

Impact of Anti-Gender Opposition on TGD and LGBTQI Movements

Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC Region) Report

2023



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This publication is a regional report that is part of a larger report entitled "[Global Report on the Impact of Anti-Gender Opposition on TGD and LGBTQI Movements](#)". The Global Report is a comprehensive study on the impact of anti-gender (AG) opposition on the human rights of trans, gender-diverse, and LGBTQI individuals worldwide. This regional report focuses specifically on the impact of AG opposition in the Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) region.

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About GATE

GATE is an international advocacy organization working towards justice and equality for trans, gender diverse and intersex communities. Rooted in our movements, we work collaboratively with strategic partners at the global level to provide knowledge, resources and access to international institutions and processes. Our vision is a world free from human rights violations based on gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics. Our strategy is to transform the landscape of global advocacy, knowledge creation and resource distribution through critical inclusion of trans, gender diverse and intersex movements at all levels of political, legal, and socio-economic processes.

Find out more about GATE by visiting www.gate.ngo

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Glossary

AG

Anti-gender: The anti-gender movement is an international movement which opposes what it refers to as “gender ideology”, “gender theory”, or “genderism” (Kováts, Eszter, 2016)

BIPOC

Black, Indigenous and People of Color

Centrist

Someone who supports the center of the range of political opinions

Far-Right

Includes “persons or groups who hold extreme nationalist, xenophobic, racist, religious fundamentalist, or other reactionary views”

Gender-Critical

Believing that sex is a fact of biology that cannot be changed, and doubting the idea of gender identity (a person’s feeling of being male, female, or another identity, especially when this is different from the sex they were assigned at birth)

Left-Wing

Political parties, groups or people who believe that wealth and power should be shared among all parts of society

LGBTQI

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer, and Intersex

LGR

Legal gender recognition

Mixed

The group's ideological stances are not homogenous; they are mixed between left-wing and right-wing stances

PWDs

Persons with disabilities

Right-Wing

Political parties, groups or people that have traditional opinions, and who believe in low taxes, the private ownership of property and industry, and less aid to the poor

TGD

Trans and gender diverse

TGDI

Trans, gender diverse, and intersex

Trans-Exclusionary Radical "Feminists" / TERFs

A radical wing of feminism that rejects the assertion that trans women are women, the inclusion of trans women in women's spaces, and trans rights. (The word "Feminists" has been placed in quotation marks to highlight how the TERF movement does not subscribe to the generally accepted definition of feminism, which is a movement primarily about gender equality).

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Analysis of Survey Data

Introduction

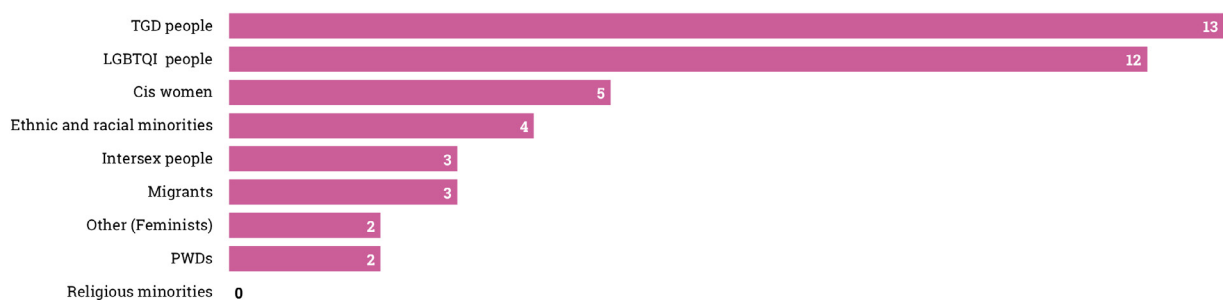
For a general introduction to the Survey completed by respondents, including positionality, data collection methods, and who took part in the Survey, please refer to the [Global Report](#).

The next few pages provide an analysis of the Survey data for the Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) region, followed by a breakdown of the data by country.

