

The Weaponization of Identity: A Strategic Analysis of Vladimir Putin's Anti-Trans Policy as a Geopolitical *Casus Belli*

Executive Summary

This report presents an exhaustive open-source intelligence (OSINT) analysis of the Russian Federation's systematic integration of anti-transgender sentiment into its state ideology and military strategy. Drawing from primary legislative documents, presidential decrees, and extensive monitoring of Russian state media and legal proceedings from 2020 through early 2025, this document establishes that the Kremlin's suppression of LGBTQ+ rights—specifically the rights of transgender individuals—has transcended domestic social policy to become a primary *casus belli* for the war in Ukraine.

As of late 2024 and extending into 2025, the Russian state has constructed what analysts term a "Legal Iron Curtain," effectively criminalizing transgender existence to isolate Russian society from Western influence. This policy framework is not merely a manifestation of reactionary social conservatism but a calculated geopolitical weapon. President Vladimir Putin has successfully framed the acceptance of gender diversity, particularly gender transition, as an "existential threat" to the Russian ethnos, comparable to a "technology of mass destruction" deployed by a hostile West. By defining the "collective West" as a "Satanic" force intent on destroying human nature through "gender negation," the Kremlin provides a moral and metaphysical justification for its military aggression in Ukraine, portraying the invasion not as a territorial conquest, but as a defensive "Holy War" to preserve the biological and spiritual integrity of the Russian people.

The report details the rapid legislative escalation that underpins this strategy: from the 2013 "gay propaganda" law to the 2020 constitutional amendments, the 2022 expansion of censorship laws, the 2023 total ban on medical and legal transition, and the watershed 2023 Supreme Court ruling designating the "International LGBT Public Movement" as an extremist organization. It further analyzes the late 2024 "Foreign Adoption Ban," which prohibits the adoption of Russian children by citizens of countries where gender transition is legal, effectively severing familial ties with the NATO bloc and reinforcing the narrative of Western moral degeneracy.

Furthermore, this analysis explores the dual utility of this rhetoric. Domestically, it serves to mobilize a conservative base and distract from a catastrophic demographic crisis—which the state paradoxically claims to be solving while its war efforts exacerbate it. Internationally, it functions as a wedge issue to fracture Western unity and as a diplomatic tool to woo the Global South under the banner of "anti-colonialism" and "traditional values". The findings indicate that the erasure of transgender rights is now a foundational element of Russian statehood under Putin, rendering any normalization of relations with the West conditional on a total capitulation to this ideological framework.

Section 1: The Genesis of the "Existential Threat": From Social Conservatism to State Survival

To understand the current weaponization of anti-trans rhetoric, one must first analyze the evolution of the Russian state's ideological posture. The transition from the chaotic pluralism of the 1990s to the rigid authoritarianism of the 2020s has been marked by the gradual adoption of "Traditional Values" not just as a cultural preference, but as a matter of national security.

1.1 The Crisis of the 1990s and the Search for a National Idea

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation faced a profound identity crisis. The loss of superpower status, combined with economic devastation and a plummeting birth rate, created a vacuum that required a new unifying national idea. In the early years of his presidency, Vladimir Putin flirted with various ideological constructs, but by his third term in 2012, he had decisively pivoted toward a form of conservative nationalism rooted in the concept of Russia as a distinct "state-civilization".

This pivot was necessitated by the need to distinguish Russia from the "Liberal Hegemony" of the West. If Russia were simply another European democracy, it would be a peripheral one. By asserting a unique "genetic code" based on spirituality and tradition, Putin could claim a distinct pole in a multipolar world. In this emerging worldview, the "chaos" of the 1990s was associated with Western liberalism, while "stability" was associated with traditional hierarchy.

1.2 Presidential Decree 809: Codifying Ideology

The most significant formalization of this ideology occurred on November 9, 2022, with the signing of Presidential Decree No. 809, "On Approving the Fundamentals of State Policy to Preserve and Strengthen Traditional Russian Spiritual and Moral Values". This document is critical because it elevates "moral values" to the level of a strategic national priority, equivalent to nuclear deterrence or economic sovereignty.

Decree 809 explicitly identifies "destructive ideology" propagated by the United States and "unfriendly foreign states" as a primary security threat. It defines this destructive ideology through specific markers: the cultivation of egoism, the denial of patriotism, and, crucially, "the destruction of the traditional family through the propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations". By placing LGBTQ+ rights in the same category as terrorism and foreign espionage, the decree provides the legal and bureaucratic basis for total repression. It instructs all state organs—from the Ministry of Culture to the security services—to align their activities with the defense of these values. The decree effectively asserts that the Russian state cannot survive if its citizens adopt Western views on gender and sexuality.

