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Anti-Transgender Misinformation on X in Canada: Narratives, Tactics, and Policy Implications

Research Report

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ABSTRACT

This report analyzes common forms of anti-transgender misinformation circulated by Canadian far-right influencers on X, a key platform for the dissemination of transphobic narratives. Drawing on a thematic analysis of 1,920 posts by 35 influencers, it demonstrates how misinformation about trans people and gender identity portrays trans people as threats to children, women, Canada, the West, and even the nature of reality. The report identifies key communicative and narrative tactics, including exaggeration, extreme and cruel language, mockery, and the combination of anti-trans narratives with other right-wing causes. Across the findings of the report, anti-trans misinformation emerges as a component of broader anti-egalitarian and anti-democratic politics. Given the growing hostility directed toward trans communities, it is urgent to raise awareness among politicians, policymakers, and citizens about the implications and effects of misinformation-driven anti-trans discourse and to foster a more resilient information environment. This will serve to protect not only the human rights of a vulnerable group but also democracy itself.

INTRODUCTION

The 2010s marked what TIME magazine labelled "the transgender tipping point," a period of unprecedented representation and visibility for transgender people in mainstream media and public discourse. If that moment is taken as a point of reference, today's social and political landscape is unrecognizable. From President Donald Trump's Executive Order against "gender ideology extremism" to the backlash against sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) education in Canada (The Canadian Anti-Hate Network, 2023), trans people are under attack in North America and worldwide (McLamore & Fuller, 2025). Gains in acceptance achieved in the 2010s are being rapidly undermined.

The current challenges faced by trans people are inseparable from the global rise of far-right activity and its weaponization of social media to spread anti-trans narratives and misleading claims (Laquièze, 2025; Mudde, 2021; Ravecca et al., 2023). Misinformation is often a component of the conspiracy theories that far-right movements, political parties, and governments use to target those they deem enemies of society. Far from being politically neutral or a straightforward epistemological issue, misinformation-driven conspiratorial thinking tends to reinforce existing inequalities and harm vulnerable groups (Brewer, 2025).[1] Notably, anti-trans misinformation-driven narratives produce a climate conducive to violence and sometimes explicitly provide a rationale for extremism (Wippell, 2026).

These narratives not only target trans people; they also function as a key component in advancing authoritarian projects (Everhart & Davenport, 2025). This highlights what is at stake in responding effectively to anti-trans activism. It also coincides with research documenting the far right's expansion of its repertoire of tactics. Notions such as "gender ideology" show that these actors are effectively engaging in what they conceptualize as a "cultural war" (Cammelli, 2017; Everhart & Davenport, 2025; Goldentul & Saferstein, 2020; Grant & MacDonald, 2020). The crusade against gender ideology has been predominantly waged against feminism and the expansion of Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual, and other sexual- and gender-minority (2SLGBTQIA+) rights and social acceptance (Corredor, 2019; Rousseau, 2020). The articulation between "ideology" and "gender" has been effective in inducing social anxiety and moral panic (Walker, 2023), specifically around the integrity and protection of families and children. Currently, trans people are at the center of the anti-gender ideology battle (Slothouber, 2020).

[1] For an extensive discussion of our definition of misinformation see the Methods section of this report.

There is international evidence that the activation of these fears has been effective in consolidating broad coalitions of movements and political actors (McLamore & Fuller, 2025). In the context of global and interlocking crises, the far right has been able to channel concerns around parenthood, criminality, national and personal identity, economic precarity, and even women's safety. In some cases, it has developed political narratives that both mirror and reverse intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; Nash, 2017); that is, the mobilization of the intersection of themes, identities, and causes not to critically understand inequality and discrimination, but to reinforce them (Ravecca et al., 2022, 2023). Furthermore, metaphors like "doppelganger" and "digital-mirror-world" have recently proliferated in the literature, pointing to how far-right developments mimic, co-opt, and distort political discourse, including the language of "popular feminism" in anti-egalitarian ways (Banet-Weiser & Kay, 2025).[2]

Segments of feminist and queer groups are being recruited into the anti-trans crusade.[3] Quite tellingly, recent American poll data suggests that cisgender sexual minorities perceive themselves as having more in common with cisgender heterosexuals than with trans people (Minkin et al., 2025). Furthermore, anti-trans misinformation profusely circulates in mainstream media, legislation, and institutions (Billard, 2024; Everhart & Davenport, 2025). Adding to this challenging landscape, the issue has not generated the kind of broad progressive mobilization seen—at least at certain moments—around racism, sexism, or homophobia, making trans people vulnerable to a particularly intense form of scapegoating that is simultaneously destructive, pervasive, and multilayered. The range of themes mobilized in the persecution of trans people is shockingly wide, including sports (Knott-Fayle, 2025), healthcare (Billard, 2024), education (Ganshorn, 2024; Nash & Browne, 2021), childhood and children (Everhart & Davenport, 2025; Nash & Browne, 2021), celebrities (Brewer, 2025), social media and the media (McLamore & Fuller, 2025), bathrooms (Lerner, 2021; McGuire et al., 2022), and even the integrity of the nation-state (Everhart & Davenport, 2025).

Although some consequences of anti-transgender attitudes and their connections with the far right are well documented, especially within the United States (US; Arrayales & Mallory, 2026; Kishi & Jones, 2022; Romano, 2022; Wippell, 2026), the Canadian context has been covered far less in the media and by scholarship. Canada has cultivated a reputation for being a queer-friendly country. However, Alberta,

[2] Farris (2018) has analyzed how an unexpected "unholy alliance" between liberal feminists, nationalists, and neoliberals scapegoat Muslim men while situating Muslim women as useful, cheap labor.

[3] This radicalizes what Puar (2007) called homonationalism and includes Farris' (2018) "femonationalism."

Saskatchewan, and New Brunswick have passed policies restricting trans rights in 2024 and 2025. Additionally, there is significant social mobilization around, for example, “parental rights” (Ganshorn, 2024), as well as nationwide events such as the 1 Million March for Children (CBC News, 2023; CTV News, 2024), both of which have anti-trans politics as one of their core themes. Furthermore, the rise in anti-trans attitudes has been accompanied by an increase in violence: from 2016 to 2023, hate crimes motivated by 2SLGBTQIA+ status increased by 388% (Egale Canada, 2023). There is also evidence that anti-trans motivated hate crimes involve a comparatively high rate of violence (Statistics Canada, 2021).

Online misinformation has been identified as a primary contributor to anti-transgender attitudes among the general public. But what forms of misinformation are taking hold in the Canadian public imagination? In this report, we analyze anti-trans misinformation discussed by Canadian influencers on X, the most prominent social media platform used to spread transphobia (Knott-Fayle, 2025; Ravecca et al., 2023; Sánchez-Sánchez et al., 2024). We show how misinformation about trans identities and gender transition is being used in Canada to construct trans people as a threat to children, women, the nation, the West, the social order, and even a basic sense of reality.

We also identify the narrative tactics employed, including the systematic use of exaggeration, cruel language, mockery, insults, and the instrumentalization of minoritized groups to legitimize anti-trans politics. These narratives sometimes weave hostility against trans people together with a range of right-wing causes, including climate change denial, opposition to immigration, Islamophobia, the defence of property rights, and the rejection of taxation, public spending, and state-provided social services such as education and healthcare. They also mobilize conspiracy theories around the COVID-19 pandemic, attacks on the arts and social sciences, the celebration of authoritarian and far-right leaders, and the denunciation of the media, particularly the CBC. We conceptualize this deliberate linking of anti-trans views with a range of other issues as a narrative tactic that prior scholarship refers to as right-wing intersectionality (Ravecca et al., 2023).

This research documents that the recognition of trans people as fellow human beings (that is, trans legitimacy) is attacked in ways that are distinct from attacks on other groups. While, from the perspective of prominent anti-trans influencers, a woman can choose not to be a (bad) feminist, and gays and lesbians can be counted as desirable subjects of the nation as long as they do not push too hard for their rights and keep their “lifestyle” in the private sphere, trans people carry unacceptable transgression in their very being. This puts

trans people at risk of facing extremist violence. Legislation itself is often shaped by, and becomes an artifact of, anti-trans misinformation (Billard, 2024). This has dire consequences not only for trans people but for democracy itself.

By identifying the specific forms of misinformation being mobilized in Canada, we provide valuable insights for the public and for policymakers. At a time when public education is under criticism for its inclusion of SOGI in curricula (e.g., Pawson, 2024), educating not only children but also politicians, policymakers, and citizens about the realities of trans lives is essential. Furthermore, fostering a resilient information environment and building ecosystems that make accurate information accessible to the public are key priorities. We expand on this in the conclusion of this document.

We hope this report contributes to countering anti-trans misinformation and its harmful effects on human rights and democracy in Canada today.

METHODS

This report is based on a thematic analysis of X posts targeting the transgender community produced by self-identified Canadian influencers who frequently post anti-transgender arguments.[4] Our analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) roadmap of thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) break down their model of analysis into six steps: 1) becoming familiar with the data through repeated readings; 2) coding the data; 3) sorting the codes into themes; 4) refining the themes and creating a thematic map; 5) organizing data and narratives based on developed themes; and 6) report-writing. Next, we elaborate on how the data for this study were collected and on the processes of data familiarization, cleaning, coding, and theme development and refinement.

Data Collection and Pilot Study

Prior to this study, a research team led by Paulo Ravecca analyzed data from prominent far-right influencers who identified themselves as being American or Canadian and who promoted anti-2SLGBTQIA+ arguments on X.[5] Data collection for this pilot investigation took place in May of 2025. The team began by identifying influencers who—at the time of the research—had more than 10,000 followers and produced original anti-trans content rather than primarily reposting material from other accounts.[6] The initial identification process involved reviewing the timelines and interactions to identify

[4] We would like to acknowledge the excellent work of our two research assistants, Ciaran MacDonald and Kamryn Zboya. This project would not have been possible without their contributions.

[5] Following the standard scholarly characterizations of the far right, we collected accounts whose posting activity consistently expressed anti-egalitarian and exclusionary political positions, including opposition to immigration and feminism and support for far-right political actors or movements, nationally or internationally. The RA team for the pilot study consisted of Ciaran MacDonald, Jonah Wozney, and Kamryn Zboya.

[6] Only influencers for whom at least 50% of posts were original content were included.

relevant accounts. The team used an X account a research assistant (RA) created specifically for the study, and X's recommendation algorithm predominantly suggested anti-2SLGBTQIA+ influencers without any prompts from the RAs, facilitating the identification of accounts that fit our criteria. To identify additional influencers, we examined accounts mentioned by the initially selected influencers. We prioritized mentions that had received more than 200 interactions, such as replies, likes, retweets or quote posts, as these were more likely to lead to influential accounts that met our inclusion criteria. To better cover the Canadian landscape and avoid excluding smaller provinces, some exceptions were made to the 10,000-follower threshold. The final dataset included 92 influencers. Data collection for this pilot study involved two complementary procedures. First, all posts published during April 2025 were manually reviewed. Second, the influencers' posts from the previous three years were searched using keywords related to anti-trans themes such as gender ideology, women's sports, indoctrination, sterilization, pedophile, and parental rights. Relevant posts returned through these keyword searches were added to the dataset and compiled in an accompanying spreadsheet.

The pilot study team used this dataset to conduct a qualitative and interpretive (Carver, 2020) study of anti-trans narratives to identify their main features. Based on this effort, an analytical framework was developed that systematically assessed the prevalence of twelve recurring anti-trans perspectives across the selected influencers. Each influencer was assessed for the presence or absence of these arguments by reviewing their timelines and using X's advanced search function to search for keywords associated with each narrative.[7]

To further the exploration, the team used X's application programming interface (X API) to retrieve up to 3,000 posts from each of the 92 influencers under study. Of the 51 Canadian influencers covered in the pilot study, we were able to retrieve the posts of

[7] For each narrative or topic, a set of relevant search terms was developed to facilitate analytical consistency. For example, the topic "indoctrination of children" was assessed using search terms such as "indoctrination" and "public schools." An influencer was categorized as expressing a given narrative if at least five original posts published since January 2023 linked the relevant keyword or concept to anti-trans sentiment. This threshold was adopted to distinguish recurring narrative patterns from isolated statements. The twelve preliminary topics were: (1) trans identities and gender ideology; (2) the "trans-industrial complex" and financial or institutional incentives; (3) gender ideology as communism, Marxism, or authoritarianism; (4) infringements on women's rights, safety, and sex-based rights; (5) distinctions between transgender identities and the LGB community; (6) depictions of trans people as narcissistic, privileged, or attention-seeking; (7) claims that transgender identities are biologically impossible, unscientific, or contrary to common sense; (8) the alleged indoctrination of children; (9) claims of the sterilization or mutilation of children; (10) gender dysphoria and mental health; (11) characterizations of trans people as pedophilic, "perverted," or "sexually deviant;" and (12) claims that trans rights undermine parental rights or conflict with religious beliefs, including the idea that children are divinely created or inherently perfect as they are. Keywords associated with each narrative were used to identify potentially relevant posts. These posts were then carefully analyzed to confirm that they reflected the narrative under analysis rather than merely containing the search term.

35.[8] This subset of the API dataset provided the source data for the current study. See Table 1 below for the distribution of the influencers in our sample across Canada.

Table 1: Distribution of Sample by Province

Province	# of Influencers
Alberta	8
British Columbia	5
New Brunswick	1
Nova Scotia	1
Ontario	6
Quebec	1
Saskatchewan	1
Unknown	12

In June of 2025, the pilot team met with Allyn Walker, a transgender scholar who had previously studied anti-trans messaging and its recurring themes. This conversation led to the development of the current project, which employs thematic analysis focused exclusively on data from Canadian influencers. Although the previous investigation strengthened the RAs' ability to carry out a research project and provided an initial understanding of how Canadian anti-trans influencers articulated their views, the cleaning, coding, and analysis for the current study were conducted independently.

Data Familiarization and Cleaning

The current research team began the process of familiarizing ourselves with the data as we cleaned it, starting with determining which influencers in our dataset self-identified as Canadian.[9] After those X accounts were determined, project RAs went through and read each of the 114,203 posts written by the 35 Canadian influencers in our dataset, deleting all posts that were unrelated to trans people or gender identity. Our team also decided to focus our efforts on analyzing material posted by the accounts under analysis themselves, so RAs also deleted reposts if influencers did not add any additional text, leaving us with 6,723 posts discussing transgender people or related topics. By "posts," we are referring to the text each influencer posted, as well as additional content embedded or linked to, including images, other X threads, video content, X

[8] Self-identification was based on information provided in account names, usernames, and profile descriptions (biographies). In addition, influencers who were publicly known to be Canadian were also included, even if their nationality was not explicitly stated in their profile. Paulo Ravecca's research collaborators, Diego Forteza and Bruno Fonseca, assisted with managing the API subscription and data extraction. The current report has benefited from intellectual cross-pollination with the ongoing research project The New Frontier of Democracy in the Digital Agora: Far-Right Reactions to Sexual and Reproductive Rights in the Southern Cone, co-directed by Marcela Schenck and Paulo Ravecca and funded by the Sectoral Commission for Scientific Research (Comisión Sectorial de Investigación Científica; CSIC) at the University of the Republic (Universidad de la República, Udelar), Uruguay.

[9] Self-identification was again based on information provided in account names, usernames, and profile descriptions (biographies). We also maintained the criterion of including influencers who were publicly known to be Canadian, even if their nationality was not explicitly stated in their profiles.

spaces, the news, academic articles, etc. Our research team met weekly to discuss the data cleaning process, content in the posts, and questions that arose regarding whether or not particular phrases were veiled references to trans people or gender identity.[10]

Depending on the frequency with which X users posted, some influencers' data spanned weeks, while others spanned years: the majority of posts in the dataset were written in 2025, while the oldest were from March of 2023. X users in our sample also varied widely in the proportion of content they authored versus reposted, as well as in the extent to which they posted about trans people and gender identity. Accordingly, there was considerable variation in the number of posts per influencer retained in our dataset after removing reposts and irrelevant content. The number of final posts per influencer ranged from one to 1,191, with a mean of 192 and a median of 46 posts per influencer. Three influencers had over 1,000 posts in the dataset, while ten had fewer than 20. During this process, and in the subsequent coding phase, our research team determined that we were no longer learning new information about the use of misinformation in anti-transgender arguments from any individual influencer after reviewing approximately 100 of their posts. Accordingly, to ensure that no single influencer's posts dominated the dataset, we capped each influencer's contribution at their 100 most recent posts. The finalized dataset contained 1,920 posts. The number of posts by influencer in the final dataset is available in Table 2 below.

