses, these tweets and the network analysis allowed us to identify new actors (actors not originally mapped in the RAR database) who are key in the articulation and diffusion of anti-gender content.

Third, we selected 15 actors with Facebook profiles to conduct a more in-depth review of their discourse. We took three criteria into account when defining this sample: i) it should include profiles associated with actors who were on the RAR database but also actors not originally mapped therein, ii) include actors representing various sectors of the anti-gender movement (that is, a mix of NGOs, religious actors, state actors and influencers, among others), and iii) include actors who were highly visible (in terms of number of their X followers and involvement in anti-gender campaigns). Following these selection criteria, the sample consisted of five state actors, four NGOs, three influencers, two religious actors, and one think tank. Eleven of them were RAR actors and four were non-RAR. The review covered posts made by these actors on Facebook over a one-year period: October 17, 2023, to October 17, 2024. We recorded posts with anti-gender content in an Excel spreadsheet and analyzed them using deductive coding with the following thematic categories: *niña/o/infancia*, *aborto/vida*, *libertad*, *ideología de género/LGBTIQ+*, *woke*, *agenda*, *batalla cultural*, *educación*, *familia*, *feminismo* (girls/boys/childhood, abortion/life, freedom, gender ideology/LGBTIQ+, woke, agenda, cultural battle, education, family, feminism). We settled on these analytical categories based on a review of the literature, the preliminary analysis described above, and our prior experience working on the construction of the RAR database.

Activism against sexual and reproductive rights and the LGBTIQ+ population in Colombia has been widely studied (e.g., Amador & Granados 2018; Bárcenas Barajas 2022; Faur & Viveros Vigoya 2020; Gil Hernández 2016, 2020; González Vélez et al. 2018; Malagón Penén 2015; Morán Faúndes 2023; Rodríguez Rondón 2017; Ruibal 2015;

Serrano Amaya 2019). Our analysis of the information extracted from various social media platforms (X, Facebook, and Instagram) and websites allowed us to identify the emergence of new discourses within anti-gender activism. Using the findings of previous studies as our baseline, we distinguish three waves in anti-gender activism and observe that, in the third wave (beginning roughly in 2020), new discursive elements are introduced into anti-gender activism. In this third wave, the discursive repertoires of anti-gender activism show several continuities with those of previous decades, but also novel elements on which our analysis focuses. The following table presents a summary of the continuities and new developments we identified in three categories: mobilization frames, themes and narratives, and targets:

Table 1. Continuities and new discursive developments in Colombia’s third wave anti-gender activism

Category	Discursive elements inherited from the first and second waves of anti-gender activism	New discursive elements in the third wave of anti-gender activism
Mobilization frames	Culture of life/culture of death, gender ideology	Anti-wokeism, anti-progressivism
Themes and narratives	Marxism, family and children under threat, destruction of Christianity and the West	Cultural battle, 2030 Agenda and globalism, cancel culture
Targets	Abortion, LGBTIQ+ rights, sex education, feminists, LGBTIQ+ lobby, the Left, international organizations (UN, OAS)	Gender-based violence, DEI and affirmative policies, inclusive language, targets beyond gender issues (“radical environmentalism”)

1.2. Stage 2: Focused review of emerging discourses

In this second stage, we carried out a detailed review and analysis of the discourses we identified as emerging during Stage 1, focusing on the X profiles of 15 anti-gender actors whom we selected from the initial list based on their greater visibility (in terms of number of their X followers and involvement in anti-gender campaigns) and ensuring the presence of all types of actors (i.e., religious groups, politicians, digital news portals, influencers, academic actors, and service organizations). We focused on X because the network analysis (see section 2) is based on data from that social network. To locate the relevant material, we used the X search engine and defined a set of keywords to capture content associated with the new discourses identified in Table 1. The keywords we used for our search were: *progre*, *progresista*, *progresismo*, *woke*, *wokismo*, *agenda 2030*, *batalla cultural*. All relevant tweets resulting from this search were recorded in a Word document for analysis. Based on framing theory, we analyzed this information by identifying which actors articulated these discourses in the digital space, how and for what purpose they were used, noting their characteristics in terms of flexibility and inclusivity.

