





Tongues of fire: the flames of hatred in the democratic fabric

The impact of hate speech on gender policies and their advocates in Argentina

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The impact of hate speech on gender policies and their defenders in Argentina

FUNDHEG

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Cabral.

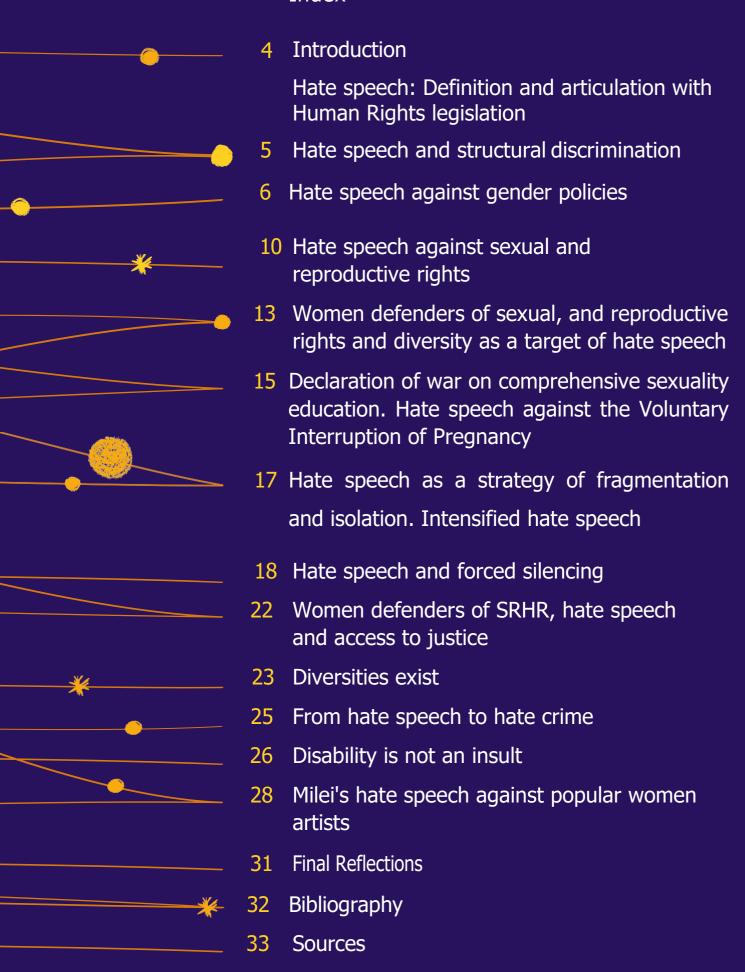
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We appreciate the collaboration of the visible and anonymous colleagues who have contributed to this task of resisting hate speech with words and voices.

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INTRODUCTION

HATE SPEECH: DEFINITION AND ARTICULATION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS LEGISLATION

"Hate speech is any kind of communication in speech, writing or behavior, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with reference to a person or a group on the basis of who they are or, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, color, descent, gender or other identity factor."

This definition, taken from "The United Nations Strategy and Plan of Action to Combat Hate Speech" (2019)¹ frames the approach taken in the following pages. While the same document warns about the non-existence of an international legal definition, it also notes that hate speech "is often rooted in and generates intolerance and hatred and, in certain contexts, can be demeaning and divisive."

Along the same lines, other pronouncements of international organizations can be grouped here, such as Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)²; Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD)³; Article 13 of the American Convention on Human Rights (Pact of San José)⁴, among others.

At a local level, both Law 23.592 on Discriminatory Acts⁵ and Article 212 of the Penal Code stipulate penalties for those who publicly incite collective violence against individuals or institutions on the grounds of hate. In addition, Law 26.485⁶, on Integral Protection to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Violence against Women, which incorporates symbolic and media typologies as specific forms of violence, stands out. Moreover, in October 2023, Law Olympia No. 27.736⁷, was sanctioned, incorporating digital violence to the modalities of gender violence recognized in Law No. 26.485, and establishes the need to implement public policies that incorporate rights and minimum guarantees of judicial and administrative procedures for cases of gender violence in this area.

Finally, the National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism (INADI) provided publications and recommendations for prevention. "Hate speech and democracy, an approach from a human rights perspective" is a noteworthy publication in this regard.

In summary, international treaties, local regulations and the contributions of state bodies such as INADI form a legal framework aimed at preventing and punishing hate speech. However, the current socio-political context and public debate are moving in the opposite direction. The elimination of INADI by the national government is a case in point that foreshadows the state of affairs

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Hate speech and structural discrimination

In parallel and in association with the emergence of right-wing and ultra-right conservative movements, hate speech has been consolidated in recent years as a language of their own within public narratives. This process, favored and amplified by social networks, has become naturalized in everyday life as a global phenomenon that also has its chapter in Argentina.

In 2019, the National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism (INADI) presented the National Map of Discrimination, a report on discriminatory perceptions, experiences and practices in Argentina⁹..

The report revealed that 72% of the people surveyed experienced discrimination, either directly or witnessed it inflicted on others. This represents an increase from the 65% recorded in 2013. Among 18–29-year-olds, this percentage reached 82%. In addition, 44% reported having experienced discrimination directly, an increase of 11 points compared to 2013 data

The survey identifies three main areas of discrimination: firstly, structural racism, secondly, gender, and finally, physicality. Structural racism, which includes discrimination based on skin color, nationality, socioeconomic status, place of origin and ethno-cultural belonging, stands out as the main type of discrimination. It was also identified that the experiences of discrimination related to aesthetic issues were duplicated.

The data show a considerable increase in the perception and experience of gender discrimination. Forty-six percent of the women surveyed reported having suffered discrimination. While in 2013 only 6% mentioned having been discriminated against for being a woman, in 2019 this figure doubled to 12% of experiences suffered overall. When considering only women's responses, the percentage rises to 21%. The workplace was identified by women as the space where they suffer discrimination most frequently, with 56%.

Additionally, the document reveals that the trans population is one of the most vulnerable groups: 85% of respondents perceive high levels of discrimination against trans people, and 76% identified gays, lesbians and bisexuals as groups that also suffer discrimination

An important fact highlighted by the report is that 36% of people identified discrimination associated with the denial of rights as a relevant problem, ceasing to be perceived as something ordinary and normalized (in 2013, only 12% did so). Given this change in social perception, it is crucial to recognize and address structural discrimination, not only to counteract its normalization, but also to foster social change that promotes inclusion and respect for diversity

This INADI report provides a factual context that reveals the magnitude of the structural discrimination that persists in society and foreshadows a scenario where hate speech finds fertile ground to spread within social and political narratives. In this context, the consolidation of hate speech evidences how messages of exclusion and hatred, legitimized and amplified by digital and social environments, not only feed on deeply rooted contexts of discrimination, but also reflect and reproduce them.

Hate speech against gender policies

Graph 1. Disinformation and hate speech against gender policies



Although it is not possible to consider hate speech as a novelty in the local context, it is relevant to identify their own characteristics and nuances. What is central here is that hate speech, which in the past was perceived as marginal, has found an institutional channel: they are produced and reproduced by the State.

This circumstance makes the analysis and approach more complex, since stigmatization, discrimination, incitement to violence and divisions and tensions among social actors come from those who should safeguard social peace and democratic coexistence.