Coding

Once we had narrowed our sample to original posts by the 35 Canadian influencers about trans people and gender identity, we uploaded our data to Atlas.ti and began coding. The research team generated initial codes as we all separately reviewed the same subset of 400 posts, ensuring that each of the 35 influencers' posts was represented in the subset. We included all posts for influencers whose final post count in our dataset was less than 10, and the most recent 10 to 15 posts from the remaining 28 influencers, including more posts for influencers who had larger numbers of posts in our dataset. We then met as a team to deliberate on the codes each of us had generated, and together we developed our preliminary codebook. Using the codes we developed collaboratively, the research team employed an iterative coding process across four rounds of independent coding, with intercoder agreement assessed using Krippendorff's α following each round. After each assessment, the team convened to discuss areas of disagreement, clarify the conditions under

[10] For instance, a post saying "keep men out of women's sports" might not strike everyone as a clear reference to trans issues. However, those familiar with current anti-transgender talking points understand this as coded language referring to transgender women as "men."

each code should be applied, and refine the codebook accordingly. This iterative process allowed the team to progressively align interpretations and establish shared understandings of the coding categories.

After four rounds of coding, the team reached a Krippendorff's α of .67. Although this reached the established threshold for minimum acceptability (Marzi et al., 2024), we determined that the remaining disagreements reflected meaningful interpretive divergence that warranted direct reconciliation rather than continued independent coding. Accordingly, the team conducted a consensus coding session in which all members worked through a subset of 100 posts collaboratively, discussing and resolving each remaining point of disagreement. This process produced full consensus across the subset and ensured that the final codebook reflected the collective interpretive judgment of our entire team. After this consensus coding session was completed, the RAs coded the full dataset of 1,920 posts.

Table 2: Number of Posts by Influencer

Influencer	Initial # of original, trans-related posts	Final # of original, trans-related posts
Influencer 1	386	100
Influencer 2	7	7
Influencer 3	27	27
Influencer 4	109	100
Influencer 5	213	100
Influencer 6	378	100
Influencer 7	12	12
Influencer 8	42	42
Influencer 9	179	100
Influencer 10	9	9
Influencer 11	175	100
Influencer 12	19	19
Influencer 13	65	65
Influencer 14	69	69
Influencer 15	42	42
Influencer 16	53	53
Influencer 17	22	22
Influencer 18	368	100
Influencer 19	32	32
Influencer 20	58	58
Influencer 21	47	47
Influencer 22	36	36
Influencer 23	452	100
Influencer 24	3	3
Influencer 25	345	100
Influencer 26	1089	100
Influencer 27	108	100
Influencer 28	46	46
Influencer 29	9	9
Influencer 30	1110	100
Influencer 31	6	6
Influencer 32	1	1
Influencer 33	13	13
Influencer 34	1191	100
Influencer 35	2	2

Developing and Refining Themes

After the project RAs coded the full dataset, the lead researchers used Braun and Clarke's (2006) model to sort our codes into themes, refine those themes, and organize the narratives in our data based around our thematic map. During each of the rounds of coding, all members of the research team participated in memo-writing to keep track of patterns and contradictions we noticed in the data, which helped us conceptualize our themes. Themes were developed inductively from the codes themselves, rather than imposed in advance, allowing the thematic map to reflect the internal logic of the dataset. As themes took shape, we returned repeatedly to the coded data to ensure that each theme was grounded in and representative of the broader pattern of posts, rather than driven by particularly striking or memorable examples. Where tensions or contradictions emerged between codes, these were treated not as problems to be resolved, but as analytically meaningful features of the data, and were preserved in the final thematic structure where relevant. The lead researchers discussed the resulting thematic map, reaching consensus on themes, subthemes, and codes, before writing began. Our thematic map, which we made with SmartArt in Microsoft PowerPoint, is available in Appendix 1. Because code names were shortened to make them more readable in Atlas.ti during the coding process, we have edited them for the thematic map to aid clarity.

Positionality

The co-principal investigators of this study are two queer immigrants to Canada. Here, we each reflect on our own personal backgrounds as they relate to the subject of this study.

Allyn Walker:

I am a non-binary and trans criminologist who has written on anti-transgender moral panic before, although previously this was from a US-based context. As a transgender researcher, I frequently encounter anti-trans arguments, not only within the scholarship that I read but also on social media and in my personal life. My former scholarship was mainly focused on preventing child sexual abuse (CSA), and I have engaged in multiple qualitative studies on CSA using content and thematic analysis. My prior qualitative work shaped my ability to carry out this research. Additionally, anti-trans extremism shaped my own experiences—in 2021, an interview I gave about my prior research on CSA prevention went viral after anti-trans media outlets posted about it and twisted my words, implying that I advocate for, rather than against, child abuse. Over the months that followed, I was put on a hit list by a terrorist organization responsible for multiple mass killings worldwide. I was also sent extensive hate mail, which I analyzed for themes, finding that anti-trans ideas were prevalent throughout (Walker, 2023). The degree to which I have immersed myself—and otherwise been

exposed to—anti-trans narratives has helped me to understand messaging about trans people online, including dog whistle phrases and other ambiguous language, which was useful to this project in terms of determining which posts were about trans issues when RAs had questions. My experiences also helped during the processes of coding and analyzing the data and developing the misinformation reference guide. However, as a white scholar who arrived in Canada less than two years prior to our submission of this report, I am less immersed in Canadian-specific politics, events, and jargon, and I may be less sensitive to dog whistle phrases referring to racialized trans and Two-Spirit people, which may have impacted our results.

Paulo Ravecca:

I am a queer intellectual and scholar from Uruguay who has recently obtained Canadian citizenship. I am grateful to the Canadian Network for Research on Security, Extremism and Society (CANSES) review team for suggesting the inclusion of a positionality statement and directing us to the article by Dr. Prashneel Ravisan Goundar. Questions of positionality are central to longstanding debates in the philosophy of science. As a scholar of autoethnography, narrative, and critical theory, positionality and reflexivity are at the core of how I practice research. My book on the politics of political science challenges conventional notions of objectivity and neutrality while interrogating the relationship between the discipline and power (Ravecca, 2019). Chapter 4 mobilizes an experience of sexual abuse and shows that power does not respect disciplinary boundaries. The chapter also examines experiences of homophobia and discrimination within political science across the Americas. These experiences of othering, together with decades of psychoanalytic therapy, have trained me to understand research as an act of listening, including to silences (Spivak, 1988). This orientation is particularly useful for research on power and discrimination, as is the case in the present report. More recently, I completed research on queer experiences in rural Nova Scotia, which made me more familiar with the Canadian landscape. I am attuned to the fact that privilege is a moving constellation, reflected in this case by my position as a scholar who does not self-identify as trans while contributing, as second author, to research on the harms experienced by the trans community. I prefer reflexivity to be woven into the analysis itself rather than presented separately or articulated retrospectively, as described in the opening of Goundar (2025).[11] Hence, I both appreciate and struggle with the intellectual device of a positionality statement because it risks

[11] Expressions employed in this otherwise insightful article, such as “conflict of interest,” “partiality,” “transparency,” and “biases,” risk reintroducing a legalistic logic and a liberal form of intellectual governance, thereby limiting the critical and disruptive work that positionality is meant to do.

becoming ritualized. References to positionality may stabilize identity categories rather than reveal the porosity and potential solidarity between them (Buck-Morss, 2009, 2010), turning into an individualized professional ritual of the type that characterizes neoliberal academia (Kurowska, 2020; Ravecca & Dauphinee, 2022). That the quality of the encounter overcomes any ontologized form of self-positioning is among my most intimate political convictions.

Developing the Misinformation Reference Guide

We designed this report to start with a reference guide that we could use to link pertinent claims from influencers quoted or paraphrased in our findings back to their roots in misinformation, where relevant. We chose this structure so that we could first address common forms of misinformation appearing in the X posts we analyzed and then present our findings without repeatedly explaining why particular claims were inaccurate or misleading. We also wanted to create a guide that could be a useful reference outside of this report.

We wrote the Misinformation Reference Guide after we analyzed our data and concurrently with writing up our findings. Decisions about which claims to focus on in the reference guide were based both on analysis of our data (we wanted to address claims that appear frequently in the X posts that influencers wrote) as well as our broad expertise on facts that are commonly misrepresented in discussions about trans people.

Before we continue to the Misinformation Reference Guide, we provide some clarification about how we define misinformation throughout the remainder of this report. Misinformation often specifically refers to inaccurate information shared without the intent to deceive, although it can still produce strong reactions such as fear, hatred, or shock. Disinformation, by contrast, refers to false information that is deliberately created and disseminated with the intention of misleading or manipulating audiences (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017). However, given the difficulty in determining whether the spread of inaccurate information is intentional (Wu et al., 2019), we use the term misinformation throughout this report to cover both mis- and disinformation.

In addition to the issue of intent, we must also discuss accuracy. Experts distinguish between valid information, false information, and a third category: inaccurate information. While valid and false information are straightforwardly correct and incorrect, respectively, inaccurate information exists in a grey area: “information [that] is either incomplete or manipulated in a way that portrays a false narrative” (Canadian Centre for Cyber Security, 2024, para. 3). Many of the X posts that we analyzed for this report present demonstrably false claims. Others,

however, rely on inaccurate information: information taken out of context, lacking nuance, supported through selective use of evidence, only partially accurate, or presenting exaggerated or value-laden interpretations as objective facts. Additionally, some posts fit the definition of malinformation offered by Canadian Centre for Cyber Security (2024): "information that stems from the truth but is often exaggerated in a way that misleads and causes potential harm" (para. 4). Our data were not selected based on (in)accuracy of information: thus, our findings explore anti-trans narratives that range in terms of accuracy, and include valid, inaccurate, and false information.

Within the Misinformation Reference Guide, however, we use a relatively narrow definition of misinformation in terms of accuracy, focusing on arguments based in false or inaccurate information and using evidence-based information to refute them.

MISINFORMATION REFERENCE GUIDE

In this section, we provide the reader with background on misinformation often cited in anti-trans talking points. When anti-trans myths and other arguments incorporating misinformation discussed within this section are referenced by influencers, we cite them with their M-number so that the reader can refer back.

M1: Social contagion

Anti-trans arguments often reference an idea that children are being convinced en masse that they are trans through social contagion. The claim was popularized by a hypothesis describing this supposed phenomenon as Rapid-Onset Gender Dysphoria, or ROGD (see Littman, 2018). The ROGD hypothesis discussed a pattern wherein children who had no signs of being transgender would become enmeshed in trans communities online, quickly develop an identity as transgender themselves and, with their new friends' encouragement, withdraw from their parent(s).

An examination of the methods used to formulate this idea reveals glaring weaknesses. The data came from a survey of parents of trans adolescents, rather than research with trans adolescents themselves. Furthermore, the parents in the study were recruited from anti-transgender forums and websites, suggesting that the sample had consolidated anti-trans viewpoints before their participation in the survey (Ashley, 2020). After the study's publication, its biased methods received such widespread criticism that the author submitted a correction, and the journal issued an apology (Heber, 2019). Major psychological associations have dismissed and denounced ROGD since (Ashley, 2020). However, extensive press coverage surrounded the controversy around Lisa Littman's (2018) article, as well as the publication of Abigail Shrier's (2021) Irreversible Damage: The Transgender

Craze Seducing Our Daughters—a pop psychology book promoting the ideas behind ROGD. In the wake of this media attention, the ROGD hypothesis and broader claims of the indoctrination of children by trans people continue to be widely circulated, as will be evident throughout the findings of this report.

M2: Detransition

Some people who transition decide to stop or reverse their transition medically and/or socially. This is often referred to as detransitioning (Irwig, 2022). Anti-trans arguments frequently point to those who detransition as evidence that trans identities are not legitimate and that gender-affirming support and healthcare are dangerous (Slothouber, 2020). Such arguments often inflate the prevalence of detransition and indicate that detransition is inevitable among trans people, that people who detransition were never truly transgender, and that the bodies of people who detransition remain "permanently damaged" by their initial transition.

Reported rates of detransition vary widely. Anti-trans arguments often point to research indicating that up to 30% of patients using gender-affirming hormones (GAH) eventually stop taking them as evidence of high likelihood of detransition (Yaish et al., 2026). However, stopping GAH (often referred to as "medical detransition") does not imply that someone has detransitioned socially: some trans people (such as the first author of this study) stop GAH once they achieve a desired result; others stop for financial, social, or medical reasons although they would prefer to continue. While little prospective research has tracked patients who used GAH to determine whether they detransitioned later, one such study found a 1.87% detransition rate out of 694 patients who accessed services at a trans health clinic between 2014 and 2022 (Yaish et al., 2026). Additionally, research with people who discontinued or reversed their gender-affirming medical treatment refutes the idea that people who detransition remain "permanently damaged" by previously transitioning: most participants do not regret, and even express happiness with, their initial medical transition (MacKinnon et al., 2022).

While the evidence from people who detransition shows that gender-affirming medical care does not lead to "permanent damage," societal rejection might do so. Detransition is often due to social pressure: one study found that 36% of their sample cited detransitioning because of parental insistence, 34% because of overall difficulty transitioning, 33% due to experiences of harassment or discrimination, and 27% because of challenges with finding a job (Turban et al., 2021). Yaish and colleagues (2026) found that most people in their study who detransitioned did so because of pressure from religious family members. Research shows that people who detransition face discrimination from multiple groups, including queer

communities, who may see their detransition as a betrayal (Gelly et al., 2025). Many of those who detransition also report feeling stigmatized and taken advantage of by anti-trans activists, who often describe them as damaged and misrepresent their experiences to delegitimize trans identities (Gelly et al., 2025).

M3: Puberty blockers

Transition prior to puberty is entirely based on social changes, such as names and pronouns (Coleman et al., 2022, chapter 7). But when trans children begin puberty, changes in their bodies may feel wrong to them. Children and families who are unsure how or if they want to proceed with medical treatment can take additional time to think through this choice by using puberty blockers, which delay the development of unwanted secondary sexual characteristics and can therefore reduce the likelihood of future invasive surgeries (Salas-Humara et al., 2019). As seen in the findings of this report, anti-trans arguments describe puberty blockers as experimental, untested or undertested medications recklessly administered to transgender children as part of a new and radical medical agenda. Many people believe these drugs carry unknown risks, that their effects are irreversible, and therefore, prescribing them to minors is irresponsible and harmful.

In fact, puberty blockers are far from experimental. They have been prescribed safely to cisgender children for decades (e.g., Gu et al., 2019), most commonly to treat a medical condition in which puberty starts in early childhood. These drugs, which have long been considered a standard, well-understood medical intervention, improve trans children's rates of depression, anxiety, self-harm, and suicidality (Croteau et al., 2025). The effects of puberty blockers are temporary and reversible; once a child stops taking them, puberty resumes. Major medical organizations, including the Canadian Pediatric Society (Vandermorris & Metzger, 2023) and the American Academy of Pediatrics (Rafferty et al., 2018) recognize puberty blockers as a safe and appropriate option for transgender children.

M4: Gender-affirming hormones

Some trans people decide, in consultation with their doctors, to use gender-affirming hormones (GAH), including testosterone, estrogen, and/or hormone blockers, as part of aligning their bodies with their gender identity. As with puberty blockers, anti-trans arguments against GAH portray them as unsafe. However, also like puberty blockers, GAH were developed for, and are frequently used by, cisgender people, and their safety, efficacy, and positive mental health effects when prescribed to trans people are well documented (Croteau et al., 2025).

In anti-trans discourse, GAH is often referred to as "sterilization," evoking the eugenics movement and signifying that those receiving this kind of medical care are

unable to reproduce. It is true that trans people's fertility can be affected while they are receiving GAH (De Roo, 2025): in many cases, this is a desired result (Obedin-Maliver et al., 2025). In some circumstances, effects on fertility from hormone treatment can be long-lasting. However, available evidence shows that in most cases, the effects of GAH on fertility are reversible if a patient stops treatment (De Roo et al., 2025). Additionally, fertility among many trans people who use GAH remains unaffected during long-term treatment (De Roo et al., 2025). This distinction is critical because misconceptions about GAH as a contraceptive can result in unintended pregnancies (Todd, 2022).