2. Social Network Analysis on X

In addition to analyzing the content of the websites and posts on X detailed above, we also used X to analyze the circulation of anti-gender discourses. To do this, we built a database in which we systematized different types of information about the actors that had an X profile and retweeted posts with anti-gender content during our observation window (October 17, 2023, to October 17, 2024). This database consists of three sheets. In sheet 1 (networks), we collected information on all RAR actors who retweeted anti-gender content. This sheet includes information on the actor who retweets, the actor who is retweeted, the content of the tweet, hashtags used, and the date of the retweet. Table 2 (below) shows an example of the structure of this database:

Table 2. Database of RAR actors and anti-gender retweets

Actor 1 (RAR)	Actor 2	Retweeted content	Hashtags	Date
Padres con la Verdad [Parents with the Truth]	Jonathan Silva	[Photo attached]  ESTA ES LA BANCADA PROVIDA DEL @ConcejoDeBogota. Gracias a ellos, el día de ayer, fue archivada la iniciativa del Pacto Histórico, de llevar la AGENDA LGBTIQ+ a los colegios de la ciudad, institucionalizando un día de la "diversidad", entre otras propuestas #SoyProvida   [THIS IS THE PRO-LIFE CAUCUS OF THE @ConcejoDeBogota. Thanks to them, yesterday, the Historic Pact's initiative to bring the LGBTIQ+ AGENDA to the city's schools, institutionalizing a “diversity” day, among other proposals, was shelved. #IamProlife  ]	#SoyProvida [#IamProlife]	8th June, 2024

Of the 96 RAR actors with X profiles, we identified that 36 of them retweeted at least one tweet with anti-gender content during the period observed. In total, we recorded 1,133 retweets, i.e., interactions that spread anti-gender content. Of these retweets, 57.4%

occurred among RAR actors (i.e., both actor 1 and actor 2 are RAR actors), while the remaining 42.6% correspond to retweets made by RAR actors of content produced by other actors not mapped in the original RAR database.

We used sheet 2 (attributes) to characterize in more detail all the users we recorded in sheet 1: 128 in total (96 RAR and 32 non-RAR). In this sheet, we included data on their profile in X, actor category, year of account creation, and number of followers. The oldest account we identified is from 2008, while the most recent is from 2024. Regarding the number of followers, the user with the fewest followers had 6, while the one with the most accumulated 685,048. For only one user, we were unable to identify the year their account was created or their number of followers, as the account appeared to be suspended for violating X's rules.

Finally, we created a third sheet (matrix) to transfer the data to an adjacency matrix, which we then used for the analysis and visualization in UCINET included in the paper.

3. Identifying and Analyzing Educational Programs

To complement the strategies outlined above, we also analyzed the educational initiatives promoted by anti-gender actors. To identify said initiatives, we used the RAR database, which included information on educational programs these actors developed as part of their mobilization strategies (the relevant category is “non-university and university training programs”). In total, 33 of the 112 RAR actors involved in anti-gender actions developed some type of program of this kind.

We reviewed the social media profiles and websites of these 33 actors to gather public information about their educational and training initiatives. We conducted a detailed review of the educational initiatives that met the following conditions: (i) had a verifiable digital trace (website, Facebook page, X, Instagram, or content repositories); (ii) provided minimal information about their format, purpose, or content (title and general themes); (iii) included in their title, narrative, or educational program materials some type of explicit or implicit positioning linked to anti-progressive, anti-woke, or anti-gender agendas. Programs/actors that did not meet these requirements were discarded at this stage. Our final sample included programs spearheaded by 21 actors.

For each of the 21 actors identified, we systematically examined the following digital spaces: official websites (reviewing menus, training sections, document repositories, and events); Facebook pages (tabs, albums, posts, and external links); X profiles (timelines, threads, announcements, and links to materials) and Instagram profiles (posts, reels, featured stories). On each platform, we thoroughly reviewed available posts, tabs, and relevant sections seeking to collect the greatest amount of publicly available information on their educational offerings. Our review focused on identifying and documenting program types and modalities, topics and content taught, language, and key concepts associated with anti-progressivism, anti-wokism, and anti-gender causes. We did not include information on the number of participants or students, as this was not public information.

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