

ANTI-RIGHTS MANIFESTATIONS.

*Violence, hate speech and
fundamentalism,
an approach to their
impact in Chile today.*

Panchiba F. Barrientos



FONDO
ALQUIMIA

Articulaciones antiderechos:

*Violencias, discursos de odio y
fundamentalismos,
una aproximación sobre su
impacto en el Chile actual*

Autora: Panchiba F. Barrientos

panchiba@riseup.org

Edición y coordinación general:

Fondo Alquimia

Agosto 2022

Santiago de Chile

Esta investigación fue solicitada y financiada por Fondo Alquimia. Se enmarca en un conjunto de esfuerzos sostenidos en el tiempo que buscan contribuir a la reflexión y compartir visiones de transformación ante un escenario fundamentalista que pone en riesgo la democracia.

Agradecemos a Panchiba F. Barrientos por este ensayo y estamos seguras de que constituye un aporte para los movimientos y activismos presentes en el territorio y a la construcción de sociedades cada vez más democráticas, justas y diversas.

Fondo Alquimia

Agosto de 2022

CONTENTS

What do we mean when speaking about ‘anti-rights movements’?	05
1.- Fundamentalism: a look beyond the church	06
-Fundamentalism: A historical approach to the concept	07
-Fundamentalism: a threat to democracy	08
-Fundamentalism and the world of politics: A look at the Chilean context	10
-A thought for consideration: Fundamentalism is a difficult word	11
2.- Right wing extremists, new impulses for neoconservative movements.	12
-New Political Scenario: The Far Right Today	13
-United States and Brazil, two key examples to understand right-wing extremism.	14
-The Republican Party, new manifestations of the far right and their efforts to disrupt democracy in Chile	15
3.- Anti-gender discourses: “gender ideology”, moral panic and trans-exclusionary discourses	18
-1990: A crucial decade to understand the concept of gender and its reactionary disputes in Chile and the world.	19
-Anti-gender movements following the end of the century, transnational alliances, and local manifestations	22
-TERF: Trans-exclusionary feminism and hate speech.	23
CONCLUSIONS	26
REFERENCES	28

ANTI-RIGHTS MANIFESTATIONS.

*Violence, hate speech and
fundamentalism,
an approach to their impact in Chile
today.*

"It matters which subjects we use to think about other subjects; It matters which stories we tell to tell other stories; It matters which knots tie knots, which thoughts think thoughts, which descriptions describe descriptions, which ties link ties, it matters which stories create worlds, which worlds create stories"
(Haraway, 2020, p. 35).

What do we mean when speaking about 'anti-rights movements'?

In different contemporary activist contexts, some ideas and words circulate extensively and create important demands around them. However, such wide reach and the urgency with which these concepts are received within feminist, LGBTIAQ+, and women's political movements is not necessarily reflected in growing efforts to discuss and deepen their meanings. It can be said, therefore, that people rarely stop to think critically or calmly enough about commonly used words.

Today, anti-rights movements is one of those concepts that gathers and moves us. It is urgent and allows us to face the world in a time in which reactionary groups organize themselves in increasingly efficient ways. It is not a new concept, we have been hearing about it for years and, many times, we have gathered our voices, our pencils, and our desires for transformation around it to call out different forms of injustice.

But what do we really mean when we use this concept? How can we think about it and use it as a tool for critical analysis? What are we reaching out to when we put it into action?

From here on we will call anti-rights movement the phenomena derived from the impulse of mobilizations unfolded in the face of struggles for sexual and reproductive

rights' recognition, and women, feminists and LGBTIAQ+ people's demands. When addressing it, we allude to a broad set of transnational manifestations around which religious and civil organizations, politicians, and intergovernmental agents, as well as part of the public opinion, come together.

By applying this concept, we make use of an "umbrella" term under which we can find, among others, words such as fundamentalism, or reactionary/anti-gender/anti-equality movements. We can also find references to de-marginalization and the standardization of right-wing extremism.

The use of each of these terms has different levels of impact and complexity, and there is no concept that fully exhausts all possibilities of analysis, nor is it capable of resolving all concerns that may arise from their use as political tools to confront violence. Likewise, in studying them, we must expand our perspective, looking at our past as well as our present to attend to different times that reconnect and rewrite each other.

Finally, when speaking about anti-rights movements we enter a global and interconnected scenario. Therefore, we must think beyond isolated facts, regardless of the impact they may have on us or how much

they may capture our attention. The emergence of anti-rights movements in countries like Brazil, Argentina, France, Spain, the United States, and Chile is the result of the interaction between well-organized transnational and local organizations that resonate within the framework of re-emerging fanciful nationalist notions. Based on normative, exclusionary, and anti-democratic demands, they seek to reconsider and manipulate important political concepts, such as the idea of community, the meaning of belonging, the notion of citizenship and the value of human rights and life.

This text has three sections that seek to discuss key notions within anti-rights movements, taking into consideration the different reactionary alliances that converge in their conformation.

In the first section, "Fundamentalism: A Look Beyond the Church", we will explore the notion of fundamentalism, approaching some general definitions, and raising questions that will allow us to understand the opportunities and difficulties that this word offers when understanding contemporary political contexts.

Likewise, we will gather examples of ways in which different fundamentalist groups have expressed themselves in Chile today. These efforts are twofold: on the one hand, attempts are made to fully enter traditional politics through the pursuit of popular representation to create an evangelical coalition and, on the other hand, they promote spaces of growth and incorporation of secular spaces. We will extensively analyze the cases of the evangelical group 'Las Águilas de Jesús' and evangelical candidates' electoral campaigns in the parliamentary elections of 2017 and 2021.

In the section entitled "Right-Wing Extremism: New impulses for neoconservative movements", we provide a general review of the ways in which right-wing extremists have been organizing themselves in Chile and other countries over the last decades, emphasizing that these are not isolated situations, but forms of politics organized in clear and defined ways, repeating strategies and ideologies from country to country and continent to continent. We seek to debate

the challenges that right-wing extremists are presenting to democracy and human rights in current political scenarios. In addition, we offer a look at the ways in which this phenomenon has developed in Chile and other paradigmatic scenarios, such as Brazil under the government of Jair Bolsonaro and the United States under Donald Trump.

Finally, in the third section "Anti-gender discourses: 'gender ideology', moral panic and trans-exclusionary discourses", we review how anti-gender manifestations have been constructed over the last decades. The framework for this analysis was based on the development of the concept of gender in the context of intergovernmental negotiation spaces deployed from the 1990s onward; the development of the concept of gender ideology in the context of reactions against advances promoted in the field of human rights around the idea of gender, and sexual and reproductive rights; and finally, the transgender movements that have currently gained strength in the context of new feminist organizations.

In this section, as in the previous ones, we provide a critical analysis of the impact of these discourses in Chile, paying special attention to two factors: On the one hand, how disputes over the use of the concept of gender in state-related spaces have developed in our country, and, on the other, how part of these discussions are revisited in the framework of transgender hate speech raised by reactionary groups. Sadly, they have also made an impact on groups such as 'Fresas Chile', which perceive themselves as feminists while promoting forms of exclusion that bring us back to political discourses based on scientific and essentialist principles. These notions refuse to critically reflect upon difference, to broaden the means of recognition, and/or rethink the meaning of democracy.



1.- FUNDAMENTALISM: A LOOK BEYOND THE CHURCH

The origins of the concept fundamentalism date back to the beginning of the 20th century and are linked to the Anglo-American Protestant world. In its beginnings, the word had a different connotation than it has today. It was used by its speakers to proudly

define themselves, constructed as a distinction mechanism (Tarducci, 1999). This word was used to identify those who were part of a specific sector of the Protestant movement, known to promote a conservative and traditionalist doctrine based on the definition of five points or “fundamentals” that were understood as unquestionable foundations of their religious view.

Argentinian anthropologist Mónica Tarducci points out that, in its beginnings, the main objective of fundamentalism was: "to defend the principle of divine inspiration of the Bible, i.e., the impossibility of it being wrong, imposing absolute authority of the Word over the life of Christians [...] the internal adversary in the Protestant field against which [this movement] was constituted, were the supporters of Liberal Theology and methods of historical and literary criticism for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The number one external adversary was the modern scientific mentality, emblematically represented by Darwinism." (Tarducci, 1999, p. 191).

Today, the concept of fundamentalism is widely used as a tool for the development of political analysis and to reflect on the ways in which anti-rights discourses are mobilized from certain conservative religious spaces and reactionary groups. Therefore, feminist and LGBTIAQ+ manifestations that seek to confront religious dogmatism and discourses driven from those spaces, have begun to use this concept to call out attempts to establish an ideal of politics which, in the name of religious freedom, threatens democracy, the recognition of human rights, and struggles against structural violence imposed by cis-hetero patriarchal ideals.

In response to feminists, women and LGBTIAQ+ people's incredible progress in terms of organization and visibility, conservative reactions have arisen that - mobilizing radical religious discourses and disseminating them among public opinion as truths supported by

nature, science or common sense -, develop strategies of political impact to counteract sociocultural transformations that challenge traditional ideologies regarding family, gender roles, alleged differences between men and women, and the understanding of sexuality.

Despite the origins of the concept, today the existence of fundamentalism is recognized within a wide range of religions and dogmatic theology, therefore, the term is used to refer to different religious manifestations such as Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity. The latter will be essential in analyzing the development of fundamentalism in Latin America and Chile, whether in its Catholic or Evangelical variants, as well as in its ultra-traditionalist or neo-Pentecostal manifestations.

Fundamentalism: A historical approach to the concept

Historically speaking, since the imposition of Spanish customs following the conquest, the Catholic Church has had great impact in Latin America. In recent decades, however, this impact has been in decrease, while evangelical representation has been on the rise⁽¹⁾. While this phenomenon could be related to scandals concerning clerical sexual abuse allegations which have rocked the Roman Curia in recent decades, the power of the Catholic Church has decreased not only because of its own actions. Although questions and complaints regarding its members have multiplied, we must consider several factors, some of which are related to the leadership of the Church, while others have their foundations in geopolitical order and must be traced towards the 20th century.

Towards the end of the 1960s, theologians and working priests from Peru, Uruguay, Argentina, Colombia, Nicaragua, and the rest of Latin America, promoted new ways of understanding their role and that of the

(1) To learn more about this topic, we recommend the following readings:

- Somiedo, García, Juan Pablo (2014). "La influencia de la geopolítica estadounidense en la Teología de la liberación latinoamericana en el período 1960.1990". *Geopolítica(s)*, vol.5, núm. 1, pp.79-98.
- Pérez Guadalupe, José Luis y Grundberg, Sebastián (2019). *Evangélicos y poder en América Latina*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Social Peruanos.
- Pérez Guadalupe, José Luis (2017). *Entre dios y el César. El impacto político de los evangélicos en Perú y América Latina*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Social Peruanos.

church in the scenario of the political, cultural, and economic life of the time. They developed new forms of clerical praxis that transformed priests' participation in community life and engaged in people's struggles for social justice. From here on, a new ecclesiastical framework was promoted in which the poor took priority, the privileges and wealth of the Church were criticized, and Latin American social realities were problematized.

The Vatican's response was assertive: Negotiations between higher hierarchies from the Catholic Church and economic and political authorities of the time, in addition to imperialist reactions in the context of the Cold War, which immediately cornered those who promoted these new positions.