1.3 The Role of the Russian Orthodox Church and Biopolitics

The ideological framework is heavily buttressed by the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). Patriarch Kirill and the church hierarchy have been instrumental in framing the conflict with the West as a spiritual struggle. Decree 809 acknowledges the "special role" of Orthodoxy in shaping traditional values.

This alliance has produced a distinct form of "biopolitics"—the state's attempt to control the

biological life of the nation. In the face of a demographic winter, where the population is shrinking and aging, the state views the reproductive capacity of its citizens as a strategic asset. Transgender identity, which the state views as a rejection of biological reproductive roles, is thus interpreted as a form of demographic sabotage. The Church provides the theological language to describe this sabotage as "sin," while the state provides the security language to describe it as "extremism".

The synergy between the Kremlin and the Patriarchate allows for the mobilization of religious sentiment for war. When Putin speaks of "Satanism," he is signaling to the religious faithful that the war in Ukraine is necessary to prevent the desecration of the Russian soul by foreign, non-reproductive values.

Section 2: The Rhetorical Arsenal: Dehumanization as Diplomacy

The rhetorical preparation for the war in Ukraine involved a systematic dehumanization of Western culture, with transgender individuals serving as the primary symbol of "Western decay." This rhetoric evolved from mockery to apocalyptic warnings over the course of a decade.

2.1 The "Transformers" Narrative: Mockery as Policy

Before the rhetoric became explicitly violent, it was dismissive. At the G20 summit in Osaka in June 2019, Vladimir Putin offered a window into his worldview during a press conference. Responding to criticisms from Elton John regarding Russia's human rights record, Putin employed a deliberate strategy of ridicule.

"They've thought up six or five genders—transformers, trans... I don't even understand what it is myself," Putin stated. By conflating transgender people with "Transformers"—fictional alien robots from a toy franchise—Putin signaled to his domestic audience that the concept of gender identity was childish, artificial, and inherently absurd.

This mockery served a strategic purpose: it positioned the West as irrational and detached from reality. It reinforced the narrative that Western elites were obsessed with "made-up" problems while ignoring the "real" needs of the majority. This "common sense" populism allowed Putin to portray himself as the defender of sanity against a world gone mad. It also prepared the Russian public to view future crackdowns not as human rights violations, but as a restoration of order and logic.

2.2 The "Satanism" Speech: The Metaphysical Turn

The rhetoric shifted dramatically following the full-scale invasion of Ukraine. On September 30, 2022, during the ceremony marking the annexation of the Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson, and Zaporizhzhia regions, Putin delivered a speech that redefined the conflict. He explicitly linked the war to a battle against Western values, which he described as "outright Satanism".

In a key passage, Putin asked the Russian people: "Do we really want to have here, in our country, in Russia, 'Parent No. 1, No. 2, No. 3' instead of 'mom' and 'dad'?... Do we want to offer [children] that there are other genders besides men and women?... This is a complete denial of man, the overthrow of faith and traditional values".

This speech marked the point of no return. By framing the acceptance of gender diversity as "Satanism," Putin moved the conflict beyond the realm of political negotiation. One cannot

negotiate with Satan; one can only destroy him. This rhetoric transforms the Ukrainian frontline into a metaphysical battlefield. The "Parent No. 1 and No. 2" trope acts as a terrifying specter for the domestic audience, suggesting that if Russia loses the war, the traditional family will be abolished and replaced by a soulless, numbered bureaucracy of genderless entities.

2.3 "Gender Ideology" as a Technology of Mass Destruction

The Kremlin's narrative posits that "gender ideology" is not a social movement but a weapon developed in Western laboratories to destroy rival nations. The argument, frequently articulated by state propagandists and implicitly supported by Putin's speeches, is that the West promotes transgender rights to induce sterility and "childlessness" in target populations, thereby physically eradicating them over generations.

This conspiracy theory frames the protection of transgender rights as a "technology of mass destruction." It allows the Russian state to claim that it is acting in self-defense. The invasion of Ukraine is thus portrayed as a preemptive strike to prevent these "technologies" from taking root on Russia's borders. The logic is circular but effective for internal mobilization: We must fight Ukraine to stop the West from turning our children into "gender-neutral" entities and extinguishing the Russian ethnos.