Before he took office, Javier Milei was characterized by aggressive rhetoric, even violent, using vulgar language and insults against his political adversaries and public figures. Far from moderation, this trait was accentuated during his mandate, highlighted by the permanent confrontation and the use of the official narrative to point out certain groups as "enemies" or "responsible" for the country's problems. This validation of verbal violence and hate speech as tools of public debate generates meaning, reinforces prejudices, encourages and enables symbolic violence and even, in some cases, physical violence against these targeted sectors.

Another aspect to consider is the combination of hate speech with disinformation and the propagation of fake news, key elements of the government's communication strategy. This method, prolific in social networks and supported by official press releases and spokespersons, amplifies hate messages, singling out and attacking actors and sectors, which also suffer the impact of its policies.

In this way, hate speech becomes a central gear of the official policy, exceeding the strictly communicational. The danger transcends the discursive: hate speech justifies authoritarian practices and legitimizes regressive policies that violate the rights of various sectors, especially the most vulnerable minorities.

In Argentina, this drift towards regressive policies has had a strong impact on gender policies, which have required years of struggle by feminist organizations and the LGBTIQ+ population. The official narrative disqualifies any policy by labelling it as "gender ideology," a negatively charged discursive construction, to which it constantly resorts and which, according to its logic, is enough to delegitimize any initiative.

A relevant precedent took place in October 2022, when the then deputy Javier Milei participated in an event in Madrid organized by the far-right party VOX. In his speech, he attacked policies for gender equality, inclusive language and the environmentalist agenda, accusing them of "destroying the values of society."

This position, coinciding with other global ultra-right sectors, has remained in his narrative and has intensified during his administration. Last August the Minister of Justice, Mariano Cuneo Libarona, reinforced this line by denying the existence of sexual diversities and violence against women, without detailing how the continuity of gender policies will be. The presidential spokesman, Manuel Adorni, supported these views, associating these policies with "businesses that do not defend anyone."

Existing inequalities, violence and structural discrimination are systematically denied by the government, always placing them in the "gender ideology" basket. This denialism configures a discursive reality that validates government actions: if gender violence and discrimination do not exist, there is no need for policies to reverse them.

This is illustrated by Argentina's recent negative vote on a UN resolution to prevent and eliminate violence against women. It was the only country to reject the resolution (170 countries approved it and 13 abstained).

The concrete management of the government also follows this approach. The elimination of the Ministry of Women, Genders and Diversities, severe budget cuts and the dismantling of key programs to combat gender inequality have been denounced and repudiated by national and international organizations such as the International Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), the Organization of American States (OAS) and Amnesty International.

"The kitchen of caregiving" (La cocina de los cuidados), a study conducted by the Centre for Legal and Social Studies (CELS)10, shows that 86% of care policies are discontinued (only 7 are in force out of the 49 surveyed).

In the future, the trend will continue and tend to worsen. According to the analysis of the Executive's budget for 2025, carried out by the Latin American Team of Justice and Gender (ELA) and the Civil Association for Equality and Justice (ACIJ)11, the programs for prevention and assistance against gender violence will be notoriously affected: zero budget for the Acompañar Program and the Strengthening of the CSE, and unidentified items for the 144 Line.

These forecasts are not surprising, considering the management of these programs: The 144 Line (to assist and advise women and LGBTIQ+ in situations of violence) suffered significant staff cuts, and in relation to the Acompañar Program (for Support and Accompaniment to People at Risk for Gender-Based Violence) the government reduced by half the assistance time, restricted the accesses to the program and added new requirements to apply for it. As an aggravating factor, the Minister of Justice, Mariano Cuneo Libarona, announced that the Penal Code will include prison sentences for false reports of gender violence.

In conclusion, the government denies the existence of gender violence, associates it with suspicions of corruption, does not assume its functions as a promoter of prevention and assistance, and even more seriously, limits access to justice for the victims.



Cúneo Libarona afirmó que las denuncias falsas por violencia de género serán un crimen

En

Cuneo Libarona stated that false reports of gender violence will be a crime

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PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO

They reject the alterations to the "Micaela Law" proposed by Milei's national government

Rechazan las alteraciones a la "Ley Micaela" que propone el gobierno nacional de Milei

AMERICA LATINA >

Argentina se aísla en la OEA por sus objeciones a la agenda de DDHH, Seguridad y Género que la Asamblea General tratará en Asunción

El gobi que ca represe

Argentina isolates itself in the OAS for its objections to the agenda on HR, Security and Gender that the General Assembly will deal with in Asuncion

El Gobierno de Javier Milei desmantela áreas clave para la lucha contra la violencia de género en Argentina

Por Betiana Feri © 6 min de leo

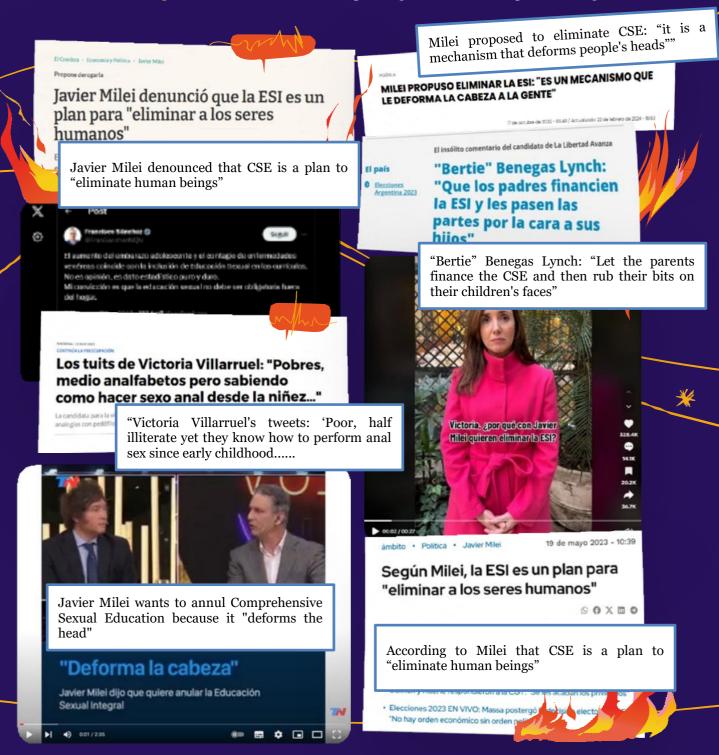
L Ileana Manucci

Javier Milei's government dismantles key areas for the fight against gender violence in Argentina



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Graph 3. Disinformation and hate speech against sexual and reproductive rights



The denialist stance on gender inequalities and violence adopted by the national government has channeled its disinformation and hate speech campaigns with particular viciousness against sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR). Since its inception, the implementation of comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) has been a constant target of disinformation, even before the arrival of Javier Milei to the presidency.

The report Comprehensive Sexuality Education, Disinformation disseminated during the Argentine elections of 2023, elaborated by ELA and Chequeado.com¹², offers a detailed overview of disinformation campaigns related to CSE during the electoral process, warning that this phenomenon is not exclusive to Argentina: a 2019 investigation revealed how the same disinformation can be replicated in different Latin American countries, driven by "pro-life," religious, governmental groups and public figures; in 2023, another study evidenced that these actors operate transnationally, using common strategies in Latin America, the United States and Spain

The ELA study points out that in Argentina disinformation narratives circulated against CSE with statements such as:

- "CSE is institutionalized child sexual abuse."
- "CSE is a tool for ideological indoctrination."
- "CSE promotes the homosexualization of children."
- "CSE uses materials inappropriate for the age of the students."
- "CSE is a mechanism that 'brainwashes' with sexual ideology."
- "CSE promotes pedophilia and population control."
- "CSE should be based only on biological content, not ideological."