Karol Wojtila, appointed Pope of the Catholic Church in 1978, and the impact of evangelical churches, were key factors in this scenario. This impact has increased in a sustained and unprecedented way, mobilized by the continuous establishment of American evangelical and Pentecostal missionaries as part of a security doctrine promoted by the US to maintain control over Latin American countries.

The "Santa Fe Documents", exposed under Ronald Reagan's government, show "the strategic relationships between the neoconservative sector of Catholicism and evangelical churches in the United States, promoting North American hegemony and ensuring that the numerical growth of evangelicals would prevent the expansion of Liberation Theology in Latin America" (González et al., 2018, p. 107).

Klaus Kienzler insists that to reflect on fundamentalism we must dig deep into history to study the changes that characterized the 1970s, a time defined by radical impulses for change and an active reactionary defense against socio-cultural transformations that shook the world after the Second World War. This author identifies four turning points in this regard: 1) the elections of the Israeli Parliament in 1977, in which Menachem Begin was elected Prime Minister, which prompted the integration of religious groups into the political world; 2) the election of Karol Wojtila (John Paul II) as Pope of the Catholic Church in 1978, which resulted in strong reac-

tions against the Vatican Council and in the increase of right-wing Catholics' impact; 3) the proclamation of the Islamic Republic in 1979 and the seizure - by means of arms - of the Mecca Mosque at the end of the same year; 4) the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, who became president of the United States supported by the Moral Majority, a group of ultraconservative and Christian fundamentalist orientation (Kienzler, 2002, pp. 9-10).

Not only is this a religious matter, but it is also related to governments' political management in relation to international humanitarian law, and how global economic interests are mobilized.

As the evangelical world has been expanding, its representatives have been gaining more and more strength in different areas of economic power and elected positions. An example of this is that, in 2018 "evangelical leaders played an important role in the successful campaign of the now president of Brazil Jair Bolsonaro. A moral issue helped place an evangelical candidate, Fabricio Alvarado, in the second round of Costa Rica's presidential elections" (Pérez Guadalupe and Grundberg, 2019, p. 9).

José Luis Pérez Guadalupe and Sebastián Grundberg point out that:

"The growing political impact of evangelicals is a Latin American phenomenon; however, significant differences can be recognized from country to country. Mexico, for example, has a relatively small evangelical population, while in Guatemala and El Salvador, evangelicals make up almost half of the total population. In Argentina and Chile, evangelicals' political participation takes place in relatively secular contexts; in Colombia and Peru, they have been involved in political decision-making. However, it is in Brazil where evangelicals have reached the highest level of political organization." (Pérez Guadalupe y Grundberg, 2019, pp. 9-10)

Fundamentalism: a threat to democracy

"Rights at Risk", the Observatory's 2017 report on the universality of human rights, suggests that "the term religious fundamentalism is

used to refer to the authoritarian manipulation and use of extreme interpretations of religion by specific state or non-state actors to achieve power, wealth, as well as increasing social control" (Shameem, 2017, p. 8). In the same document, it is argued that fundamentalism must be understood in the context of anti-rights and that its rise "is inextricably linked to geopolitics, growing systemic and economic inequality, conflicts, militarism and other political, social and economic factors" (Shameem, 2017, p. 10).

Regardless of its core principles, religious fundamentalism can be characterized, broadly speaking, by the convergence of five central elements: 1) views centered on an unquestioned attachment to tradition; 2) promoting literal readings of sacred texts, which cannot be questioned or critically interpreted to offer new understandings; 3) promoting the existence of unquestionable and infallible authorities or hierarchies, the vast majority of which are related to patriarchal ideals; 4) advocate limited and unquestionable views on an ultimate truth, which may refer, on the one hand, to the world and its features, or, on the other, to issues such as nature, gender, family, etc.; 5) establishing strict moral ideologies that control the behavior of those who ascribe to certain movements or groups and, at the same time, exclude those who remain on the outside, i.e., those labeled as "the others". These are sometimes considered a threat or are identified as unrecognizable subjects.

In their book "Los fundamentalismos religiosos en movimiento. Manual de capacitación para activistas latinoamericanas/os", José Manuel Morán y María Angélica Peñas, point out that:

"The presence of religious fundamentalism, both at regional and global scales, requires the development of strategies to understand the forms of organization and political advocacy to which they are currently resorting. The variety of actions, the forms in which they are established and the ways in which they present themselves in public spaces are closely related to the specific local contexts in which they operate" (Morán Faúndes & Peñas Defago, 2012, p. 6).

Klaus Kienzler revisits the definition of fundamentalism proposed in 1989 by German political scientist Thomas Meyer in his book "Fundamentalismus, Aufstand gegen die Moderne", highlighting that "fundamentalism is a movement of arbitrary exclusion, [to be understood as] a tendency opposed to, although inherent in, the process of general freedom of thought ". (Kienzler, 2002, p. 11). Along with Meyer, Kienzler insists on noting that fundamentalism appears as a threat. By opposing social progress and transformation in terms of the recognition of rights and widening the margins of difference, it becomes "an enemy tendency of the particular and social forms of life that characterize the modern world" (Kienzler, 2002, p. 11).

Interestingly, Meyer's definition is complemented by the one offered by Monica Maher in her book "Fundamentalismos religiosos, derechos y democracia", where she points out that "reactionary movements have set up a battlefield with moral practices and emotional manipulation financed by millionaire sources to promote a clear definition of who is included and who is not" (Maher, 2019, p. ix).

At this point, we must stop to remind ourselves that fundamentalism should not be directly and univocally compared to religion. When reflecting on the idea of religion and fundamentalism, we must bear in mind that these are not synonyms and should not be used as equivalent words. "Belonging to a particular religion does not always imply full agreement with the approaches or agendas of religious leaders" (Morán Faúndes y Peñas Defago, 2012, p. 13). Not all people who practice religion or seek to develop paths of spiritual exploration through dogmatic approaches are fundamentalists.

Throughout history, a great variety of churches, confessional spaces and organizations linked to religious phenomena have come to light from which critical political perspectives have been encouraged, openly committed to defending human rights and social transformation.

We can find great examples of this in: 1) the Liberation Theology developed in Latin America from the late 1960s onwards and its absolute commitment to social justice and the fight against inequality and poverty worldwi-

de; 2) certain actors linked to the Catholic Church and the evangelical world that have organized themselves in defense of human rights in Chile during the years of dictatorship, creating spaces that expose forms of terrorism encouraged by the regime and spaces of resistance to confront them, and; 3) the role that activists from religious groups have played in the defense of abortion and contraception, in the fight against the exclusion of LGBTIAQ+ people, and in the recognition of women's rights. "Red Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir" and feminist theologians and researchers who work to raise awareness about more dogmatic Catholic and evangelical views, stand out on this last point.

As Antonieta Vera and Ange Valderrama point out: "The emergence and development of Latin American Feminist Theology (LFT)(2) must be understood in the context of: 1) new social movements; 2) writings from the 1970s of European and American "first generation" feminist theologians (such as Mary Daly, Radford Ruether or Schüssler Fiorenza); 3) the religious shift from traditional institutions to new forms of spirituality, especially from a reflection around the androcentrism of Liberation Theology (LT)" (Vera y Valderrama, 2017, s/f)

In Chile, the encounter between spirituality and feminism has had an interesting activist impulse through the work of 'Colectivo Conspirando'. They have more than twenty years of experience, developed 'The Annual Schools of Ecofeminist Spirituality and Ethics', and published "Conspirando", a Latin American Journal of Ecofeminism, Spirituality and Theology.

Fundamentalism and the world of politics: A look at the Chilean context

It is no longer necessary to ask what religion or belief fundamentalist discourses are based on, but rather to recognize 1) the impact of their ideas in political contexts and on public opinion; 2) how different secular groups circle around their proposals, giving space outside their traditional sphere. Today, fundamentalist discourses have different anchor points. At their base, we find the urgency to place decontextualized readings in the political

scene, misrepresenting important concepts and demands that have been crucial in democratic struggles for human rights.

But not all fundamentalist policies are developed within churches; political spaces, the public opinion, and civil institutions are becoming more visible every day, and year after year their implications become clearer. In Chile, connections between Protestant churches and the right-wing began during the dictatorship and, today, they are fully immersed in political disputes, with leaders from different influential spaces such as universities' student federations and the Congress. We can find clear examples of this in the following: 1) 'El Ministerio Evangélico de las Águilas de Jesús' (the Evangelical Ministry of the Eagles of Jesus), a radical evangelical group founded in 2001 in Bio-Bio, in the south of Chile, made up mainly by young university students, 2) the attempts to create an evangelical parliamentary party in Congress. Both phenomena, as we will review, are deeply connected.

The evangelical group 'Las Águilas de Jesús', established within 'Universidad de Concepción', was founded by Francesca Muñoz, a member of the 'Renovación Nacional' political party, currently serving as parliamentary representative of the 20th District in her second consecutive legislative term. In 2005, 'Las Águilas de Jesús' managed to install themselves in the highest positions within the university's student federation, from which they sought to increase their impact and implement their Christian doctrine, openly promoting anti-rights discourses, and provoking ongoing confrontations between students.

As of 2010, 'Las Águilas de Jesús' began to expand towards the capital of the country, "Judith Marín, one of the founders of «the work» at USACH (Universidad de Santiago de Chile) [says that] in addition to its members, they have also gained followers at Universidad de Chile, Pontificia Universidad Católica (PUC), Universidad Autónoma, Universidad de Playa Ancha and Universidad de Valparaíso" (Jerez, 2019).

In 2018, 'Las Águilas de Jesús' was one of the groups that promoted the 'March for Jesus',

organized by churches and evangelicals. The scene "ended with many acts of violence; evangelicals and far-right organizations attacked young people who were dancing to K-Pop in San Borja; [also as part of the protest] homophobic slogans, statements against women's reproductive rights and against the legal recognition of diversity could be seen and heard all around" (Jerez, 2019).

In 2017, evangelical candidate Eduardo Durán - who disputed parliamentary representation of the 13th district as part of the 'Renovación Nacional' political party - expressed his intention to use that year's parliamentary campaign to create an evangelical bench in the Chilean Congress (Alarcón & Velázquez, 2017). A total of 22 evangelical candidates ran in those elections seeking representation quotas throughout most of the country. Nine were part of 'Un Chile para Cristo', a political platform organized, among others, by Bishop Eduardo Durán, leader of the Evangelical Cathedral (Focacci, 2017). Finally, out of those 22 candidates, only Eduardo Durán and Francisca Muñoz were elected.

In October 2020, Sevel recognized the PCC (the Christian Conservative Party), as a political party, which "brought in 16 candidates to fight for a place in the Constitutional Convention" (Galaz et al., 2021). That same year, the PCC - which had broken its original alliance with 'Renovación Nacional' and as of the first electoral round aligned itself with the 'Republican Party', supporting the candidacy of José Antonio Kast - promoted 14 candidates for parliamentary representation and 4 for senators.

Another interesting phenomenon in Chile was the emergence of organizations and "think tanks" such as the group 'Padres Objetores de Chile' - dedicated, as stated on their website, to monitor gender ideology to protect the rights of parents and children - or the Christian Legislative Observatory led by Marcela Aranda, who in 2017 became very well-known for her role as spokesperson for the "freedom bus", a public activity against gender ideology that toured the cities of Santiago and Valparaíso that year. This anti-rights manifestation was strongly criticized by activists, academics, and students.

In view of the previous paragraphs, due to the characteristics that surround them and the discourses that are promoted from within their foundations, the development of evangelical organizations in the scene of current Chilean politics is a phenomenon that must be considered a threat to democracy. From within the frameworks of legislative or executive power, they mobilize measures that seek to interrupt progress for a population systematically discriminated against, which may even lead to setbacks in some of the legal safeguards already achieved.