AG Actors

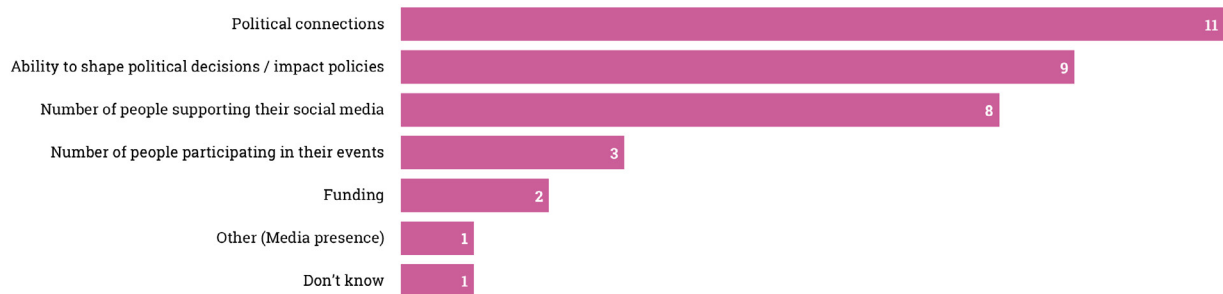
In the LAC region, respondents report that some AG groups are part of the government, while some AG groups are represented as political parties and have seats in electable bodies (parliaments). Most of these actors are categorized as right-wing on the political ideology spectrum but some are mixed or left-wing in their ideological stances. Respondents report that the lack of proper investigation of alleged crimes committed by AG actors is a challenge.

AG groups have targeted the following groups in the past year:



Respondents report that AG actors focus on abortion, freedom of expression, “gender ideology”, sex education, and “family values” in public communication to spread and gain support for their agenda. Mostly, various AG actors coordinate with each other and have been growing stronger.

In the past year, have these groups been growing stronger in terms of the following:



Respondents indicate that AG actors sometimes engage in physical violence directed at vulnerable groups.

Impact on TGD/LGBTQI Communities

5 Respondents believe that the human rights situation for TGD communities has improved in the LAC region in the past year. 4 Respondents believe that it has worsened in their contexts.

In the past year, the situation for TGD groups has:



TGD and LGBTQI activists and their organizations/collectives receive verbal abuse, which is frequently coordinated between various AG actors. Physical abuse appears to be extremely rare as it has not been reported in the Survey by any of the respondents.

In the past year, have you or your organization/collective experienced verbal attacks by AG groups or someone else as a result of AG narratives?

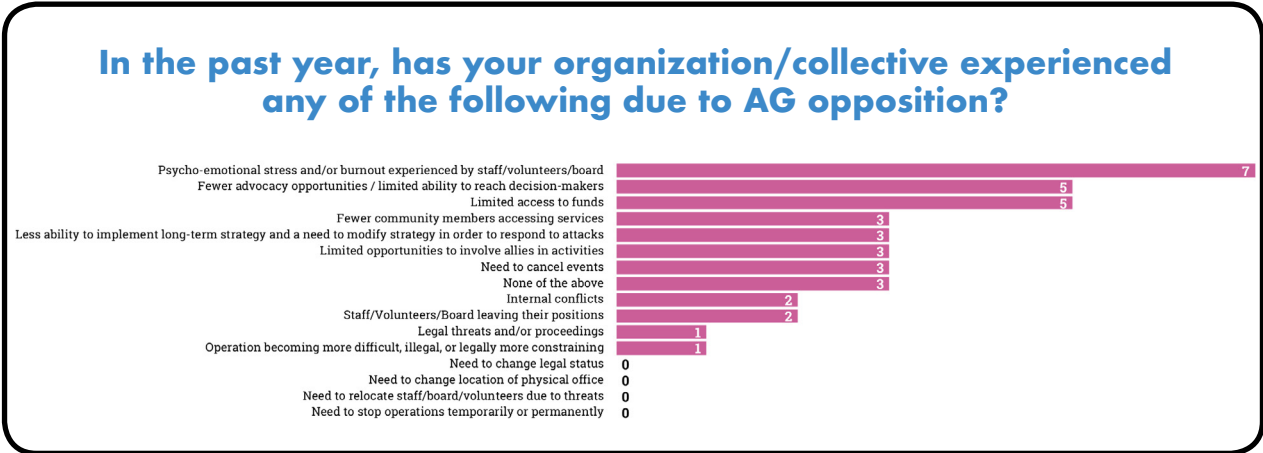


In the past year, have you or your organization/collective experienced physical attacks by AG groups or someone else as a result of AG narratives?