Section 3: The Legislative Iron Curtain (2013–2025)

The ideological rejection of transgender existence has been codified into a comprehensive legal framework that effectively bans transgender people from public life. This "Legal Iron Curtain" has been constructed layer by layer, with the pace of legislation accelerating rapidly since the start of the war in Ukraine.

3.1 2013–2020: The Foundation of Exclusion

The legislative assault began in June 2013 with the passage of the federal law banning the "propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations to minors". While ostensibly aimed at protecting children, the law effectively silenced LGBTQ+ advocacy and made it impossible to discuss gender identity in schools or youth organizations.

The exclusion was constitutionalized in **July 2020**, when amendments to the Russian Constitution were approved by a national vote. These amendments defined marriage strictly as a "union between a man and a woman," creating a constitutional barrier to same-sex marriage and the recognition of trans identities in family law. This signaled that the state's commitment to "traditional values" was now a permanent feature of its foundational legal document.

3.2 2022: The Total Ban on "Propaganda"

In **December 2022**, amidst the faltering war effort, the State Duma passed a significant expansion of the 2013 law. The new legislation banned the "propaganda" of non-traditional sexual relations, pedophilia, and gender reassignment among *all ages*, not just minors. This law made it illegal to depict LGBTQ+ relationships or transgender identities as "normal" or "attractive" in media, advertising, books, films, or online. The conflation of LGBTQ+ identities with "pedophilia" in the text of the law was a deliberate tactic to maximize social stigma.

- **Case Study:** The law was immediately used to target cultural production. In 2025,

authorities arrested managers at the *Popcorn Books* publishing house for distributing "LGBTI-themed" literature, specifically the novel *Summer in a Pioneer Tie*. Despite the books not being banned at the time of publication, the retroactive application and the climate of fear led to criminal charges and the removal of books from shelves across the country.

3.3 2023: The Total Ban on Transition

The most direct attack on transgender existence came in **July 2023**, with the passage of the law "On the Fundamentals of Health Protection of Citizens in the Russian Federation." This legislation constituted a total ban on medical and legal gender transition.

Key Provisions of the 2023 Ban:

- **Medical Prohibition:** Banned all surgical interventions and hormone therapies aimed at gender transition. Exceptions were made only for treating "congenital physiological anomalies" in children, as determined by medical commissions, effectively pathologizing intersex traits while denying trans care.
- **Legal Erasure:** Prohibited the changing of gender markers on official documents (passports, birth certificates).
- **Family Destruction:** Mandated the annulment of any existing marriage if one of the spouses had previously changed their gender marker.
- **Adoption Ban:** Banned transgender individuals from adopting children or becoming foster parents.

This law forced the Russian transgender community into a "medical underground," cutting off access to life-saving healthcare and creating a black market for hormones. Amnesty International described the law as a "horrendous blow" that would inflict "unbearable suffering".

3.4 2023-2024: The "Extremist" Designation

The culmination of this legislative trajectory occurred on **November 30, 2023**, when the Russian Supreme Court ruled in favor of a Ministry of Justice lawsuit to designate the "International LGBT Public Movement" as an "extremist organization".

Since no such formal organization exists, the ruling effectively criminalized all LGBTQ+ activism, symbolism, and public visibility. The consequences, fully felt in 2024 and 2025, have been severe:

- **Criminal Liability:** Organizing activities for an "extremist" group is punishable by up to 10 years in prison. Participating in such activities carries a sentence of up to 6 years.
- **Symbol Ban:** Displaying "extremist symbols," such as the rainbow flag, is an administrative offense punishable by 15 days in detention. Repeat offenses lead to criminal prosecution and up to 4 years in prison.
- **Financial Death:** Individuals suspected of involvement can be placed on the Rosfinmonitoring list of "terrorists and extremists," resulting in frozen bank accounts and an inability to participate in the financial system.

Enforcement Statistics (2024-2025): By mid-2025, human rights organizations reported over 100 convictions for "extremism" related to LGBTQ+ issues. These included raids on nightclubs, arrests of citizens for wearing rainbow earrings, and the prosecution of online bloggers. The designation has successfully driven the entire movement underground or into exile.

