



Trilogy

Disassembling anti-rights narratives through
biology and science

History, epistemology and the ontological politics of the sexed body



Akāhatā

Author

Dra. Siobhan F. Guerrero Mc Manus

Siobhan studied Biology at the Faculty of Sciences of the UNAM and holds both a Master's and a PhD in Philosophy of Science, also from UNAM. She has additionally completed a diploma in Art History from this university. She is currently a Researcher (Level B) at the Center for Interdisciplinary Research in Sciences and Humanities (CEIICH-UNAM).

Her areas of specialization include (i) gender and science studies, (ii) philosophy of biology, (iii) transfeminism, and (iv) the philosophy of subjectivity. She is a Level II member of the National System of Researchers. In 2018, she was awarded the "National University Distinction for Young Academics" prize, and in 2020, she received the "Research Award".

Email: siobhanfgm@gmail.com

Coordination: **Maria Luisa Peralta**

Design: **Jorge Palma**

2024 - Akāhatā

Published by **Akāhatā**
Equipo de Trabajo en Sexualidades y Géneros

Website: www.akahataorg.org



PROLOGUE

"The sex of a body is too complex a matter.
There is no black or white, but degrees of difference."
Anne Fausto Sterling

A ghost haunts the world, the ghost of gender....

Some people suspect that gender is a way of talking about women's inequality and simply assume that gender is equivalent to women. Others suspect it is a veiled way of referring to homosexuality. For others it is a different way of talking about sex. There are feminisms that struggle with the distinction, associating sex with biology and legal birth registration and gender with assumed social and cultural norms based on sex. There are endless debates from LGBTIQ+ activist movements; feminisms and other political stakeholders that do not end up agreeing on a single approach to grasp and understanding gender. And neither does sex.

The issue that concerns us here is precisely the arguments that both from anti-rights discourses and from conservative and trans-exclusionary feminisms dispute over and over again the legitimacy of the ways of living, existing and being of many people. They do so from essentialist premises about sex. Postulates that interpret biology as an a priori truth; ahistorical and abstract and not as a science made by people who are part of a culture and who are included in certain paradigms.

From Akāhatā we share the trilogy "Disarming anti-rights narratives: a look from biology and science" Throughout each of the installments, the authors dismantle pseudo-scientific and essentialist arguments used by anti-rights sectors and exclusive trans feminisms. We consider that the task of political advocacy requires an approach to scientific knowledge;

and to the process of construction of knowledge from different disciplines that endorse or repudiate certain policies. Especially because anti-rights, conservative and ultra-right actors appeal to a systematic attack against scientific knowledge and those who produce it, fertilized with fake news, misrepresentations and an alarming lack of rigor in their arguments and supposed "counterevidence". Our LGBT, feminist and allied movements have to improve their knowledge on these issues and be encouraged to give the biological discussion from an informed place, because it is the only way to counteract the proliferation of misrepresentations and pseudoscience propagated by conservative and anti-rights sectors.

Based on philosophical reflection, Siobhan Guerrero Mc Manus argues that the construction of scientific knowledge responds to the political and economic powers that hegemonize each historical context and that have nurtured biologicist essentialism. Appealing to the medical sciences, Marina Elichiry discusses the construction of common sense in the field of health that manages the sexual and social control of bodies and their subjects. Finally, Lu Ciccia points out three conflicts in the interpretation of the cerebral origin of the binary organization of sex.

One coordinate runs through this work: anti-rights discourses first install sexual panic over gender. A form of alarmist response to the destabilization of the colonial and racist regime that classifies, normalizes, pathologizes and criminalizes people, their bodies, families, sexuality and lives according to a dogma based on a deterministic, reductionist and essentialist idea of science, including biology.

Heir to racist colonialism, the use of an obsolete biology - which does not respond to the current development of that science - as a weapon of justification of a supposed natural aristocracy, appears veiled or explicitly in anti-scientific narratives that express concern. On the other hand, from the right in relation to the threat to masculinity, the disappearance of the family and the values of the West. Conservative feminisms contribute to this when they use the essentialist argument of the erasure of the sexes to warn about the loss of the category of woman as a subject of feminist struggle.

Behind hatred there is the threat of loss, says Sara Ahmed. And that phrase resonates in the offensives that time and again evoke and seek to institutionalize symbols, notions and regulations that justify mechanisms of power that reinforce policies of the colonial, neoliberal regime, which in its centrifugal force expels to the margins everything that does not adhere to its civilizing order.