M5: Gender-affirming surgery

Some trans people choose to pursue gender-affirming surgical interventions as part of aligning their bodies with their gender identity. Gender-affirming surgery (GAS) encompasses a broad range of procedures and can include "top surgery" to reshape the chest or torso, "bottom surgery" to modify the genitals, surgeries to alter facial structure, and more (Salas-Humara, 2019). Anti-trans arguments often refer to gender-affirming surgery as mutilation, occasionally with direct comparison to female genital mutilation. Sometimes, examples of poorly completed or unhealed surgeries are used to bolster these claims and to falsely argue that these medical interventions regularly have catastrophic results and that trans people who opt to pursue surgery will regret it.

As with other forms of surgery, complications can occur with GAS. Complication rates for GAS vary depending on the type of surgery (e.g., Bishop et al., 2023; Levy et al., 2019), with higher rates for bottom surgery. It is important for risks of these surgeries to be disclosed to those considering them. However, meta-analyses show that the rate of regret after gender-affirming surgery is 1% or lower (Bustos et al., 2021; Thornton et al., 2024). Thornton and colleagues (2024) offer a comparison to rates of regret for other common forms of elective surgery to treat medical issues such as diverticulitis (32%), prostate cancer (30%), and ventral hernias (11%), demonstrating that a 1% regret rate is extremely low. GAS procedures were also not developed for trans patients—they have been performed safely and successfully on cisgender people for decades, for both cosmetic and health reasons. In stark contrast to anti-trans reports of high levels of regret, most trans people who undergo GAS report satisfaction with their results (Javier et al., 2022). Furthermore, positive mental health outcomes are associated with GAS, including lower rates of depression, anxiety, and suicidality (Swan et al., 2023).

M6: Gender-affirming medical care for trans children

Anti-trans discourse typically portrays gender-affirming medical care for trans

children as excessive, and something doctors, parents, and other trans allies push children toward when a child begins to identify as trans.

There are many ways children might transition. Prior to puberty, transition is always social; never medical (Coleman et al., 2022). In Canada and the US, medical transitions for children and adolescents who have begun puberty follow standards of care developed by the World Professional Association for Transgender Health, or WPATH (Coleman et al., 2022). For minors, medical transition is never a foregone conclusion, but a choice (where allowed) made after careful decision-making involving the minor, a multidisciplinary team of healthcare workers—including a mental health care provider, endocrinologist, and primary care physician, among others — and their parent(s), unless parental involvement is determined by the team to be harmful (Coleman et al., 2022).

While we lack precise numbers of children receiving gender-affirming medical care, the evidence we do have refutes the claim that gender-affirming care is overused. A first-of-its-kind study used US-based adolescents' insurance records to compare the number of children who received a diagnosis of gender dysphoria to the medical treatments provided for these children. Of the five million adolescents in the study, fewer than 18,000 of them had a diagnosis of gender dysphoria (Hughes et al., 2025; Simons-Duffin, 2025). Of those, fewer than 2,000 had been prescribed hormone therapy, and 1,000 had been prescribed puberty blockers. A related study using insurance data of almost 23 million US minors showed much lower rates for receiving gender-affirming surgery than the study about hormonal treatment: rates of gender-affirming surgical procedures per 100,000 adolescents in the US were 2.1 among minors aged 15 to 17 years, 0.1 among minors aged 13 to 14 years, and 0 among minors aged 12 years or younger (Dai et al., 2024). This evidence indicates that only small percentages of trans children (themselves a very small proportion of the population) are accessing gender-affirming medical care, even after consulting with doctors.

M7: Bill C-4

Bill C-4, an Act to amend the Criminal Code (conversion therapy), is a 2021 Canadian federal law that amended the Criminal Code to ban conversion therapy practices designed to change or suppress a person's sexual orientation or gender identity. Bill C-4 criminalizes removing a child from Canada for the purpose of sending them to conversion therapy, a practice shown by survey evidence to have caused harm to Canadians: research shows that 11% of trans and non-binary Canadians reported having experienced conversion therapy, which has been linked to suicide ideation and attempts (Phillips & Walker, 2021). Critics of Bill C-4 argue that it threatens free speech and religious freedoms and claim it criminalizes parents for raising children

according to traditional or religious values (Taylor, 2021), making it illegal for parents to discourage their children from accessing puberty blockers, gender-affirming hormones, and surgery. They also claim it silences faith leaders from offering pastoral guidance, criminalizing those who teach about sexuality and gender from a biblical perspective (Taylor, 2021; The Canadian Press, 2023).

These concerns represent a misreading of the law. Bill C-4 targets formalized practices, treatments, or services, not private conversations, pastoral guidance, or parenting choices. The Department of Justice explicitly confirmed that open-ended family or religious discussions about identity are not criminalized (Phillips & Walker, 2021). Critically, Bill C-4 also does not regulate medical procedures like puberty blockers or surgery; these are governed by provincial medical regulation and are entirely outside the scope of the bill.

M8: Involvement in crime

A common anti-trans talking point frames trans people—particularly trans women—as inherently dangerous, especially in spaces like washrooms, shelters, and prisons. Anti-trans arguments portray trans women's existence in women's spaces as a safety risk for cisgender women. Some go further, suggesting that trans people as a group have elevated involvement in illegal behaviour. These claims are frequently used to justify exclusionary policies, framed as protective measures for cisgender women and children, rather than as discrimination against a marginalized group.

Peer-reviewed evidence indicates that trans people do not engage in increased levels of violent activity compared to cisgender people. For example, rates of sexual violence perpetrated by adolescents show no statistical difference between trans and cisgender youth (e.g., Ybarra et al., 2022). Additionally, although recent narratives portray trans people as responsible for a disproportionate number of mass shootings, the data tell the opposite story. Compared to the general population, cisgender men are overrepresented among mass shooters, and trans people are underrepresented (Peterson & Densley, 2026). In other words, the percentage of trans mass shooters is far lower than the percentage of trans people in the general public: within Peterson and Densley's (2026) data on mass shootings since 1966, there was only one incident involving a transgender shooter (with 197 incidents involving cisgender men and four involving cisgender women as the shooters).

Rates of victimization, however, highly differ between trans and cis people. According to Women and Gender Equality Canada (2025), 59% of trans people experience violent victimization, compared to 37% of cisgender people. Research from the US found that transgender people experience violent victimization, including rape, sexual assault, and aggravated assault, at more

than four times the rate of cisgender people (Flores et al., 2021). Research in Canada found that 30% of nonbinary people and 22% of trans people had been sexually assaulted in the last five years, and another 37% of both groups had experienced physical intimidation or threats (Trans PULSE Canada, 2023). The situation is especially dire in prisons: rather than being a danger to others, trans people behind bars are overwhelmingly victims. Trans people are nine to ten times more likely to be sexually assaulted by fellow inmates and five to six times more likely to be sexually assaulted by staff compared to other incarcerated people (James et al., 2016). Much of this vulnerability can be traced to the widespread practice of housing trans inmates according to the sex they were assigned at birth, a practice that persists even when guidelines stipulate that housing decisions cannot be based solely on genital status (e.g., Ghebrai, 2026).

M9: Sports participation

A final topic often incorporating misinformation from anti-trans critics is the participation of trans women and girls in women's and girls' sports. Some trans athletes participate in sports teams and leagues with people whose gender identity matches their own, often for the same reason that cisgender athletes participate in sports with other people of their same gender (for safety, for camaraderie, or because of a lack of options to play in mixed-gender leagues; Lightner et al., 2024). Despite these common motivations, anti-trans activists often argue against trans women's and girls' participation in women's and girls' sports. Arguments against their participation often center around safety concerns, as well as purported competitive advantages that trans women and girls have in sports compared to cisgender women and girls.

An examination of these claims about safety and fairness yields different conclusions. There have been no empirical studies demonstrating that participation in sports against trans women or girls impacts cisgender women's or girls' safety or causes an increase in injuries (Hamilton et al., 2021; Pavlenko, 2022). Although there have been few widely discussed instances of cisgender girls and women facing injuries when competing against transgender girls and women, injuries are common in sports, and instances of cisgender girls and women experiencing injuries when competing against other cisgender girls and women are far more common (e.g., Horan et al., 2023; Migdon, 2024; Stockbridge et al., 2022). Regarding fairness and advantages faced by trans women and girls, higher levels of testosterone can result in some advantages for competitors in some sports, leading many sporting organizations to develop policies requiring trans women to use GAH for a certain amount of time in order to qualify for participation (see Clemente et al., 2025 for their review). There has been extensive research examining the effects of GAH on trans competitors. Available evidence,

including a meta-analysis of 50 prior studies, shows that trans women who have used GAH for at least three years lack an inherent athletic advantage over cisgender women (Mendes Sieczkowska et al., 2026).

FINDINGS

Our thematic analysis yielded two main themes: trans legitimacy as a threat and tactics used by influencers in discussing trans people and gender identity. Our first theme had multiple subthemes: trans legitimacy framed as a threat to: 1) children, 2) women, 3) reality, and 4) the nation, society, the West, and democracy. We explore our themes and subthemes below.

Trans Legitimacy as a Threat to Children

As we analyzed our data, our research team was struck by the ubiquity of the topic of protecting children. Influencers wrote extensively about the legitimacy of trans people (a concept that influencers in our dataset often referred to as "gender ideology") as a threat to children. Specifically, X users wrote about the threat of children being indoctrinated into believing that they are transgender, leading to their social and/or medical transition and to lasting harm.

Many posts in our sample included ideas about children being vulnerable to indoctrination by outside sources, as in this quote from a post: "A whole generation of children didn't decide they don't know what sex they are on their own," implying that external forces are confusing not just some, but ostensibly all, children about their gender identities. One influencer who frequently posted the sentence, "There is no such thing as a transgender child," discussed engaging in anti-trans advocacy in a town where people flew trans flags from their houses to protest his visit. Another responded to him in support, "A mass contagion is attacking our children."[M1] Both assertions – that trans children do not exist and that a mass contagion is attacking children – reference the idea that children are being led by others to a false and dangerous belief that they are trans.

Contributors to our dataset repeatedly expressed that children lack the capacity to make consequential decisions for themselves. This apprehension about capacity was echoed frequently throughout our dataset: influencers referred to trans children as confused, such as one who wrote as part of a post advocating for anti-trans legislation, "You should feel disgusted with yourself if you help partake in confusing an already confused, emotion [sic] vulnerable child." Taking this idea to an extreme, another contributor to our sample wrote:

My kids recently watched Homeward Bound for the first time. Today, while cooking dinner, they were chasing each other around, barking. There are those who would encourage them to embrace

their blooming identity as dogs, rather than just see it as idle play. Psychopaths.

This influencer compares trans youth to children engaging in imaginative play to pretend that they are dogs. He suggests that there are external forces attempting to convince kids that they should change their identities based on their play. By using this analogy, he depicts trans children's identities as pretend, implying that trans adults and allies manipulate children via their imaginations and presumed lack of capacity to understand themselves. By ending the post with "psychopaths," he suggests that the idea of affirming trans children's identities is ridiculous or dangerous.

Influencers also showed concern for specific groups of children. Multiple posts used the phrase "gay and autistic kids" as a proxy for "trans kids," to indicate children who are purportedly at heightened risk of indoctrination. In a discussion about the Trump administration's "Health and Human Services" (HHS) report on gender-affirming care, published in May 2025, one influencer announced she would be sharing her "thoughts on the political landscape surrounding the US HHS report on gender affirming care. Canada needs a federally-elected leader to champion sanity in the culture war. Gay and autistic kids are depending on it." This refers to the idea that both gay and autistic children are particularly vulnerable to being manipulated into a belief that they are trans: gay children as a way of coping with their sexuality, and autistic children due to their supposed "difficulty with self-reflection and abstract thinking" (Bradley, 2017, para. 10). One influencer in our data even remarked, "The majority of kids identifying as trans have autism,"[12] while posting a screenshot of a Telegraph article with the headline, "NHS to test all 'trans' children for autism." When a commenter noted that the headline put the word "trans" in scare quotes, the influencer replied that this was a sign of progress, implying that it is inappropriate to accept trans children's identities as legitimate.

Sometimes X users signaled this concern about children being indoctrinated into being trans by using the word "trans" as a verb. "To trans" indicates someone is causing someone else to transition, as in the following post from our data: "I just had a baby in Canada where I'm worried teachers will still try to trans her before her fifth birthday." This post also references a common concern within this theme: the Canadian education system.

Educators as Indoctrinators

X users in our sample indicated that they believed Canadian schools were systematically teaching children to be trans.

[12] Although research shows that trans people are more likely to be autistic than cis people, the idea that most trans children are autistic is misinformation. Meta-analysis results show that approximately 11% of trans people have autistic traits: rates in studies of children did not differ significantly from rates in studies of adults (Kallitsounaki & Williams, 2022).

This was one of countless concerns influencers raised about Canada's education system. These concerns often centered on children's exposure to liberal or leftist ideas, more broadly. Other concerns related to safety in school washrooms, changing rooms, and sports, as well as parental authority over the names and pronouns children use for themselves in the classroom. We return to these topics in later findings, but the central idea here is about Canadian teachers and schools as indoctrinating forces.

Much of the alarm about schools in the posts we analyzed revolved around "wokeness," or left-wing thought as a whole. An X user in our sample wrote, "Woke ideology on full display at [a school in British Columbia (BC)]. I'm told that the '[School] Pride" stickers are on every classroom door." In a follow-up post, the influencer asked, "When will we stop pushing this propaganda on children????" The influencer posted photos of Progress Pride flags—featuring not only the rainbow colours, but the colours black and brown, indicating racial diversity, and the trans flag colours of light blue, pink, and white—on display within the school. Photos of the teachers were placed on the flags, along with messages about every child being important and able to make a difference, a quote from Maya Angelou, and the phrase "we all belong."

Figure 1. A post in our dataset including photos of a pride display in a BC school. The influencer refers to the redacted school and teacher names that were previously visible within this image.



Although X users seemed troubled by their children learning to be woke, the way in which they might learn wokeness seemed to be especially troublesome. Teachers and other educators were depicted as agents of left-wing causes who were intentionally interfering with children's ideas and development. An influencer commented, "We need to de-woke our schools. Kids are still being programmed to believe they were born in the wrong body before puberty. And that they can change sexes as easily as their clothes." Here, the influencer is blaming woke educators for legitimizing trans identities. As in the above post describing the Progress Pride flags as "propaganda," this influencer frames educators' methods as insidious, saying children are "being programmed."

[13] For safety reasons, including safety of the research team and of trans people and allies referred to in posts, we obscure names throughout this report. Here we have

Although educator interference was consistently described as a threat to children, influencers discussed this threat in inconsistent ways. One influencer posted a graphic about skills that ought to be taught in schools, such as self-defense and personal finance. He added, "How about teaching kids real skills. If they are not old enough to vote, they are NOT old enough to pick their gender. Leave our kids alone." Although the phrase "leave our kids alone" frames the argument as one of protection from interference, the rest of the statement contradicts this framing. By stating that anyone under age 18 is "not old enough to pick their gender," the influencer shows he is not interested in children's freedom from outside influence, but is instead advocating for a specific form of control: one that restricts children from exploring or expressing a gender identity that differs from their assigned sex. The expressed interest in leaving children alone thus conceals what is ultimately an argument about *who* should control children's gender expression, not whether anyone should.

Regarding the question of who should control children's gender expression, influencers made it clear that they thought it should be parents. Much of our data came from 2023 and 2024, when *Bill-27*, now known as *The Education Amendment Act*, was drafted, tabled, and passed in Alberta. This *Bill*, in part, requires schools to inform parents if a student requests to be referred to by a new name or pronoun, and bans educators from complying with such requests from students under 16 years of age without parental approval. This was supported and celebrated by the influencers in our dataset. Many posted news articles about the legislation, while others provided their own commentary, such as one who wrote, "Let's protect gay people from being convinced they are in the wrong body. […] Let's protect families from the schools who are keeping destructive secrets from parents." A post from another influencer declared that with the passing of the *Bill*, "Teachers are PROHIBITED from unilaterally changing the name and pronouns of young children without the consent of parents." Each of these posts indicates a belief that schools engage in sinister methods to convince children they are trans, and positions (anti-trans) parents as the correct arbiters of children's choices; as protectors from indoctrination.

Interactions with Trans People and Symbols

Concerns about the indoctrination of children extended far beyond the classroom. X users repeatedly objected to children interacting with trans people in their daily lives. They also balked at the idea of children seeing images of transgender and other gender-nonconforming people in advertisements displayed in public and even criticized the public use of symbols meant to represent trans symbols or 2SLGBTQIA+ pride.