A thought for consideration: Fundamentalism is a difficult word

We would not like to end this analysis around fundamentalism without noting that the use and relevance of this concept entails - as any term that seeks to reflect on politics from perspectives open to debate - some difficulties that raise questions which require answers.

For some authors, the concept of fundamentalism is insufficient to address the totality of the phenomenon it wants to describe, since it could lead to reductionist and unfair views, which may even mobilize discriminatory actions.

Along these lines, Horacio Sívori questions the idea of fundamentalism, and focuses on the conservative resistance against the development of the rights of women, feminists and LGBTIAQ+ activists that certain political actors have encouraged in recent years. The author points out that this reaction works as a backlash, oriented towards a "fundamentalist revitalization, as part of which actors in the religious field explore new forms of public action, expand their already powerful impact and aspire to influence governmental spaces" (Sívori, 2019, p. 17).

Sívori continues by pointing out that, despite the relevance that the concept has acquired in the contemporary political scene, it becomes problematic:

"On the one hand, the term standardizes a great variety of dispositions of religious domain whose plurality must be preserved (even in function of the

value given to the principle of secularism). On the other hand, it does not contemplate the secular aspects of the conservative tendency and the anti-rights counter-offensive, which are manifested in fields ranging from medicine to human rights" (Sívori, 2019, p. 17).

In this author's opinion, the word fundamentalism, despite its interesting and attractive political value, may face a loss of power as a category of analysis if we do not pay attention to some relevant issues, for two main reasons. The first has to do with its origins. Secondly, the concept may be at risk of being transformed into an incriminating tool, since its use "has often been misrepresented to support colonial and even xenophobic discourses, under the argument of a «clash of cultures»" (Sívori, 2019, p. 17).

Then, what can we do with this concept? How does it help us, or not, to reflect on today's anti-rights manifestations, considering their wide diversity and various impact mechanisms? Horacio Sívori offers a possible answer to these questions by suggesting the use of the term reactionism. The author points out that it is more appropriate "because it gives better account of the reactions to the success of women's and LGBTI movements and the progress made in reproductive and sexual rights matters" (Sívori, 2019, p. 18).

Sívori's proposal may be a good alternative, however, it is not as easy as abandoning one word to immediately replace it with another. Therefore, even though the idea of reactionism is appealing in terms of avoiding potential conflicts that could arise from the use of the word fundamentalism today, the concept of fundamentalism - as used up to this point - also has its own history. At least since the end of the 1980s, it has been used as a tool to encourage critical thinking and go beyond its original spaces of expression to propose topics for urgent debate on the defense of human rights and democracy (Kienzler, 2002).



2.- RIGHT WING EXTREMISTS, NEW IMPULSES FOR NEOCONSERVATIVE MOVEMENTS.

Since the early 2000s, we have witnessed the unprecedented re-emergence of far-right discourses and forms of public manifestations⁽³⁾. As Cas Mudde states in his book 'La ultraderecha hoy' (2021), since the beginning of this century, we have witnessed the de-marginalization and standardization of these political positions. The far right had traditionally operated on the fringes of politics, but nowadays occupies a more central space. Partisan politics appear to have displaced left-wingers, social democrats, Christian democrats, and liberals.

Discontent with traditional parties and their forms of political leadership has challenged the structure of representation that for decades had sustained liberal democracies. This, along with the emergence of openly anti-establishment movements, "represents a real challenge for democratic politics and can lead to the decline of liberal democratic institutions" (Mouffe, 2019, p. 19). This lies at the core of what we have been reflecting on throughout this text and is directly related to the threats of anti-rights discourses and the political emergence of fundamentalist religious groups.

Naturally, the re-emergence of far-right proposals did not happen out of the blue. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, we can identify a series of attempts, some more successful than others, of different groups and leaders who have consolidated extreme views to position themselves in the political scenario. However, the current situation breaks with previous tendencies by making these positions clearly visible. Far from moderating their discourses, they jump onto the public stage without even trying to hide some of their most dangerous proposals.

(3) Although we will refer to these political manifestations as 'far-right' or 'right-wing extremism', by applying Cas Mudde's taxonomy, Beatriz Acha proposes some concepts worth considering: "radicals, extremists, racists, xenophobes, anti-immigration, (ultra)nationalists, (neo)Nazis/fascists, anti-establishment, outsiders, populists, anti-elitists" (Acha, 2021, p. 26). For this author, such a broad range of nomenclatures is related to the difficulties of identifying the elements that constitute extremism.

Cas Mudde has called this new stage of the post-war far right the "Fourth Wave"**(4)**. This author identifies three events that have significantly impacted recent world history and help to explain, in part, the development of these new right-wing tendencies that have been on the rise since the beginning of the century: 1) the impact of the attacks of September 11th, 2001 in the United States, among others that have since taken place in different regions of the world, have promoted the image of terrorism as a tangible and daily threat that must be fought urgently and at any cost; 2) the economic crises that have affected global and national economies since the Great Recession of 2008, driven by the collapse of the 'housing bubble' in the United States, which quickly impacted European and Latin American countries, and; 3) the consequences of migratory processes which have increased their impact in recent years, leading to new racist discourses and strong feelings against immigrants (Mudde, 2021).

We can add a fourth event to the list, which is quite recent and is related to the ways of handling the health crisis that different actors linked to the far right have tried to promote in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the political exploitation they have sought to encourage in the context of the emergency**(5)**.

There are several cases of political exploitation during the pandemic by actors linked to the far right: 1) the management and manipulation of fear combined with increasing inequality and poverty; 2) the dissemination of false news, denialist discourses and unscientific references on the basis of which, for example, the scope of the pandemic and

its global threat, the safety and effectiveness of vaccines and even the very existence of the virus were questioned; 3) discourses against the elite and members of national government who were accused of undermining the freedom of individuals and the economy by promoting preventive measures in response to the increase of infections, and; 4) the rise of anti-globalist positions, which led to extremely nationalist and nativist discourses calling out alleged attempts of intervention and violation of national sovereignty perpetrated by international organizations such as the UN (United Nations) or the WHO (World Health Organization).

The events previously described have been exploited from a political and mass media perspective in different parts of the world. Consequently, new mechanisms for the emergence of the far right have appeared within the current political scenario.

New Political Scenario: The Far Right Today

This new scenario clears the path for political parties characterized by openly racist, nativist, nationalist and anti-immigration discourses, that promote conservative views that threaten women's rights, LGBTIAQ+ people and other subjects labeled as different from their normative views. They build opinions on current affairs that seek to mobilize specific social discontents in a deceitful manner for electoral purposes by promoting fake news. These parties and movements "can be defined, because of their ideological content, as anti-establishment organizations with anti-democratic traits" (Climent y Goetzenberger, 2020, p. 911).

(4) Cas Mudde (2021) offers the following time frame to think about far-right movements from the end of World War II to the present day: 1) Neo-fascism, 1945-1955; 2) Right-wing populism, 1955-1980; 3) Radical Right, 1980-2000 and 4) Fourth wave, 2000 - today. Although this proposal is interesting and useful, it presents some issues. It focuses too much on European culture and does not adequately consider high-impact Latin American phenomena, such as dictatorships or characteristics of transitional governments.

(5) To learn more about this, we recommend the following readings:

- Corrêa, Sonia (2022). *Políticas antigénero en América Latina en el contexto pandémico*. Río de Janeiro: Observatorio de Sexualidad y Política (SPW).

- Alarcón, Mauricio (2020) "Reflexiones sobre la comunicación política y el discurso de derecha en el contexto de la pandemia". En: Browne, Rodrigo y Del Valle, Carlos (eds.), *Covid-19. La comunicación en tiempos de pandemia*, Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, pp. 101-105.

- Alarcón, Mauricio (2020) "Reflexiones sobre la comunicación política y el discurso de derecha en el contexto de la pandemia". En: Browne, Rodrigo y Del Valle, Carlos (eds.), *Covid-19. La comunicación en tiempos de pandemia*, Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, pp. 101-105.

Throughout the second half of the 20th century, ideological stances that faced accusations, powerful criticism and forms of exclusion promoted as mechanisms to defend democracy against fascism, in the 21st century have managed to establish themselves as a political entity capable of disputing spaces of representation, openly participating in elections and even leading projects of national leadership in several countries. In 2019, for example, in Brazil, India and the United States, three of the most populated countries in the world, had a far-right leader in government, and the Indian People's Party - of the radical populist right - today has the largest number of members worldwide (Mudde, 2021).

To understand what is happening in Europe regarding new far-right movements, we can look at two emblematic cases: the development of new political parties in Spain and France, which is setting the guidelines for politics, elections, and other political scenarios.

As for Spain, VOX, a political party led by Santiago Abascal, is heir, in part, of the most conservative traditions of the 'Partido Popular' (Popular Party) (PP) and the nativist principles of 'Plataforma per Catalunya' (PxC). In its brief political lifetime, it has achieved spectacular electoral results and has become a candidate for leadership of its country's political opposition, as well as being represented in the European Parliament. Its growth is a clear example of the strength new right-wing movements are gaining in different countries. Paying attention to the progress of VOX in relation to other anti-rights manifestations, could be interesting for those who seek a wider perspective on the impact of this phenomenon today.

Along the same lines, we must analyze the French National Rally's progress. This party - originally founded in 1972 under the name 'National Front' by ultra-nationalist Jean-Marie Le Pen - made such a strong appearance in the 2022 French elections that Marine Le Pen, its most popular leader, made it to second round of the French presidential elections in a very good place. However, she was beaten by Emmanuel Macron, running for re-election, after having beaten her in the same instance in 2017, a year in which Le Pen

gathered her voters under the slogan "France for the French!", endorsing nationalism and anti-immigration policies. This is Le Pen's third candidacy and the most successful to date. Her popularity has not only maintained itself over time but has also increased.

Wendy Brown collects some of these slogans in her book "En las Ruinas del Neoliberalismo" (2021) and they reveal the transversality of their proposals and how, in different countries, far-right extreme nationalism and rejection of diversity are being encouraged. "Campaign slogans say it all: «Make America Great Again» (Trump); «Francia para los franceses» (France for the French) (Le Pen y 'Frente Nacional'); «Take back control» (Brexit); «Nuestra cultura, nuestro hogar, nuestra Alemania» (Our country, our home, our Germany) (Alternativa para Alemania); «Polonia pura, Polonia blanca» (Pure Poland, White Poland) (Partido de la Ley y la Justicia polaco); «Que Suecia siga siendo sueca» (Sweden remains Swedish) (Demócratas Suecos)" (Brown, 2021, pp. 26-27).

United States and Brazil, two key examples to understand right-wing extremism

Donald Trump, president of the United States between 2017 and 2021, and Jair Bolsonaro, the current president of Brazil, are relevant examples of how the far right is currently organized. Analyzing both figures in terms of public appearance and their political proposals will teach us more about how right-wing extremists promote forms of social privatization and mechanisms of neoliberalism that threaten the possibility of creating common forms of life and open, non-judgmental ways of thinking about diversity.

Against all odds and under the campaign slogan "Make America Great Again", billionaire businessman Donald Trump won the U.S. presidential election as a Republican candidate, against Hillary Clinton, representative of the Democratic Party with vast political experience.

Trump's rise as a politician was characterized by openly racist and misogynist discourses in which the internet was used as a platform for conflict. While creating spaces for the reorganization of political movements, it also fed off

the most radical far-right groups and actors. (Marantz, 2021).