- 1 Introduction
- 2 Epistemology and ontology of sex: political debates
- 3 Ontological and epistemological strategies to counter anti-gender discourses
- 4 Connection with decolonial proposals
- 5 Conclusions

1 INTRODUCTION

This essay bears two main objectives. The first is to offer conceptual and historical tools to understand how current discourses on sex justify exclusions and discrimination, especially towards trans and intersex populations. These discourses, often linked to the **anti-gender movement**, use the language of human rights and biology to frame their arguments in a secular and scientific way. However, as will be shown, these rationales are not only fallacious but are also interwoven with historical violence associated with colonialism, which exterminated multiple ways of understanding and inhabiting the sexed body. The second objective of the essay is to provide counterarguments that challenge these exclusions, noting that such appeals to biological sex reproduce and perpetuate violence that transcends the epistemic, with a tangible impact on affected individuals and communities.

1.1. Context: anti-rights discourses and the anti-gender movement

The phenomenon we call today "anti-gender movement" is an ideological framework that seeks to slow or reverse progress in rights for women and LGBTI+ people. These **anti-rights discourses** are characterized by several rhetorical and strategic elements that distance them from traditionally religious rationales and position them as secular movements that seem more in line with contemporary societies.

First, these discourses tend to distance themselves from theological arguments, in favor of a **language based on human rights**. They present themselves as defenders of the rights of women, children, believers or the family, while attacking the rights of trans or intersex people, using a discourse that appeals to human rights themselves, at least rhetorically. This allows them to insert themselves into public discussions of secular societies, where religious arguments are not considered valid in public deliberation (Kuhar and Paternotte, 2017).

Second, they take ownership of the language of the sciences, especially biology, to justify their rejection of gender policies. They insist that biological sex is an objective and immutable reality, and that policies aimed at gender equality and the rights of LGBTI+ people are an **"ideology"** incompatible with scientific facts. This selective use of biology reinforces the idea that gender is an artificial construct, and that biology must prevail as the basis of social reality. This critique is aligned with an epistemological conception that holds that the social and human sciences are imbued with values, while the natural sciences, such as biology, are objective and neutral. Therefore, they position themselves against the inclusion of these issues in educational policies, such as Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) programs, under the argument that an idiosyncratic ideology is being "inculcated" instead of objective facts (Kuhar and Paternotte, 2017).

Third, these discourses co-opt the so-called **"hermeneutic of suspicion,"** developed by authors such as Marx, Freud, and Nietzsche, to argue that behind gender studies and LGBTI+ policies there are hidden agendas that seek to subvert traditional social norms. This rhetorical strategy generates moral panics, since it presents feminist and LGBTI+ movements as threats to fundamental institutions such as the family, childhood and birth (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2023b).