Influencers in our sample indicated believing that it is inappropriate for trans people to interact with children. Importantly, objections were not simply about interactions with their own children, but with *any* children. One X user reposted a video of US Congresswoman Sarah McBride reading a picture book to a group of children. The book was *I Am Jazz,* written by Jazz Jennings, a trans woman and activist who rose to fame after coming out in her childhood and who hosted the event with the Human Rights Campaign. In the video, Congresswoman McBride, who is also a trans woman, sits in front of the group of children, dressed in a business-casual denim jacket and slacks. The video's original caption referred to the Representative alternately as "Congressman Tim McBride," a "dude," and "a man pretending to be a woman." As he reposted the video, the X user added sarcastically, "I learned from the Department of Education that children's reading abilities improve drastically if they are taught by twerking drag queens. Settled Progressive Science." This serves not only to refer to Congresswoman McBride as a drag queen (she is not) and to suggest with "twerking" that she was behaving in a sexual way in front of the children (she was not), but also to suggest that Drag Queen Story Hours—distinct, educational events featuring drag queens reading children's books in libraries—are inappropriate for children.

Figure 2. An X user reposts a video of Congresswoman Sarah McBride (referred to erroneously as Tim McBride) reading a picture book by Jazz Jennings to a group of children. The influencer references "twerking drag queens" in the post.



Influencers indicated concern for children based not only on trans people's interactions with them, but also merely based on public reminders of the existence of gender-nonconforming people. In one example, Shoppers Drug Mart ran an ad campaign in early 2025 for a promotional event featuring luxury beauty brands and content creators. Some of the ads featured Myles Sexton, a nonbinary creative director and makeup artist. The ads displayed photos of them showing off their facial hair, flowing locks, and makeup. This ad campaign was commented on by several X users in our dataset, most of whom expressed general displeasure or critiqued

Shoppers Drug Mart for “appropriating womanhood” or engaging in “activism” with this promotion. One, however, linked to a post about the campaign and stated:

This is creepy and insulting to Canadian women. Didn’t corporate Canada get the message that we’re sick of this woke nonsense? I don’t want to see this while I’m out shopping with my kids. TAKE IT DOWN or face a BOYCOTT

This post frames the advertisements as unsuitable for her children to see in a drugstore. Notably, the ads contained no sexual content or other adult themes: they were simply photographs of a person wearing makeup. The harm she identified was based on the mere visibility of a gender-nonconforming person in a public space. This illustrates how thoroughly trans people had been delegitimized in this discourse: a nonbinary person’s existence in a children’s field of view was itself framed as a threat serious enough to warrant a boycott.

Figure 3. An influencer portrays a Shoppers Drug Mart ad campaign featuring nonbinary content creator Myles Sexton as unsuitable to be seen by children.



Influencers attempted to dissuade companies from trans inclusion over more than photos of gender-nonconforming people: they also objected to public displays of symbols associated with trans identities. Posts expressed outrage over the word “PRIDE” being displayed on the Disney+ app, about the colours of the trans flag (pink, light blue, and white) being displayed on the National Hockey League (NHL) team logos, and especially about the Progress Pride flag. One post stated, “Was going to buy my niece a @LEGO_Group set, but every employee in the store had a pride progress flag & pronoun pin…NOPE!” These examples reveal that for some influencers, the threshold for harm had been set so low that passive symbols of trans inclusion—a colour scheme, a small lapel pin—were treated as impositions serious enough to override a purchase decision.

Protecting Children from Doctors

The following post may shed additional light on why these influencers did not want children to see or interact with trans people. An influencer linked to a video of a train in the United Kingdom that featured the

colours of the trans flag as part of a campaign to express solidarity with queer and trans people. The influencer commented, “Future generations will ask ‘why did ancient humans paint entire trains with the flag of a child mutilation cult?’”M3 M4 M5 M6 At the mere sight of trans pride symbols, influencers in our dataset often immediately brought up surgery and other medical care for trans people—and trans children in particular, distorted as “mutilation.”

While influencers in our dataset frequently discussed concerns about threats to children from educators and from interactions with, or images of, trans people, the most commonly discussed threat to children within our data was from medical providers. Doctors and medical institutions were often spoken about within our data with anger and extreme language, which was one of the leading tactics to engage in misinformation chosen by the anti-trans influencers under analysis. Healthcare providers were typically framed as entities from whom children needed to be protected. It was not uncommon to see doctors referred to as “butchers” and for gender-affirming medical care to be referred to as “mutilating and sterilizing children.” Arguments around children needing protection from doctors and hospitals also often brought up the money charged for gender-affirming procedures.

Figure 4. An influencer reposts a video of a train featuring the colors of the transgender pride flag, calling it “the flag of a child mutilation cult.”



Some influencers referred to gender-affirming care providers as belonging to “the predatory trans industry” or “the trans industrial complex.”[14]

In one example, an X user linked to an article from The Daily Caller—a right-wing website founded by Tucker Carlson known for its ties to white supremacists—reporting hospitals charged $120 million for gender-affirming care procedures (including puberty blockers, hormone replacement therapy, and surgeries) on minors in the US between the years 2019 and 2023. The contributor added, “120 000 000 spent on Mutilating and sterilizing children In violation of the Nuremberg code By the butchers and their

[14] The rhetoric of the “industrial complex” has traditionally been associated with progressive or left-wing critiques (such as the military-industrial complex), yet it has been appropriated by right-wing influencers in what Banet-Weiser and Kay (2025) call “the digital hall of mirrors.”

ideology addled allies and enablers[.] PRISON would stop this."[M3 M4 M5 M6] Here, the contributor invokes the *Nuremberg Code*, presumably to signify that gender-affirming medical care is experimental and a violation of human rights and mentions prison to indicate that the doctors providing gender-affirming care should be criminalized.

Politicians were often implicated in posts calling for the protection of children from medical care. These posts often situated politicians as uncaring about the well-being of children. A post named a specific Canadian politician and then said she:

[...] could do something to protect kids from gender cult indoctrination, but nope. She thinks it's compassionate to confuse children and then chemically castrate them and chop them up if they so desire. Some people just refuse to see the evil they are supporting even when it is right in front of their eyes.[M3 M4 M5 M6]

The language used here paints medical providers as villainous and "evil," using the phrases "chemically castrate" and "chop them up" to describe medical care provided to children.

In addition to expressing anger against politicians, many posts suggested action in response. Voting for particular candidates or parties was a common suggestion. One post called for the influencer's followers to personalize the following passage and either send it to their elected representatives or read it aloud at city council meetings:

The people of (your city) do not promote or endorse the medicalization and mutilation of children in any context and therefore specifically do not agree to the raising of the LGBTQ flag that celebrates the radical promotion of over 80 so called genders. […] Puberty blockers and cross-sex hormones are not a solution a [sic] the condition of the mind. In fact, they are medically and psychologically abusive. Thousands of law-suits are being launched against doctors and clinics. Yet you wish to celebrate such an atrocity. Shame on you. […] You are caving to pressure and fear of a socio-political - power-force and selling out the people of (your city). How much money are you getting to do this? Who's funding it? […] Is The Canadian flag not to be respected and Canada Day not proclaimed? [M3 M4 M5 M6]

Similarly to the above X user posting a trans pride flag on a train, this influencer also associates pride flags with what they refer to as the mutilation of children. This post specifically refers to puberty blockers and gender-affirming hormone treatment as abusive and encourages Canadians to imply that their city counsellors are being paid off to allow this "abuse."

Some influencers expressed particular concern for girls. One contributor wrote,

"It's a tragedy what lefties are doing to a generation of young women. When they snap out of it these girls are going to be horrified at the permanent damage they've done to themselves😔" M1 M2 This post echoes ideas about ROGD popularized in Abigail Shrier's (2021) book, *Irreversible Damage: The Transgender Craze Seducing Our Daughters*. The contributor here is referring to young, transmasculine people who go through medical treatments to masculinize their bodies.

Trans Legitimacy as a Threat to Cisgender Women and Girls

Influencers in our data expressed concern not only that trans people were indoctrinating girls to think of themselves as trans, but also that cisgender women and girls faced physical and conceptual threats from trans people. This became apparent through posts highlighting trans people as particularly dangerous; discussions of gender-segregated sports and facilities such as washrooms and changing rooms; and writing about trans women appropriating womanhood.[15]

Characterizing Trans People as Dangerous

Influencers in our dataset often used language indicating that trans people are to be especially feared. This was indicated with language commonly associated with brutality (e.g., violence and abuse); sexual abuse (e.g., groomer and pedophile); organized crime (e.g., mafia and cult); and moral depravity (e.g., evil and monster). Although these words were sometimes used to describe specific incidents, they were also commonly used to describe trans people in general.

Descriptions of trans people as violent often came up in the context of protests. Numerous influencers posted videos featuring trans people demonstrating against anti-trans legislation. Several of these videos featured the influencers themselves, carrying signs with anti-trans messages. Sometimes an influencer would approach protesters while filming without having previously requested an interview. They would then continue filming as the protesters reacted to them, often negatively. One post showed a video with the text, "Here's a brief compilation of why these people should never have access to female-only spaces. ⚠️⚠️⚠️" M8 The video showed clips of trans activists in heated situations, some of them yelling or posturing aggressively.[16]

Comments on posts covering protests often expressed surprise and fear toward the trans people depicted in them. When a commenter remarked on the rudeness of

[15] Our findings resonate with recent scholarship that explores ways in which "contemporary gender debates have crystallized in and around sport" (Knott-Fayle, 2025, p. 193) in part because notions of fairness "are tied to binary man/woman categorizations" (Knott-Fayle, 2025, p. 194).

[16] Ironically, several of the people in the clips were assigned female at birth and would therefore be required to use spaces reserved for women if the legislation many of these influencers advocated for were passed.

protesters in a contributor's content, the contributor replied, "I should thank the rude ones. They help greatly in educating those who don't understand what's going on. Many think there is something to gender ideology until they hear from its proponents." This reply brings clarity to these filming strategies. The goals are neither documentation nor dialogue, but provocation: deliberately engineering confrontational encounters to harvest reactions as evidence. Such videos use trans people's frustrated reactions to being filmed and followed—at events where they are already emotionally engaged in protesting legislation and other political activity that is harming their communities—as evidence that trans people are threats.

This purported evidence appears to be convincing. An influencer reposted a headline from the Herald Sun, noting that police in Canberra, Australia, were bracing for violence in advance of an anti-trans rally. The influencer added, "I wish they'd frame it correctly. What 'authorities are bracing for violence' actually means is: 'authorities expect gender activists to inflict violence against women.' It's always the gender activists who are violent and threatening. Get it right."[M8] Despite the influencer's complaint that the article was improperly neutral, the article did frame the trans activists as a threat: the headline ended, "trans activists planning to disrupt a women's rights rally." This was not enough for the influencer, whose post signaled that trans people are violent, whereas cis women are not.

While much of the messaging about trans people as dangerous focused on aggressive behaviour at protests, some posts also focused on news stories about trans people who had allegedly engaged in criminal activity. One influencer wrote in a response to a post about trans women who are incarcerated in women's prisons that trans women "are more sexually violent than even the average male prisoner." Another contributor took to X to note, "A great number (most?) of the recent mass school shootings have had a trans connection. What's the odds here?"[M8] Both of these posts erroneously characterize trans people as especially violent. Influencers posted articles from websites dedicated to compiling instances of crime committed by trans people worldwide, such as Reduxx, which may help to explain why they wrote about trans people as though they engage in more violence than cis people. These sites function as curated archives designed specifically to increase the visibility of crime perpetrated by trans people, which can inflate readers' perceptions of its frequency, creating the impression of a pattern that is not supported by contextualized evidence.

During the time when the posts in our sample were written, there was one high-profile violent crime committed by a trans person in Canada. A parent stabbed their child in February 2025 during what they

later referred to on social media as a "mental break." Afterward, they called 911 and were arrested. A Conservative politician posted in outrage about this incident on X, referring to the person who committed the crime as a "parent" and calling for bail reform and to "bring back law and order." Multiple influencers in our data took to X to address the politician: one wrote two posts arguing with the politician's use of "parent" instead of a gendered term.

Another influencer also wrote two posts about this: one that stated, "a trans freak STABBED A CHILD in Canada and Conservative MPs are still TOO AFRAID to call out the trans agenda. This is the level of disgusting cowardice we're dealing with."[M8] The other post said, "The CPC won't call out the pitfalls of the trans agenda even when they're murdering children. Disgusting cowardice." Where the first post describes a single stabbing in which the child survived, the second escalates to "they're murdering children," implying multiple incidents and fatal outcomes, as if to indicate an ongoing, lethal campaign. The phrase "trans agenda" is used in both posts, recasting a single violent act as coordinated, intentional, and specific to trans people. The influencer did not specify how he believed the case was connected to "the trans agenda."

Other posts did, however, connect concerns about trans violence with additional beliefs about threats posed by trans people. In response to an MP's post on Transgender Day of Visibility about significant accomplishments made by trans Canadians, an X user replied,

What have they done that's so significant? Weaseled their way into women's change rooms? Scammed their way into women's sports? Stolen women's trophies? Been the group most likely to sexually victimize children? Which accomplishment do you find the most admirable?[M8]

This post begins by implying that trans women are deceptive and quickly escalates to falsely claiming that trans people engage in violent behaviour at high rates. Here, these concerns are articulated through trans women's participation in women's sports and their use of women's facilities.

Gender-Segregated Activities and Spaces

Influencers in our data were typically strong proponents of banning trans women and girls from women's sports and from women's facilities, such as washrooms, locker rooms, shelters, and prisons. Posts about gender-segregated sports and spaces repeatedly focused on political news, including links to stories about legislative efforts to ban trans women from these activities and spaces, expressions of support for politicians who tabled such legislation, and opposition to those who have not supported ban legislation. In a post describing Bill-29, later passed and now known as the Fairness and Safety in Sport Act, the X user wrote, "In Alberta, we

believe […] women and girls deserve the oppoorunity [sic] to compete fairly and safely in female only divisions."[M9] This short statement carries multiple implications, including that cisgender women and girls are unsafe when competing against transgender women and girls, that trans women and girls' participation in women's sports is unfair, and that Albertans are united in these beliefs.

While the language in the above post was subtle, many X users were far less so. Many posts were about "men" (i.e., trans women) in women's sports. One post stated, "Men who use women's sports as a way to seek the spotlight are garbage humans. They are dangerous, often unhinged people, and we need leaders who will protect women from these creeps."[M8] [M9] This post refers to trans women in sports as "men", calls them dangerous, implies that they are mentally ill, and explicitly refers to them as garbage. Our sample contained similar ideas in posts about other types of women's spaces as well. In one example, an influencer wrote, "It doesn't matter how many times I see examples of violent, predatory males who've identified their way into women's prisons--it's just as surreal, shocking, and sickening every time."[M8] Again, the implication here is that trans women are dangerous men engaging in deception to gain access to women for nefarious purposes: in this case, through prisons rather than sports.

Many influencers advocated for particular responses to trans women's participation in women's sports and use of women's facilities, such as voting for politicians who supported bans, but other responses were also mentioned. One X user posted a video of a cis woman who took a knee rather than compete against a trans competitor. The influencer celebrated this act and encouraged her readers: "REFUSE to compete until every cheating male is mercilessly ridiculed and pushed out of female sports. ENOUGH!"[M9] Here, as in the post above, trans women—again, described as men—are framed as unfairly competing against cis women, such that "merciless" ridicule is a supposedly reasonable response. Interest in ridicule toward trans athletes was not limited to idle encouragement within our data: numerous posts named specific trans athletes or linked to articles criticizing them. Some included photos and videos of trans children with their names, singling them out for harassment by their followers.

Ironically, though perhaps not unexpectedly, some of these posts criticizing athletes for participating in women's sports featured cisgender women whom influencers misidentified as trans. Multiple contributors posted angrily about Imane Khelif, a boxer who took the gold medal for women's welterweight boxing in the 2024 Summer Olympic Games. In another example, an influencer reposted another X user's post about a rugby player in a women's league, commenting, "Not

even pretending to look like a woman. Just straight up a huge dude playing in the girls league." The post received over 8,500 views and 22 comments, some encouraging violence toward the athlete and others misgendering her. Over eight hours later, the influencer wrote a reply to her post that stated, "See community note (added after my tweet). According to these sources, apparently this is a female. My apologies to her." This reply, referencing that her post had been flagged by X users for misinformation, only had 100 views. The rugby player in question had been assigned female at birth (Bugden, 2024).