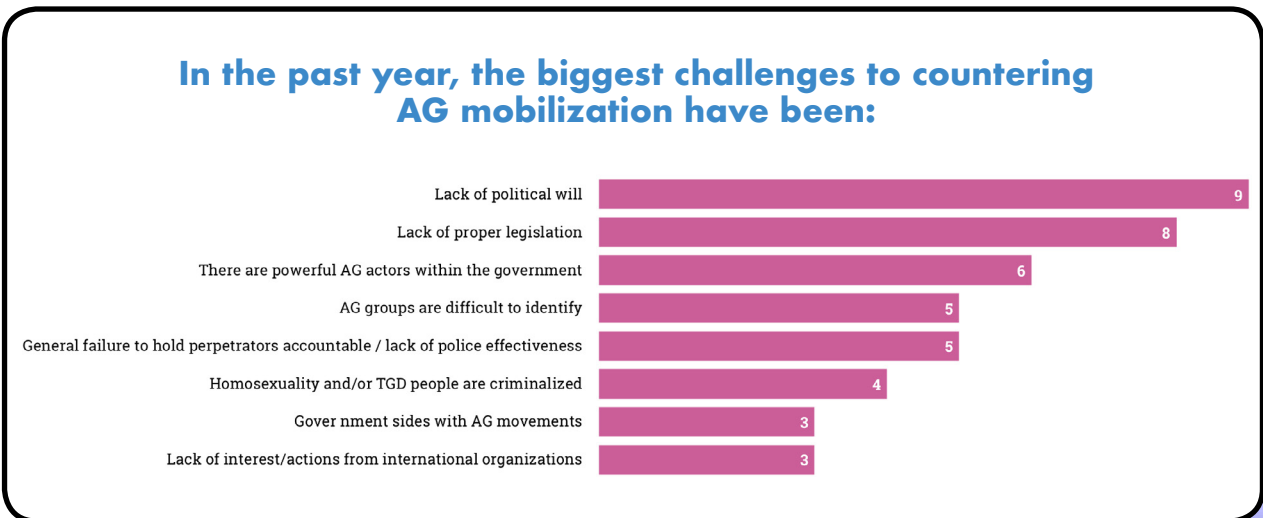
In most of the cases, the authorities were not notified about the verbal attacks. According to most respondents, this lack of reporting is due to the fact that, when the police are notified, they either do not open cases due to lack of proper legislation, or they open the investigation but do not hold the persons legally responsible.

Respondents report that AG opposition results in serious challenges to TGD/LGBTQI and wider human rights activism, with psycho-emotional stress and/or burnout being the leading issue experienced by activists. Besides stress, the two most significant problems activists have to face are limited access to funds and advocacy opportunities, which put constraints on their ability to fight for equality.



In a significant number of contexts AG actors have managed to influence policies and legal developments impacting TGD communities in the past year.

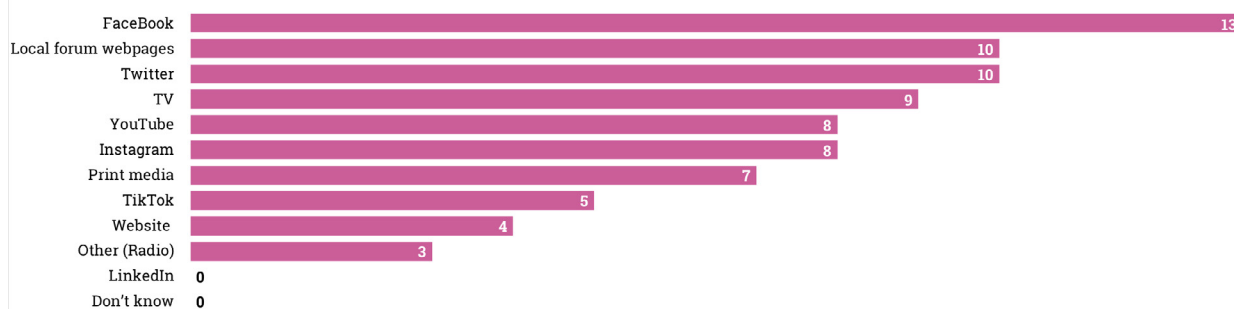
The respondents believe lack of political will and proper legislation to be the main barriers to countering AG opposition in their contexts. This can be explained by the fact that, in many contexts, powerful AG actors are in governments.



Role of the Media

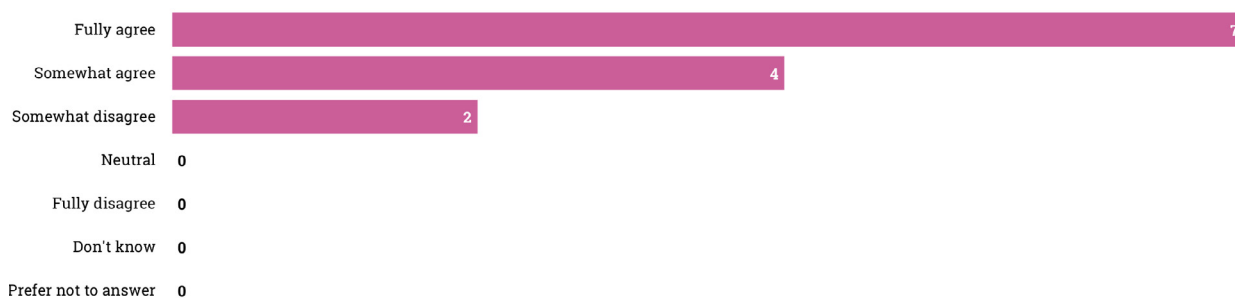
AG groups engage in the creation and spread of false news relating to TGD communities, using FaceBook, Twitter, and local forum webpages as their communication channels.