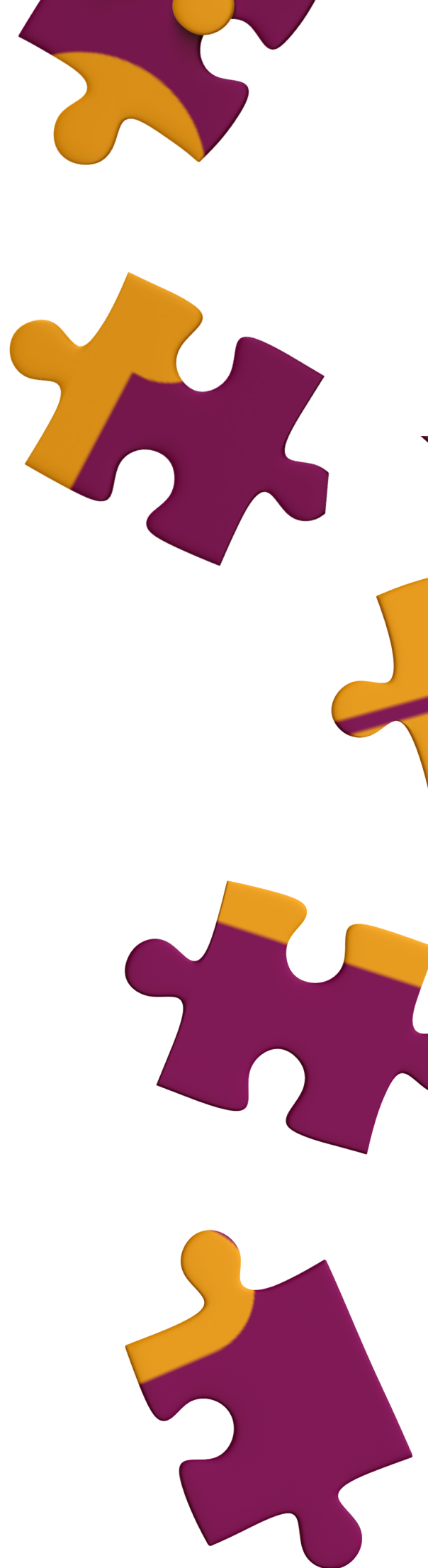


Finally, the anti-gender movement mobilizes **political emotions**, appealing to fear and a sense of threat. Unlike traditional homophobic and transphobic discourses, which appealed to hatred and disgust, these discourses are presented as defenders of society in the face of the "threat" represented by the recognition of the rights of trans, intersex and LGBTI+ people, in general (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2023b). This approach has had considerable success in countries such as England, the United States and Russia, where it has succeeded in building true **anti-gender ecosystems** that pose a real threat to the rights of these populations.

1.2 The importance of developing critical tools

Given the context described above, it is essential to develop critical tools to analyze and counter anti-rights discourses. It is indispensable to deconstruct the epistemological and ontological claims that these discourses use to justify the exclusion of trans and intersex populations, and other affected people. These critical tools not only help to better understand the mechanisms of exclusion, but also make it possible to design more effective strategies to defend the dignity and life of these populations.

That said, the present essay is structured as follows. Following this introduction, the second section provides an overview of existing conceptual strategies that address the concerns mentioned above. The third section focuses on the analysis of the tools coming from historical epistemology and the political ontology of the sexed body. In the fourth section, a decolonial reflection will be elaborated that will show why biological arguments are complicit in epistemic and colonial violence. It will show how these violences have hidden alternative ways of inhabiting the body and have made it possible to naturalize and trans-historicize the cisgender body as the norm.



The background of the slide is a solid dark purple. Scattered across this background are several interlocking puzzle pieces. Some pieces are a deep magenta or purple color, while others are a bright yellow. The pieces are arranged in a way that suggests a larger, partially assembled picture, with some pieces fitting together and others floating nearby.

2 EPISTEMOLOGY AND ONTOLOGY OF SEX: POLITICAL DEBATES

Currently, we are in the midst of an intense discussion about the nature of the sexed body, a debate that starts from the questioning of the pre-political character of nature, including human nature, and that has led to the recognition that the sexed body can be understood as a historical object. This discussion takes place in multiple academic areas, such as gender and sexuality studies, but also in fields such as social metaphysics. This last area seeks to elucidate the ontological foundation of categories such as race, gender, identity and the notion of the State, an especially relevant work in current situations (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2020). Although little known in Latin America, social metaphysics has flourished in the last decade and deep debates are developing within it about the relationship between terms such as sex, gender and the body.

Within these debates, there are at least two large groups of positions. A first group, heir to the second wave of feminism, assumes that sex is a natural and transhistorical category, while gender is historically contingent. Some positions in this group seek to reform gender, understanding that it is possible to disassociate it from its oppressive dimension and associate it with identity (e.g., Witt [2023]), while other positions advocate eliminating gender by considering it inherently oppressive. A second group, on the other hand, questions the possibility of defining sex and gender through the nature/culture dichotomy, defending a post-dualist approach that sees both terms as mutually constitutive categories. This second group, influenced by the third wave, assumes an ontological interdependence between the body and the social context.

This essay positions itself in the latter current and argues that the **sexed body is neither epistemologically transparent nor metaphysically stable**, but a situated and constitutive construction of its social and historical context. This implies that, although it is possible to eliminate certain oppressive aspects of gender roles,

something that cannot be eliminated is that the experience of inhabiting and understanding the body requires a specific social context, which gives rise to an embodied experience that is always conditioned by a specific time and place. Throughout the essay, this historicity of the sexed body will be addressed to show how debates around sex have profound political implications and cannot be reduced to a mere philosophical question.

Finally, and before concluding this section, it is necessary to mention a third type of approach represented by the British philosopher Katherine Jenkins (2023). Jenkins' proposal distances itself from positions focused on the search for a clear ontology about gender and sex. In contrast, Jenkins suggests an alternative approach, which argues that public policies should prioritize people's concrete needs over the identities they possess. This second position, which today is hegemonic, is called the "ontology-first approach" precisely because it tries to establish a precise ontological basis before developing public policies. For Jenkins, this is undesirable because it often leads to strong theoretical debates that do not necessarily translate into the articulation of effective solutions to urgent problems that affect people.