Among the main promoters of these narratives are government officials, most notably the vice-president, Victoria Villarruel, who has dismissed CSE as "ideological indoctrination."

Last November the vice-president insisted on her questioning of CSE by criticizing the governor of the province of Buenos Aires, Axel Kicillof, for reading "Eartheater," a work by the Argentine writer, Dolores Reyes, which is questioned by conservative sectors that decontextualize some passages of sexual content. "They exalt pedophilia and sexualize children, Kicillof," said Villarruel.

It is worth remembering that the vice-president did not speak out when her presidential candidate on several occasions used references to pedophilia, child abuse and even made sexual "jokes" referencing donkey genitalia in a presidential school speech.

For his part, president Javier Milei has reinforced this anti-CSE stance with statements such as:

- "CSE is a type of indoctrination and part of the agenda of post-Marxism."
- > "It should not be something mandatory that is used to indoctrinate."
- > "This post-Marxist agenda has to do with the destruction of the most important social nucleus within society, which is the family."
- > "CSE is a plan to eliminate human beings.

In fact, sexual and reproductive health of girls, adolescents, women and diversities is far from being a priority. So far in its mandate, allocations for the CSE have been cut, and no funds are expected to be allocated for its implementation in 2025, according to the budget analysis of ELA and ACIJ¹¹.

In addition, other key programs have been cut, such as the Plan for the Prevention of Unintended Pregnancy in Adolescence (ENIA), which suffered significant reductions and defunding, with a projected budget for next year that represents a 27% decrease compared to the current budget and a 78% decrease compared to 2023. This is of particular concern given that the implementation of the ENIA Plan managed to reduce the fertility rate in girls and adolescents aged 10 to 19 years by 49% between 2018 and 2021, constituting a model of public policy. Furthermore, the National Front for the Health of People with HIV denounced

a shortage of medicine and reagents for their treatment. The situation could worsen in 2025: the FUNDHEG report: HIV: alarming situation in Argentina 13, reports a budget cut of 76% for the HIV, STI, Viral Hepatitis and Tuberculosis Response Directorate. In addition, through the response to a request for public information made by a newspaper, it was revealed that the government only distributed 2% of the free condoms available, without making new purchases.

Graph 4. Milei administration against sexual and reproductive rights



Women defenders of Sexual and Reproductive Rights and diversity targeted by hate speech

"We are more alone than before and there is constant delegitimization.

"I have had to close my social media accounts and avoid participating in public events.

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I fear for my safety and that of my family."

"Many times, I self-censor myself, there are issues in which I do not participate within the public debate because I know that it will bring a barrage of violent speeches."

"I have lost collaborations and job opportunities. Many of my contacts have stopped communicating with me for fear of backlash".

"It's as if they were declaring open war on CSE."



In this panorama of confrontation, where the frontal attack against the rights of women and diversities is official, women defenders of SRHR become the target of State-enabled violence. The struggle of women defenders for equality and justice in the Argentine provinces

"Recently I have also felt the fragmentation and isolation that is inflicted on feminist organizations."

"In social networks I was attacked several times for my position in favour of safe, legal and free abortion."

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"The things that happen in the networks do not always stay in the networks, and that has affected me and the entire environment around me."





"Diversity exists, trans women exist, and they are going to have to change their political system to live in a world without hate."

"We have been affected on a daily basis, in state institutions where, once again, they are denying us our identity."



faces an increasingly complex challenge: harassment and systematic delegitimization through hate speech that seek to silence and terrorize them. (To ensure their safety, some identities have been protected, and pseudonyms have been used).

Declaration of war on CSE

Leny Cáceres is a journalist, feminist, abolitionist, Director of Diario Digital Femenino in Neuquen, and recounts how the attacks occur:

"In our newspaper the attacks are not so much personal as directed towards the issues we address, especially when we talk about CSE and SRHR. The appearance of an NGO like Teen STAR, with its links to conservative groups, has intensified the hate speech in comments and social networks. It is as if they are declaring open war on CSE."

Leny stresses that the aggressions are not isolated, but are part of a broader strategy to delegitimize feminist struggles and generate a climate of polarization and fear. "It is in these digital spaces where narratives are constructed that seek to demonize our ideas and ourselves. We are painted as enemies of society, as if we were attacking the family or its traditions".

Leny explains that hate speech is not only expressed in networks. "As I am dedicated to the defense of women, children and adolescents and to the territorial work of assistance in situations of violence, I have suffered hate speech that have gone through my body in different ways, they have deeply affected my emotions, my convictions. At first, I was paralyzed, I did not know how to respond to so much aggression, it even makes you rethink what you are doing. Then I was able to continue, and I believe that we must continue collectively, as we can, together so as not to let them stop us."

Hate speech vs. Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy (VTP)

In May of this year, the Minister of Worship, Francisco Sánchez, expressed himself firmly and openly against the VTP, divorce and egalitarian marriage, asking for "recovering traditional values." Previously, the ruling party presented a project for the repeal of the VTP, proposing also to modify the Penal Code removing this right to those who face a pregnancy resulting from rape or sexual abuse.

This bill institutionalizes what was expressed in March of this year by president Milei, who stated that legal abortion "is a murder aggravated by the bond." This statement is particularly serious as it reflects an attempt to reverse the legislative advances achieved, and at the same time associates the decision to terminate a pregnancy with criminal practices.

And this is not limited to the legal sphere, but permeates the public debate and generates a climate of hostility towards those who defend SRHR, as in this case the right to abortion..

Alma Soria is a feminist journalist from Comodoro Rivadavia, Chubut:

"On social networks I was attacked several times for my position in favor of safe, legal and free abortion, and I have also seen how some Hate speech affect friends that I love and respect very much"

First, I felt helpless because any argument I put forward was useless because the aggressions went down another track, and then I was frightened. These attacks affected me and greatly limited my participation in social networks, especially in X, which is very serious for my work.

Graph 05. Disinformation and Hate speech against VTP

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Hate speech as a fragmentation and isolation strategy

Far from being a mere expression of opinion, hate speech become a weapon to delegitimize the struggles of women defenders, presenting them as extremists, self-interested or even as enemies of society. This strategy seeks to undermine their credibility, isolate them socially and generate a climate of hostility that forces them to remain silent.

Florencia Basso is a journalist and activist for reproductive and non-reproductive sexual rights of women and sexual diversities in Tierra del Fuego, and like Leny she has suffered the hate speech.

"In recent months I have felt the impact of hate speech, mainly through my social networks. Here in Patagonia the communities are very small, and this makes me feel very exposed and vulnerable at times. The attacks on the social networks have affected me emotionally, and fundamentally in relation to my mental health. I have opted for self-censorship and also to take extra security measures to protect my accounts".

"In recent times I have also felt the fragmentation and isolation that is directed at feminist organizations, this occurs in the almost nonexistent press coverage by the local media of the activities undertaken by the organizations here in my province," denounces Florencia.