Media channels used most by AG groups in the past year



In most cases, social media posts by AG groups or actors don't get reported to social media platforms, but when they are, reports get ignored most of the time and content rarely gets taken down. Respondents' experiences shows that social media platforms are the main sources of AG opposition, including mobilization, and these platforms enable transphobic hate to spread by not sufficiently implementing rules and removing false and misleading information or other activities from their platforms.

In my experience, social media platforms are the primary means for AG mobilization



In my experience, social media platforms are not sufficiently enforcing their rules to prevent harmful and/or fake news from spreading and/or violent actions from being planned



What follows is a breakdown of the data from the LAC region by country.

Argentina

AG Actors

According to respondents, some members of AG groups are in the government, and some are represented as political parties. 1 Respondent reports that

“José Luis Espert deputy of Avanza Libertad, Amalia Granata deputy of Unite for Freedom and Dignity, of the electoral front, Unite for Life and Family, Cynthia Hotton, former deputy of Values for my Country, currently Diplomat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina.”

The other respondent states that

“Some political parties, mostly far-right but not exclusively, have among their members and leaders expressly anti-gender people.”

Respondents report that AG groups are categorized as right-wing on the political ideology spectrum:

“Generally, after being voted candidates from different parties when they are in power, they make alliances and blocs.”

1 Respondent indicates that AG actors receive money

“from their own followers and from Think Tanks of the Global North.”

Respondents report that AG actors target migrants and LGBTQI/TGD communities and use abortion, “gender ideology”, non-binary language, comprehensive sex education, sexual and reproductive rights, social plans for TGD people, “family values”, children, and migration as their main discursive topics to spread and gain support for their agenda.

According to respondents, AG groups have been becoming stronger in the past year in terms of the number of people supporting them on social media and participating in their events, increased funding, and political connections, their ability to shape political decisions, and a growth in their media presence.

Respondents indicate that the main barriers to counteracting AG opposition in the past year were lack of adequate legislation and political will, powerful AG actors present in government, overall failure to hold perpetrators accountable / lack of policing effectiveness, and AG groups being difficult to identify. 1 Respondent reports that lack of funding is also a barrier:

“Lack of funds for the LGBTIQ + movement to strengthen capacity that leaves us alone in front of the authorities as the only way out when within the authorities the antigender groups operate and with a lot of concentrated power.”

Impact on TGD/LGBTQI Communities

Respondents report that, in the past year, the human rights situation related to TGD communities has not changed:

“Although there have been policies of progress in the country, the implementation of the same and access to justice add to the impunity of anti-tax groups makes it difficult to comply with and improves the reality especially of people and children TGD.”

1 Respondent reports experiencing verbal attacks resulting from AG opposition:

“In social networks they attack publications of promotion of rights and begin to follow our accounts for or publish them in anti-January groups to make verbal aggressions online.”

The respondent believes that these attacks are coordinated between various AG actors:

“The platforms act in an automatic way and many times their aggressions are understood as freedom of expression. So, we proceed to block most antigender users.”

Physical attacks or threats were not reported in the Survey.

As the result of AG opposition, the organizations affiliated with 1 respondents has experienced the following: limited access to funds, need to cancel events, fewer opportunities for promotion / limited ability to reach decision-makers, limited opportunities to engage partners in activities, less ability to implement a long-term strategy and the need to modify it to respond to attacks, and fewer community members accessing services. 1 Respondent reports experiencing no challenges due to AG opposition.

Role of the Media

AG groups engage in the creation and spread of false information about TGD groups, using TV, local forums, FaceBook, Instagram, and Twitter for communication with their audiences. Some of their social media posts get reported, but the content rarely gets deleted.

1 Respondent fully, and 1 somewhat agrees that social media platforms are the primary medium for AG mobilization, and both respondents fully agree that social media platforms do not sufficiently enforce their rules to prevent the spread of harmful and/or false news and/or the planning of violent actions.

Chile

AG Actors

According to respondents, some AG actors are in government, and some have a form of political party. The following political parties were named: UDI, RN, Observatorio Legislativo Cristiano (opposition party), Partido Republicano, and Unión Demócrata Independiente. AG groups receive funding, but this information is not publicly available, or is hidden. Respondents categorize AG actors as being right-wing on the political ideology spectrum.