"By mobilizing and manipulating the effects of nihilism, fatalism and resentment [through which] the apocalyptic tone of today's right-wingers is achieved" (Brown, 2021, p. 13), Donald Trump became president, after displaying a form of euphemism that appeals to freedom of speech as a basic right, while mobilizing discourses that threaten global democracy. At the same time, they have been proven to be elements "that create an anti-democratic culture from below, while constructing and legitimizing anti-democratic forms of power from above" (Brown, 2021, p. 56).

Though Trump's presidential campaign was characterized by the systematic display of contempt for democracy and public opinion, the end of his presidential term – represented by the Capitol's seizure – was certainly the peak of his dangerous intervention in American politics⁽⁶⁾.

Jair Bolsonaro, politician and military man, Brazil's current president and leader of the Liberal Party, has led significant setbacks in Human Rights' matters, as well as in the recognition and protection of LGBTIAQ+ communities, women, immigrants, and indigenous people.

Jair Bolsonaro's election was a turning point for Latin America not only because of the government's anti-rights discourses, transforming into public policies issues that, to date, were promoted from outside the State, but also because it is an anchor point for the development of connections between our continent's anti-rights manifestations and those of other regions such as Europe and the United States. Likewise, Bolsonaro's election is connected to Dilma Rousseff's dismissal in 2016, a defining point in the balance between the power of the government and those organized around anti-rights movements.

Sonia Corrêa points out the dangers of Bolsonaro's rise to power in 2018, noting that "Bolsonaro's election implied a transformation of the anti-gender and anti-abortion agenda into macro-governmental policies. [The author points out that] currently, Brazil can be identified within a small group of countries in which anti-gender principles became State policies, such as Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Guatemala" (Corrêa, 2022, p. 69).

The same strength that characterized Bolsonaro's election in Brazil during the 2018 campaign, led to the election of a new group of far-right parliamentarians, defined by strong anti-gender, fundamentalist, anti-feminist, and anti-rights principles. The consequences have been disastrous; in addition to public policies that threaten progress in human rights' matters, different forms of violence have also begun to intensify, which – normalized and encouraged by the authorized dissemination of conservative discourses – marginalize and make a group of communities [that have historically been discriminated against] even more vulnerable. Despite what has been said so far, what is shocking about the examples of Trump and Bolsonaro is the confirmation that although "discourses are not public policies [...] they create a hostile atmosphere and feed gender-related violence" (Corrêa, 2022, p. 71). This statement helps us understand the dangers we face today due to the advances of the far right, with trails of hate in the political scenario, in social movements and in discussions that arise under a misunderstood sense of authenticity, political incorrectness and freedom of speech.

The Republican Party, new manifestations of the far right and their efforts to disrupt democracy in Chile

In the case of Chile, the 'Republican Party' led by José Antonio Kast, previously known under the name of 'Republican Movement', is

(6) Having lost the re-election, Donald Trump called for a demonstration that resulted in a huge crowd outside the White House. Trump spread the belief that electoral fraud had been committed and, amid the demonstration, repeated the same speech and urged participants to seek the truth and fight for their country. A crowd of supporters invaded the Capitol as security agents were forced out of the building. Disaster ensued, five people killed, an unknown number injured, and damage all around. Quickly, a huge number of videos and photographs showing the violent crowd entering the Capitol, amid pro-Trump banners and racist, white supremacist and extremist symbols, went viral. Currently, the investigation remains open.

worth analyzing. It was officially registered as a political party in June 2019 “based on a radical and traditional declaration of principles; conservative in moral issues; in defense of free market and promoting subsidiarity by presenting it as the ideal relationship between the State and the people” (Campos, 2021, p. 108).

Kast is not an unfamiliar face in the Chilean political scenario, he has been involved in it since his years as a university student, first as member of the ‘Movimiento Gremialista’ founded by Jaime Guzmán, and then as a member of ‘Unión Democrática Independiente’ (UDI), a political party that until a few years ago was considered within the extreme right wing and under which he occupied several elected positions. Kast currently plays a different role than in previous years: “Since 2017 he has been gaining ground in the international fight against “gender ideology”” (Ramírez, 2019). From there, he became a relevant figure for the far right in the entire region, since he is directly connected to “the evangelical initiative that enabled Bolsonaro's victory in Brazil and the rise of conservatism in Colombia and Central America” (Ramírez, 2019).

José Antonio Kast's new role is influenced by the deep connections he has developed with fundamentalist organizations linked to the international extreme right, including Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF), Political Network for Values, Advocates International, Population Research Institute and International Human Rights Group. “In this kind of organizations, the power of Catholic and conservative evangelical groups come together, forming an alliance of two Christian sectors that until a few years ago walked different and even opposite paths” (Ramírez, 2019).

During the year 2021, José Antonio Kast - eventually supported by the country's traditional right-wing parties, including ‘UDI’, ‘Renovación Nacional’ and ‘Evópoli’ – ran for presidency as member of the ‘Frente Social Cristiano’ (Christian Social Front) and almost won the election. However, he was beaten by Gabriel Boric in the second round, candidate of the coalition of parties ‘Apruebo Dignidad’, who managed to mobilize a large part of the country's population in an election that set a record of 8,364,481 voters, 55.65% of the total electorate (Serval, 2022).

To understand the emergence of the ‘Partido Republicano’ in Chile, “considered part of the populist extreme right, we must bear in mind that beyond the particular features of the parties' programs, one of the most relevant events was the division of the partisan system, moving towards post-materialist interests in face of the transformations in social interests” (Campos, 2021, p. 112-113). To analyze the social impact achieved by the ‘Partido Republicano’, as well as its recent electoral success - and the exponential growth in its number of affiliates, which according to recent statistics reached a total of 21,592 members (Serval, 2022) - we must review the country's history. Chile's recent past was defined by the end of the authoritarianism/democracy division that marked the transition (Campos, 2021, p. 108), as well as the growing impact of social mobilizations that have influenced the democratic course of the country and have currently reached their highest point in the constitutional plebiscite of September 4th, 2022.

Kast's defeat in the presidential elections should not be considered a defining event in Chile's future, the path of the right wing is yet to be settled. Contrary to the presidential elections, in the parliamentary elections of 2021 the scale leaned strongly towards conservative and far-right sectors with 62 representatives, while the center and the left only managed to reach a total of 42 representatives.

Alliances and actions promoted among traditional Chilean right-wing parties and the ‘Partido Republicano’ precede the elections. Following the 2019 Social Outburst, for instance, they promoted discourses against ‘La Revuelta’ along with the denial of human rights' violations under Sebastián Piñera's government(7). These discourses aimed at breaking the bonds of social mobilization from which social demands were publicly expressed. These efforts were widely spread across the right-wing sector and were aggressively promoted in all its spaces(8). The Chilean right wing has cleverly used the press and other alternative spaces such as social networks to promote its discourses and deliberately spread false news to change the political scenario regarding the most relevant political processes of the country. Likewise, they have resorted to public institutions to promote hate speech, accusations, and

persecutions against those who challenge their proposals.

In May 2021, parliamentary representative of the 'Partido Republicano' Cristóbal Urruticoechea, and Harry Jürgensen of 'Renovación Nacional', presented a constitutional reform that sought to "amend Article 19 N°11 [of the Constitution] by adding a paragraph stating that "the use of grammatical and phonetic alterations that misrepresent the language of official education recognized by the Chilean State is forbidden in kindergarten, elementary and secondary education" (Dote, 2021).

In July of that year, the same representatives began a process to demand that the OTD - one of the most important trans rights organizations in the country - and Transfest - a festival that promotes the recognition of trans people's human rights - report on the contributions they receive from the State and make a specific statement regarding the trans health programs developed in public hospitals and health centers. Along these lines, Urruticoechea and Jürgensen requested, by applying the 'law of transparency', "reports on hormone replacement therapies, mastectomies, metoidioplasties, hysterectomies, oophorectomies, and orchiectomies, as well as the reasons for the interventions and their beneficiaries" (La voz de los que sobran, 2021).

On its website, the OTD reacted by pointing out that it was "an act of harassment to criminalize organizations, institutions, universities, foundations, leaders, activists, collectives that work to defend human rights, and especially against those of us who fight for the trans community and sexual and gender diversity" (OTD, 2021). They also stated that:

"It is outrageous that public funds received by organizations of the LGBTIQANB+ community, who have been historically condemned to live in poverty, face discrimination, segregation, violence and hate crimes, are being questioned. It is unfortunate that these representatives' objective is not to propose public policies that improve the quality of life of minority groups, but a disguised and deceitful way of questioning people's right to identity, which is a human right" (OTD, 2021).

In October of that same year, representatives Urruticoechea and Jürgensen, repeating previous intimidation tactics and misusing, once again, public instruments, promoted an initiative that sought to directly go after those who create spaces to learn more about gender, sexuality, and feminism in the country's universities. Through an official letter,

(7) Quoting documents from the National Institute of Human Rights (INDH) in its text "Una aproximación al escenario de los fundamentalismos en Chile", Fondo Alquimia's team states that "according to official figures on events occurred between October 18th, 2019, and March 18th, 2020, there are 3,023 victims of human rights violations, 163 victims of eye trauma and more than 2,000 people imprisoned" (Fondo Alquimia & Viñals, 2021, p. 18). It is also necessary to state, as presented in the same document and as studied in other texts, that "this violence was particularly exercised against gender and sexual dissidents, aiming not only to limit their legitimate freedom of expression, but also to undermine their place in society by attacking their bodies and dignity. Between October 18th, 2019, and March 11th, 2020, alone, 66 cases of this type of aggression were reported." (Alquimia and Viñals Fund, 2021, p. 18). For a better review of this topic, we recommend the following readings:

- Alveal, Flor, Toli Hernández, et al (2019). *Violencias a cuerpos disidentes en Chile*. The pre, during and post State of emergency of the government of Sebastián Piñera. Santiago. Available at: http://reparacionyjusticia.cl/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Reporte_1_2018-2019.pdf
- Alveal, Flor, Toli Hernández, et al (2020) *Violence to dissident bodies in Chile*, second report. http://reparacionyjusticia.cl/wpcontent/uploads/2021/02/DisidenciasSexualesChile_Reporte2_2020.pdf
- Grau, Olga, Follegati, Luna y Aguilera, Silvia (2020). *Escrituras feministas de la Revuelta*. Santiago: Lom

(8) Asked about the Outbreak, during the week prior to the elections, Kast used the word violent to refer to the millions of demonstrators who in that spring inundated all regions of the country demanding social rights under slogans like "It's not 30 pesos, it's 30 years"; "Until dignity becomes a habit" and "We are not at war, we are United". Invited to a forum organized by the now extinct far-right group 'Iberocumbre de Líderes por la Democracia y la Libertad', the former candidate pointed out: "two years ago a big fuss was made claiming that "Chile woke up". Chile did not wake up; it fell into a nightmare where millions of Chileans' rights were violated. Chile will wake up this Sunday, when it recovers all its capacities to defend freedom" (EFE, 2021). This sort of requirement has come about in a similar way in different countries over the past few years. The most recent case is Buenos Aires, Argentina, whose government issued the prohibition of inclusive language in schools in June 2022.

they requested information on the resources that two State universities - 'Universidad de Chile' and 'Universidad de Santiago'- used to fund "courses, centers, programs and study plans related to gender studies, gender ideology, gender perspective, sexual diversity and feminism, detailing their main features and identifying the staff or teachers who are in charge of them" (Diario Uchile, 2021a).