Hate speech intensified

Hundreds of kilometers from Florencia, in northern Argentina, Josefa, an artist and activist, tells how in the most remote corners of the country, women defenders are more exposed

"Since the arrival of this ultra-right-wing government, I feel that we are more and more alone. Those of us who live in the interior, far from the big cities and support networks, are the most vulnerable."

The Hate speech have direct consequences on the activism of these women defenders

"I have had to close my cultural center and move to another town just for expressing my ideas. It's as if being a feminist is a crime in my town," says Josefa.

Josefa describes the profound emotional impact of these attacks: "The stigmatization is terrible. It makes you feel alone, isolated and afraid. In small towns, where everyone knows each other, it is difficult to find safe spaces. Many colleagues have decided to give up their activism for fear of reprisals. It is a very sad situation because it deprives us of the possibility of building more just and egalitarian communities."

Marta is an activist from the northwest and adds a stark testimony of the political violence faced by women human rights defenders in Argentina's provinces "Before this government came to power, I was already suffering attacks by ultraconservative groups, but since then the situation has become untenable. I feel constantly persecuted and threatened".

"Before this government came to power, I was already suffering attacks by ultraconservative groups, but since then the situation has become untenable. I feel constantly persecuted and threatened".

This systematic persecution has forced her to withdraw and limit her activities.

"I have had to close my social media accounts and avoid participating in public events. I fear for my safety and that of my family.".

The consequences of these attacks transcend the personal. Marta, who was a leading figure in her community, has seen how her space for action has been drastically reduced. "I have lost collaborations and job opportunities. Many of my contacts have stopped communicating with me for fear of backlash."

Hate speech and forced silence

Digital harassment and online violence have a profound impact on WHRDs, leading them to reconsider their presence and activity in virtual spaces. The decision to restrict their online participation reflects an increasingly common trend among these women, who are forced to self-censor and limit their interactions for fear of trolling.

Lorena is an activist from southern Argentina and recounts her experience

"I put a padlock on my accounts for fear of retaliation. It's a shame because the networks were an important space to connect with other activists and make our struggles visible. We are more alone than before and there is constant delegitimization."

Términos relacionados con la violencia digital

¹ "Trolling" in digital violence refers to online behaviors intended to provoke, harass or annoy a person or group of people. Trolls may use a variety of tactics to cause harm, including: Insults and offensive language: use of abusive, demeaning, or discriminatory language.

Cyberbullying: Repeatedly sending threatening or intimidating messages.

Coordinated attacks: Groups of trolls who band together to harass a person or group.

Doxing: Revealing someone's private personal information without their consent.

Impersonation: Creating fake accounts to impersonate the victim and damage the victim's reputation.

Spreading false information or rumors: Spreading lies or misleading information to discredit the victim.

Trolling in digital violence can have serious consequences for victims, such as

Emotional damage: Anxiety, depression, low self-esteem.

Reputational damage: Difficulty finding work or maintaining relationships.

Social isolation: Withdrawal from social life and online activities.

Self-harm or suicide: In extreme cases, online bullying can lead to suicidal thoughts or actions. It is important to remember that trolling in digital violence is a serious problem.

Silvina Molina, journalist and founder of the International Network of Journalists with a Gender Perspective, explains the effect of the Hate speech on her profession:

"The Hate speech have a particular impact on women journalists, they circulate through social networks and the violence that the hate speech causes is real, it impacts our lives, sometimes physically because it goes beyond the virtual and becomes a real attack for some journalists."

Moreover, she shares some strategies to protect herself. "I chose to educate myself digitally, to know what resources I have to counteract them, to learn how to survive in a world in which as a journalist I am a target of those Hate speech.

Many times, I self-censor myself, there are issues in which I do not participate in the public debate because I know that this will bring a barrage of violent discourse and, on the other hand, I support as much as I can colleagues who are experiencing or have endured very difficult situations.".

> "Beyond demanding that the owners of the platforms, state and judicial bodies, and the directors and managers of the media support their journalists in these processes, I believe that the only way we can overcome these times is to be united and backed by specialists and organizations that know about these issues in order to emerge stronger, stop the violence and be part of the public debate as any democracy demands, where journalists and women have to be present," proposes Silvina.

> All the testimonies collected reveal a common pattern among women defenders of SRHR: the decision to restrict their participation in the public debate, particularly in social networks.

> In this regard, a recent report entitled "Muteadas" (Muted)14 published by Amnesty International Argentina, on violence and abuse against women journalists and diversities in digital environments, is revelatory.

> The study shows that between 2018 and 2024, 63.5% of the surveyed journalists mentioned that they had been victims of some type of digital violence.

> The publication also highlights that "the situation is exacerbated for journalists who publicly address issues such as SRHR, gender-based violence and the rights of LGBTI+ people, given the violent reaction of certain sectors that are openly hostile to the presence of voices that defend these agendas, in a context characterized by the rhetoric of far-right leaders globally, loaded with xenophobic, sexist and homophobic messages, which is based on the idea that the advances made regarding women's rights and the rights of sexual and gender diversities have created "privileges" for these groups of people."

The research also focuses on the effects of these attacks. The journalists remarked that it leads them to "limit their publications, self-censor themselves and, in some cases, to abandon the network altogether."

The study concludes that the consequences are worrisome since this "excludes women journalists from the public debate, as well as their relevant voices for the promotion and defense of gender equality agendas in the case of journalists specialized in this area. In addition, the societal right to seek and receive information produced by women journalists on these agendas is weakened.



On several occasions, organizations such as the International Press Association (IAPA), the Argentine Journalism Forum (FOPEA), the Association of Argentine Journalistic Entities (ADEPA) and the National Academy of Journalism of Argentina repudiated president Milei's attacks on the press, expressing their concern about the escalation of verbal violence, online harassment and the restriction of access to public information

As an example, according to data from the survey conducted by FOPEA's Freedom of Expression Monitor15, in just his first 100 days in office,

"4 out of 10 aggressions towards the press had president Milei or his ministers as main perpetrators.".

In this context, the president's aggressive behavior towards women journalists, characterized by disqualifications and verbal attacks, is also recurrent. Milei's denigrating treatment of female communicators such as María O'Donnell, Luisa Corradini and Silvia Mercado, among others, exemplifies how his public interventions and confrontations with the press foster a climate of hostility towards journalism, and especially towards female journalists.

As a precursor, in 2018 during an open conference on economics in Metán, province of Salta, Milei engaged in an episode of verbal violence against journalist Teresita Frías. The incident occurred when Milei, after accepting questions from the audience, called her a "donkey," attributed to her comprehension problems and disqualified her with aggressive comments, such as "What are you here to talk about? You're the totalitarian, talking about subjects you don't know a damn thing about." This incident led to the intervention of the judicial authorities

This year the Family and Gender Violence Court of Metán closed the case against Milei, without notifying the journalist or allowing her access to the case file. The closing of the case was questioned by the International Network of Journalists with Gender Vision of Argentina (RIPVG Ar), which criticized the lack of procedural guarantees. The Salta Gender Legal Institute also expressed its opinion, considering that the ruling was revictimizing and constituted a disciplinary message towards those who denounce this type of violence

Other incidents include his altercation with Cristina Pérez, whom he accused of being a political operator and of manipulating the conversation, and the encounter with María Laura Santillán and Carolina Losada, where, with an intimidating tone, Milei refused to share space in a debate. These confrontations reveal a pattern of contempt and hostility when women question or contradict his position.