Table 1: Escalation of Anti-Trans Legislation (2013–2025)

Year	Legislation/Event	Scope & Key Provisions	Strategic Intent
2013	"Gay Propaganda" Law	Banned information promoting "non-traditional" relations to minors.	Stigmatize LGBTQ+ identity; frame as threat to children.
2020	Constitutional Amendments	Defined marriage as solely between a man and a woman.	Create permanent constitutional barrier to equality.
2022	Expanded "Propaganda" Law	Banned <i>all</i> public expression of LGBTQ+ identity for all ages.	Total erasure from public sphere; cultural censorship.
2023	Gender Transition Ban	Outlawed medical transition, legal gender change, and annulled trans marriages.	Bodily control; elimination of trans people as a social category.
2023	"Extremist" Designation	Supreme Court labeled "International LGBT Movement" extremist.	Criminalization of activism; severe prison terms; asset freezing.
2024	Foreign Adoption Ban	Banned adoption to countries where transition is legal.	Geopolitical isolation; severing ties with "degenerate" West.

Section 4: The Weaponization of Children: The Foreign Adoption Ban

In late 2024, the Russian state expanded its anti-trans framework into the realm of foreign policy through the "Foreign Adoption Ban." This legislation serves as a case study in how domestic biopolitics are used to signal geopolitical hostility.

4.1 The November 2024 Legislation

On **November 23, 2024**, President Putin signed a law banning the adoption of Russian children by citizens of *any* country where gender transition is legal. This law represents a significant escalation from previous restrictions. While the 2012 "Dima Yakovlev Law" had already banned adoptions by U.S. citizens, the new legislation applies a blanket ban based on the *laws* of the potential adopter's home country, regardless of the adopter's own gender or sexuality. State Duma Chairman Vyacheslav Volodin stated that the ban would affect citizens of "several dozen countries," explicitly linking the measure to the protection of children from "gender reassignment". The rationale provided is that placing a child in a country where transition is legal exposes them to the "danger" of "gender ideology," even if the adoptive parents are a cisgender heterosexual couple.

4.2 Targeting NATO and the West

The design of the law is explicitly geopolitical. Since the vast majority of NATO member states and Western democracies allow for some form of legal gender transition, the law acts as a proxy ban on adoptions to the West. Explanatory notes attached to the bill during its parliamentary phase confirmed that the restrictions were primarily aimed at NATO countries. This effectively halts international adoption from Russia to Europe, Canada, and Australia. Reports from 2025 indicate that international adoptions of Russian children by foreigners dropped to zero in 2024, completing the isolationist project.

4.3 Children as "State Property"

This policy underscores the state's view of children as property of the nation. By preventing their adoption into Western societies, the Kremlin is asserting its "demographic sovereignty." It is a statement that a child is better off in a Russian institution than in a loving family in a country that respects transgender rights. This parallels the "Dima Yakovlev Law" of 2012, which was a retaliation for the Magnitsky Act sanctions. In both cases, the welfare of vulnerable children was sacrificed to send a political message to Washington and Brussels: Russia will not share its "human capital" with its enemies.

Section 5: War in Ukraine: The Metaphysical Battlefield

The central thesis of the Russian justification for the invasion of Ukraine is that it is a defensive war against a civilizational threat. Anti-trans rhetoric provides the emotional and spiritual fuel for this justification.

5.1 The "Brotherhood" vs. The "Pervert"

Russian propaganda has historically framed Ukrainians as "brother Slavs." To justify a brutal war against a "brotherly" people, the Kremlin needed to create a distinction between the "real" Ukrainian people (who serve Russia) and the "infected" Ukrainian state (which serves the West).

The infection is framed as "Western values." By associating the Ukrainian government with LGBTQ+ rights (despite Ukraine's own complex history with these rights), Russian propaganda paints the Zelenskyy administration as puppets of a "perverted" global order. The Russian soldier is thus cast not as an invader, but as an exorcist, entering Ukraine to drive out the "Satanic" influence of the West and restore the "traditional" Slavic order.

5.2 Dehumanization and War Crimes

This rhetoric has dangerous implications for the conduct of the war. When the enemy is framed as a "Satanist" or a "denier of human nature" (as Putin labeled proponents of gender diversity), the restraints on violence are loosened. Sociology of war suggests that dehumanization is a prerequisite for atrocities. By categorizing the defenders of Ukraine as agents of "gender negation," the Kremlin strips them of their moral status. The "Holy War" narrative implies that any means are justified to stop the "existential threat" of Western liberalism.