The 'Universidad de Santiago' (USACH), in a gesture that would later be strongly criticized and branded as irresponsible by the national academic community and neighbor countries, responded to the request with an official document in which they provided detailed information on budgets regarding all courses, programs, academics and staff members linked to them, including the names of some students who worked along these lines. Due to the controversy caused by this response, which circulated around the Internet and exposed all people mentioned in it, the president of USACH had to apologize to the community and everyone else involved through an official letter. However, the damage had already been done.

On the other hand, 'Universidad de Chile' chose to respond with a public statement denouncing the representatives' request as a persecution and an attempt to intimidate them, which contradicted the guidelines of autonomy of our institutions and freedom of thought. In that document, the University states it was alarmed by the request and refused to comply with it due to the following:

"The connotations of these kinds of petitions bring up issues that these sectors would rather keep in the dark, as we have recently learned how, in countries led by ultraconservative sectors, damaging interventions have taken place in higher education institutions, especially in the areas of humanities, and in those that make them more uncomfortable because they investigate" (Diario Uchile, 2021a).

The declaration also states that the university rejects "all forms of censorship, violation of academic freedom and restrictions to the autonomy of our institution, since they restrict freedom of thought and production

of knowledge, which are essential factors in developing contributions toward sovereignty and emancipation" (Diario Uchile, 2021a).

The Chilean academic community organized itself to issue a "Letter against academic intimidation in Chile" in response to this case and the possibility that something similar could happen again. The document, which was signed by more than 1,800 people, showed concern about the implementation of tactics already used in other countries such as "Brazil, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Denmark, where ultraconservative sectors have sought to take over universities by imposing an alignment of their work within what they call "cultural Marxism", particularly by trying to intimidate academics who teach gender and human rights" (Espinoza and Carvajal, 2021).

The highest authorities of the eighteen Chilean universities gathered in the CUECH to issue a joint statement in which they denounced "the use of public authority to censor, limit or violate both academic freedom and the autonomy of our institutions, essential principles for the proper operation of higher education systems in any democratic society, and duly recognized and protected in our legislation" (Diario Uchile, 2021b).

In reviewing the examples presented in this chapter, we can see how right-wing strategies are not only replicated in different countries, but also how they work together with fundamentalist discourses to shape anti-rights manifestations.



3.- ANTI-GENDER DISCOURSES: "GENDER IDEOLOGY", MORAL PANIC AND TRANS-EXCLUSIONARY DISCOURSES

Attacks against policies that promote gender equality and sexual and reproductive rights have gained strength in recent years and have been favored by the emergence of new alliances between different anti-rights actors, from which urgent challenges that threaten democracy and human rights are mobilized.

Gathering a wide range of reactionary groups that work around openly discriminatory and anti-democratic positions, "the agenda of

feminism and LGTTBI+ movements, as well as that of the United Nations, will be interpreted as part of a cultural colonization aimed at subverting "natural" moral order" (Faur and Viveros, 2020, p. 12).

Although this is a worldwide phenomenon, Latin America has currently become the main scenario for anti-gender struggles, as several countries have witnessed significant advances in demands for the extension or recognition of certain rights. As consequence, these same countries have faced the reinforcement of well-organized and financed religious, secular, and political groups that mobilize anti-gender campaigns.

Positioned as central elements of reactionary efforts to prevent progress in the recognition of fundamental rights, these groups have gained "great significance in the development of political agendas of conservative right-wing and religious groups that work around an opposition to what they call gender ideology" (Troncoso and Stutzin, 2019, p. 10), from where they seek to disrupt political and public spaces by promoting misrepresented readings of progressive struggles and human rights.

Ideology should be thought of as "a discursive strategy that, attending to demands for non-discrimination in the contemporary context, hides its rejection of homosexuality and appeals to ideas and notions that validate the traditional sexual agenda" (González et al., 2018, p. 26). It is a concept that mobilizes misrepresentations and unfounded accusations about the foundations, proposals and objectives of various women's, feminist and LGBTIAQ+ political movements, aiming at dismissing their demands and urgency.

The development and exploitation of the concept of gender ideology "are the result of advances in the demands of feminist and LGBTQ+ movements in international conferences in the early 1990s, specifically in the areas of reproductive rights, gender mainstreaming in international public policies, and sexuality" (Troncoso and Stutzin, 2019, p. 13).

Therefore, when speaking about gender ideology we must bear in mind that it is an

imprecise and vague concept, but of great political efficacy, which has strategically been used to: 1) promote moral panic; 2) defend restricted ideals of family; 3) promote pseudoscientific discourses that encourage inequality between men and women; 4) mobilize ideas that position cis-hetero sexuality as "natural", marginalizing any form of desire or gender expression outside its frameworks and; 5) denounce feminist ideas and those within the frameworks of sexual dissidence as dangerous and deceitful.

In just a few years, the concept of gender ideology has become extremely important within the political scenario, gaining such visibility that it has even become part of our daily speech. How could this word achieve such visibility in such a short period of time? What does it take for a concept to mobilize political spaces, go viral and reproduce itself with such strength that it becomes difficult to think of a time in which they didn't exist?

1990: A crucial decade to understand the concept of gender and its reactionary disputes in Chile and the world

There is no doubt that the 1990s was a turning point for the concept of gender, as well as for the expansion of its use and how it was presented in political spaces of discussion. During these years, the word was caught between two antagonistic forces that strained it and implemented mechanisms that sought, on the one hand, to expand its use and, on the other, to control it.

Efforts were made to position the term gender as a tool to reflect on and promote sexual and reproductive rights from feminist activist perspectives or from those who, at that time, were recognized under the name of "the homosexual or sexual minorities movement"⁽⁹⁾. It was argued that the word gender could serve as a trigger to mobilize issues that, to date, have failed to be fully incorporated into legislation in many countries. It seemed essential to include these issues in debates and negotiations between the States that made up the UN or other international-related settings, to establish minimum standards that address urgent

(9) We have chosen to include these terms here, instead of using the acronym LGBTIAQ+ or referring to sexual dissidence movements in an attempt to capture the spirit of this period.

issues such as sexual and non-reproductive health, structural inequality between men and women, or the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

In contrast, reactionary actors, initially led by the Vatican, began to create alliances, and mobilize efforts to stop discussions on gender, a word that they labeled as dangerous and sought to keep in the dark. During this period, the Vatican and the Catholic Church played a key role in promoting reactions against the use of the concept in different intergovernmental and national spaces. Towards the end of the century, its relevance would resurface and diversify among different actors.

The concept of gender, as we know it today, "did not arise within academic spaces linked to social sciences and humanities, nor was it brought to light by feminist activists (although it was popularized within both fields): the idea of gender originated in medicine and its emergence is intimately linked to the development of [the now highly questioned] protocols of "treatment" and "normalization" of intersex people" (Barrientos, 2013, p. 41).

In the 1990s, the concept of gender was less than 50 years old⁽¹⁰⁾ and had begun to leave behind its medical background thanks to feminist activists and academics who began to use it as a critical category for analysis in the

1970s⁽¹¹⁾. In history and anthropology, gender began to be used to refer to "the set of practices, beliefs, representations and social prescriptions that arise among the members of a human group as an expression of the symbolization of the anatomical difference between men and women" (Lamas, 2006, p. 2). Female academics used it as a counter-hegemonic tool, which allowed to separate "social and cultural constructions from biological facts" (Scott, 2008, p. 49).

The word gender, then, was heading towards the end of the century as a disputed field that, on the one hand, offered new ways of understanding patriarchy and structural inequality and, on the other, according to reactionary groups, threatened to destroy the moral foundations of civilization. "[By] promoting hedonism, secularism, relativism, and individualism in Western society, [according to the Vatican, this irreparable loss of values worked] together with the so-called "culture of death", defined by John Paul II as the foundation of proposals regarding abortion, contraceptives, and euthanasia" (Pérez & Torres, 2020, p. 23).

In 1994, the 'International Conference on Population and Development' was held in Cairo, where an attempt was made, although unsuccessfully, to include references to sexual and reproductive rights as part of the

(10) Although this exceeds the objective of this text, it is important to briefly review the emergence of the concept of gender, since it is currently such a controversial word within political spaces. Paul Preciado points out that the category of gender is a relatively recent construction that "belongs to the biotechnological discourse of the late 1940s" (Preciado, 2008, p.81). For Preciado, the emergence of this concept marks a new regime for sexuality: "if in the nineteenth-century disciplinary system, sex was natural, definitive, non-transferable and transcendental; gender now appears as synthetic, malleable, variable, susceptible to transfer, imitation, production and technical reproduction" (Preciado, 2008, p. 82). Anne Fausto-Sterling, on the other hand, highlights the importance of John Money and Anke Ehrhardt in the emergence of the word gender; for these researchers, sex would refer "to physical attributes, and is determined by anatomy and physiology, while gender is a psychological transformation of the individual, the internal conviction that one is male or female (gender identity) and the behavioral expressions of this conviction" (Fausto-Sterling, 2006, p. 18).

Marta Lamas recognizes this lineage and, at the same time, expands it, stating that, although Money was the one who first introduced the concept, it was Robert Stoller, in his 1968 book Sex and Gender (Lamas, 2006), who strengthened the understanding of the difference between sex and gender.

(11) The 1970s defined how gender began to be included in different academic spaces as a critical tool that mobilized social sciences and humanities towards new questions. Despite what has been said so far, it is important to keep in mind that during the 1980s, critical voices began to speak out from the same feminist and LGBTIAQ+ movements regarding the use of the term gender and the difficulties that its popularization could bring if variables such as race, class, age, or others are not considered to understand it. It is important to remember that it is not possible to make a single, definitive, nor exhaustive definition of the concept, and this is not necessarily a bad thing. This concept continues to represent a challenge, as well as a critical opportunity to, among other things: reflect on identity; deconstruct binary ideals based on biology; revisit the boundaries of femininity and masculinity; implement more flexible ways of owning/constructing/experiencing our bodies that allow full recognition of difference.

meeting's final document. The failure to include these terms was related to the fact that the Vatican suggested that the conference "was an event for the promotion of abortion and homosexuality" (González et al., 2018, p. 18). Therefore, by lobbying, they encouraged different Central American and African countries to mobilize, which, in the end, frustrated any opportunity for dialogue despite the urgency of this issue in today's global context⁽¹²⁾.

In 1995, the 'Fourth World Conference on Women' was held in Beijing. This conference was of vital importance as it was the first time that violations against women were recognized and it was stated - in an official intergovernmental document - that women's rights are human rights. However, in response to the statements made in Beijing, Pope John Paul II wrote a "Letter to Women", a document in which he relieves "the role of women as subordinate subjects to the Marian conception of the woman: virginal, meant for marriage, for the husband's service, upbringing, and care" (González et al., 2018, p. 72). Interestingly, by that time, alliances between the Vatican and Islamic states had already been forged, which contrasted with what happened the previous year in Cairo (Corrêa, 2018). This alliance mobilized - with countries' different interventions - important attempts to halt the progress of intergovernmental negotiations on gender, sexuality, and reproductive rights.

In Chile and other countries in the region, the use of the concept of gender during the Conference and in its planning stages, unleashed strong internal debates that captured the attention of public opinion for months. In our country, the main dispute -faced by the Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle's government and the Minister of National Women's Service (Sernam), Josefina Bilbao, as well as members of the right wing of that time- was characterized by concerns regarding the concept of gender and fear that it might be a gateway to abortion and its use might

weaken the structure of family as the main foundation of society.