Jenkins' approach states that public policies, rather than relying solely on ontological categories such as "male," "female," or "non-binary," could focus on specific issues such as access to health, protection from violence, or equal rights, without needing to be grounded in fixed identities. Thus, a needs-based approach allows efforts to be directed towards the satisfaction of specific human rights and needs without it being essential to discuss and define beforehand what each gender identity means ontologically. For Jenkins, this type of approach allows public policies to better respond to the diversity and complexity of the human experience, particularly in a world where gender identities are increasingly fluid and diverse.

While this approach offers an interesting perspective, it will not be fully explored here for **two reasons**:

First, because most contemporary debates consider it essential to clarify ontological issues to inform public policy, especially when discussions about gender and sex address the right of access to spaces, resources and opportunities based on that identity. This need for ontological clarity is particularly evident in legal and social contexts that require precise definitions to operate, such as in the allocation of job quotas, representation quotas or the design of specific health programs.

Secondly, in Latin America, social categories such as man, woman or non-binary person function not only as individual identities, but also as markers of belonging to groups that share common experiences, needs and demands. These categories are fundamental to making structural inequalities visible and to mobilize demands for social justice. Hence, in this region, public policies have been created in areas such as work, education and health that are designed to address forms of discrimination and oppression in a crosscutting way, and that, based on specific gender categories, seek to respond to the experiences of historically marginalized groups. Thus, Jenkins' approach is not explored in depth here, because although it may be relevant in certain contexts, it does not respond to the way in which identity and belonging are intertwined in Latin America in the design of public policies that address the needs of different groups in a comprehensive and crosscutting way.



The background of the entire page is a solid dark purple. Scattered across this background are several interlocking puzzle pieces. Some pieces are a vibrant yellow, while others are a deep purple, matching the background. The pieces are arranged in a way that suggests a larger, partially assembled picture.

3

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL STRATEGIES TO COUNTER ANTI-GENDER DISCOURSES

Within the approaches that give priority to ontology there are two main strategies: the eliminationist and contextualist approaches, on the one hand, and the historicist approaches, on the other. Eliminationist approaches, such as those developed by Lu Ciccia (2022), suggest that the sex variable in biomedicine should be replaced by more precise variables, such as body mass, which are more informative and relevant to explain biological differences between bodies. Advocates of these models have shown, for example, that the difference in response to certain drugs is not determined by sex, but by body mass, suggesting that sex as an explanatory variable is unnecessary and can be eliminated in favor of other more precise variables.

On the other hand, historicist approaches, which will be covered in the next sub-section, examine how sex and gender categories have historically been constructed through power relations, violence, and colonialism. These approaches seek to denature cis-normative categories and show how the imposition of a gender binary is the result of historical and political processes, not an immutable biological truth.

3.1 Historicism

The historicist approach to the sexed body, as expounded in contemporary philosophy, seeks to dismantle the idea that sex is a fixed, ahistorical biological category. In particular, it relies on the notion of **historical ontology**, which suggests that both the understanding and structure of the sexed body have varied over time and in different contexts. This means that not only do cultural and social representations of the body change, but also what the body is considered to be in ontological terms. This concept challenges the dominant view that sex is a natural, pre-political, and universal reality.

Ásta Svendsdóttir (2011), a relevant philosopher in this debate, introduces criticism to what she calls the thesis of the metaphysical stability of sex. This thesis argues that sex is a stable biological

characteristic, present in all cultures and eras. However, since the third wave of feminism, this premise has been questioned, particularly in relation to the opposition between sex and gender that was consolidated in the second wave of feminism. In this period, sex was considered natural and immutable, while gender was seen as a malleable social construct, subject to modification and transformation.

This duality allowed second-wave feminists to advocate for the eradication of oppressive gender roles, while maintaining sex as a category common to all cisgender women. However, at present this idea has been instrumentalized by trans-exclusive feminisms that use the stability of sex to justify the exclusion of trans people from certain rights.

The historicist approach criticizes two assumptions implicit in this view of the stability of sex.

First, it challenges the idea that sex has always been understood in the same way. Throughout history, epistemic access to the body has depended on situated frameworks of knowledge. To put it simply, **biological facts are not epistemologically transparent** (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2022). That is, we cannot know the body completely through the mere experience of inhabiting it; a collective epistemic process is required to construct that knowledge, which is inevitably influenced by the historical and cultural context.