This behavior enables hate speech that is replicated and amplified through their followers in social networks, intensifying the attacks against those who carry out their informative work, and explains the reality testified by journalists and defenders of SRHR throughout these pages.

It is also important to note that these expressions of support from journalistic organizations are often focused on high-profile media figures, while many journalists and SRHR defenders from the country's interior, who also suffer persecution and digital violence, do not have access to the same level of protection or visibility.

Women defenders of SRHR, Hate speech and access to justice

Manuela Calvo is a social communicator and human rights defender in the province of La Rioja.

She has accumulated 4 previous censures for her investigations in which girls who put into words crimes of domestic abuse are forced by the judicial system to reconnect with their alleged abusers

Manuela faces a charge of "disobedience to authority and obstruction of contact of minors with their non-cohabiting parents," after having publicly denounced the case of the Arcoiris girl in her province. The journalist has been denouncing cases of pedophilia and forced re-involvement in La Rioja and now faces the possibility of going to jail --for a crime she did not commit-- after the official public defender for minors and incapacitated children, Pablo Ernesto Cubillo, filed charges against her. He accuses her of "affecting the innocence of a child" and "promoting" the hindering of the bond by creating barriers.

Manuela's work brought to light the case of Arcoíris, where her mother repeatedly denounced her paternal grandfather for sexual abuse and appealed to the National Judiciary in June, since then, she has been exiled from the province of La Rioja for her protection

In this case, the mother of Arcoiris was fined and charged with impediment of contact and disobedience to authority. The judge of the Fourth Civil, Commercial and Mining Court, Carla Menem, disregarded the statements of the girl who confirmed, by means of a Gesell chamber, the abuses suffered by her paternal grandfather and her father. In addition, the magistrate took the decision to order Arcoiris to be reunited with her father, which had been prohibited by Civil Court 103 of the National Judicial Power last June.

"I suffered from hate speech, especially misogyny, but also other types of violence aimed at stigmatizing feminist militancy and my professional work, from symbolic, economic and psychological violence to death threats that I denounced to the courts," explains Manuela.

Her testimony shows, once again, how the hate speech is not always confined to a virtual environment, and how women and girls' rights defenders are especially targeted by them. "I felt vulnerable, unprotected, and above all I felt that the judicial system is not providing answers in situations that put us at great risk. I was really afraid that the people who carry this out would go from discourse to acts, and then they turned to actions and impacted my life: I have two criminal cases, I am criminally charged without evidence, they raided my house

We know that the things that happen on social networks do not always remain on the internet, and this affected me and my whole environment, my children, my husband, my whole family," she revealed.

Cases such as that of Teresita Frías (assaulted by Milei) and Manuela Calvo (in which the national government does not intervene directly) illustrate a systemic problem: the Judiciary, far from guaranteeing access to justice, perpetuates dynamics of silencing and re-victimization, especially affecting women who report gender violence. This not only discredits the plaintiffs but also highlights the profound shortcomings of the State in the effective protection of human rights.

Diversities exist.

Graph 7. Disinformation and hate speech against LGBTIQ+



"Like being with an elephant": Milei referred to equal marriage with a zoophilia metaphor

A deputy candidate of Javier Milei compared homosexuality with disabilities: "They deserve our respect, like the lame, like the blind"

homosexualidad con las discapacidades: "Merecen nuestro respeto, como los rengos, como los ciegos"

POLÍTICA | 4 NOV 2024

Diputado libertario contrastó la Marcha del Orgullo con el club de fans del Torino

Libertarian deputy contrasted the pride march with the Torino fan club

Jefe del Consejo de Asesores Económicos de LLA

Carlos Rodríguez, asesor de Milei: "Si veo dos hombres besándose me duele la barriga, pero si son dos mujeres me encanta"

Carlos Rodriguez, Milei's advisor: "If I see two men kissing my stomach hurts, but if it's two women I love it"

+ DIANA MONDINO - DIPUTADA NACIONAL ELECTA LLA
"EL CONGRESO AHORA ES UNA ESCRIBANÍA"

09.11.2023 / DECLARACIONES

"Estar con un elefante": Milei se refirió al matrimonio igualitario con una metáfora de zoofilia

El candidato a presidente de La Libertad Avanza opinó sobre la diversidad sexual y recurrió nuevamente a ejemplos con animales.

LA NACION - Política

"Marcha gay": Bertie Benegas Lynch apuntó a "los movimientos que hacen lobby para obtener privilegios"

"Gay march": Bertie Benegas Lynch took aim at "movements that lobby for privileges."



Bussi: "gays are like the lame or the blind"

BUSSI: "LOS GAYS SON COMO LOS RENGOS O LOS CIEGOS"

Es Diana Mondino, la misma que defendió el "mercado de órganos". Ocurre en la semana del Orgullo

Una referente de Milei comparó el matrimonio igualitario con tener piojos

A member of Milei's congress compared equal marriage to having head lice



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In recent years, there have been different types of stigmatizations of the LGBTIQ+ population through misinformation and hate speech

On the one hand, some rhetoric used dehumanizing associations, comparing equal marriage with degrading practices, such as zoophilia. This happened in the midst of the presidential campaign, when Javier Milei compared a bond between homosexual people to "being with an elephant." He made this remark in an interview with the Peruvian journalist Jaime Bayly, who in the same conversation had shared with him that he was bisexual.

This can also include the remarks of former Chancellor Diana Mondino, who compared equal marriage to "having head lice." These comparisons associate LGBTIQ+ identities with aberrations or negativities and reinforce a message of exclusion.

To these narratives we should add the statement of the libertarian congressman, Ricardo Bussi, who compared the trans population to people with disabilities. This account denotes an attempt to pathologize and treat nonheteronormative sexual orientations as diseases, deviations or anomalies.

These antecedents were only a glimpse of what Milei's government would become: an administration that, also in this area, displays denialism

The government's denial is twofold. On the one hand, the refusal of tangible means for subsistence, with dismissals of workers in the State, the failure to comply with the trans labor quota law, with cuts in the payment of the Tarjeta Alimentar food card, and also in the 144 Line and the Acompañar program, key policies of attention and support to the victims of violence.

On the other hand, Milei's government has tried to deny the very existence of sexual diversities, taking specific measures. Thus far in his term of office: he eliminated the Ministry of Women, Genders and Diversities, a matter of which the president is proud; he prohibited the use of inclusive language in public documents; and the presidential spokesman, Manuel Adorni, reinforced this position by assuring that "the diversity of sexual identities is a subjective invention.".

From the northeast of Argentina, two voices coincide in the diagnosis and call for an embrace and resistance.

Solange is an activist and advocate for the rights of trans people in the city of Corrientes.

"Even before the current government won the election, I witnessed situations of hatred towards the LGBTIQ community because the anti-rights speeches position us as mentally unbalanced people. This social context creates anguish and isolation for me because they have left us without any State institution to guarantee access to our rights as first class citizens. We have been affected on a daily basis, in the State institutions where, once again, they are denying us our identity."

"I believe that the best thing we can do in these times of austerity is to embrace each other and resist, as we have done without letting us retreat, raising the voice of equality and social justice," proposes Solange.