Conceptual Threats to Womanhood

Influencers expressed beliefs that trans legitimacy results in more than just a physical threat to cisgender women and girls: they also argued that the legitimacy of trans people is a conceptual threat. Posts in our sample described trends toward a change in gendered language as a deep concern. In one example, an influencer posted an article about a trans woman winning an Australian court case against the developer of a social networking application exclusively for women. The developer had manually removed the plaintiff from the application after she had been using it for seven months, and the court found she had been unlawfully discriminated against. The influencer added, "'Just use their pronouns […] and stop being so mean. What's the worst that could happen?' Child mutiliation [sic] and sterilization? The erasure of women? Words matter. And the evil psychopathic leftist powermad sadistic hedonists know it."[M3 M4 M5 M6] In this quote, the influencer argues that respecting trans people's gender identities and using terms that reflect those identities is a slippery slope ending in women being erased. Presumably, given the content of the news article attached to the post, considering trans women to be legitimate women is akin to the erasure of women. In other words, for this contributor, primarily at stake in this court case was a shift in how we think about and discuss womanhood.

Other influencers wrote about their own objections to this shift. These included opposition to the use of gender-neutral language aimed at describing pregnancy in a trans-inclusive way:

In 2019, during my first pregnancy, I never once saw or heard the term "pregnant people." I spent time and had doctors in two of the wokest places in North America -- Toronto and San Fransisco -- but never once did I hear or see these stupid Orwellian phrases. Trans culture had already taken over by 2019 – Bruce [Jenner] became Caitlyn and was named "woman of the year" back in 2015 -- but the words and concepts hadn't overtaken the medical industry at that point. Yet here we are in 2024, I'm pregnant again and almost every article I read, every university medical publication, even medical forms now use these obnoxious, anti-scientific, women-erasing phrases. I'm pregnant,

why on earth would you have to ask me my sex? It's insulting and degrading. It undermines the most important and fundamental thing about being a woman. The good news is that these stupid woke concepts are being routinely rejected by the general population. But the reality is they've already seeped into and taken hold of many institutions. The woke crowd, as much as we mock them, have made serious, significant gains. We've got our work cut out for us.

Because many trans men and non-binary people become pregnant and give birth, numerous medical practitioners have begun using language in intake forms and advertising to signal that trans people are welcome and will be respected in their practices. Here, that language is referred to as a sign of a "woman-erasing" shift that this influencer describes as ominous.

Another influencer expressed opposition to additional language signaling the inclusion of transmasculine people who have given birth: "The last thing in the world I would want is breastfeeding support from people who call it chestfeeding."

This post was written in reaction to a social media post from Toronto Public Health, offering free services to support nursing parents, using both the terms "breastfeeding" and "chestfeeding," the latter of which is a term used by some transmasculine people—especially if they produce milk after going through top surgery to remove or reduce breast tissue. The post used the term "breastfeeding" as well, and in both uses it was placed before "chestfeeding." However, the influencer stated that due to the use of language in this post, she would not want to use the service. This indicates opposition not only to changing language, but to added language signaling the inclusion of trans people alongside language traditionally used for cisgender women.

Trans Legitimacy as a Threat to Reality

Connected to conceptual threats, our sample contained a striking amount of discourse about trans people and their legitimacy as a threat to the nature of reality. Influencers in our data called trans people and their allies "ideologues," referring to respect for trans people's identities alternately as trans ideology, gender ideology, transgenderism, gender doctrine, dogma, and a religion.

Trans Identities as Falsehoods

Influencers in our data often spoke about trans people as if their identities are false, characterizing them as lies, pretend, illogical, or even delusional. One contributor posted what he referred to as "a brief guide to dismantling ideological doublespeak," a list of terms commonly used by trans people followed by his own definitions of these terms. The list included:

- *Trans woman = man who claims to be a woman*
- *Trans man = woman who claims to be a man*
- *Trans kid = abuse victims […]*
- *"Misgendering" = correctly sexing […]*
- *"Transphobia" = refusing to affirm delusions as reality […]*
- *"Euphoria" = arousal*

The "guide" in this post illustrates common ideas throughout this theme: framing trans people's identities as false ("man who claims to be a woman"/"woman who claims to be a man"), depicting trans people as mentally ill ("delusions"), implying that gender euphoria (a positive feeling of one's gender being affirmed) is evidence that trans identity is motivated by a fetish ("arousal"), and referring to rigid, conventional beliefs about sex and gender as scientific ("correctly sexing"). Furthermore, the existence of trans children is rejected outright, and the supposedly true nature of trans children's identities is connected to manipulation and abuse ("trans kids" = "abuse victims").

Influencers in our sample frequently discussed reality in absolute terms, taking it upon themselves to speak as its arbiters. In a discussion with someone who told her there was no reason to reject someone else's identity, an influencer responded that her conversation partner was:

[…] refusing to acknowledge reality. You can treat a trans-identifying man with respect while also not lying—or compelling others to lie—about the fact that he is a man. I know it is uncomfortable to have your delusional beliefs challenged, but that's on you. Stop living in la-la land. Wake up.

This X user referred to trans women as men, indicating that referring to them as women is a lie, a fantasy, and delusional. She also described referring to trans women as women as "refusing to acknowledge reality." Similarly, another contributor to our sample wrote, "There is no such thing as a trans woman. That's mental illness, body dysphoria, adolescent confusion…there are only males and females." The logic that "there is no such thing as a trans woman," led some influencers to argue, concerningly, that there was no such thing as anti-trans violence.

Jagmeet Singh: "we come together to remember the two-spirit, trans and gender-diverse people who've lost their lives to devastating acts of anti-trans violence." To remember something, it had to happen in the first place. But you never let facts or reality get in the way, right?[M8]

Following from the idea that trans people do not factually exist, this post indicates that there can be no violence targeting trans people. In erasing the category of the victim, this influencer also dismisses the harm. Although one influencer's rejection cannot factually erase the evidence of

violence against trans people, collective attitudes such as this can lead to the erasure of trans people as a category in governmental data collection, which can make violence against them invisible.

Influencers went so far as to depict trans advocates not simply as ignoring reality, but as actively attempting to destroy it:

Women's suffrage fought for women to have the right to vote. Gay rights fought for marriage equality. Trans rights fights for the obliteration of reality, the destruction of women's rights, and a ghastly medical crime to be committed against young people. M3 M4 M5 M6

The poster portrays previous gender-related social movements as having positive impacts on people's rights, while portraying advocacy for trans people as destructive, criminal, abusive, and against reality.

Influencers bolstered their ideas about the nature of reality, portraying biological sex as scientific evidence against the legitimacy of trans people, and conversely, by portraying gender as anti-science. As one influencer put it in a post addressed to liberals, "Women are a physical, biological reality. They're not a gender construct. […] Why are you people so opposed to factual truths about the science of life?" Posts in our sample repeatedly employed terms connected to sex differences between men and women, implying or stating that their ideas were backed up by science. The terms male and female were often used to stress a person's sex characteristics; similarly, the word "biological" was often used before a person's sex was stated. Trans people's height and presumed genitalia were also commonly named to stress that someone was factually not a woman (or not a man). Such references to science were used to suppress nuance, complexity, and further dialogue.

Trans People as Mentally Ill

As they made arguments about trans people not being real or being unscientific, X users in our data often made assumptions about mental illness among people who respect trans people's identities. Descriptions of trans people and their allies as "delusional," "psychopaths," "sick," and "deranged," were common, as was speculation about specific conditions that trans people might suffer from, such as ROGD, personality disorders (e.g., narcissism), and paraphilias (e.g., autogynephilia). One influencer posted several quotes from a right-wing psychology podcast episode about trans people, including the following:

I think that having studied biology, there are two sexes, male and female, and it's not because I hate someone who identifies as the other sex, in fact, I feel a lot of compassion for them. I think they, they need help. They need help to accept the body that they're in, just like an anorexic person would need to accept the body that they're in.

Here, the speaker positions themselves as an expert in biology, and contrasts their expertise with trans people, who "need help." In comparing trans people to people with anorexia, the speaker indicates that trans people are unwell. Many posts took a similar tone: as experts who know better than trans people, often expressing compassion or pity for them. Along these lines, another post advised:

Clinical sexologists who endorse "You are who you say you are" have probably never worked outside the gender identity bubble. In sex offender assessment clinics, patients routinely deny having a paraphilic preference, often despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

This post directly compares trans people to people who have committed a sex offense, asserting that trans people's gender identities are analogous to sex offenders' denial of paraphilia and implying that both are unreliable, potentially manipulative, and engaged in a form of self-deception that requires expert correction. In both of the above quotes, influencers position professional or scientific authority against trans people's own knowledge about themselves, framing trans identity not as something to be taken at face value, but as a symptom to be seen through. These quotes reflect a broader pattern in our sample in which influencers indicated that they had more advanced knowledge than trans people, who, in their view, lack the capacity to understand or accurately report their own experience.

While posts indicating expert knowledge often took a sympathetic tone, other posts used mental illness as a punchline or an insult. One post showed a ten-second video of gender-nonconforming young people, captioned, "These people are mentally ill," providing no additional commentary. An influencer in an argument with someone they presumed to be trans told them, "I've made it to old age, something you gender weirdos won't. You'll self delete long before that ever happens." In a follow-up tweet, the influencer added, "I only bring it up because the statistics are through the roof for you transgenders." Another post described trans women as "Selfish mentally ill men who watched waaaaay too much sissy porn and are obsessed with jerking off[.] Disgusting." In all of these instances, being trans (or sharing physical characteristics with trans people) was seen as evidence of mental illness, which was subsequently leveraged against them in cruel ways.

The depiction of trans identity as mental illness requiring clinical correction has direct implications for the kind of treatment influencers advocated for. If trans people are understood as patients whose self-perception is disordered, then affirming their identity becomes not just unhelpful but actively harmful, as many influencers in our study argued. From this premise, X users in our sample recast the therapeutic

landscape entirely. “Professionals [who] tell a kid to love themselves the way they are and not transition,” as one influencer in our study described conversion therapists, were held up as the ethical actors, while gender-affirming care—the approach endorsed by major medical and psychiatric organizations across North America—was dismissed as irrational and dangerous. An influencer in our study warned about “the culture of affirmation in gender medicine,” and went further to portray conversion therapy as unfairly maligned “ethical psychotherapy.” Throughout our data, the framing of trans people as mentally ill does more than merely pathologize identity; it casts conversion therapy, a practice with a well-documented history of causing serious psychological harm, as the compassionate and scientifically grounded choice.

Trans Legitimacy as a Threat to the Nation, Society, the West, and Democracy

The influencers in our dataset consistently argued that trans people are a uniquely powerful group that employs its influence to undermine the nation and the social order. This belief was shown across X users’ posts about trans activism damaging Canada and Canadian democracy with the complicity of the New Democrats, Liberals and, sometimes, Conservatives; about trans legitimacy as eroding the rights of parents; and about the persecution of dissent and suppression of freedom of speech by trans activists and allies.

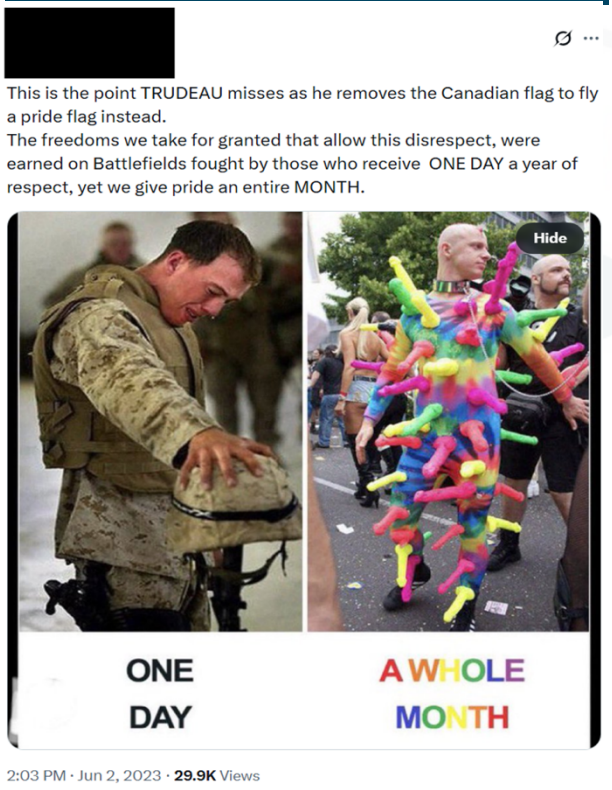
Undoing Canada: Left-Wing and Liberal Complicity, Conservative Inaction

Numerous posts in our dataset claimed that trans people and their allies undermine Canadian democracy, often with the complicity or passive acceptance of politicians across the political spectrum. Influencers frequently portrayed the New Democratic Party (NDP) and Liberals as fully complicit in what they described as a woke agenda, and therefore as enemies of decent Canadians. This framing extends beyond Canada to include US Democrats, liberals, and progressives broadly. Posts often targeted politicians such as Justin Trudeau, Mark Carney, and Jagmeet Singh, as well as prominent figures like Michelle Obama. Conservatives, however, were not spared: while they were sometimes positioned as a preferable alternative aligned with traditional values, they were also sharply criticized for failing to act forcefully enough to “protect” Canadians from trans people and their allies. Trans people were thus instrumentalized in the attack against progressives and liberals and in the promotion of a vision of society significantly to the right of mainstream conservative parties and leaders.

Several posts in our data framed the embrace of 2SLGBTQIA+ identities as exclusionary and insulting to Canada as a nation. For example, Figure 5 shows a post accusing Trudeau of replacing the

Canadian flag with the pride flag.[17] The theme of (dis)respect for the military is at the center of the argument: the influencer expresses outrage that society chooses to dedicate one month to celebrate Pride, whereas veterans are only honoured on Remembrance Day. In this influencer's framing, instead of recognizing its defenders (image on the left), the government absurdly celebrates perversion (image on the right). To this influencer, the embrace of trans legitimacy undermines Canada's history and identity.

Figure 5. An influencer shares a side-by-side image juxtaposing Remembrance Day (left) with Pride (right), suggesting that political authorities prioritize Pride over the military.



Given influencers' shared idea that trans legitimacy puts children and women in danger, the most basic recognition of rights or support to the trans community by political actors becomes a political and ethical indictment. Mark Carney is accused of supporting "mutilating gender confused kids,"[M3 M4 M5 M6] while liberals in general are said to promote "the grooming of children" and deny biology by refusing to define "what a woman is." Furthermore, politicians are accused of aiding trans activists in the erasure and distortion of reality. Concerns about governmental support for the denial of truth are exemplified by objections to former NDP leader Jagmeet Singh's statement recognizing Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDOR), as quoted in our section on trans identities as falsehoods. Complaints indicated that by recognizing TDOR and spreading the notion that trans people are victims of violence, Singh fabricated historical facts and transformed perpetrators into victims.

The following post, written in the lead-up to the 2025 federal election, expands on the concerns influencers shared about transforming supposed perpetrators into victims:

[17] This claim was made repeatedly within our data in response to Trudeau taking part in a flag-raising ceremony at a Pride event on Parliament Hill in 2023, and again in 2024. Notably, Canadian flags were not removed from Parliament Hill for the occasion, but rather, the Progress Pride flag was raised between two Canadian flags.

The thing I fear most about another four years of the Liberals is the Online Harms Bill. In its past two iterations, it would have allowed every trans activist in the land to file human rights complaints against anyone who lives in reality.

Here, the influencer warns that by allowing trans people to make complaints with the Canadian Human Rights Commission against online hate speech, Liberals would frame the influencer and other reality-based individuals as perpetrators. The notion that politicians prioritize trans people over the vast majority of citizens builds on broader discontentment and frustration around the political establishment and democracy more generally. Politicians are accused of wasting everyone's resources and time by taking decisions deemed absurd and dangerous instead of solving the "real" problems of society. Trans people thus become scapegoats for the shortcomings of liberal democracy in its current form, as well as for its highly unequal and undemocratic political economy (Seri, 2026).

As we were coding our data, the members of the research team were particularly struck by the outrage caused by the placement of tampon dispensers in men's washrooms, especially in the case of military facilities, during Trudeau's government. Even though this policy makes tampon access safer for trans men and nonbinary people, and in terms of public policy and taxpayers' expense, this is a minor issue, the perception is that politicians in general—and Liberals in particular—have degraded Canada to a joke. This idea is articulated in the following post: "We have tampons in the men's bathroom and blue haired they/thems. That's the sum total of our defence." It seems that the location of tampons not just in men's washrooms, but in military men's washrooms, is particularly insulting. Again, this aligns with the narrative that the "trans agenda" is unmaking the pride and honour of the nation. According to this framing, trans people attack women and simultaneously erode masculinity with the aid of dishonest or cowardly politicians.