Second, this approach shows that throughout history there have been various metaphysical foundations for explaining sex (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2022). An illustrative example of this is the conception of the late nineteenth century, under the influence of thermodynamics, which differentiated between male and female bodies in terms of anabolic and catabolic processes, respectively. Today, this idea seems strange, but it suggests that what was considered “sex” at the time was deeply influenced by the scientific theories of the time.

Another interesting example is the case of the Spanish doctor Gregorio Marañón, who in the twentieth century saw sex as something plastic, influenced by the endocrinology of the time. For Marañón, everybody had "relics" of the other sex, and a pedagogical control of the body was necessary to prevent those relics from manifesting themselves in ambiguous behaviors. Ironically, Marañón referred to these relics as "heterosexuality", and saw this "heterosexuality" as the cause of homosexuality, a logic that is confusing for the modern conception of sexuality.

These examples demonstrate that sex has not been metaphysically stable; its understanding has varied according to the scientific theories and local knowledge of each era. Thus, the historicist approach underscores the importance of recognizing that our contemporary conceptions of sex are neither universal nor ahistorical but are part of an ever-changing historical ontology.

3.2 The ontological politics of sex and the construction of scientific facts

In this section, we seek to subscribe to historicist approaches by developing an ontological reflection on the sexed body that arises from an effort to integrate, on the one hand, the notion of ontopolitics originally articulated by Annemarie Mol (2002) with, on the other hand, the theory of the actor-red (TAR) created by Bruno Latour (1987, 1996, 1999). Thus, the proposal presented here argues that the sexed body does not possess essences and is not historically stable but is immersed in specific contexts that delimit and define its possibilities of action and meaning. Both theories dismantle the idea of a universal and stable sexed body and instead allow us to understand how corporeality and sexuality are shaped by material, social, and institutional networks.

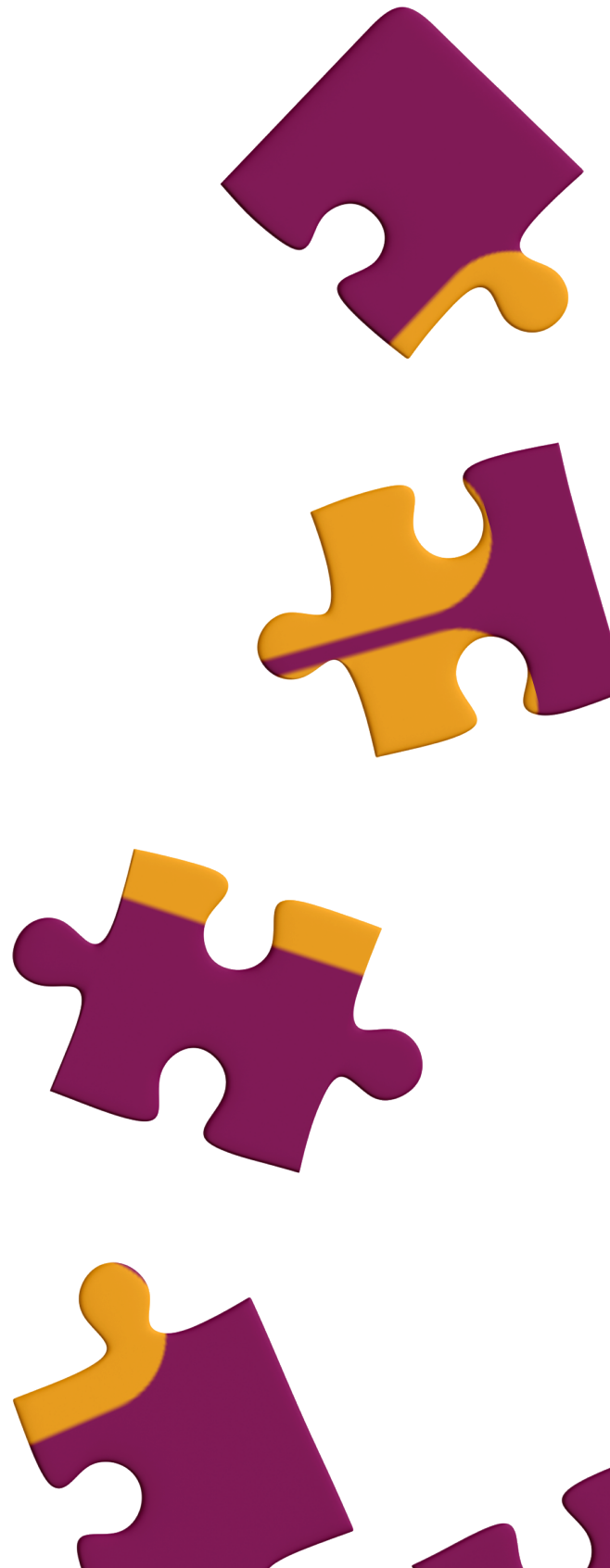
Ontopolitics, in Mol's (2002) perspective, suggests that the existence of the body is intrinsically connected to the practices, relationships, and networks that shape it. For Mol, the body is "more than one, but less than many", which implies that it can be inhabited in different ways, although always within the limits imposed by specific conditions. This vision questions any notion of the body as something fixed or uniform and shows it in constant reconfiguration according to the environment and the relationships it establishes.