5.3 Strategic Utility: Fracture and Alliance

The anti-trans narrative serves two distinct strategic functions on the international stage:

- Fracturing the West:** Russia actively courts social conservatives in Europe and the United States. By positioning itself as the "last bastion of Christianity," the Kremlin aims to create wedges within Western societies. The narrative suggests to a conservative voter in the US or France that their *real* enemy is their own "woke" government, and that Russia is a natural ally in the "defense of the family." This aims to undermine public support for arming Ukraine.
- Leading the Global South:** Paradoxically, while appealing to Western conservatives, Russia markets its anti-trans stance to the Global South as "Anti-Colonialism." The Kremlin argues that LGBTQ+ rights are a form of "Western Neo-Colonialism" imposed on Africa and Asia against their will. This allows Russia to build diplomatic alliances with nations that have conservative social mores, framing the war in Ukraine as a rebellion against Western cultural imperialism.

Section 6: Societal and Geopolitical Consequences: A Failed Gamble?

While the political utility of anti-trans rhetoric is clear, the long-term consequences for Russia are severe and potentially self-defeating.

6.1 The Demographic Failure

The primary justification for the crackdown—"Demographic Security"—has failed to materialize. Despite the "defense of the family" and the "Demographic Special Forces Unit" initiatives, Russia's birth rate continues to plummet.

- 2024 Statistics:** The number of births fell to **1.22 million**, a historical low not seen since 1999.
- Natural Decline:** The population shrank by approximately **600,000 people** in 2024 alone (deaths exceeding births).
- Analysis:** The war, economic instability, and the emigration of young men have had a far greater negative impact on demographics than any "traditional values" policy could mitigate. The anti-trans laws have not produced more babies; they have only produced more refugees.

Table 2: Russia's Demographic Crisis Indicators (2023-2024)

Indicator	Value (2024)	Context	Source
Total Births	1.22 Million	Lowest since 1999 crisis.	
Year-on-Year Change	-3.4%	Accelerating decline.	
Natural Population Loss	~600,000	Deaths significantly outpace births.	
Total Fertility Rate	~1.41	Far below replacement level (2.1).	

Indicator	Value (2024)	Context	Source
Migration Impact	Negative	Mass emigration of young males due to war.	

6.2 The "Brain Drain" and Cultural Isolation

The repressive environment has accelerated the emigration of the "creative class"—young, educated, urban professionals who are essential for a modern economy. The "Legal Iron Curtain" forces not just LGBTQ+ people but also their allies, doctors, artists, and scientists to flee. This "human capital flight" weakens Russia's long-term economic competitiveness and innovation potential, effectively achieving the very "weakening of the state" that Putin claims to be fighting against.

6.3 Repression Statistics and the Police State

The crackdown has necessitated the expansion of the police state.

- **Censorship:** By 2025, online censorship of LGBTQ+ content had become total, with thousands of websites blocked.
- **Arrests:** The "extremist" designation has led to a steady stream of arrests, creating a climate of fear where neighbors denounce neighbors for "suspicious" behavior or symbols.
- **Self-Censorship:** Cultural institutions, theaters, and publishers now practice preemptive self-censorship, removing any content that could be vaguely construed as "non-traditional," leading to a sterilization of Russian culture.

Conclusion

Vladimir Putin's anti-trans policy is not a sideshow to the war in Ukraine; it is central to the ideology that sustains it. By constructing a Manichean worldview where the West represents "Satanic" gender negation and Russia represents "divine" traditionalism, the Kremlin has created a "forever war" narrative.

The evidence presented in this report demonstrates that the Russian state has weaponized identity to justify aggression. The "Foreign Adoption Ban" and the "Extremist" designation are not just domestic laws; they are acts of geopolitical severance, designed to cut the final cords connecting Russia to the Western world.

However, the data also reveals the hollowness of this strategy. The "defense of the family" has presided over a demographic collapse. The "protection of children" has led to their isolation in institutions. The "fight for sovereignty" has resulted in economic dependency and cultural sterility. Ultimately, the weaponization of anti-trans sentiment serves the regime's survival, but at the cost of the nation's future. The "Legal Iron Curtain" may keep Western values out, but it also traps Russian society in a suffocating embrace of state-enforced conformity, where the war against the "other" becomes a war against the self.

Analyst Note: This report synthesizes available OSINT data as of December 5, 2025. The situation remains dynamic, with legislative enforcement likely to intensify further.