One of the most important figures among those who opposed Chile's participation in Beijing's Conference was the 'Renovación Nacional' parliamentary representative María Angélica Cristi, who in response to the presentation made by Beijing's Chilean delegation in front of the Chamber of Representatives upon their return to the country, stated:

"In Beijing, Chile's constant alignment with the European Union did not go unnoticed, even in matters that were not incorporated into the final document because of their excessively progressive nature. In fact, many delegations were surprised by some of the proposals that Chile advocated. The document was approved without any objection, while forty other countries had reservations [...] Chile supported non-discrimination based on sexual orientation [...] It did not emphasize the importance of family or maternity [...] It did not oppose the disposition to review legislation on abortion [...] Efforts have been made to caricature those of us who express our legitimate concern about the final contents of the Conference's proposal, associating the 'Concertación' with the promotion of benefits for women and the 'Oposición' (Opposition) with fundamentalism, a qualification which, by the way, is absolutely false. Some stay with the good, others with the bad. Of course, we are left with the bad" (Chamber of Representatives, 1995, pp. 19-20).

It is worth noting, to put some issues in perspective, that during those times divorce was illegal in Chile; the concept of natural children still existed within legislation; sodomy was

(12) The year 1994 was declared Year of the Family by the Catholic Church and since then, the Vatican's Pontifical Council for the Family has been in charge of organizing World Meetings of Families, held in different countries of the world every three years (the first one was in Rome, the following ones have been held in: Rio de Janeiro 1997; Rome 2000; Manila 2003; Valencia 2006; Mexico City 2009; Milan 2012; Philadelphia 2015; Dublin 2018; Rome 2022); Rio de Janeiro 1997; Rome 2000; Manila 2003; Valencia 2006; Mexico City 2009; Milan 2012; Philadelphia 2015; Dublin 2018; Rome 2022), events that mobilized large numbers of followers promoting normative visions on family, sexuality, love and reproductive rights, among others.

included in the Penal Code; and article 373 of the same code was in force, which punished offenses against morality and good customs - which, in practice, became a legal tool that sanctioned any type of public manifestation that challenged the cis-hetero normative standards. Likewise, in 1996 the Ministry of Education launched the Program for Education on Affection and Sexuality, better known as JOCAS (Jornadas de Capacitación en Afectividad y Sexualidad), which led to a stir in the country and strong opposition from the Catholic Church. This initiative did not last long, and, in the short course of a year, it achieved great media impact, triggering both supportive and opposing responses from different social sectors.

However, it is important to point out that the 1990s marked the beginning of the institutionalization of gender studies in the country. Although this field is nowadays disputed from feminist, queer and LGBTIAQ+ studies and has received different types of criticism, it is still necessary to recognize its importance, since it has promoted; among other things: the production of knowledge; the development of academic programs in different cities; the publication of countless papers and; the necessary inputs for the promotion of several public policies and laws that have expanded democratic frameworks⁽¹³⁾.

Anti-gender movements following the end of the century, transnational alliances, and local manifestations

Between 1999 and 2000 in Cairo+5 and Beijing+5 gender was strongly attacked every time it came up in discussions, and different delegations called for its removal from official documents, claiming it referred to homosexuality, pedophilia, and all kinds of "sexual perversions" (Corrêa, 2018). By that time, two

fundamental books to understand anti-gender advances were already circulating. The first was 'The Gender Agenda' written by conservative Catholic journalist Dale O'Leary and the second, 'The Salt of the Earth', by the then Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger who, as we know, would take over as Pope John Paul II's successor as Benedict XVI. Both were published in 1997 and, by the early 2000s, had already been translated into several languages.

The former of these books defined the concept of gender as a neocolonial tool used by feminism to drive an international conspiracy, while the latter proposed that it seeks to conceal a gesture of rebellion through which humans renounce their own biological nature (Corrêa, 2018). Sonia Corrêa also states that, in the following years, the Vatican promoted more publications on these matters, among them the 2003 "Lexicon: Ambiguous and Debatable Terms regarding Family Life and Ethical Questions" and the "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Collaboration of Men and Women in the Church and in the World". The impact that both ideas continue to have today in the framework of anti-gender proposals and discourses is easily recognized.

Considering the turn of the century and the beginning of the 2000s, new forms of organization and public appearance could be identified. On the one hand, campaigns against sex education and, on the other hand, the impact of campaigns promoted by society as a reaction to demands linked to LGBTIAQ+ and feminist struggle gaining visibility.

While in 2007 the declaration of the Yogyakarta Principles was promoted "which defines, for the first time in the international scene, the concepts of gender identity and sexual orientation" (Valdés, 2021, p. 34) and which opened "space for a flexible concep-

(13) The first two programs on gender studies developed in our country date from this period: the Diploma in Interdisciplinary Women's Studies at Universidad de Concepción and the Interdisciplinary Gender Studies Program at Universidad de Chile. During this decade, the Center for Gender and Cultural Studies in Latin America -CEGECAL, of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the University of Chile (1991) and the Interdisciplinary Center for Gender Studies -CIEG- (1993) of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the same university were founded.

Regarding the establishment of gender as a research field in Chile, it is interesting to note that: "The good reception and speed with which Women's and Gender Studies were introduced in universities is reflected in the fact that between 1992 and the second semester of 1995, five postgraduate courses and one diploma course (with three graduating classes) were held in postgraduate studies. At the undergraduate level, 50 elective courses, 9 workshops and 5 seminars were held in different fields in the Faculties of Social Sciences and Humanities of 18 traditional and private universities, both in Santiago and in provinces" (Rebolledo, 1995, p. 18).

tion of ways of experiencing gender that are not necessarily of the modern-colonial-Christian binary gender principle" (Troncoso and Stutzin, 2019, p. 13). During that time, several countries launched campaigns against sex education in the name of child and family protection, which served as a background for several anti-rights campaigns promoted by secular and religious movements, which gathered resources to develop strategies in response to changes requested by contemporary societies.

In recent years, groups organized around anti-gender and anti-rights principles came forth in the international political scenario and in negotiation spaces promoted by inter-governmental organizations, among which at least two are worth mentioning: 1) 'Amigos de la Familia', an organization still active within the UN, made up of 24 states and more than 50 civil organizations, that has been working for years to mobilize efforts and resources to create global alliances that promote conservative and restrictive views on family, society and life. In New York, 2016, this group held a High-Level Event on Family: 'Uniting Nations for a Family-Friendly World'. Among its participants were diplomats, family policy experts and religious leaders. In addition, HazteOir.org and CitizenGO, NGOs responsible for anti-rights campaigns of international impact such as #ConMisHijosNoTeMetas, the "Freedom Bus" or the "Freedom Plane" belong to this group; 2) The Hemispheric Network of Parliamentarians is an organization created within the OAS in which conservative, pro-family and anti-rights parliamentarians from various member states participate. With José Antonio Kast as an advocate, the Declaration of Mexico was signed by 670 parliamentarians from 18 Latin American countries, "a manifesto against the OEA, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, forcing member states to modify local legislation «in matters related to life, family, and religious freedom»" (Ramírez, 2019). This Declaration laid the foundations for the development of the Hemispheric Congress of Parliamentarians and opened a new stage for international fundamentalist lobbying in the region.

Campaigns like the "Freedom Bus" or #ConMisHijosNoTeMetas, which have become visible in different countries -especially in

Latin America-, are proof that anti-gender movements are gaining ground and their actions and proposals are impacting the current international scenario. These are not isolated cases or the efforts of particular groups that create or pick up slogans to make them go viral, we are facing a much more dangerous and urgent scenario, in which anti-rights proposals are becoming more explicit in the public domain, to mobilize reactions against LGBTIAQ+ rights and the recognition of sexual and (non)reproductive rights.

In the current scenario, we face a complex structure in which anti-gender movements have managed to form a network of alliances and resources with the participation of different political actors, who also seek to influence public life. We have witnessed how churches played a significant role, and how important spaces are occupied by traditional political actors who seek to influence social ideals about gender and social justice, but to fully understand this phenomenon we cannot stay there. The role that 'Think tanks' and NGOs have played in promoting anti-gender and anti-rights campaigns is vitally important, as is their political lobbying and mobilizing resources to support these causes.

Different universities and academics have supported these movements by producing knowledge and proposals that serve as supposed theoretical bases to sustain anti-democratic statements. We need to pay attention to the ways in which part of the public opinion - influenced by moral panic and prejudice - has been influenced by these neoconservative ideals, in the face of which they either remain silent or collaborate.

TERF: Trans-exclusionary feminism and hate speech

Before concluding this section, we must point out a very alarming situation that is not always easy for feminist movements to deal with, as we sometimes fear criticism; however, there are things that, ethically, we cannot overlook.

To commit to life, social justice, and the fight against all forms of violence and fundamentalism, we must react assertively to discourses that - under political ideals that claim to be feminist - disseminate anti-gender principles or trans-exclusionary hate speech.

Transnational developments of the so-called anti-trans or trans-exclusionary feminism (sometimes referred to as TERF, Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminist) represent a threat to democracy. Anti-trans speech is hate speech, and we must respond firmly.

Gathering information published by Trans Murder Monitoring (Trans Respect project), lawyer and current counselor of the NHRI in Chile, Constanza Valdés, points out that, between January 2008 and September 2020, "17 trans people were murdered in Chile; from a global perspective, the figure reaches 3664 people, Brazil leading the list (1520), followed by Mexico (520)" (Valdés, 2021, p. 57).

Fatal anti-trans violence rates reveal disturbing mechanisms of discrimination, expulsion and exclusion, neglect by the State, and segregation within LGBTIAQ+ activist spaces. Hillary Hiner and Carlos Garrido argue that the way in which LGBTIAQ groups' demands have been historically constructed in Chile, "have ultimately excluded and marginalized trans people" (Hiner & Garrido, 2017, p. 219). They focus too much on demands for integration and on discourses that could even be considered "homonormative", such as demands for filial rights or the recognition of couples in the context of marriage equality (Hiner & Garrido, 2017). In practice, this has neglected their demands, ignoring struggles related to inequality within these groups and the need to reflect on the differences that connect us from an intersectional feminist perspective.

A minimum common ground from which to reflect on feminist political struggles is that "it is no longer possible to conceive identity - neither feminine, nor feminist - as defined by predetermined attributes" (Richard, 2008, p. 47). Sexuality, identity, race, class, belonging to an indigenous community, religion, age, the ways in which we relate to our cultural environment, and the ways in which we perceive our body and how it is perceived by others, determine the construction of identity and experiences around gender.

Although this is not a new phenomenon - we can trace back to the 2000s, for example, the first disputes around the exclusion of trans people from spaces such as Latin American Feminist Meetings, National Women's Meetings in Argentina, or Feminist Meetings in

Chile -, today we continue to find discrimination of this kind in many activist and academic spaces.

Given its relevance, it is important to recall the events that took place at the forum "Aclaraciones necesarias sobre las categorías sexo y género", organized at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México by the 'Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades' (CEIICH) in March 2022. Marcela Lagarde (Mexico), Amelia Valcárcel (Spain), Alda Facio (Costa Rica) and Andrea Medina (Mexico) attended the event, where they exposed anti-trans discourses promoting violence based on hate speech.