AG actors target ethnic and racial minorities, migrants, PWDs, LGBTQI/TGD groups, feminist groups, and academics who work in the gender and sexuality field. They use “family values”, children’s rights, national identity and security, abortion, “gender ideology”, sex education, anti-communism, and political correctness as their main discursive topics to spread and gain support for their agenda.

AG actors coordinate with each other at the international, national, and regional levels. A respondent states that

“For the ‘Freedom Bus’ campaign, the Christian Legislative Observatory was funded by CitizenGo. For the research campaign on gender training, queer theory and trans studies, the right-wing ultraconservative caucus joined.”

AG actors engage in violence directed at vulnerable groups. A respondent says,

“In the case of the ‘Freedom Bus’, actors such as ‘Pastor Soto’ made threats in public spaces and television channels, an issue that continues to occur to this day in the mouth of evangelical fundamentalism. For the campaign prior to the constitutional plebiscite of exit, videos circulated with threats and incitement to hatred against the LGBTIQ + population.”

In the past year, AG groups have been becoming stronger in terms of how many people support them on social networks, their political connections, and their ability to shape impactful political/policy decisions.

The following were named as the main barriers to counteracting AG opposition: lack of adequate legislation, followed by lack of political will, AG groups being difficult to identify, and the overall failure to hold perpetrators accountable / lack of policing effectiveness. Lack of interest/actions by international organizations was also reported as a barrier.

Impact on TGD/LGBTQI Communities

All respondents believe that, in the past year, the human rights situation for TGD groups has improved. They also report that verbal attacks happen:

“Two trans* members of the Network of Feminist Philosophers were discriminated against by Internet users, questioning our gender identity and the relevance of our participation in a feminist organization.”

Another respondent says,

“On the occasion of the campaign for a new constitution, there were 3 controversial episodes involving trans people. This generated a wave of trans hate on social networks where many other trans people who had nothing to do with the act were insulted or harassed in their networks and in content uploaded by anti-gender influencers from YouTube.”

Whether these attacks were planned and coordinated with other AG actors is unknown to the respondents. Authorities were not notified.

Physical attacks or threats were not reported in the Survey.

As a result of AG opposition, organizations and collectives affiliated with respondents have experienced the following challenges: limited access to funds, need to cancel events, fewer opportunities for promotion / limited ability to reach decision-makers, psycho-emotional stress and/or burnout experienced by staff/volunteers/board, and censorship on social networks.

According to respondents, AG groups have been able to influence policies relating to TGD communities in the past year. They have tried to stop abortion, legislate against the recognition of rights, and stop laws of access to historical reparation:

“They attacked the gender identity law. They managed to make the law exclusive of children under 14 and non-binary trans people.”

A second respondent states that

“Leaders of right-wing and ultra-right political parties with anti-gender and Christian NGOs to prevent the advance of laws. Leaders of political parties have ties with leaders of political parties in the US and Brazil, such as the Republican Party and Bolsonaristas.”

Role of the Media

AG actors engage in the creation and spread of false and harmful information about TGD communities, using local forum webpages, FaceBook, Twitter, and Instagram as communication platforms. These are followed by TV and print media, TikTok, YouTube, LinkedIn, and webpages. They also use local radio, especially in more rural areas.

While their social media posts do sometimes get reported to social media platforms, content is almost never taken down. Respondents (2) fully agree and somewhat disagree (1) that social media platforms are the primary medium for AG mobilization. All respondents fully agree that social media platforms do not sufficiently enforce their rules to prevent the spread of harmful and/or false news and/or the planning of violent actions.

Colombia

AG Actors

According to the respondent, some members of AG groups are in government, and some are political parties. Colombia Justa y Libre, and Movimiento Mira were mentioned as AG political parties. These parties have seats in various electable bodies. They receive funding, but the information about this is not publicly available, or is hidden. The respondent categorizes AG groups as mixed on the political ideology spectrum. Whether they coordinate actions among each other or engage in violence directed at vulnerable groups is unknown to the respondent. AG actors target cis women, and LGBTQI/TGD communities and use abortion, sexual diversity, sex education, “feminist bullying”, and “violence against religious women” as their main discursive topics to spread and gain support for their agenda. According to the respondent, in the past year, AG actors have been becoming stronger in terms of the number of people supporting them on social media, and increasing their political connections, and their ability to shape political decisions:

“They have managed to remain as a team of women’s public policy in the Council and have tangled their approval.”

In the last year, AG groups have influenced policies relating to TGD communities:

“[They] prevented the approval of public policy for women in Cali.”