For its part, the theory of actor-red (TAR) introduces the idea of controversy to explain how scientific facts, including those concerning sexual bodies, are consolidated within the networks in which they are involved. In this theory, controversies are not mere discussions about predefined realities, but processes in which these are built through the interaction of multiple actors, both human and non-human. Controversies about the body allow us to see the multiple ways in which it has been interpreted and categorized, showing that conceptions of the body are not universal, but products of complex networks of actors and relationships.

An important aspect of TAR lies in its commitment to the thesis of **actualism**, which has been described in great detail by the philosopher Graham Harman (2010). According to this author, the actualist commitment of TAR translates into the fact that this theory postulates that objects (and, in this case, the sexed body) possess concrete and clearly recognizable properties or capacities only to the extent that they participate in networks of relationships with other objects. From this perspective, bodies are not independent or autonomous entities, but realities that are defined by their interactions with other actors within a network. It is only within a concrete network that a body may or may not express certain properties or capabilities. Thus, the sexed body is understood not as a fixed essence, but as a construction located in a relational context.

Based on this idea, we can affirm that the sexed body is always immersed in specific networks, composed of material, symbolic, institutional and social factors that shape its possibilities and limitations. This connects with Spinoza's assertion that “no one knows what a body can do,” because the body always manifests in a particular way according to the environment in which it finds itself. Thus, the sexed body has been inhabited and conceptualized in multiple ways throughout history, and its borders do not always coincide with current conceptions (Guerrero Mc Manus and Muñoz Contreras, 2018, 2023). A relevant example is found in various indigenous cultures of North America, such as those of the Navajo and the Zuni, where there are generalized positions that go beyond the binary division of Western modernity. The "two spirits" in these cultures show how the sexed body has been understood in different ways, evidencing that these conceptions are historically and culturally determined (Smithers, 2022).

Finally, by intertwining the notion of TAR controversy with Mol's ontopolitics, what we can call ontopolitical controversies are set as debates on the ontological politics of the sexed body that define which ways of inhabiting it are legitimate, and which are relegated to the realm of the abject. In the context of Western modernity, for example, ways of inhabiting the body that do not align with the binary cisgender model (such as trans and intersex identities) have been marginalized, while the latter has become naturalized as the norm. Thus, these controversies not only reflect what a body may or may not be, but also reveal the historical, situated and politically conditioned character of the sexed body (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2024).



The background of the slide is a solid dark purple. Scattered across the background are several interlocking puzzle pieces. Most pieces are a deep purple color, matching the background. One piece, located in the upper right quadrant, is a bright yellow color. Another piece, located in the lower left quadrant, is a slightly lighter shade of purple. The puzzle pieces are arranged in a way that suggests a larger, partially assembled image.

4

CONNECTION WITH DECOLONIAL PROPOSALS

The **decolonial approach** arises from the need to question how colonialism not only devastated territories and cultures, but also imposed specific ways of conceiving the world, the body, and the relationships between people. Through the categories of coloniality of power, knowledge, being and gender, the decolonial approach reveals how colonialism structured the very bases of our knowledge and perception, delegitimizing and supplanting the ways of knowing and being of colonized peoples. These categories are fundamental to understanding how **epistemic violence** operates, that is, how certain knowledge, worldviews and ways of inhabiting the world have been systematically silenced or considered inferior under the colonial regime (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2023).

The theory of gender coloniality by María Lugones (2008) represents a crucial contribution within this approach, since it dismantles the notion that gender is a transhistorical and pancultural universal. Lugones, based on the works of Aníbal Quijano on the coloniality of power, argues that gender binarism is a construction imposed by colonial modernity. Before colonization, many non-Western cultures had diverse ways of understanding and organizing gender, which did not conform to the binary scheme of masculine/feminine or the cisgender normativity imposed subsequently. Through the imposition of a Eurocentric vision, gender coloniality eradicated these diverse conceptions and established the idea of a gender binarism as “natural” and “universal.”