This context of institutionalized violence and discrimination affects the access to consecrated rights and also has a serious impact on the spaces where their rights are defended and promoted.

Dana Valiente, activist in the civil organization De la calle a la Dignidad, from Posadas, province of Misiones, describes this impact:

"The hate speech in all spheres greatly damages the places where we develop our activities. The Hate speech, neoliberalism, the ultra-right wing trying to insert this hatred towards our LGBTI population, we are all attacked by this hate speech and without the tools to continue working."

Moreover, in the face of the government's denial, Dana reaffirms her struggle and her identity: "Diversity exists, trans women exist, and they are going to have to change their political system to live a world without hate, without discrimination based on race, color or identity.".

From hate speech to hate crime

The hate speech that stigmatizes, dehumanizes and even denies the existence of diversities generates an environment of vulnerability and lack of protection that often favors physical aggressions and the escalation of violence against this population.

On May 5th, a triple lesbian homicide took place in Barracas, province of Buenos Aires. The assailant, who lived in the same hotel as the victims (Pamela Cobas, Roxana Figueroa, Andrea Amarante and Sofía Castro Riglos), threw a homemade explosive into the room where two couples were staying, and blocked the door so that they could not escape. Sofía Castro Riglos is the only survivor of the attack, which has been denounced by feminist and LGBTIQ+ organizations as a hate crime.

This case is an extreme and tragic example of how dehumanization and denial of rights can foster violence.

Statements that seek to deny the discriminatory nature of these crimes, such as those of presidential spokesperson Manuel Adorni, who questioned the use of the term "lesbicide" and minimized violence based on sexual orientation, make violence invisible, and legitimize it in an official conference. The fact that this position comes from the presidential voice aggravates the situation, as it conveys a message of tolerance towards hatred and contempt for diversities.

The connection between misinformation and hate speech directed against the LGBTIQ+ community and specific acts of violence, such as this triple lesbian homicide in Barracas, is profound and alarming.

Layoffs in the State: 10% of those hired by TTNB quota were fired

Línea 144 y Acompañar: los datos que demuestran el ajuste en ambos programas contra la violencia

; Line 144 and Accompany: the data that show the adjustment in both programs against gender violence. de género

2024 | 9:36 am | Lectura: 6 minutos

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Milei dijo estar orgulloso de haber eliminado "los siniestros Ministerio de la Muier v el Inadi"

Milei said he was be proud to have eliminated "the sinister Ministry of Women and INADI"

Milei anuncia la prohibición del lenguaje inclusivo y de "todo lo referente a la perspectiva de gón

Milei announces the prohibition of inclusive language and "everything related to gender perspective

Nuevo ataque del Gobierno de Milei a la diversidad sexual y las políticas de género: "Rechazamos la diversidad de identidades sexuales que no se

alinean con la biología"

New attack of Milei's government to sexual diversity and gender policies: "We reject the diversity of sexual identities that are not aligned with biology.

Tarjeta Alimentar TARJETA ALIMENTAR

URGENTE: suspendieron el pago de Tarjeta Alimentar para personas trans

Urgent: they suspended the payment of the Food Card for trans people

Adorni negó el triple lesbicidio de Barracas: "No me gusta definirlo como un atentado a determinado colectivo"

Adorni denied the triple lesbicide of Barracas: "I don't like to define it as an attack to a certain collective

a@grupoamerica.com.ar

ámbito • Política • Manuel Adorni

13 de mayo 2024 -

La repudiable opinión de Adorni sobre el triple lesbicidio: "No me gusta definirlo como un atentado a determinado colectivo"

OOXE

"No justa definirlo como un atentado a determinado colectivo", planteó el funcionario nacional en conferenc de prensa.

El polémico posteo de Manuel Adorni: "La palabra lesbicidio no está registrada en el

Manuel Adorni's controversial post: "The word diccionario" lesbicide is not registered in the dictionary

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Disability is not an insult

Graph 9. Disinformation and hate speech against people with disabilities.



In relation to disability, Javier Milei's government has been characterized by a narrative that circulates in two well identified lanes. On the one hand, the use of disability as an insult and aggression, and on the other hand, the use of disinformation and false news about corruption cases that seek to justify the budget cuts implemented in the area.

Verónica González, journalist and member of the Network for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, elaborates on these points

"We recently saw that the president himself replied to a post on X where a person was portrayed who supposedly did not understand how a person with Down syndrome, that stigmatizes them and makes people think that they do not understand. The same happens when people talk about lilliputian people, as inferior, as people who are worth less, that stigmatizes short people. It also happens when people talk about non-contributory pensions as if they are truncated, mostly irregular, and it ends up being an excuse to cancel them and to make the requirements more and more restrictive and not to recognize the autonomy of people with disabilities."

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Last November, the Down Syndrome Association of the Argentine Republic (ASDRA) repudiated statements made by president Milei in which he used the terms "handicapped" and "mental problem" to describe left-wing militants, whom he often calls "fucking lefties." The Association explained that the use of these terms "perpetuates stigma and exclusion." ASDRA had already repudiated Milei in September 2023 when in an attempt to discredit an economist who had criticized him, he labelled him a "mongoloid.

In addition, during the first months of his administration, the Network for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the Short Stature Football Collective of Argentina expressed their concern about the president's treatment of people with disabilities. "Mr. President, disability is not an insult," is the title of the statement released by REDI.

President Milei's recurrent use of offensive terms or derogatory comments reflect a pattern of discrimination, a discourse that minimizes or stigmatizes this population and impacts on the dignity and social perception of people with disabilities.

On the other hand, misinformation and accusations of corruption were used by the government as legitimizing tools for its adjustment policies. In July of this year, the presidential spokesman, Manuel Adorni, showed in a press conference the X-ray of a dog, assuring that this was the medical certificate that validated the granting of a disability pension. With this he tried to illustrate the effectiveness of an audit that uncovered "fraudulent activity on a large scale."

The Organizations of Persons with Disabilities denied the spokesperson's statements and accused the government of trying to cut disability pensions, accusing him of committing "abandonment of person." Regarding the X-ray of the dog, it was later learned that the file was rejected and denounced and that the applicant did not receive the pension.

In addition to this, in a newspaper interview last October, Diego Spagnuolo, head of the National Agency for Disability (ANDIS) stated that "what is being paid for the transportation of people with disabilities is equivalent to three trips to the moon per month." With this argument he justified the government's projection for 2025: to cut at least 200 thousand disability pensions.

Graph 10. Milei administration against disability

INFORMACIÓN GENERAL MILEI VA POR LAS PENSIONES Las organizaciones de discapacidad 25.10.2024 / Política responden al gobierno por la acusación "Lo que se paga de transporte equivale a tres viajes a la luna por mes": el argumento del desvío de fondos: «es una canallada» del Gobierno para dar de baja pensiones Disability organizations respond to the government por discapacidad El titular de la ANDIS, Diego S for the accusation of diversion of funds: "it is an "What is paid for transportation is equivalent to three trips to the moon per outrage" errio pianea recortar al menos month": the government's argument to 200 mil pensiones por discapacidad el cancel disability pensions año que viene The government plans to cut at least 200 thousand disability pensions next year

Milei's hate speech against popular female artists

Graph 11. Milei's hate speech targeting popular female artists



Javier Milei's speeches reflect a pattern of violent and demeaning confrontation towards his female counterparts, which has been perceived as a hate speech with misogynistic connotations on multiple occasions.