The respondent reports that the main barriers to counteracting AG opposition were lack of political will, the government siding with AG actors, and lack of interest/actions by international organizations.

Impact on TGD/LGBTQI Communities

The respondent indicates that in the past year, the human rights situation for TGD communities has worsened. Verbal attacks have taken place:

“After a performance of women outside the City Council, we were branded as violent, vandals and dangerous and it was proposed to prevent our entry to the debates and even shield the seats from our dangerousness.”

The respondent believes that these attacks were coordinated between various AG actors, but the police were not notified.

Physical attacks or threats were not reported in the Survey.

As a result of AG opposition, the collective with which the respondent is affiliated has experienced the following: limited access to funds, fewer opportunities for promotion / limited ability to reach decision-makers, limited opportunities to engage partners in activities, less ability to implement a long-term strategy and the need to modify the strategy to respond to attacks, and psycho-emotional stress and/or burnout experienced by staff/volunteers/board.

Role of the Media

AG actors engage in the creation and spread of false information about TGD communities, using FaceBook, Instagram, Twitter, and local forum webpages as their main communication channels. While their social media posts get reported to social media platforms, the harmful content does not get taken down. The respondent somewhat agrees that social media platforms are the primary medium for AG mobilization and that social media platforms do not sufficiently enforce their rules to prevent the spread of harmful and/or false news and/or the planning of violent actions.

Costa Rica

AG Actors

According to the respondent, in the last year, government and AG groups have had coordinated communication, and government rarely investigates alleged crimes committed by AG groups. There are several political parties with AG or anti-human rights ideologies. Information on whether they have seats in the parliament, and their funding status is not known to the respondent. They target cis women and LGBTQI/TGDI communities. The respondent categorizes AG groups as right-wing on the political ideology spectrum. Whether various AG groups coordinate with each other is unknown. Their engagement in violent actions directed at vulnerable communities was not reported in the Survey. The respondent reports that AG groups have been becoming stronger in terms of political connections, and their ability to shape political decisions in the past year.

Impact on TGD/LGBTQI Communities

According to the respondent, in the past year, the human rights situation for TGD communities has not changed. Physical and verbal violence or threats were not reported in the Survey. Due to AG opposition, the organization affiliated with the respondent has experienced the following challenges: limited access to funds, less ability to implement a long-term strategy and the need to modify their strategy to respond to attacks, fewer community members accessing services, and psycho-emotional stress and/or burnout experienced by staff/volunteers/board.

The respondent reports that AG groups have not influenced any policy relating to TGD communities in the past year. Lack of adequate legislation and government siding with AG movements were reported as the main barriers to counteracting AG opposition.

Role of the Media

AG actors use TV, print media, and FaceBook to communicate with audiences. Sometimes their posts get reported on social media platforms, but the content is not taken down. The respondent fully agrees that social media platforms are the primary medium for AG mobilization, and that social media platforms do not sufficiently enforce their rules to prevent the spread of harmful and/or false news and/or the planning of violent actions.

El Salvador

AG Actors

The respondent indicates that some members of AG groups are in government, and that the government rarely investigates alleged crimes committed by these actors. According to the respondent, AG groups are not political parties and don't have seats in the parliament. They receive funding, but this information is not publicly available, or is hidden. The respondent categorizes AG actors as right-wing on the political ideology spectrum.

AG actors target cis women and LGBTQI/TGDI groups and use abortion, marriage equality, and freedom of expression as their main discursive topics to spread and gain support for their agenda. Various AG groups coordinate campaigns against comprehensive sexuality education.

In the past year, AG groups have been becoming stronger in terms of political connections, and their ability to shape political/policy decisions.

The respondent reports that the biggest barriers to counteracting AG opposition are lack of adequate legislation, lack of political will, the government siding with AG movements, powerful AG actors within the government, and AG groups being difficult to identify.

Impact on TGD/LGBTQI Communities

The respondent believes that, in the past year, the human situation for TGD groups has worsened. Verbal attacks and threats happen in a coordinated manner:

“Publications in the media and networks, groups praying in front of office headquarters, threatening calls, attacks on the web. They tell us murderers, genocidal, that they are going to put us in jail, that we defend murderers.”

These incidents were not reported to authorities.

Physical attacks were not reported in the Survey.

As a result of AG opposition, the organization affiliated with the respondent has experienced the following challenges: limited access to funds, the operation becoming illegal or legally more restrictive, the need to cancel events, fewer opportunities for promotion / limited ability to reach decision-makers, limited opportunities to engage partners in activities, and psycho-emotional stress and/or burnout experienced by staff/volunteers/board.

In the past year, AG groups have been able to strike down a proposal to allow minimal exceptions to the anti-abortion legislation.