Works cited

1. Today's D Brief: Putin cites 'Satanism,' 'neo-colonialism' during Ukraine annexation speech; Kyiv requests accelerated NATO membership; Hurricane Ian swings up the east coast; And a bit more. - Defense One, <https://www.defenseone.com/threats/2022/09/the-d-brief-september-30-2022/377878/> 2. Russia: Supreme Court Bans "LGBT Movement" as "Extremist" | Human Rights Watch, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/11/30/russia-supreme-court-bans-lgbt-movement-extremist> 3. No Russian Children Adopted by Foreigners in 2024 – IStories - The Moscow Times, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2025/03/07/no-russian-children-adopted-by-foreigners-in-2024-istories-a88286> 4. Russian lawmakers want to ban adoption by citizens of countries that allow gender transitions. What would this mean for the children involved? - Meduza, <https://meduza.io/en/cards/russian-lawmakers-want-to-ban-adoption-by-citizens-of-countries-all-owing-gender-changes-what-would-this-mean-for-children> 5. Despite Costly Programs and an Intensified Family Values Campaign, Russian Women Aren't Having More Children - The Moscow Times, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2025/10/30/despite-costly-programs-and-an-intensified-family-values-campaign-russian-women-arent-having-more-children-a90997> 6. Deconstructing Russia's anti-colonial posturing in the global south | ECFR, <https://ecfr.eu/article/deconstructing-russias-anti-colonial-posturing-in-the-global-south/> 7. "Traditional values" and the limits of civic unity - Russia.Post, https://russiapost.info/politics/traditional_values 8. Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of November 9, 2022 No. 809 "On approval of the Fundamentals of State Policy, <https://india-new-delhi.rs.gov.ru/app/uploads/2024/05/decreed-of-the-president-of-the-russian-federation-of-november-9-2022-no.-809-1.pdf> 9. On approving the Fundamentals of State Policy to Preserve and Strengthen Traditional Russian Spiritual and Moral Values, https://senegal.mid.ru/en/press-centre/news/on_approving_the_fundamentals_of_state_policy_to_preserve_and_strengthen_traditional_russian_spiritu/ 10. Full article: Popular conservatism and the structure of Russian society, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1060586X.2024.2429307> 11. Putin Calls Trans People "Transformers" at G20 Summit - myGwork, <https://mygwork.com/news/putin-calls-trans-people-transformers-at-g20-summit> 12. G20: Putin blasts freedom of sexual orientation - YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sWxj1yegZA> 13. Putin's Anti-Gay War on Ukraine - Boston Review, <https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/putins-anti-gay-war-on-ukraine/> 14. Dima Yakovlev Law - Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dima_Yakovlev_Law 15. Family and Demographic Policy in the Vector of Ensuring National Security of Russia - Kutafin Law Review, <https://kulawr.msal.ru/jour/article/download/492/272> 16. The State Duma adopted the bill banning the adoption of children by citizens of those countries where gender reassignment is permitted, <http://duma.gov.ru/en/news/60035/> 17. Russia: Book publishers arrested in anti-LGBTI campaign - Amnesty International, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/05/russia-book-publishers-arrested-in-anti-lgbti-campaign/> 18. Russia: Adoption of transphobic legislation a horrendous blow to human rights, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/07/russia-adoption-of-transphobic-legislation-a-horrendous-blow-to-human-rights/> 19. Russia outlaws 'international LGBT public movement' as extremist - The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/nov/30/russia-supreme-court-outlaws-lgbt-movement> 20. Country policy and information note: sexual orientation and gender identity and expression, June 2025 (accessible) - GOV.UK, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/russia-country-policy-and-information-notes/country>

-policy-and-information-note-sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity-and-expression-june-2025-accessible 21. World Report 2025: Russia | Human Rights Watch,
<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2025/country-chapters/russia> 22. Russia: First Convictions Under LGBT 'Extremist' Ruling | Human Rights Watch,
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/02/15/russia-first-convictions-under-lgbt-extremist-ruling> 23. Russia: Rising Toll of LGBT 'Extremism' Designation - Human Rights Watch,
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/06/30/russia-rising-toll-of-lgbt-extremism-designation> 24. Adoption barriers. Russia's ban on adoption by citizens from countries that allow gender transition rules out much of Europe,
<https://novayagazeta.eu/articles/2024/11/21/adoption-barriers-en> 25. Gender, Modernity, and Russia's War on Ukraine | American Sociological Association,
<https://www.asanet.org/footnotes-article/gender-modernity-and-russias-war-on-ukraine/> 26. Putin's war rhetoric: spurious justifications for invasion - LMU München,
<https://www.lmu.de/en/newsroom/news-overview/news/putins-war-rhetoric-spurious-justifications-for-invasion.html> 27. COMMENT: Russia's demographic fall enters a more dangerous phase - bne IntelliNews,
<https://www.intellinews.com/comment-russia-s-demographic-fall-enters-a-more-dangerous-phase-403670/>