The most prominent cases in media coverage were the aggressions against the model Sol Pérez in 2019. On two occasions Milei discussed politics and economy in different television programs. "Burglar," "violent," "you have a lot of conceptual errors," "you do not understand," "ignorant," were the insults Milei used, who even resorted to the image of him putting a gun to Pérez's head as a metaphor for the taxes levied by the State. On both occasions, the economist's virulence caused Perez to leave the programs, and on the second occasion she left the studio crying.

The disqualification of intellectual capacities as a means to minimize the legitimacy of the opinions of women who argue with him has been a constant in Milei's discourse. Disqualification based on the accusation of corruption or delinquency has been another discursive vein widely used by the now president.

Singer Lali Esposito and actress Florencia Peña were victims of the hate speech and fake news spread by Milei. In these reports, these artists are accused of living off the State, insinuating business deals and corruption.

The statement: "She is a parasite who has lived sucking from the teat of the State," referring to Lali Espósito, shows a rhetoric loaded with contempt towards a public figure who has expressed not to share her political vision. This type of attack focuses on denigrating the person with derogatory terms and outbursts, in order to discredit them socially.

In the case of Florencia Peña, Milei included her in a video in which she is shown in a grotesque and offensive parody, which generates a narrative that encourages mockery, rejection and dehumanization of those perceived as ideological "enemies," raising the level of symbolic violence in the political discussion.

All these examples are in addition to the repeated attacks on women journalists described in previous pages. Collectively, these episodes show a pattern of violent communication, based on personal disqualification, contempt, and the use of language that seeks to humiliate and polarize, characteristics typical of hate speech. These types of attitudes perpetuate dynamics of hostility that especially affect women and public figures, undermining the possibility of respectful dialogue in the public space.

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FINAL REFLECTIONS

In a context where hate speech is consolidated as a tool for exclusion and violence, it is urgent to reflect on the deep structural inequalities that feed it. The data is clear: hate does not emerge from nowhere but is nourished by a social framework that has historically invisibilized and violated rights. Each discriminatory message, each forced silencing, is a reminder of how much remains to be done to ensure a just and respectful society for women and diversity.

The advance of reactionary narratives against gender policies, sexual and reproductive rights, and Comprehensive Sexuality Education is not only an attack on specific conquests, but a direct threat to the democratic fabric. In the face of this offensive, silence is not an option. To make visible, resist and build spaces for justice is the challenge of our time. As a society, we must decide if we continue to perpetuate exclusion or if, finally, we will be able to imagine and build a future where rights are a reality and diversity is not feared but celebrated.



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No hay plata para las embarazadas con VIH: denuncian que Milei dejó de entregar una droga clave a las provincias.

https://www.eldestapeweb.com/sociedad/salud/nohay-plata-para-las-embarazadas-con-vih-denuncianque-milei-dejo-de-entregar-una-droga-clave-a-lasprovincias-20241031193538

El Gobierno nacional sólo repartió el 2% de los preservativos gratuitos.

https://bit.ly/3BkjhrJ

Alerta por el desmantelamiento de la ESI: convocan a un pañuelazo contra los ataques de Milei.

https://www.eldestapeweb.com/sociedad/esi/alerta-por-eldesmantelamiento-de-la-esi-convocan-a-un-panuelazo-contralos-ataques-de-milei-2024102920037

Milei, contra el aborto legal: "Es un asesinato agravado por el vínculo".

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https://www.pagina12.com.ar/723658-milei-contra-el-aborto-legal-es-un-asesinato-agravado-por-el

El secretario de Culto reabrió la polémica: desde España, cuestionó las leyes de aborto, matrimonio igualitario y divorcio. bit.ly/4gotdPS

Aborto: el oficialismo presentó un proyecto para derogar la Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo.

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/711126-el-gobierno-presento-un-proyecto-para-derogar-la-interrupcio

El economista Javier Milei maltrató a una periodista en Salta: "Sos una burra".

https://www.infobae.com/sociedad/2018/06/28/el-economista-javier-milei-maltrato-a-una-periodista-en-salta-sos-una-burra/

Milei volvió a pelearse con una periodista: ahora trató de "mentirosa" a María O'Donnell.

 $\label{lem:https://www.perfil.com/noticias/politica/milei-volvio-a-pelearse-con-una-periodista-ahora-trato-de-mentirosa-a-maria-odonnell.phtml$

O' donnell y Corradini: las peleas de Milei con periodistas mujeres.

https://corta.com/politica/ odonnell-corradini-peleas-milei-periodistas-mujeres-n21812

"Mentirosa": los repetidos maltratos de Javier Milei a mujeres periodistas.

https://www.eldiarioar.com/politica/repetidos-maltratos-javier-milei-mujeres-periodistas_1_10849760.html

FOPEA manifiesta su preocupación y repudia los agravios del presidente Javier Milei contra la periodista Luisa Corradini.

https://monitoreo.fopea.org/comunicados/fopea-manifiesta-su-preocupacion-y-repudia-los-agravios-del-presidente-javier-milei-contra-la-periodista-luisa-corradini/

FOPEA manifiesta su preocupación por los agravios del presidente Javier Milei contra la periodista Silvia Mercado.

https://monitoreo.fopea.org/comunicados/fopea-manifiestasu-preocupacion-por-los-agravios-del-presidente-javiermilei-contra-la-periodista-silvia-mercado/

#100díasdemilei: 40% de los ataques al periodismo provienen del gobierno.

https://fopea.org/100diasdemilei-40-de-los-ataques-alperiodismo-provienen-del-gobierno/

Javier Milei atacó a 45 periodistas y medios en las últimas dos semanas.

bit.ly/3ZEDWQB

Alertan por los ataques de Milei y sus militan- tes digitales a 50 periodistas y medios.

https://bit.ly/4g2Pu5N

ADEPA rechaza los ataques a la Prensa de Javier Milei.

https://laopinionpergamino.com.ar/nota/19780/2024/10/adepa-rechaza-los-ataques-a-la-prensa-de-javier-milei

Adepa criticó a Milei por la violencia verbal, los trolls y la restricción del acceso a información pública.

https://red23noticias.com.ar/nota/7616/adepa-critico-a-milei-por-la-violencia-verbal-los-trolls-y-la-restriccion-del-acceso-a-informacion-publica/

La SIP en alerta por ataques del presidente Milei contra periodistas y medios.

https://www.sipiapa.org/notas/1216603-la-sip-alerta-ataques-del-presidente-milei-contra-periodistas-y-medios

Academia Nacional de Periodismo de Argentina expresó su preocupación por agravios del candidato presidencial Javier Milei contra la prensa.

https://latamjournalismreview.org/es/news/la-academia-nacional-de-periodismo-de-argentina-expreso-su-preocupacion-por-los-agravios-de-javier-milei-contra-la-prensa/

Amnistía Internacional advirtió acerca del hostigamiento que sufren periodistas argentinos por parte del Gobierno.

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/754560-amnistia-internacional-advirtio-acerca-del-hostigamiento-que

Muteadas: 6 de cada 10 periodistas argentinas sufren violencia digital.