Left-wing and Liberal politicians were not the only ones our influencers took issue with. Conservatives were accused of not being courageous or strong enough in their opposition to these types of policies. In line with the broader landscape of far-right politics in which the conservative mainstream is attacked for not fighting leftists with the force required (Ravecca et al., 2022), the influencers under analysis often complained that the leader of the Official Opposition, the Conservative Pierre Poilievre, does not take "up the mantle to fight the LGBTQ+ mob much at all." Particular outrage was expressed about his support for Bill C-4, which, in simplified terms, bans conversion therapy in Canada, and bans the removal of children from Canada to send them to conversion therapy overseas, among other activities that support this practice. One post asked

with incredulity, "Why did he (Poilievre) vote for bill c-4 [?]"[M7] Another post spread misinformation about the Bill, claiming that the whole political spectrum, except for the People's Party of Canada (PPC), has criminalized "parents who do not affirm their minor child's sexual transitioning without question." From this perspective, the Conservative Party of Canada is not conservative enough, and the moral reservoir of the country is kept by small but mighty political parties and mass movements such as the 1 Million March 4 Children. The following post articulates both disdain for the Liberals and disappointment towards Conservatives while spreading misinformation about how transition works in the case of minors:

Yes, our Conservative Party is basically conservative in name only. Slightly better than the Liberals but too afraid to even say they will stop childhood sex changes. They really won't touch any of the cultural issues, so I'm not sure what they are conserving.

The perception that mainstream right-wing parties are not properly attending to cultural issues has been capitalized on and incentivized by far-right movements and actors who frame themselves as more truthful to conservative values and as willing to take political risks.

Unmaking Society Through Violations of Parental Rights

Within the posts in our dataset, "gender ideology" was often framed as a contagion affecting children, families, and, by extension, society as a whole. This notion was used to exacerbate parents' anxieties and insecurities around societal change and to organize them against trans people. As we have discussed throughout our sections on trans legitimacy as a threat to children and trans legitimacy as a threat to cisgender women and girls, the purported dangers that children face from gender ideology were presented by influencers as severe and include language such as "grooming," "sexualization," and "mutilation." From this perspective, the weight on parents' shoulders is heavy. Furthermore, the defence of their families was framed as a fight for the preservation of an entire way of life linked to so-called Western values. Or, as one post put it, only through this battle can "an entire generation" be saved.

It is a common idea that the nuclear heterosexual family, regarded by many as the foundation of Western civilization, is under attack. Unsurprisingly, for the influencers in our sample, the greatest obstacle in their fight against gender ideology was the perceived restriction of parental rights. Parents worried about the risks posed by trans people are—so influencers in our sample indicated—demonized and even persecuted. "Parents

who speak out are being silenced," one post claims, indicating that anti-trans parents are being censored and that speaking out against trans legitimacy has become an act of resistance requiring courage, transforming parental concern into a form of political martyrdom.

An influencer who had travelled to Iceland to bring attention and criticism to their "woke" culture posted, "The people of Iceland have declared me an extremist because I was under the misguided idea that this woman should not share the showers with my 16-year-old daughter" (Figure 6). The image he posted with this language shows a hypermasculine, aggressive-looking man, styled as a Viking-like figure: muscular, bare-chested, holding an axe, and wearing a piece of arm armour. His intense gaze and exaggerated physicality construct a figure of potential violence. The juxtaposition between the text's reference to a "woman" and the image's depiction of a hypermasculine figure amplifies the sense of threat and intention of displaying absurdity. The influencer's framing of himself as having been declared an "extremist" for objecting to a dangerous man positions him as a persecuted father: a martyr of parental common sense who has been punished for acting on instincts any reasonable parent would share. Through this exaggerated language, the influencer also sends the message that if these allegedly absurd policies are enforced, not only his daughter but all daughters will be in danger.

Figure 6. An influencer posts an image of a hypermasculine, Viking-like man—muscular, bare-chested, holding an axe, and wearing arm armour—claiming he was labelled an "extremist" for opposing his daughter sharing the washroom with this "woman," thereby ridiculing trans women's access to women's spaces.



In this way, applying trans legitimacy to washrooms and other gendered facilities becomes an example of how parents' rights are being violated by a trans agenda that has become governments' official discourse and even policy. If Icelandic authorities can label someone an extremist for refusing to allow their daughter to share a washroom with dangerous individuals, Bill C-4 is invoked by influencers to suggest that the situation in Canada is in no way better. Once again, even Conservatives are depicted as leaving parents without the legal right to protect their children. The ban on conversion therapy is conceived by the

following post as a major infringement of parents' rights:

Fast-tracked by Conservatives and passed with unanimous assent, Bill C-4 made it a crime of conversion therapy — punishable by up to 5 years in prison — to object to your own child's transition and to help them feel comfortable with their sex.[M7]

Here, Bill C-4 is falsely portrayed as criminalizing the mere act of objecting to a child's transition, signifying that the Bill curtails free speech and potentially religious freedom. Within our sample, mentions of Bill C-4 became rallying cries against governmental oversight of parental choices. Thus, influencers' arguments unabashedly prioritize the perceived desires of parents over the human rights of minors.

In their discourse around Bill C-4, influencers frequently expressed the idea that parents are being abandoned—or even betrayed—by the Canadian political establishment, including Conservatives. Some posts mentioned US President Donald Trump and his policies as a point of contrast. He was praised for having "courage" and "the balls" to aggressively defend parents and their rights. In Canada, a small group of politicians was also praised for doing similar work, although they do it in a softer, distinctly Canadian style. Such is the case of Alberta Premier Danielle Smith, who, despite receiving criticism for not going far enough in the defence of traditional values and families, was at times celebrated for having, in the words of one post, "depoliticized the trans issue." The influencer clarified what this meant to them: "Parents are now the decision makers in Alberta. Surgeries are banned on kids, puberty blockers are banned on young kids, and schoolgirls won't have to play rugby against the 220 lbs Joe from math." The post mobilizes misinformation about transition and sports to celebrate what is perceived as a conservative victory. The notion of Albertan families taking back power over their children is at the core of the narrative.

Similar posts address the issue of gender pronouns, expressing outrage at the idea that schools would not seek parental permission to use a minor's preferred pronoun, and endorsing Smith's policies requiring schools to inform parents:

Parental consent required. Alberta Premier Danielle Smith says legislation on school pronouns to come after classes begin.

Underlying these narratives is a notion of parenthood in which children are not treated as subjects of rights, and education is not mediated by collective decision-making or democratic institutions. Furthermore, these policies can effectively mandate the outing of minors to their parents, potentially compromising their safety in situations where family support cannot be assumed. In short, the defence of "parents' rights" is framed as a means of preventing the perceived contamination of

families by "gender ideology," and is therefore presented as essential to protecting the social order. "Parents' rights" becomes a code for a more hierarchical social order in which parents exercise authority over their children's identities and bodies, including, at its extreme, the legitimization of harmful practices such as conversion therapy.

Notably, although the influencers in our data were ostensibly in favour of parents' rights to decide how their children should be raised related to trans issues, this did not seem to be the case for parents who supported a child's trans identity. Some posts blamed parents—not only those who support their trans children, but also those who do not do enough to resist gender ideology. For example, according to one influencer, events like Drag Queen Story Hour would have been short-lived in the past because parents would have stopped them immediately, whereas nowadays, resistance is weaker than it should be. This connects anti-trans activism with ongoing efforts by far-right actors—often framed as urgent—to establish a strong presence in school boards, as well as with pushes for homeschooling and privatization (Ganshorn, 2024). In our influencers' narratives, supportive parents of trans children are either ignored or accused of being complicit in the destruction of the lives of their own children, as is the case in the following post:

Parents of trans identified kids are probably supportive of the harms of gender ideology. They have a deeply personal investment in it, particularly if they facilitated medical treatment.

In other words, influencers' ideas of parents' rights excluded the rights of parents who accept their trans child. In talking directly to parents or by speaking in their name, misinformation that misrepresents gender transition, both through texts and graphic visuals, is profusely mobilized. For example, one of the influencers in our dataset pleaded with parents not to:

allow the butchers and their enablers to experiment for profit on your children
While madly moralizing and profiting
Sickening
Crimes against humanity level brutality[M3 M4 M5 M6]

Calling doctors and nurses "butchers" who "experiment" on "your children" (emphasis ours), and labelling gender-affirming care as a crime against humanity, falls squarely within healthcare misinformation (Billard, 2024). The contributor reposts another tweet that is even more extreme, claiming that "the Aztecs who committed human sacrifices were more humane than these butchers we call 'Doctors'[…] How many more butchered victims do we have to see before we put an end to this barbaric practice."[M3 M4 M5 M6] In the influencer's framing, trans legitimacy becomes a return

to forms of barbarism that kill children. We should pause here to consider how terrifying the idea that children are being subjected to barbaric practices—and even sacrificed—can be for parents. This intersection between children and barbarism is particularly potent: it induces fear while activating anxieties about the collapse of Western civilization and the social order. After all, families are conventionally understood as the basic unit of society. If they are destroyed, everything is.

Trans Control and the Persecution of Critics

Even outside of parental oppression, anti-trans influencers in our dataset consistently claimed that they were being censored and even persecuted by trans activists and their allies with the support of government institutions, especially the Liberal Party of Canada (LPC). The dispute over notions of victimhood was not circumscribed to children or even parents: everyone who has "common sense," and is therefore critical of "gender ideology," is a potential victim. In this way, trans legitimacy was constructed as antagonistic to freedom of speech and thought, and as undermining democratic rights. Narratives of persecution involved claims of censorship, job terminations, and unfair treatment, including service providers abruptly terminating contracts with clients. Education and healthcare are again at the center of the conversation, with claims that nurses are being fired for "politely" refusing to "go along with the 'trans women are women' lie," and that conservative school members are being harassed. The following post exemplifies well this type of denunciation:

Well, I imagine someone at my new job must have found me on X/Facebook. Everything was going fine until I was abruptly fired today because "I'm not the right fit." That's what I get for advocating for schools that are free of indoctrination, equality, free speech, etc: the the [sic] inability to support myself with even a basic minimum wage job. How wonderful.

The post personalizes the broader narrative of persecution by linking job loss to political expression without providing evidence. Its author positions herself as willing to pay the price for siding with "free speech" and "equality," framing her stance as morally unassailable. In doing so, the post performs a form of martyrdom and innocence (Ravecca & Dauphinee, 2022), and the negative outcome with the employer can only be read as the product of repression.

In the dataset under analysis, mainstream media and academia were systematically accused of contributing to this allegedly authoritarian climate. Influencers described them as promoters of the "gender dogma," and therefore as "part of the problem". The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in particular, was depicted as a "propaganda tool" used "to push gender ideology." In the meantime, universities were often characterized as politicized and

involved in indoctrination and dogmatism. Mockery and scorn for university students and professors were constant in our sample. The post below is an example of this argumentative thread:

The Palestinian right to exterminate the Jews cannot be decoupled from trans rights and the fight for climate change. All three objectives will contribute to a safer planet. I learned this in my Intersectional Queerness class that I took at @Harvard. I obtained an A+ in the class based on my end-of-term essay (supervised by [a prominent Black political scientist and university leader]) titled "Why the Eradication of Jews Will Usher Peace."

This post performs multiple narrative operations simultaneously. It links trans rights to pro-Palestinian organizing (equated with antisemitism) and climate change advocacy. It also mobilizes academic jargon ("intersectionality," "queerness") to portray a university that produces incoherent ideological noise rather than knowledge. In this framing, obtaining an A+ on an "end-of-term essay" is easy, as it is presented as the reward for political conformity. In this way, trans activists and their allies—assumed to be most professors in the Arts and the social sciences—are depicted as having utilized academia for political and social manipulation. Thus, the supposed proliferation of trans identities is, according to the influencers under analysis, the result of a campaign of imposition and control. Similarly, another post claimed that "the epidemic of young people identifying as trans in the last decade [...] can only exist in a nation touched by modern trans activism." This so-called "epidemic" is framed throughout our data as the result of a broad cultural campaign to impose gender ideology and trans identities throughout Canada. Institutions discussed as liberal, such as academia and the media, were often accused of complicity. However, the range of accusations was wider than this. Corporations with trans-inclusive policies and marketing, such as Disney, Shoppers Drug Mart, and Starbucks, were accused of forcing the normalization of "perversion." "Big Pharma" was accused of "transing" children and profiting from lifelong unethical treatments. Schools and unions were also positioned within this same plot of control and persecution, as they were accused of "branding anyone asking to be informed of their child's 'gender decisions' as racist and far-right activists."[18]

From denunciations of (unnamed) "service providers" cancelling subscriptions for "walking in #1MillionMarch4Children" to claims that school boards are censoring trustees for "defending women's sports," the landscape depicted by the posts in our dataset is one of repression, persecution,

[18] Notably, during the "1 Million March 4 Children," a national mobilization in defense of "parents' rights" and against the "sexualization" of children through sexual education, three Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) offices were vandalized in Ontario (Ganshorn, 2024, p. 78).

and resistance. The influencers under study present themselves as fighting a powerful ideology, which they name through labels such as "WOKE," "wokism," and "transgenderism."

Another professor destroyed
By the pathological woke mob
And the rainbow brigade
For saying what everyone who isn't lying and insane knows
There are two sexes

In our dataset, the label woke was used as a derogatory term that refers to trans activists and their allies, and also to the ideological control that they, according to the conspiratorial thinking typical of anti-trans influencers, exercise over society. One of the most powerful avenues through which influencers noted that this control is exercised is language. As an X user wrote: "there's a reason the activists spent years changing language and corrupting the way we describe things before they launched their full-scale assault on women and girls." In other words, language and culture have an essential role in impeding freedom of speech and the ability to "speak up." In a previous post, the influencer had already elaborated on the idea:

There's a reason they went after language so hard in the initial stages of this ideological assault. [...]They knew if they could change the language sufficiently, it would make it impossible to effectively discuss what is happening and in particular make it impossible for women and homosexuals to speak out about the increased erosion of their rights in favor of the cross dressing men at the center of political transgendersim [sic].

In other posts, this influencer employs expressions such as "woke morons" and "woke idiots" and claims that children are being sacrificed "on the Altar of Woke." According to the post above, even gay men and lesbians are victims of trans ideological control. This coincides with an active attempt by similar influencers across social media to separate the "T" from the "LGB" in the queer alphabet. In this way, trans activists are portrayed as going against the principle of equality under the law because in their quest for privilege, they undermine others' rights—not just parents' and women and girls', but even those of gay men and lesbians. While, in the words of another influencer in our sample, "the LGB community was simply demanding the same rights as everyone else, nothing more, nothing less (…) the TQ+ demands special privileges for a small group of entitled men." Indeed, according to another post, "gender ideology is homophobic": trans legitimacy results in the persecution of everyone.[19]

[19] These findings seem to point to a transnational phenomenon. For the case of France, see Laquièze (2025), who also draws on scholarly literature covering the United States.

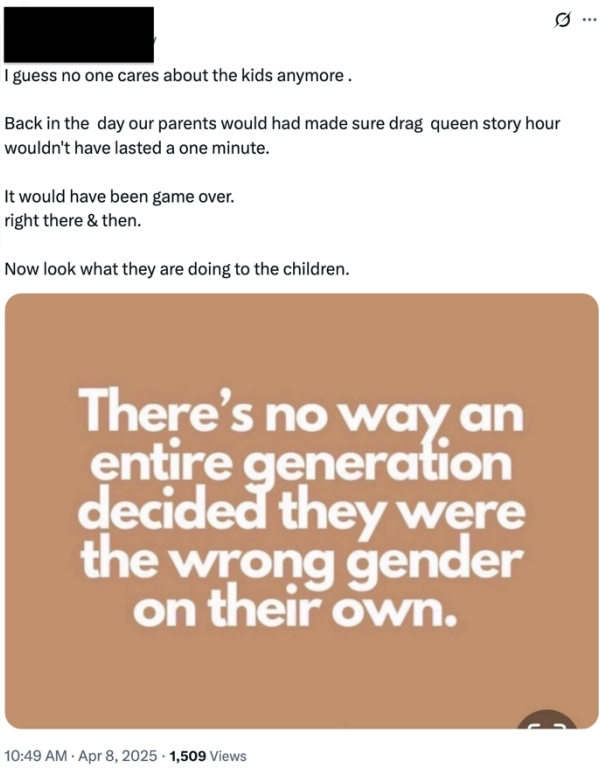
Tactics for Engaging in Anti-Trans Discourse

X users employed a diverse array of tactics to engage in anti-trans discourse. In this report, we discuss the four most prevalent: the use of exaggeration and extreme language; the employment of mockery, insults, and cruel language; the positioning of trans people as harmful to other marginalized groups; and the combination of anti-trans politics with other right-wing causes.