This process of universalization of gender binarism and cisgender normativity would be a consequence of what we refer to here as **ontopolitical controversies**, a concept that refers to disputes about which ways of being and knowing are considered valid in a given social context. In the case of gender coloniality, colonialism not only mobilized a power structure, but also a Eurocentric epistemic framework that made other ways of inhabiting the body invisible and delegitimized, bringing them to the brink of extinction. Thus, gender binarism and

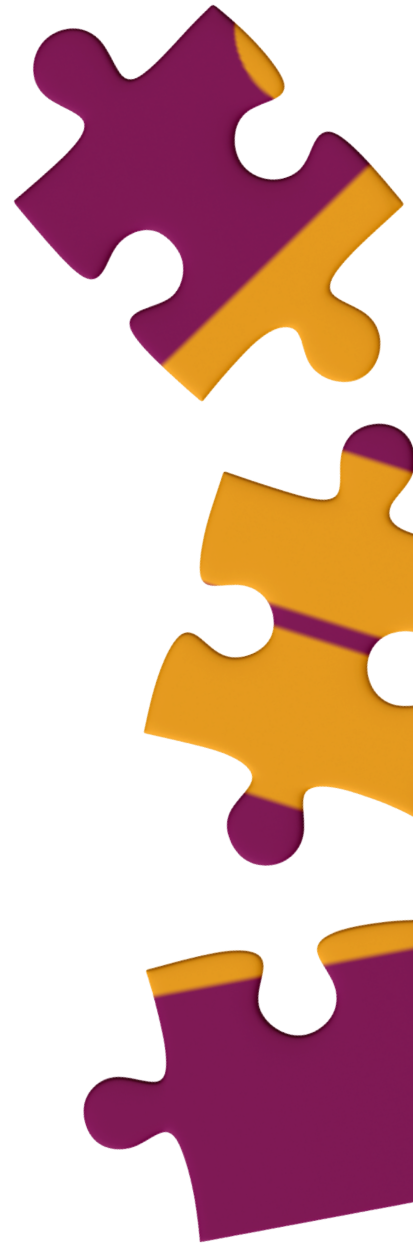
cisnormativity were imposed as transparent epistemic truths, erasing the possibility of conceiving gender in another way (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2024).

The role of science in constructing these truths has not been less. Throughout history, ontopolitical controversies have permeated the construction of scientific knowledge, which at the time established categories and “facts” about the sexed body that are now assumed to be universal. An example of these historical controversies was the Valladolid debate, in the 16th century, between Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de las Casas, which questioned the humanity of indigenous peoples (Guerrero Mc Manus, 2024; Smithers, 2022). This debate reflected an ontological clash in which non-Western ways of life, including expressions of dissident gender and sexuality, were perceived as sinful and, therefore, were subsequently annihilated. Colonization extended this logic, and as a story by Camila Sosa Villada illustrates, many of these practices were catalogued as heresies and erased from history.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, other ontopolitical controversies continued to shape our understanding of the body and sexuality. During that period, the social and medical sciences instituted the field of sexuality, pathologizing dissidence and generating figures such as the “inverted” or the “homosexual”, which were understood as deviations or pathologies. These categorizations instituted a **pathologizing ontopolitics**, treating gender and sexual orientation dissent as disorders or traumas. It was not until the end of the twentieth century, with the rise of LGBTI+ activism, that this pathologizing and criminalizing vision began to be challenged, vindicating dissent from an affirmative and dignified place. These changes show how ontological policies structured in the light of the coloniality of being, knowledge, gender and power, have shaped the way we understand the body and identity.

Today's anti-gender movements represent yet another chapter in this colonial history of ontopolitical controversies. Trans-exclusive and biological theses are heirs to colonial visions that have obscured the richness and diversity of ways of inhabiting the body. These movements insist on a notion of gender as something fixed and natural, rooted in immutable biology, without recognizing that such a conception is the result of a history of epistemic imposition and erasure. Faced with this, the decolonial approach and the notion of ontopolitical controversy allow us to illuminate the political dimension of the sexed body and recognize that gender categories and experiences are not universal but respond to a particular historical and social context. This does not mean that the body lacks materiality, but that its understanding is never epistemically transparent; it always occurs through an interpretive and situated framework.