Role of the Media

AG groups engage in the creation and spread of false information about TGD communities, using TV, print media, local forum websites, FaceBook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, YouTube, and websites to communicate with audiences. The respondent somewhat agrees that social media platforms are the primary medium for AG mobilization, and fully agrees that social media platforms do not sufficiently enforce their rules to prevent the spread of harmful and/or false news and/or the planning of violent actions.

Mexico

AG Actors

Respondents report that some members of AG groups are in the government, and that the government rarely investigates alleged crimes committed by AG groups. The government supports AG groups with economic resources and they have coordinated communication with each other. Some AG actors are political parties, for example, the National Action Party (PAN), Parts of Morena, and the Social Encounter Party. Some AG actors are in elected positions: Morena and the Solidarity Encounter Party (PES) hold positions in the Congress of the state of Puebla, and in the mayor's office of the city of Puebla. Respondents report that these parties receive funding. They are categorized as mixed on the political ideology spectrum.

AG actors target cis women, TGD/LGBTQI communities, and activists, organizations, and collectives fighting to decriminalize abortion. Their main topics used to spread and gain support for their agenda are "family values", sex education, abortion, and "gender ideology". Some AG groups coordinate with each other.

In the past year, the respondents report that AG groups have been growing in terms of the number of people supporting them on social media and participating in their events, an increase in their political connections and funding, and their ability to shape policies.

Impact on TGD/LGBTQI Communities

2 Respondents believe that the human rights situation for TGD communities has improved in the past year in Mexico, while 1 respondent reports that it has worsened. All 3 respondents report experiencing verbal attacks and threats in the past year, which mainly happen on social networks.

Verbal attacks also happen in physical spaces:

“During the marches of March 8 and September 28, there are anti-rights groups in the religious enclosures, when the demonstration passes through there, they have come to insult them or even try to attack them.”

Another respondent states that

“They have published personal data of activists on social networks (doxing), such as their addresses and full names so that the comrades are assaulted.”

1 Respondent says,

“When we held an open parliament on abortion in the Congress of Puebla, these groups flocked to public sessions to harass pro-abortion participants.”

Respondents indicate that some of these attacks have been coordinated between various AG actors. In most cases, authorities were not notified.

Organizations affiliated with the respondents have experienced the following due to AG opposition: fewer community members accessing services, psycho-emotional stress and/or burnout experienced by staff/volunteers/board, internal conflicts, staff/volunteers/board leaving their posts, and threats and legal proceedings. 1 Respondent reports not experiencing any challenges.

According to respondents, AG groups have been able to influence policies:

“They stop the advancement of legislative issues related to access in the change of name and gender for different sectors of trans populations. They stop the possibility of comprehensive sex education.”

A second respondent states that

“They delayed the approval of equal marriage, the recognition of self-perceived gender identity, the recognition of self-perceived gender identity for children and adolescents and the decriminalization of abortion.”

Respondents report that the main barriers to counteracting the AG opposition are powerful AG actors within the government, lack of political will, and government siding with AG actors, as well as AG actors being difficult to identify.

Role of the Media

AG groups create and spread false information about TGD communities, using TV, print media, local forum websites, Twitter, and FaceBook as their main communication channels. Their social media posts are not reported because social media platforms don't take these harmful posts down. 1 Respondent agrees, 1 somewhat agrees, and 1 somewhat disagrees that social media platforms are the primary medium for AG mobilization. All 3 respondents fully agree that social media platforms do not sufficiently enforce their rules to prevent the spread of harmful and/or false news and/or the planning of violent actions.

A respondent indicates that

“The actions of religious groups in relation to anti-gender positions should be further explored, especially on the direct communication channels they have with their parishioners, from which they open workshops in which they provide information that stigmatizes and puts at risk the lives of people of sex-gender diversity. In this line also all its actions to change gender identity and expression, as well as sexual orientation, including the multiple ‘camps’ in which people deprived of their liberty are tortured physically and emotionally.”

Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusions and recommendations are based on the most common global trends revealed by the Survey.

The assessment from the majority of respondents that the human rights situation for TGD communities has worsened in the past year should be a cause for alarm for activists, policy-makers, and donors. This alarming reality that the Survey brings to light demands that there should be more of an investment in TGD activism in terms of creating more awareness and more critical knowledge about AG opposition.