This situation led the 'Consejo para Prevenir y Eliminar la Discriminación de la Ciudad de México' (Council for the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination in Mexico) to issue a declaration condemning the statements: "Hate speech promotes structural inequality and the oppression of historically marginalized groups through exclusion, violence, disregard and insults; and not only validates, but creates social hostility against certain people or groups" (Infobae, 2022). Around 750 people - including activists, students, and academics - signed a statement against UNAM for allowing this activity to take place and promoting it, as well as institutionally supporting, by remaining silent, trans-exclusionary statements made by academics (Jaime, 2022). Amid the scandal caused by reactions to the activity, the CEIICH issued a timid statement through its Twitter account, stating that "the ideas expressed therein are sole responsibility of those who participated in the debate" (CEIICH-UNAM, 2022).

Nowadays, there are organizations and individuals from different countries who call themselves feminists while promoting anti-trans discourses as part of their agenda, and - although their presence is not significant - we cannot overlook the threat they represent. An interesting example of this is the 'Declaration on Women's Sex-Based Rights'. On its website, it collects signatures to support extremely concerning statements, re-installing binary notions about nature and identity: "Confusion between 'sex' and 'gender' has contributed to the growing acceptance of innate 'gender identities', and the promotion of rights to protect these 'identities'". (Women's Human Rights Campaign, 2019). According to the Women's Human Rights Campaign website,

this document has been translated into 17 languages and has been signed by more than 450 organizations, 32,572 individuals from a total of 159 countries.

At different stages of Chile's recent history, organizations and individual activists have promoted discourses that advocate abolitionist and trans-exclusionary discourses, whether based on radical lesbo-feminism of essentialist and separatist nature or anti-queer feminist approaches. However, these individuals and groups have been adjusting their discourses and expanding their perspective to make room for critical reflections to improve political recognition beyond established identities or closed ideas about nature.

It is especially alarming that some of these discourses have gained visibility and popularity among young female university students. Prior to feminist May, for example, we were concerned about the emergence of the group 'Radicales Uchile' - who promoted strong anti-trans statements - as well as the emergence of 'Fresas Chile' in 2018 - who, on their website, point out that their discrimination against trans people is not arbitrary, but based on the belief that trans activism and its demands for recognition "put at risk the achievements that feminism has historically fought for [...] we believe that trans-activism stands in opposition to women's safety and freedom" (Twift, 2020). This same group also states that "as feminist women we set boundaries to what it means to be a woman and a feminist, and we will not allow these boundaries to be crossed in the name of thoughtless progressivism, which has more to do with obtaining social validation than with the desire to build a peaceful society" (Twift, 2020).

During 2018 - amid the political, social and media impact caused by feminist takeovers and assemblies throughout national universities in response to a report on harassment, and the educational institutions' indifference towards it - public views on gender, how they defined their political actors, and their conception of community were strained. Hillary Hiner and Ana López point out that the use of the terms "women's" takeovers, "women and dissidents" takeovers or "feminist" takeovers [...] reveals certain divisions between transgender radical feminists and queer, trans and non-binary feminists in these spaces (Gálvez et al., 2021, p. 124).

Reviewing previous paragraphs, four things currently stand out in relation to trans-exclusionary movements: 1) the renewed strength they seem to be gaining, particularly among young activists; 2) the persistence with which these discourses raise discussions based on scientific truth; 3) the convergence of abolitionist and anti-gender discourses of various kinds and; 4) the similarities between those who promote anti-gender discourses from fundamentalist or extreme right-wing perspectives and those who do so in the name of a so-called feminist perspective.

In her book "El Feminismo Queer es para todo el Mundo", feminist theorist Gracia Trujillo reflects on anti-trans feminism, stating that these proposals "not only oppose the incorporation of trans* women into the women's movement (or the collective itself), but can also be considered exclusionary feminism" (Trujillo, 2022, p. 105). The author explains that these positions defend "very similar ideas to those of the conservative and far right, as was the case of the 'feminist sex wars' in the US during the 1980s: [during the Reagan Era] a feminist group that defended censorship allied with conservative positions" (Trujillo, 2022, p. 107).

From the OTD-Chile Foundation, several activists support this point of view:

"Anti-trans allegations circulating in exclusionary trans feminist groups follow the same lines of religious fundamentalism and extreme right-wing groups that attack immigrants and sexual diversity groups. Using false threats against society and the country's well-being, they state some rights would supposedly be at risk if the presence of minority groups was validated". (OTD, 2022).

Hillary Hiner and Lelya Troncoso offer a very accurate example to illustrate how trans-exclusionary approaches operate:

"Chilean right-wing extremists and evangelical Christians have strongly mobilized anti-trans discourses in the name of "saving the children". In 2017, Spanish conservative group 'Hazte Oír' sponsored the visit of "The Freedom

Bus" (also known as "The Hate Bus") to Chile. This bus had the words "Boys have penises" "Girls have vulvas. Don't be fooled" stamped on its sides. The idea that 'girls' are born with vulvas and that we should not be 'fooled', can also be found in lesbian Radfem principles in Chile" (Hiner and Troncoso, 2021, p. 687) .

We need to pay attention to trans-exclusionary feminist discourses that support violence driven by anti-gender movements, and fundamentalist proposals based on public hate speech. No matter where it comes from, hate speech represents fatal consequences. American philosopher Judith Butler has very accurately pointed out that "any feminism that is transphobic, involved in forms of hate, fear and discrimination, is unacceptable. Feminism must be committed to gender freedom, radical equality and alliances with other minority groups or sexual dissidents. Transphobic feminism is not feminism" (Diario Uchile, 2020).

CONCLUSIONS

In an interview with the staff of the podcast "Archivos Feministas. Hilando memorias y conversaciones entre amigas", published on June 5th, 2022, feminist sociologist Alejandra Oberti stated that democracy is not only a matter of procedures. We must take committed, active, and critical actions that mobilize efforts to create a society in which a person's path is not built as a one-way street (Barrientos & Toro, 2022). We should have the courage to create communities and alliances where the encounter between differences is more powerful than the protection of our own political spaces of participation or the exploration of the limits of our own experiences.

"Part of the violence we witness and recognize today is a response to the progress achieved by different organizations; therefore, we must keep moving forward and accept that this will be an ongoing struggle in which the fundamental principles of democracy, freedom, equality, and justice will remain on our side" (Butler, 2020, p. 47). Confronting anti-rights discourses is defined by the recognition of diversity; there is no right path to follow. Therefore, when facing politics and studying its complexity, we should always consider

different approaches, accepting that our practices involve thinking about the new, the paths we have been taking and the ones that have already been traced.

The issues we face today demand efforts to understand the alliances and networks of collaboration and power that drive the normalization of hate speech, moral panic, disinformation, and extreme capitalism, as they work against social justice and suppress our possibilities to live in community.

To confront the present, we must recall the most urgent and scandalous situations driven by groups that raise anti-rights banners and disseminate statements that reinforce normative ideals of cis-hetero sexuality to mobilize moral panic, increase their privileges, support inequality, and promote political principles that seek to privatize the public domain.

It is not about letting go of our present, but rather about expanding the sources from which we reflect on activism and alliances, exploring the margins of what is possible within political spaces and implementing active strategies that are able to change the world.

Anti-rights manifestations and their advances demand committed forms of action and urge us to reflect on resistance and politics, mobilizing our efforts as feminists and LGBTQ+ activists towards the creation of new alliances, spaces for dialogue and platforms for transformative work. By doing so, we will be able to build bridges and encounters from which to challenge discourses that promote hate and seek to build forms of exclusion that challenge progress in human rights matters achieved after decades of struggle.

We must speak out against anti-rights movements and be cautious about their progress; however, we must understand that, in this same effort, we are creating a new world. One in which there is room for many more of us, in which it is possible to find ourselves in our differences and in which we raise questions.

We must carefully reflect, in a well-articulated manner, on how, over the last decades, alliances that support anti-rights movements, and that today acquire public visibility in the context of struggles for democracy,

against inequality and violence, have been developed and managed.

However, in facing adversity, we need to take actions that unfold the power of resistance from different sources. We must hold on to each other to explore different forms of reaction against normative standards being reinstalled. We must then act together to de-privatize what has systematically been taken away from us in the anti-rights struggle.

In the words of the Chilean Network against Violence against Women, which launched its campaign on November 25th, 2021: "We are more, and we will not take a single step backwards".

On the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, RED activists and several feminist organizations in the country issued a public statement calling for protests in 67 Chilean cities, from Arica to Punta Arenas, reaffirming their "commitment to continue fighting patriarchy, colonialism, capitalism and racism" (Red Chilena contra la violencia hacia las Mujeres, n. d.). At the same time, they urgently stated that "in the current context, we will not take any step back when faced with attacks from the far-right and fascism, which threaten women's autonomy and freedom, and gender diversity" (Red Chilena contra la violencia hacia las Mujeres, n. d.).

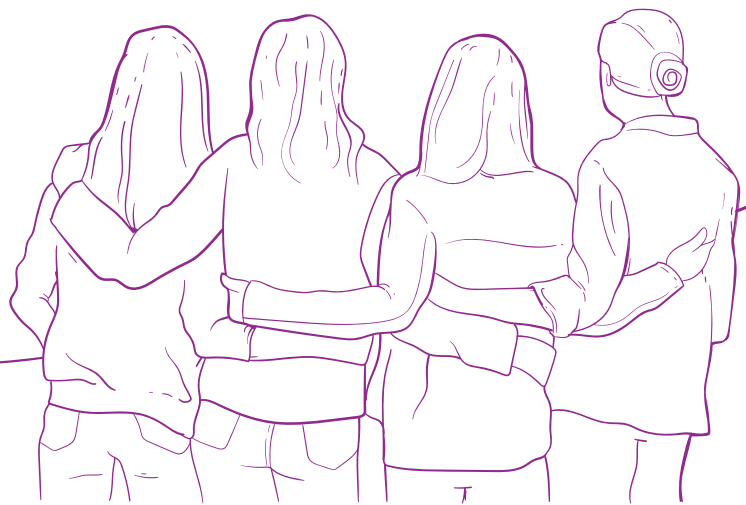
The commitment to justice, democracy and human rights is crucial to confront anti-rights movements and exclusion mechanisms. The defense of equality and the elimination of violence should mobilize us all, but this exercise requires multiple lines of action.

Often, we will move forward without taking a single step backward, moving towards a specific goal that creates new opportunities for everyone, allowing activist movements to promote different forms of transformation we dream of today and on which we depend on to continue moving forward. At other times, we will have to pause to come together to acknowledge and care for each other, to find each other in our differences, and to

reunite in the urgency of the actions that mobilize us.

At times, we will walk straight ahead, without looking back; at others, perhaps a little sideways, slower, with heavy steps; and with determination and firmness on others. There will be times when we will need to stop and review our history to learn from collective memories. Telling stories and making connections to think, live and act in community (Haraway, 2020), in order to project our actions and transform our present, knowing we are not the first to shout "No", nor to say "Never Again".

The key lies in not holding back when faced with a possible change of course; in understanding that each moment in time has its own pace, and that united actions create new worlds. We must move forward together without leaving anyone behind, considering the multiple feminist agendas, and not underestimating the impact of activism that today, using different platforms and strategies, is fighting anti-rights organizations throughout the entire region.



REFERENCES

Acha, Beatriz (2021). *Analizar el auge de la ultraderecha*. Gedisa.