Exaggeration and Extreme Language

Exaggeration and the use of extreme language are powerful tactics for spreading misinformation. In our dataset, doctors are referred to as "butchers"; gender-affirming care becomes "mutilation"; discussion of trans people's existence in schools is labelled "grooming" and "indoctrination"; any policy related to trans people somehow costs "billions"; and the recognition of trans people's existence and humanity is suddenly translated to "an entire generation" becoming trans. This rhetorical tool leaves the interlocutor in a difficult position, especially if they want to engage in a critical conversation. The blurriness between exaggeration and misinformation (see our explanation about this in the section "Developing the Misinformation Reference Guide" of this report) produces a situation in which clarifying for precision introduces the risks of being called pedantic, being dismissed as not understanding a rhetorical device, or worse, being accused of not caring about the bigger picture. But if exaggeration remains unchallenged, iteration does its political work: expressions that are extreme become part of the normal vocabulary. Paradoxically, the use of exaggeration is hardcore ideological work done in the name of dismantling (gender) ideology and "wokeness." Exaggeration legitimizes misinformation-driven transphobic narratives while shielding them from critique.

Figure 7: An influencer posts, "There's no way an entire generation decided they were the wrong gender on their own", suggesting that trans identities are fabricated.



When our research team encountered the above post (Figure 7) asserting that "[...] an

entire generation decided they were the wrong gender [...]", we were unsure if this should be classified as misinformation. After all, the post is obviously false. We face a

similar situation with posts that equate social transition and gender-affirming care to "crimes against humanity" or posts that claim that teachers are trying to convince children that they are trans. No reasonable person would consider these claims to be even remotely true, and yet they are repeated and repeated, with entire conversations on X based on them. The proliferation of this kind of narrative affects everyone, including researchers: it desensitizes the reader to extreme language. This desensitization helps explain how a group of queer vocalists singing the American national anthem at a hockey game could generate posts in our dataset describing them as "the LGBT child mutilating freak squad."[M3 M4 M5 M6] When the rhetorical baseline has escalated this far, even trans people singing becomes a cause for alarm.

As previously mentioned, the research team was also surprised by the vitriol around, and the frequency with which influencers discussed a very specific issue: the presence of tampon dispensers in men's washrooms, particularly in military institutions. Some posts read the situation as an attempt by Justin Trudeau to feminize military men and intentionally waste taxpayers' money on spreading gender and "woke" ideology. In the words of one influencer, "menstrual products for men's bathrooms" has become "a top priority for Canada's military." Another post, this time referring to the US, claimed that tampons will be provided "for all the boys in grade 5" while any "prison inmate will be getting transgender care as they feel they need it." The following post also misrepresents reality through exaggeration:

EXCLUSIVE: In a document leaked to The Counter Signal, RCMP officers have just been informed that they're entitled to a new "crucial" benefit: sex change surgery. Every officer in Canada will be given a $75,000 stipend to remove or add new genitalia.

The framing that "every officer in Canada will be given a $75,000 stipend" is implausible on its face. Benefits eligibility is never universal in this way—workplace benefits for medical procedures are accessed by employees who use them, not distributed as a stipend to the entire workforce. The suggestion that every Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officer will receive $75,000 implies they are all expected to use it, an absurd inference from what would, in reality, simply be coverage for a specific medical procedure added to a benefits plan that would only be used by a small proportion of employees.

The commonality between the above two posts is the misrepresentation of reality in terms of a policy's dimensions, reach, and characteristics. However, in a context

where authorities routinely frame policy through the language of austerity and broad sectors of the Canadian population face affordability challenges, perceptions of wastefulness can readily be mobilized to scapegoat minorities. Misinformation about the cost of trans care, a main subtype of transgender health misinformation (Billard, 2024), was particularly prominent in the dataset. The post below shows how exaggeration, fabrication, and misinformation often weave transition with other issues:

[...] Hormone blockers, transvestite playtime and stories? Where are the Liberals heading with this, pouring Billions upon Billions of tax payers money into these Trudeau special causes? I still can't believe the tampon push, all crazy!

The post misrepresents military, medical, and educational practices while conflating disparate issues (foreign aid, school policies, and healthcare) into a single narrative of excess, wastefulness, and absurdity. It is a clear example of misinformation driven by moral panic, exaggeration, and mockery. As discussed in the next section, mockery is sufficiently prominent as a tactic that warrants attention in its own right.

Some posts that resort to exaggeration and extreme language illustrate a recent phenomenon: the mobilization of the figure of the trans mass shooter. For example, a post referenced in our section on characterizing trans people as dangerous falsely suggested that most school shootings were committed or influenced by trans people. Beyond the fact that this statement advances misinformation—generalizing from isolated or unverified cases to suggest a non-existent trend—the move is analytically significant insofar as it politically transfigures the issue of mass shootings. The identification of trans people as the source of the problem is particularly striking in the US context. Although the post is by a Canadian influencer, it refers to the country south of the border, where factors such as access to firearms, gaps in mental health support, and forms of extremist mobilization, often linked to far-right ideologies, are widely discussed in relation to mass violence.[20]

Mockery and Cruel Language

Trans people were constantly misgendered, ridiculed, and insulted by the influencers under analysis. Sometimes they rely on straightforward insults such as "freaks," "creeps," "imbeciles," or "perverts." In other cases, influencers used expressions that carry a veneer of diagnosis, such as "mentally ill," "imbalanced," "degenerates," and "narcissists." At other times, they generated their own derogatory labels to name their targets, including "pronoun-obsessed totalitarian freaks," "lesbians with beards and moustaches," "smiling sadists,"

[20] This distortion of reality is another example of the "digital hall of mirrors" (Banet-Weiser & Kay, 2025) or political doppelgänger (Klein, 2023).

and “manipulative psychopaths.” Influencers also claimed that trans people are misogynistic, described them as “participants in a radical social experiment,” and accused them of engaging in “womanface.”[21] Furthermore, the expression “they/them” was treated as inherently amusing or as already pointing to the supposed absurdity of the other’s identity. Finally, the ultimate insult in contemporary politics, “Nazis,” is also hurled at trans people. The intention behind this language is not difficult to grasp: these words and expressions converge in the radical dehumanization of trans people.

In unequal societies, the suffering of minority and vulnerable groups is sometimes used for the amusement of dominant groups. From Dalits in India to the poor in the Americas, from colonized peoples to racialized and other minorities, dominant groups’ joyful references to their suffering are a recurring phenomenon. The following post refers to the supposed mental health challenges of a trans person, not to express compassion, but to revel in cruelty:

At least I’m not confused about my gender
You’re probably covered in self harm scars and so angry because of the cross sex hormones
Hopefully you get the mental health help you need before it’s too late

Other posts not only target trans people but also their perceived allies, such as one that combined references to woke, Liberals and the NDP: “A truly woke Liberal/NDP tradition ritual. In preparation to attempt to transform into an female [sic], the ball and penis fire denier is a past time favorite.” This post reduces trans identities to the absurd gesture—shown in the accompanying video—of exposing the penis to heat as a means of becoming female (Figure 8). The post mocks gender transition by equating it to what looks like a bizarre ritual.

Figure 8: An influencer posts a video of a man performing a ritual-like act in which he exposes his genitals to the heat of a fire and strikes his body.



[21] “Blackface” refers to the historical practice, rooted in minstrel shows, of white performers darkening their skin to caricature Black people through exaggerated and demeaning stereotypes. Within the discourse analyzed here, the term “womanface” is invoked by analogy to frame trans femininity as a similarly exaggerated and illegitimate performance of gender.

Another post in our sample responds to a screenshot of a news story about the work of a critical geologist exploring the interconnections between racism and geology as an academic discipline. The influencer appears to assume that the scholar is trans—the news story includes a photograph of the researcher—and reacts as follows: "This professor knows nothing. Every They/Them knows that algebra is the racist subject, while geology is anti-fascist. And don't even get me started on the misogynistic colonialism of quantum physics!" The post uses parody and exaggeration to ridicule critical scholarship, suggesting that academic knowledge has been replaced by arbitrary ideological claims. At the same time, it targets gender-nonconforming scholars, implying that they are responsible for the erosion of knowledge and scientific authority. In this framing, trans people become objects of ridicule, and the social sciences associated with them are cast as epistemically bankrupt and politically captured.

In some posts, images or videos of trans people were shown with commentary that reveals disgust and rejection. This coincides with research that shows that trans people are often judged by a "cisgender aesthetic" implicated in a social landscape in which the safety of a trans person depends on their ability to approximate and emulate their cisgender counterparts (Brewer, 2025, p. 219). It is particularly striking that the misinformation-driven notion that trans people are individuals with mental health issues does not give rise to compassion, but instead to mockery and cruelty—even toward children. At times, this cruelty appears to be accompanied by a certain destructive joy, a feature observed in segments of the far right (Ravecca et al., 2024). Beyond the fact that associating trans identities with mental health challenges is itself harmful, the absence of compassion toward those deemed "mentally ill" reveals that the intent is not care, but injury, even toward the very children who are supposedly being protected from "gender ideology."

Positioning Trans People as Harmful to Other Marginalized Groups

Our data contained frequent posts with homophobic and discriminatory messages, so it initially appeared contradictory when we encountered instances of influencers posting on behalf of marginalized groups. It did not take long for us to understand that these posts instrumentalize such groups to delegitimize trans existence. Given this overarching aim, it does not come as a surprise that anti-trans influencers in our dataset discuss people who detransition with particular interest and intensity. Misinformation-driven narratives of detransition or "sex change regret" are increasingly visible in mainstream media (Slothouber, 2020), meaning that audiences are already aware—albeit often misinformed—about the issue, which in turn creates fertile ground for this tactic. In this context, the stories of people who

detransition are understood to contradict the legitimacy of trans people. Discourses around detransition both inflate its prevalence and falsely construct it as antithetical to transition, instead of understanding it as one possible (albeit unlikely) trajectory within a framework grounded in bodily autonomy and gender self-determination.

The following posts reflect the themes discussed by influencers posting about detransition:

Witness [name] who's [sic] parents transitioned her as a child. Now, going through incredible health issues, [name] is detransitioning. The doctor who was asked to evaluate her for her gender dysphoria and allowed [name] to self diagnose as transgender.[M2]

Detransitioner Sues […] a Top Pediatric Gender Medicine Doctor, For Medical Negligence[M2]

Posts typically revolved around narratives of medical malpractice, giving the impression that gender-affirming medical care always harms the patient and that children should not be trusted to make their own decisions. These posts decontextualize gender-affirming medical care from the extensive research that shows that the rate of regret is 1% or lower (Bustos et al., 2021; Thornton et al., 2024). In these posts, stories of individual people detransitioning instead appear in the context of anti-trans rhetoric and as a component of a broader political discourse against "gender ideology" and "wokeness."

Trans legitimacy was not only portrayed as at odds with those who detransition. Numerous influencers wrote about trans people as homophobic and as policing and censoring the speech of gay men and lesbians who articulate political disagreement. Some posts expressed support for the gay movement and argued that trans activism has ruined the cause. This form of instrumentalization was also applied to other minorities. For example, an influencer alerted their followers to Canada's efforts to provide asylum for queer and trans refugees:

Canada, This is not a parody. Our government has established a "Rainbow Railroad" to flood Canada with "refugees" who want to parade naked in front of our children and indoctrinate them. I find this disrespectful to the "Undergrown Railroad" that assisted Black refugees to escape actual dangerous situations. Trudeau, Singh, and now Carney are seriously destroying Canada with mass immigration and mass perversion. God help us.

This post links queer immigration to supposed mass perversion, arguing that the expression "Rainbow Railroad" is an insult to the Black community, referencing those who historically escaped to Canada from enslavement in the US. The post

ignores the fact that queer and trans people are targeted by violence in countries around the globe.

The conceptual move of positioning the interests of trans people as contrary to those of other vulnerable groups can be read as an attempt to isolate trans people and, by convincing other marginalized groups to adopt anti-trans talking points, to scapegoat them further. This dynamic undermines the possibility of forging solidarity-based coalitions among different oppressed groups and of advancing a humanistic and progressive political vision in which the well-being and flourishing of some are not understood as necessarily dependent on the harm of others. In the meantime, anti-trans activists convene a wide range of right-wing identities, themes, and causes into their struggle. They are not only preventing coalitions that would embrace trans people, but they are also building coalitions against them.

Linking Anti-Trans Narratives to Other Right-Wing Causes

Our sample contained repeated instances of posts linking trans issues to other right-wing topics, identities, and causes. The range of issues discussed by the influencers under analysis is wide, encompassing climate change, the environment, communism, Marxism, immigration and deportations, the CBC and other mainstream media, the economy, freedom, and censorship, among others. The pattern among activists to link different right-wing ideas in order to build coalitions and attack liberalism, feminism, and the left has been conceptualized through the category of right-wing intersectionality (RWI; Ravecca et al., 2022, 2023).[22] In this context, RWI works as an invitation to use trans people to advance conservative causes, while anchoring transphobia within these different forms of activism. The following post situates anti-trans narratives as one cause among others that, together, constitute a unified multidimensional vision of society:

I'd say pushing to stop mass immigration, deport criminals who terrorize our streets, cut taxes, ban men from female spaces, & not indoctrinating kids into gender ideology is pretty solution-based. The whiners are the ones opposing all of that common sense goodness.

From the perspective of our analysis, the underlying message of the post is that if you oppose mass immigration, you should also oppose "gender ideology"; if you support tough policies against criminality, you should also confront trans activists who promote such ideology; if you value fiscal

[22] RWI is a conceptual framework that accounts for the cultural turn within contemporary far-right activism (Ravecca, 2022; Ravecca et al., 2022, 2023). The concept highlights the mobilization of intersections between themes, identities, and causes to form coalitions that protect social hierarchies while simultaneously attacking feminism and the left. In other words, right-wing intersectionality mirrors—and normatively reverses—intersectionality as we know it. In this case, we coded RWI only when at least two additional topics were invoked alongside trans people. For a short explanation of the approach, see Ravecca (2022).

responsibility, you should work to exclude trans women from women's sports. After all, only "the whiners" oppose all this "common sense goodness." Another post articulates the same idea, including other items such as "defunding the CBC," "demanding pipelines be built," and "ending equalization payments," while praising the PPC for integrating these issues into its platform and making them enter the mainstream consciousness:

Ending Multiculturalism
Stopping Mass Immigration
Defunding the CBC
Demanding pipelines be built
Ending equalization payments
Stopping Transgenderism in Schools
All of this would not have nearly as much play in the mainstream political conversation if it weren't for PPC.

The common emphasis of these posts is that the anti-trans agenda belongs to a broader saga of struggles for a more "decent" society. Under this logic, these different issues should be tackled together, and with the awareness that the project remains incomplete if one of these fronts is left unattended. If the political program that anti-trans activists call to defend is multilayered, the enemy they depict is also multiple and, like the Hydra, has many heads. The posts in our dataset construct an "us" and a "them" that are both multidimensional. If we return to the first post above, it is easy to identify who some of these "evil" characters are: advocates of multiculturalism, migrants' rights activists, supporters of public services, environmentalists, gender justice activists, and, last but not least, everything transgender. The characterization of the enemy camp thus combines constant features—they are all portrayed as destructive—with internal diversity.