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/774937-muteadas-6-de-cada-10-periodistas-argentinas-sufireron-viole

"Estar con un elefante": Milei se refirió al matrimonio igualitario con una metáfora de zoofilia.

https://www.politicargentina.com/notas/202311/54577-estar-con-un-elefante-milei-se-refirio-al-matrimonio-igualitario-con-una-metafora-de-zoofilia.html

Una referente de Milei comparó el matrimonio igualitario con tener piojos.

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/613044-una-referente-de-milei-comparo-el-matrimonio-igualitario-con

Un candidato a diputado de Javier Milei comparó la homosexualidad con las discapacidades: "Merecen nuestro respeto, como los rengos, como los ciegos". https://bit.ly/3Zn8sNG

Carlos Rodríguez, asesor de Milei: "Si veo dos hombres besándose me duele la barriga, pero si son dos mujeres me encanta".

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/688381-carlos-rodriguez-asesor-de-milei-si-veo-dos-hombres-besandos

Diputado libertario contrastó la marcha del orgullo con el club de fans del Torino.

https://andigital.com.ar/nota/128080/diputado-libertario-contrasto-la-marcha-del-orgullo-con-el-club-de-fans-del-torino/

"Marcha gay": Bertie Benegas Lynch apuntó a "los movimientos que hacen lobby para obtener privilegios".

https://www.lanacion.com.ar/politica/marcha-gay-bertie-benegas-lynch-apunto-a-los-movimientos-que-hacen-lobby-para-obtener-privilegios-nido3112024/

Milei dijo estar orgulloso de haber eliminado "los siniestros Ministerio de la Mujer y el Inadi".

https://www.lagaceta.com.ar/nota/1047573/politica/milei-dijo-estar-orgulloso-haber-eliminado-los-siniestros-ministerio-mujer-inadi.html

Milei anuncia la prohibición del lenguaje inclusivo y de "todo lo referente a la perspectiva de género".

https://elpais.com/argentina/2024-02-27/milei-anuncia-la-prohibicion-del-lenguaje-inclusivo-y-de-todo-lo-referente-a-la-perspectiva-de-genero.html

Despidos en el Estado: el 10% de lxs contratadxs por cupo TTNB fueron despedidxs.

https://prensaobrera.com/lgbti/despidos-en-el-estado-el-10-de-lxs-contratadxs-por-cupo-ttnb-fueron-despedidxs

Urgente: suspendieron el pago de Tarjeta Alimentar para personas trans.

https://www.diariouno.com.ar/urgente-suspendieron-elpago-tarjeta-alimentar-personas-trans-n1301781

Línea 144 y Acompañar: los datos que demuestran el ajuste en ambos programas contra la violencia de género.

https://chequeado.com/el-explicador/linea-144-y-acompanar-los-datos-que-demuestran-el-ajuste-en-ambos-programas-contra-la-violencia-de-genero/

Nuevo ataque del Gobierno de Milei a la diversidad sexual y las políticas de género: "Rechazamos la diversidad de identidades sexuales que no se alinean con la biología".

https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2024/09/01/ataque-milei-diversidad-sexual-politicas-de-genero-orix

Adorni negó el triple lesbicidio de Barracas: "No me gusta definirlo como un atentado a determinado colectivo".

https://www.diarioconvos.com/2024/05/13/adorni-nego-el-triple-lesbicidio-de-barracas-no-me-gusta-definirlo-como-un-atentado/

El polémico posteo de Manuel Adorni: "La palabra lesbicidio no está registrada en el diccionario".

https://noticias.perfil.com/noticias/informacion-general/el-polemico-posteo-de-manuel-adorni-la-palabra-lesbicidio-noesta-registrada-en-el-diccionario.phtml

Repudian a Javier Milei por el uso permanente de la discapacidad como insulto.

https://www.msn.com/es-ar/noticias/argentina/repudian-a-javier-milei-por-el-uso-

permanente-de-la-discapacidad-como-insulto/ ar-AA1tQWfQ?ocid=BingNewsSerp

El discriminatorio like de Milei en Twitter: Nacho Torres con Síndrome de Down.

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/716010-el-discriminatorio-like-de-milei-en-twitter-se-burlo-de-una-

Milei utilizó la palabra "mogólico" como insulto y fue repudiado por Asdra y por la vice de Jorge Macri.

https://www.infobae.com/politica/2023/09/07/milei-utilizo-la-palabra-mogolico-como-insulto-y-fue-repudiado-por-asdra-y-por-la-vice-de-jorge-macri/

Pensiones por discapacidad: La "desafortunada" operación de Manuel Adorni.

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/753914-pensiones-pordiscapacidad-la-desafortunada-operacion-de-man

REDI : Sr. Presidente, LA DISCAPACIDAD NO ES UN INSULTO!!.

https://www.facebook.com/story. php/?story_fbid=424718593451160&id=100077390687227&_rdr

Preocupación del colectivo de Talla Baja por expresiones de Milei.

https://www.ellitoral.com.ar/corrientes/2024-3-1-20-5-0-preocupacion-del-colectivo-de-talla-baja-por-expresiones-demilei

Manuel Adorni denunció entrega de pensiones por invalidez "truchas": "Usaron radiografías de animales".

https://www.perfil.com/noticias/politica/adorni-denuncio-que-hubo-entrega-de-pension-por-invalidez-truchas-usaron-radiografias-de-animales.phtml

Las organizaciones de discapacidad responden al gobierno por la acusación del desvío de fondos: "es una canallada".

https://www.tiempoar.com.ar/ta_article/discapacidad-gobierno-canallada/

"Lo que se paga de transporte equivale a tres viajes a la luna por mes": el argumento del Gobierno para dar de baja pensiones por discapacidad.

 $\label{lem:https://www.politicargentina.com/notas/202410/61853-lo-que-se-paga-de-transporte-equivale-a-tres-viajes-a-la-luna-pormes-el-argumento-del-gobierno-para-dar-de-baja-pensiones-por-discapacidad.html$

El Gobierno planea recortar al menos 200 mil pensiones por discapacidad el año que viene.

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/773076-el-gobierno-planearecortar-al-menos-200-mil-pensiones-por-d

El exdirector de Discapacidad desmintió a Manuel Adorni y habló sobre la polémica radiografía del perro.

https://www.ambito.com/politica/el-exdirector-discapacidad-

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Javier Milei vs. las mujeres: cuatro cruces repudiables.

https://noticias.perfil.com/noticias/politica/cuatro-peleas-que-javier-milei-mantuvo-con-conductoras-y-periodistas-mujeres.phtml

Sol Pérez y Javier Milei discutieron al aire: la influencer se quebró y el economista fue echado del programa.

https://www.lanacion.com.ar/espectaculos/personajes/sol-perez-y-javier-milei-discutieron-al-aire-la-influencer-se-quebro-y-el-economista-fue-echado-del-programa-nid2229866/

Milei ensañado con Lali: "Es un parásito que vivió chupando de la teta del Estado".

https://enredaccion.com.ar/milei-ensanado-con-lali-es-un-parasito-que-vivio-chupando-de-la-teta-del-estado/

Desquiciados: el insólito video que publicó Javier Milei con Flor Peña y Fito Páez como zombies.

https://www.minutouno.com/politica/desquiciados-elinsolito-video-que-publico-javier-milei-flor-pena-y-fito-paez-como-zombies-n6061567