Barrientos, Panchiba (2013). *Discursos normativos de la sexualidad en la articulación y representación de las mujeres en la historiografía chilena: 1980-2000* [Universidad de Chile]. <https://repositorio.uchile.cl/handle/2250/117575>

Barrientos, Panchiba y Toro, María Stella (s. f.). *Archivos Feministas. Hilando memorias y conversaciones entre amigas* (t3. capítulo 6). <https://open.spotify.com/episode/37GNny6X4ljJsCrnz6AQCUC?si=a2d098a0d1fc4032>

Brown, Wendy (2021). *En las ruinas del neoliberalismo: El ascenso de las políticas antidemocráticas en Occidente*. Traficantes de sueños.

Butler, Judith (2020). *Sin miedo: Formas de resistencia a la violencia de hoy*

Cámara de Diputados (1995). *Cámara de Diputados, legislatura 332a, Extraordinaria. Sesión 7o*. <https://www.camara.cl/verDoc.aspx?prmID=3760&prmTIPO=TEXTOSesion>.

Campos, Consuelo. (2021). *El Partido Republicano: El proyecto populista de la derecha radical chilena*. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, 30(1), 105-134. <https://doi.org/10.26851/rucp.30.1.5>

CEIICH-UNAM [@ceiich_unam] (2022, marzo 25). *Comunicado del Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades #CEIICH* [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/ceiich_unam/status/1507495725323722755

Climent, Victor y Goetzenberger, Mirian (2020). *Los partidos populistas de extrema derecha en España: Un análisis sociológico comparado*. *Revista Izquierdas*, 49, 910-931.

Corrêa, Sonia (2018). *A “política do gênero”: Um comentário genealógico*. *Cadernos Pagu*, 53. <https://doi.org/10.1590/18094449201800530001>

Corrêa, Sonia (2022). *Políticas antigénero en América Latina en el contexto pandémico*. *Observatorio de Sexualidad y Política (SPW)*.

Diario Uchile (2020, 29 de Julio). *Judith Butler: “Cualquier feminismo que sea transfóbico y esté involucrado en formas de odio es inaceptable”*. <https://radio.uchile.cl/2020/07/29/judith-butler-cualquier-feminismo-que-sea-transfobico-y-este-involucrado-en-formas-de-odio-es-inaceptable/>

Diario Uchile (2021, octubre 20). *Universidad de Chile ante requerimiento de diputados por programas con perspectiva de género: “Rechazamos toda forma de censura”*. <https://radio.uchile.cl/2021/10/20/universidad-de-chile-ante-requerimiento-de-diputados-por-programas-con-perspectiva-de-genero-rechazamos-toda-forma-de-censura/>

Diario Uchile (2022, octubre 22). *Universidades estatales rechazan oficio de diputados por programas con perspectiva de género*. <https://radio.uchile.cl/2021/10/22/universidades-estatales-rechazan-oficio-de-diputados-por-programas-con-perspectiva-de-genero/>

Dote, Sebastián (2021, mayo 27). *Diputados ingresan proyecto para prohibir el uso del lenguaje inclusivo en las escuelas*. *EL DÍNAMO*.

<https://www.eldinamo.cl/educacion/Diputados-ingresan-proyecto-para-prohibir-el-uso-del-lenguaje-inclusivo-en-las-escuelas-20210527-0053.html>

EFE (2021, de diciembre). Chile decide su futuro tras un estallido, una pandemia y una constituyente. www.efecol.com.

<https://www.efecol.com/efe/america/politica/chile-decide-su-futuro-tras-un-estallido-una-pandemia-y-constituyente/20000035-4700494>

Espinoza, Natalia y Carvajal, Rayén (2021, noviembre 9). “Es un amedrentamiento a la libertad de cátedra”: Académicas rechazan oficio de diputados Jürgensen y Urruticoechea sobre cursos de género. *El Mostrador*.

<https://www.elmostrador.cl/braga/2021/11/09/es-un-amedrentamiento-a-la-libertad-de-catedra-academicas-rechazan-oficio-de-diputados-jurgensen-y-urruticoechea-sobre-cursos-de-genero/>

Faur, Eleanor & Viveros, Mara (2020). La ofensiva conservadora contra la “ideología de género” y sus estrategias de avanzada en América Latina. *Lasa Forum*, 51(2), 11-16.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne (2006). *Cuerpos sexuados: La política de género y la construcción de la sexualidad*. Melusina.

Fondo Alquimia, & Viñals, Victoria (2021). Una aproximación al escenario de los fundamentalismos en Chile. Proyecto On The Right Track.

<https://www.fondodalquimia.org/website/images/2021/11/2-1.jpg>

Galaz, Juan, et al (2021, diciembre). Evangélicos al poder. *Doble Espacio Revista de Periodismo*. <https://doble-espacio.uchile.cl/2021/11/19/evangelicos-al-poder/>

Gálvez, Ana, et al (2021). *Históricas: Movimientos feministas y de mujeres en Chile, 1850-2020*. LOM Ediciones.

González, A. C., Castro, L., Burneo, C., Motta, A., & Amat y León, O. (2018). Develando la retórica del miedo de los fundamentalismos. La campaña “con mis hijos no te metas” en Colombia, Ecuador y Perú. *Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán*.

Haraway, Donna (2020). *Seguir con el problema*. Consenni.

Hiner, Hillary & Garrido, Juan Carlos (2017). “Porque ser pobre y maricón es peor”: La violencia anti-queer en Chile, 2000-2012. En A. Vera, *Malestar social y desigualdad en Chile* (pp. 195-223). Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado.

Hiner, Hillary & Troncoso, Lelya (2021). LGBTQ+ Tensions in the 2018 Chilean Feminist Tsunami. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 40(5), 679-695.

Infobae (2022, marzo 25). Acusaron a la UNAM de ser una institución transfóbica por comentarios de académicas.

<https://www.infobae.com/america/mexico/2022/03/25/acusaron-a-la-unam-de-ser-una-institucion-transfobica-por-comentarios-de-academicas/>

Jaime, Areli (2022, marzo 25). #UNAMSinTransfobia, comunidad universitaria explota contra foro. *Factor Nueve*.

<https://www.factornueve.com/unamsintransfobia-comunidad-universitaria-explota-contra-foro/>

Jerez, Christofer (2019, marzo 4). *El vuelo de las Águilas de Jesús: Cómo se organiza el movimiento evangélico de extrema derecha que aterriza en las universidades. El Desconcierto*.
<https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2019/03/04/el-vuelo-de-las-aguilas-de-jesus-como-se-organiza-el-movimiento-evangelico-de-extrema-derecha-que-aterrija-en-las-universidades.html>

Kienzler, Klaus (2002). *El fundamentalismo religioso: Cristianismo, judaísmo, islamismo. Alianza*.

La voz de los que sobran (2021, octubre 23). «La más grave persecución en contra de la población trans»: OTD por hostigamiento de Urruticoechea y Jürgensen. *La Voz De Los Que Sobran*.
<https://lavozdelosquesobran.cl/hoy/la-mas-grave-persecucion-en-contra-de-la-poblacion-trans-otd-por-hostigamiento-de-urruticoechea-y-jurgensen/23102021>

Lamas, Marta (2006). *Cuerpo: Diferencia sexual y género. Taurus*.

Marantz, Andrew (2021). *Antisocial: La extrema derecha y «la libertad de expresión» en Internet. Capitan Swing*.

Morán Faúndes, José Manuel, & Peñas Defago, María Angélica (2012). *Los fundamentalismos religiosos en movimiento. Manual de capacitación para activistas latinoamericanas/os. Católicas por el derecho a decidir Argentina*.

Mouffe, Chantal (2019). *Herederos de la globalización neoliberal. En N. Chomsky, C. Mouffe, I. Ramonet, & W. Streeck, Neofascismo: De Trump a la extrema derecha europea. Capital intelectual*.

Mudde, Cass (2021). *La ultraderecha hoy. Paidós*.

OTD (2021, octubre). *Respuesta pública a la persecución política contra las identidades trans en Chile | OTD Chile*.
<https://otdchile.org/respuesta-publica-sobre-la-persecucion-politica-contra-las-identidades-trans-en-chile/>

OTD (2022, febrero 26). «Feminismos y sus protagonistas: Tensiones y de construcciones». Organizado por Akahata ORG, 23 de agosto 2021. OTD Chile.
<https://otdchile.org/feminismos-y-sus-protagonistas-tensiones-y-de-construcciones-org-anizado-por-akahata-org-23-de-agosto-2021/>

Pérez Guadalupe, José Luis, & Grundberg, Sebastián (2019). *Evangélicos y poder en América Latina. Instituto de Estudios Social Peruanos*.

Pérez, Sara, et al (2020). *Discurso religioso: «Ideología de género» y grupos anti-género en América Latina. En S. Chaher, Comunicación, feminismo y religión en América Latina (pp. 21-32). Comunicación para la Igualdad*.
<https://ri.conicet.gov.ar/handle/11336/139868>

Preciado, Paul (2008). *Testo yonki. Barcelona: Espasa Calpe*.

Ramírez, Pedro (2019, junio 25). *Cruzada evangélica continental busca frenar «ideología de género». El desconocido rol estelar de J.A. Kast en la “guerra santa” contra la OEA. Ciper*.

<https://www.ciperchile.cl/2019/06/25/el-desconocido-rol-estelar-de-j-a-kast-en-la-guerra-santa-contra-la-oea/>

Rebolledo, Loreto (1995). *Balance del Desarrollo de los Estudios e investigaciones sobre Mujer y Género en las universidades*. En S. Montecino & L. Rebolledo, *Mujer y género. Nuevos saberes en las universidades chilenas*. Bravo y Allende editores.

Red Chilena contra la violencia hacia las Mujeres (s. f.). *Somos + ¡Ni un paso atrás! Red Chilena contra la violencia hacia las Mujeres*.
<https://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl/declaracion-25n-2021/>

Richard, Nelly (2008). *Feminismo, género y diferencia(s)*. Editorial Palinodia.

Shameem, Naureen (2017). *Derechos en riesgo. Observatorio sobre la universalidad de los Derechos. Informe sobre tendencias en derecho 2017*. AWID.

Sívorí, Horacio (2019). *Taller «Reaccionarismo, democracia, derechos y diversidad: Desafíos actuales»*. En M. Maher, *Fundamentalismos religiosos, derechos y democracia* (pp. 15-23). Flacso Ecuador.

Tarducci, Mónica (1999). *Fundamentalismo y relaciones de género: “Aires de Familia” mas allá de la diversidad*. *Ciencias Sociales y Religión/Ciências Sociais e Religião*, 1(1), 189-211. <https://doi.org/10.22456/1982-2650.2158>

Troncoso, Lelya y Stutzin, Valentina (2019). *La agenda heteropatriarcal en Chile: Cruces entre política, moral y religión en la lucha contra la “ideología de género”*. *Revista Nomadías*, 28, 9-41.

Trujillo, Gracia (2022). *El feminismo queer es para todo el mundo*. Catarata.

Twift, Sailor (2020, abril 29). *Sobre «TERF» y amenazas de muerte: ¿Qué pensamos realmente las feministas radicales sobre el transactivismo?* FRESA Chile.
<https://www.fresachile.org/sobre-terf-y-amenazas-de-muerte-que-pensamos-realmente-las-feministas-radicales-sobre-el-transactivismo/>

Valdés, Constanza (2021). *¿Un cuerpo equivocado?: Identidad de género, derechos y caminos de transición*. La pollera.

Vera, Antonieta y Valderrama, Ange (2017) *Teología feminista en Chile: actores, prácticas, discursos políticos*. *Cadernos Pagu* N°50.

Women's Human Rights Campaign (2019).
<https://womensdeclaration.com/es/womens-sex-based-rights-full-text-es/>