In the end, the decolonial approach and ontopolitics show the emancipatory character of understanding the body as something socially and historically situated, with possibilities for transformation. These perspectives propose that gender and sex are categories that, far from being carved in stone, can be repurposed in pursuit of epistemic and social justice. By connecting decoloniality, ontopolitics, historicity of the body, and epistemic non-transparency, a path is opened to challenge the colonial logics that have shaped our current understandings.



5 CONCLUSIONS

Current anti-gender discourses perpetuate epistemic violence by claiming that biological sex is a fixed and natural category, ignoring the multiple ways in which different cultures have understood and organized the body and gender. By insisting on a universal biological truth, these discourses hide historical and cultural alternatives that existed before colonial imposition and that, in many cases, continue to exist. In this context, the **ontopolitics** of Annemarie Mol and the **theory of the actor- red** (TAR) are useful tools, since they allow us to understand the body not as a metaphysically stable or epistemologically transparent entity, but as something located in material, social and historical networks that delimit its possibilities for action. Both perspectives dismantle the idea of an essential sexed body and show how ontopolitical controversies define which bodies are legitimate or object in each context. Decolonial proposals reinforce this criticism by revealing how coloniality has conditioned the ways of thinking and inhabiting the sexed body, constructing an illusion of historical cisnormativity that, in reality, is a modern and colonial invention.

REFERENCES

- Ciccía, Lu. La invención de los sexos: Cómo la ciencia puso el binarismo en nuestros cerebros y cómo los feminismos pueden ayudarnos a salir de ahí. Ciudad de México: Siglo XXI Editores, 2022.
- Guerrero Mc Manus, Siobhan. “Hacia una nueva metafísica del género.” Debate Feminista 60 (2020): 48-74. [Link](#).
- ——. “Debates metafísicos en torno al sexo. Esencias, clases naturales y fronteras.” En Materialidades Semióticas. Ciencia y Cuerpo Sexuado, coordinado por Siobhan Guerrero y Lucía Ciccía, 27-52. Ciudad de México: CEIICH-UNAM, 2022.
- ——. “Prejuicios que silencian. Injusticia testimonial y muerte hermenéutica.” Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios de Género de El Colegio de México 9 (2023a): e1026. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24201/reg.v9i1.1026>.
- ——. “Transfobia, Colonialidad y Odio. Una lectura Transfeminista.” Sociocriticism 37, no. 2 (2023b). [Link](#).
- ——. “Transfeminismo, Ontopolítica y Colonialidad.” En Transfeminismo y Decolonialidad de Género, coordinado por Dían Romero, 109-148. Ciudad de México: Editorial Publicar al Sur, 2024.
- Guerrero Mc Manus, Siobhan y Leah Muñoz Contreras. “Ontopolíticas del Cuerpo Trans: Controversia, Historia e Identidad.” En Diálogos diversos para más mundos posibles, coordinado por Lucía Raphael De la Madrid y Antonio Gómez Cíntora, 71-94. Ciudad de México: UNAM-IIJ, 2018.
- ——. “Ontopolíticas del Cuerpo Sexuado.” En Encrucijadas del Género y la Diversidad Sexual. Tomo 1. Complejidades Corporales, Interseccionalidad y Diversidad Sexual, coordinado por César Torres, Marta Cabrera y Fernando Ramírez, 35-68. Ciudad de México: CIEG-UNAM, 2023.
- Jenkins, Katharine. Ontology and oppression: Race, gender, and social reality. Oxford University Press, 2023.
- Harman, Graham. Prince of Networks: Bruno Latour and Metaphysics. Londres: re.press, 2010.
- Kuhar, Roman, y David Paternotte, eds. Anti-gender Campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing against Equality. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.
- Latour, Bruno. Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- ——. “On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications.” Soziale Welt 47 (1996): 369-381.
- ——. Pandora’s Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Lugones, María. Colonialidad y género. Tabula rasa, 9 (2008): 73-102.
- Mol, Annemarie. The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002. [Link](#).
- Smithers, Gregory D. Reclaiming Two-Spirits: Sexuality, Spiritual Renewal & Sovereignty in Native America. Boston: Beacon Press Books, 2022.
- Sveinsdóttir, Ásta Kristjana. “The Metaphysics of Sex and Gender.” En Feminist Metaphysics: Explorations in the Ontology of Sex, Gender and the Self, editado por Charlotte Witt, 47-65. Vol. 6. Ámsterdam: Springer Netherlands, 2011. [Link](#).
- Witt, Charlotte. Social Goodness: The Ontology of Social Norms. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023.