Building on this knowledge, analyzing existing activist approaches would help to critically rethink activist strategies in order for them to be more effective. The efficacy of activist approaches and strategies ideally need to include other parties: there need to be more discussions and collaborations between donors, policy-makers, TGD activists, and other socially progressive actors in order to understand the factors contributing to the success of AG actors, and to develop joint strategies to counteract the growth and impact of the AG movement. For example, as AG actors are globally weaponizing concepts like “family values”, sex education, abortion, children’s protection, and “Western ideas”, more critical knowledge is needed to understand how these concepts can be reclaimed through redefining them outside of a cis-heteronormative lens. and how the public communication coming out of activist circles can be improved upon in order to counteract the skewed perceptions that these AG narratives create and foster.

Moreover, as AG actors have successfully managed to position TGD communities and their rights against the women’s/feminist agenda in several contexts, further specific knowledge needs to be created around this topic and more discussions between TGD and feminist movements need to take place in order to clarify that this is a false dichotomy manufactured by the AG movement, and that the principles, values, aims and goals that govern the TGD human rights movement are the same as those that underpin the feminist/women’s movement.

Another aspect that the Survey highlights is the leading challenge experienced by activists resulting from the AG opposition – that of the psycho-emotional well-being of activists. Political discussions at the highest level need to include an awareness of this challenge, as well as ways to prevent and/or mitigate it. Undoubtedly, donors need to invest more in the safety, security, and psycho-emotional well-being of activists. Without this investment, the tendency of activists to leave activism may grow, which would pose a serious threat to the TGD movements, and human rights activism in general.

Pursuant to this, the security and safety of activists and organizations need to be prioritized in funding models as well as in high-political discussions because, otherwise, a growing number of community members may no longer be able to access the services provided by TGD/LGBTQI organizations, which would leave these members in even more vulnerable situations, especially when it comes to life-saving services related to HIV, psycho-emotional support, and other medical, social, and legal assistances. For many, lack of access to these services means vulnerability and exposure to HIV and other health-related issues, homelessness, violence, incarceration, and even death.

Another issue highlighted by the Survey is that due to AG opposition, advocacy opportunities for TGD activists are becoming increasingly limited, and activists have less capacity to reach decision-makers themselves. Therefore, beyond the financial investment in advocacy, donor institutions themselves need to proactively invest in enabling and facilitating discussions between activists and decision-makers, as donors and other institutions have relatively more power to reach decision-makers.

Activists, donors, and policy-makers also need to invest more political attention and resources into international and national policies and legislation that tackle the disinformation and radicalization of the AG movement, as the Survey revealed the main barriers to counteracting AG opposition to be the lack of political will, lack of proper legislation, and general failure to hold perpetrators accountable / lack of police effectiveness,

Finally, as the Survey showed, social media is the main domain enabling AG discourses to flourish and mobilization to take place. Donors need to support activist communication efforts more and activists need to be more invested in effective public communication. This requires more knowledge and resources for effective messaging (including message testing), understanding social opinions and factors contributing to radicalization, and utilization of more diverse

communication channels. Most importantly, social media platforms need to be held accountable. More and more effective regulations and policies are needed to force social media platforms to enforce higher safety and ethics standards on their platforms, ensuring that they do not enable disinformation that leads to social conflict and violence. Due to the transnational nature of social media platforms, discussions and policy efforts targeted at them are needed at the international level.

Summary of Recommendations

Donors

1. In funding portfolios, prioritize projects aimed at:
 - a. producing more critical knowledge on AG opposition, factors contributing to radicalization, and effective strategies for counteracting it,
 - b. increasing the capacity of activists and organizations, as well as their safety, security, and well-being,
 - c. producing effective and wide-reaching communication,
 - d. building intersectional cross-movement alliances, and
 - e. tackling disinformation and radicalization.
2. Beyond funding advocacy projects, proactively leverage positions of power to facilitate discussions between activists and decision-makers.
3. Provide flexible funding to adequately respond to emerging issues and increase core funding opportunities.

Decision-makers

1. Increase the participation of TGD communities in consultations for policy making – not only on issues that specifically impact TGD communities, but on all social issues.
2. Invest in understanding the factors contributing to anti-democratic radicalization, and conflicts operating in local contexts.
3. In consultation with various progressive/emancipatory and socially vulnerable groups, create or improve policies that address disinformation and anti-democratic radicalization.

Activists

1. Mobilize new resources and invest the existing ones in improving the understanding of the factors contributing to radicalization, the nature of AG opposition, and strategies on how to effectively counteract it.
2. Mobilize new resources and invest the existing ones in effective communication, both in terms of the content and the channels to reach as many audiences as possible.
3. Mobilize new resources and invest the existing ones in the safety, security, and well-being of the staff, board, and volunteers of the organization.
4. Liaise with social media platforms or organizations who can provide support in reaching out to social media to address disinformation.
5. Focus energies on building alliances and solidarity with other socially progressive and emancipatory movements, especially among feminist groups.



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