Some influencers frame anti-trans activism as part of the opposition to the liberal agenda that, in their view, is undermining Canada and the West *writ large*. This is the idea presented in the following post, where "radical gender ideology," placed between "mass migration" and "job losses," belongs to a long chain of calamities attributed to the LPC:

And the rest of us are going down with the liberals that choice [sic] this for us. We are in for some seriously bad times. The cencorship [sic]. The taxes. The crime. The mass migration. The radical gender ideology. The job loses. The economy atrophy. These people voted for our downfall, and I don't know if they can ever see it for what it is, if they have by now

Other posts, however, associate trans people with communism. One influencer even posted, "They/them wants communism." Previous analyses discuss claims from far-right movements that feminism is an extension of Marxism (Ravecca et al., 2022). Our dataset suggests that trans people are emerging as perhaps the most prominent "enemy of the

people" for the contemporary Canadian far right, and that similar patterns of association with communism are now extending to them. This linear association is, as in the case of feminism, historically and theoretically problematic. Formulations such as the one offered in the post, "Marxists decided to redefine biological reality," are ironic, given the tensions between queer theory, feminism, and the Marxist tradition. Yet, as a rhetorical move, this framing is powerful in its simplicity and in its ability to invoke long-standing Cold War narratives and the stigmatization of socialist ideas in North America, now redirected against trans people.

One post collapses the differences between liberals and Marxists through the curious construct "Marxiliberalism." This and other notions, such as "LGBT supremacy," are mobilized together in an attempt to basically use anything at hand to inflate anti-trans sentiment. Some posts even mention Islam, making comments about how inexplicable it is that queer movements support Palestinian human rights, wrongly assuming that Muslims are homogeneously homophobic and transphobic (and also that people should only care about the human rights of those who are sympathetic to them).[23] These findings also resonate with research in Europe showing that Muslim men are among the preferred targets of an unholy alliance between neoliberals, far-right nationalists and even segments of feminism (Farris, 2018). In this framing, trans people are portrayed as doing everything wrong, including supporting those who are allegedly undermining sexual minority rights and who, it is implied, would harm them if given the chance. Like Muslim men in Europe, Canadian trans people are also said to be the enemies of feminism. Hence, feminists are also welcome in RWI, which is illustrated by the following post:

WHAT: [X User] joins me to discuss woke school trustees who have been smearing actual feminists who because [sic] they stand up for safe sex-based spaces for women and against radical gender ideology for kids.

The image below embodies RWI and operates within a site we have already identified as highly sensitive and anxiety-inducing: the classroom. It pits "parents" against "liberals," suggesting mutual exclusivity between the two groups, by juxtaposing a supposedly neutral and common-sense vision of education—reduced to "2+2=4" and basic literacy—with a "liberal" agenda that brings together communism, Black liberation, and 2SLGBTQIA+ identities. By weaving these distinct histories, identities, and struggles into a single ideological bloc, the image produces "liberals" as a unified enemy camp that is presented as threatening to children and to the integrity of education.

[23] Laquièze (2025) explores the articulation between Islamophobic and anti-"woke" narratives in the case of France.

This mobilizes anxieties about schooling, morality, and social order, while linking anti-trans sentiment to broader oppositions to leftist politics, anti-racist movements, and sexual diversity. The picture expresses the attempt to articulate multiple issues and identities to expand coalitions and reinforce existing hierarchies, including those that oppress transgender people.

Figure 9. An image contrasts two classroom scenes. The top panel, labeled “THE CLASSROOM PARENTS WANT,” shows a whiteboard with “2+2=4” and “ABC’s,” representing basic math and literacy. The bottom panel, labeled “THE CLASSROOM LIBERALS WANT,” depicts a classroom wall displaying symbols associated with communism, Black liberation, and 2SLGBTQIA+ identities. The juxtaposition frames these elements as competing visions of education, portraying the latter as ideological and inappropriate for the classroom.



DISCUSSION

In 2023, a professor and two students were stabbed in their philosophy of gender class at the University of Waterloo (MacDonald & Kolentsis, 2023). As he pulled two large knives out of his backpack, the attacker accused the professor of being "a Marxist" (Paul, 2024, para. 6). After the attack, the assailant left a torn-up pride flag in the classroom. He later explained to police that he had become concerned about the "ideology" being taught in gender studies courses and believed "woke" ideas were being forced on students.

This stabbing attack offers a stark illustration of the stakes involved in the anti-trans arguments examined throughout this report. Anti-trans ideas posted by influencers on X do not stay contained to online discourse. Instead, they function as part of a broader system in which anti-trans framing circulates, combines with other extremist messaging, and can develop into justifications for real-world, extremist violence. The attack at the University of Waterloo shows that anti-trans arguments in our data—including gender studies classes and support for trans people by educators as ideological indoctrination; trans-inclusive policies as dangerous; and trans people and allies as threats that must be fought against— are not merely rhetorical. They contribute to a climate that supports the recent rise in hate crimes against trans people in North America and the increasing social and institutional hostility they face (Arrayales & Mallory, 2026; Egale Canada, 2023; Kishi & Jones, 2022; McLamore & Fuller, 2025; Romano, 2022; Statistics Canada, 2021; Wippell, 2026).

One of the defining features of misinformation-driven anti-trans conspiracy theories is that they transform, in the imagination, vulnerable subjects into powerful ones. Even though trans people rarely hold positions of leadership in the state, corporations, or even in academia, they are portrayed as insidious and destructive individuals with the ability to control politics and society. To the influencers in our sample, what seems to be most alarming is that this alleged power is used to undermine the most basic norms and values that sustain Canada: trans people are after women, sports, children, democracy…even reality itself. By framing trans people as irredeemably pernicious, these narratives imply that they should be stopped at any cost. Scholarship has shown how neoliberal society co-opts and neutralizes dissidence and difference through market-driven logics (Táíwò, 2022).[24] Sexual and racial minorities are routinely included as tokens without tackling the root-causes of inequality. However, trans people are not even offered this option. So far, they remain thoroughly demonized (Kotsko, 2017). This lack of options to legitimately exist in society constitutes a politics of ontological rejection

[24] See also Farris (2018) and Puar (2007).

that is alarming from a human rights perspective. If a group does not have the right to exist in the eyes of society, *acts of extremism and violence are either celebrated or passively accepted.*

Historical experience teaches us about the dangers of this politics of scapegoating (Klein, 2023), in which a group is identified as–to invoke the famous title by the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen–"the enemy of the people." The situation becomes even more dangerous when other groups fail to challenge this scapegoating, without recognizing that societal reaction to minority groups has profound implications for the ethical and political integrity of society as a whole. Furthermore, forms of violent authoritarianism targeting one group may shift to others, and when that time comes, democratic mechanisms and culture may already be too weakened to resist the assault. Paradoxically, anti-trans influencers are right in one respect: trans issues do involve broader political and ethical questions that concern all of us. *Those who are committed to human rights, the rule of law, and equality need to recognize the targeting of trans people for what it is—an assault on democracy and on the most basic humanistic values.*

As the University of Waterloo and other examples illustrate, this problem is very much present in Canada, and, in fact, similar narratives extend far beyond our dataset. In previous research on queer experiences in Nova Scotia, Ravecca and colleagues encountered countless Facebook posts spreading similarly hateful messaging.[25] This discursive violence is shaping the experiences of trans people in Canada, *including children,* as we write these lines. It affects public attitudes and the everyday, offline experiences of trans people, including harmful encounters. This alarming situation requires immediate action.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Nobody is immune to misinformation. One of the main challenges presented by anti-trans misinformation-driven narratives is that they have become mainstream and are shaping public conversation in harmful ways. In the case of trans people, the connection between healthcare and the protection of human rights is particularly acute, so the bombardment of misinformation about gender transition and gender-affirming care more broadly can become deadly if it affects policy. Likewise, the moral panic around trans people in education can shape their experiences and even restrict access to this basic right. In this context, the priority is for politicians, policymakers, teachers, doctors, and other

[25] Countering anti-2SLGBTQ+ Misinformation in Rural Canada: Investigating How Older Canadians Interact with the SOGI Movement in Alberta, British Columbia, and Nova Scotia, developed in collaboration with Amy Mack, Mariel Cooksey and Luc Cousineau. This research has been funded by the Digital Citizenship Contribution Program through the Ministry of Canadian Heritage. The current report has benefited from empirical material and insights from this project.

key actors to become educated on these issues. We cannot emphasize the importance of this point enough. The Misinformation Reference Guide, at the start of this report, can be used as a very first step in this process, but far more work must be completed toward education efforts. The following comprise our recommendations for continued work to educate about misinformation, to continue understanding the problems associated with misinformation, and to uphold the legitimacy of trans people:

Establish Media Literacy and Critical Information Programming in Schools and Universities

As we discuss throughout this report, anti-trans misinformation spreads via recognizable rhetorical tactics, including exaggeration, mockery, and combining anti-trans themes with other right-wing topics. Educators should be especially motivated to help counter misinformation efforts, given that schools themselves are a central target of the misinformation campaigns discussed throughout this report. Critical social media literacy and data literacy have proved to be effective tools in combating misinformation (Akram et al., 2026; Soßdorf et al., 2024).[26] Curricula should be developed to equip young people to identify these and other tactics for spreading misinformation in online content, and educators should be taught how to educate their students about this information. The University of Toronto offers a course on Critical Media Literacy Education in its Social Justice Education program: similar courses should be offered across Canada.

Develop Accessible Informational Platforms and Public Awareness Campaigns to Counter Specific Claims Based in Misinformation

The most dangerous effects of anti-trans misinformation could be mitigated by increasing the availability of high-quality research. For this reason, facilitating wide access to accurate, accessible information about trans issues is essential. One such avenue for countering misinformation could be the development of a national, continuously updated platform providing reliable information on trans issues. Such a platform could be led jointly by community members and experts, including specialists in trans healthcare and human rights-informed education, who would be responsible for selecting, designing, and curating its content. A user-friendly platform of this kind could significantly improve

[26] The articles referenced provide strong support for the need for media literacy to counter misinformation. We worry, however, that the "radicalization" framework employed by Akram et al. (2026), and by so many others in the field, unintentionally stigmatizes radical political action and radical critiques of society. Marx famously argued that to be radical was to grasp the root of the matter, which, in the case of social affairs, is human beings themselves. The equation of "radical" with "violent" is problematic and reductive. Greater attention to the political implications of the language employed seems warranted within extremism studies. Furthermore, extreme violence is not the monopoly of those whom powerful actors categorize as extremists. Extreme violence has also been an integral part of, for example, imperialism and colonialism (Ravecca et al., 2024).

journalistic reporting. It could also include a directory of experts and organizations that journalists can contact when covering trans-related issues. The tone and content of the platform should be professional, evidence-based, and human rights-oriented, allowing it to be used by schools, parents, government institutions, non-government organizations, political parties, and unions seeking to further their individual or collective education on these issues.

Beyond platforms where information could be accessed by those actively seeking it out, trans communities could benefit from broader campaigns to educate the public. The Misinformation Reference Guide in this report maps misinformation referenced within common anti-trans talking points circulating in Canada, from claims about "social contagion" to erroneous information about criminality. Federal or provincial public awareness campaigns could directly address each of these claims by providing accessible, evidence-based messaging through trusted channels, such as medical providers, schools, or the CBC. Given that governmental messaging can always backfire, these strategies should be carefully designed in consultation with communication specialists, experts who study the far right, and transgender community members.

Train Educators, Politicians, Journalists, and Other Public Figures to Respond Effectively to Anti-Trans Narratives

The report highlights that even Conservative politicians are targeted when they fail to adopt extreme anti-trans positions and that politicians across the political spectrum often lack effective counter-messaging. Leaders of all political parties should be investing in resources to counter anti-trans talking points. And politicians are not alone in needing such a resource: journalists, educators, medical providers, and others whose professional and personal lives intersect with the narratives we have explored throughout this report could benefit from assistance in responding to misinformation-fueled, anti-trans arguments. A government-supported resource, similar to the Council of Europe's (2025) resources on dealing with propaganda, misinformation and fake news, could equip educators and public figures with factual, accessible responses to the specific misinformation claims in circulation.

Invest in Research on the Real-World Harms of Online Anti-Trans Misinformation

As discussed throughout this report, online anti-trans misinformation has real-world impact: anti-trans hate violence is on the rise, as are pushes for anti-trans legislation. Yet this report is one of the first to systematically document Canadian anti-trans narratives online. Considering the state of this emerging evidence, more research is needed on the subject. Policymakers should fund ongoing research to track how these narratives evolve, which populations are most exposed to them, and what downstream harms result, including

violence, mental health impacts, and policy distortions.

Protect and Fund Gender-Affirming Healthcare

Our final recommendation relates to one of the most frequently mentioned forms of misinformation within our data. As shown throughout this report, anti-trans narratives systematically misrepresent puberty blockers, gender-affirming hormones, and surgical options as dangerous or experimental. However, the empirical evidence—as shown in our Misinformation Reference Guide—consistently indicates that gender-affirming healthcare is well-tested and safe, with exceptionally low rates of regret, and it is supported by major medical bodies (including the Canadian Pediatric Society). Provincial and federal governments should enshrine protections for their availability and expand public funding so that trans people can continue accessing these safe, effective, and lifesaving treatments.

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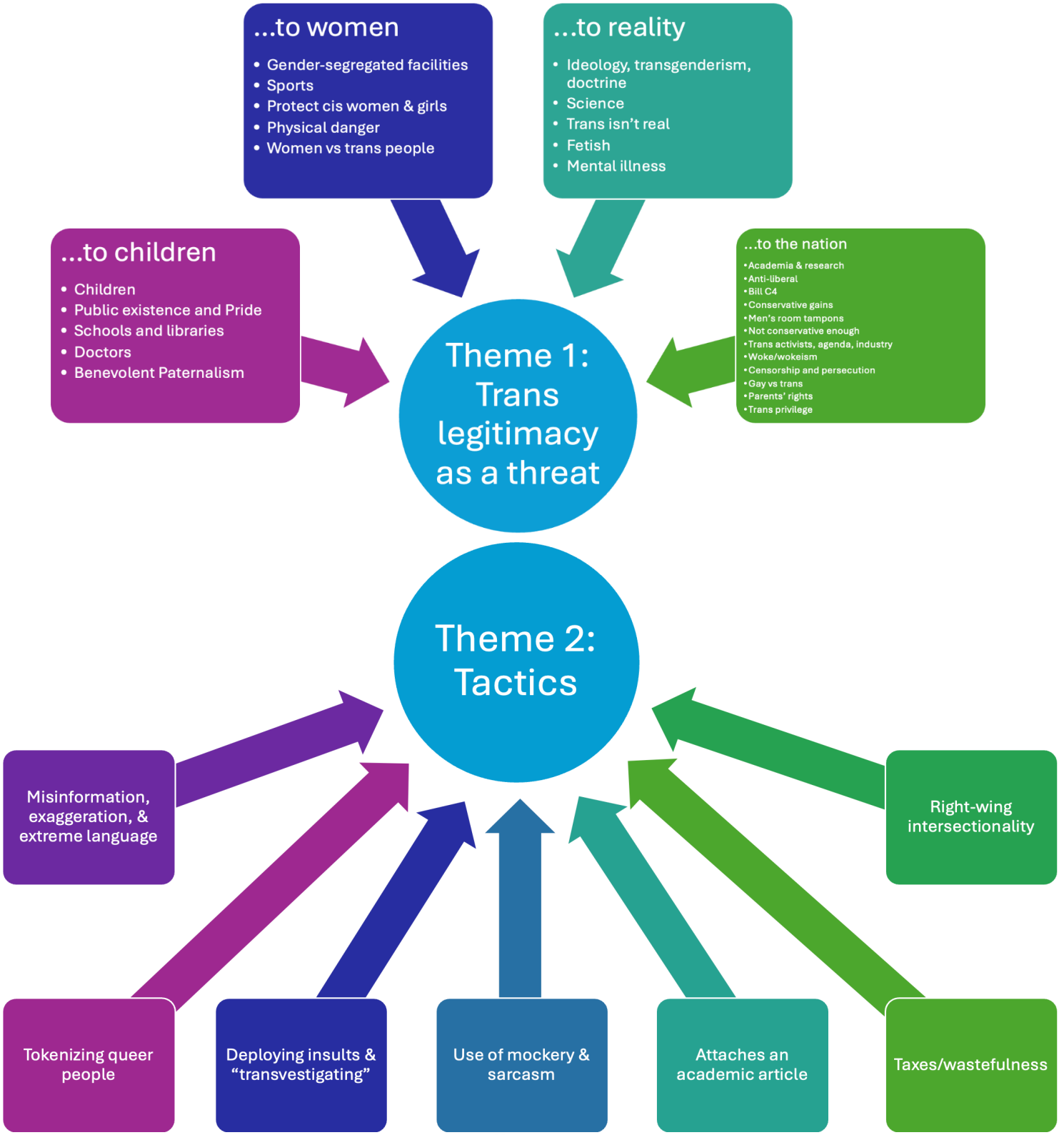
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APPENDIX 1. THEMATIC MAP



About CANSES

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