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"The rapist is you!": Remixing the Repertoire of Protest Performances

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Abstract: Originating in Valparaíso, Chile, "Un violador en tu camino" / "A Rapist in Your Path" is a protest performance against systemic gendered violence. It has been rendered over 446 times in 54 countries, and recordings of the protest have gained millions of views on social media platforms. "Performance"—as a theory, methodology, and metaphor—offers a lens to study this Latin American transnational feminist movement. This essay bridges rhetorical studies with Latin American performance studies to explore how "Un violador en tu camino" creates collective memory through embodiment in its various remixes. In this article, I describe and apply Diana Taylor's theory of performance to study "Un violador en tu camino" through three remixes: a popular rendition of the performance in Mexico City, an X (formerly Twitter) trend based on the performance's lyrics, and a viral parody of the performance. I further demonstrate how performance theory serves as a methodology to study the rhetorical circulation of protests. Studying feminist protests as performances helps us understand (1) historically situated and embodied transmissions of knowledges and (2) the entangled and remixed circulation between digital and physical publics, or in Taylor's terms, the "archive" and the "repertoire."

Keywords: transnational feminism, Latin American feminism, performance, protest, social movement, rhetorical circulation, iconographic tracking

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Introduction

On November 20, 2019, twenty women gathered in Plaza Aníbal Pinto in downtown Valparaíso, Chile. The group was led by LASTESIS, a feminist organization of Chilean artists. They began to disrupt the space, as they chanted in unison, marched in place, and swayed their shoulders. At the climax of their performance, they pointed forward and indicted: "The rapist is you!"

This performance would be the first rendition of "Un violador en tu camino" / "A Rapist in Your Path." On that date, the performance was not filmed or circulated, since a larger protest was planned five days later in Santiago for the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. Hundreds of protesters joined LASTESIS for the November 25, 2019 event, and, since then, over a million people have viewed the performance on YouTube. The lyrics and choreography denounce gender-based violence and the systemic oppression of women by patriarchal societies, as "Un violador en tu camino" quickly became what Charis McGowan from *The Guardian* calls "an anti-rape anthem" and "international feminist phenomenon." November 29, 2019, marks the day that the demonstration began to circulate at a rapid pace throughout Latin America, and, in the coming months, around the world.

The performances of "Un violador en tu camino" circulated through a complex transnational and rhetorical ecology, as they inaugurated a prominent social movement in Latin American feminism. It is a particularly rich case to develop our understanding of the material turn in rhetorical studies, as its circulation exemplifies the flow of information, bodies, senses, and systems through public and digital networks. Coined by Laurie Gries' methodology of iconographic tracking, the "remixes" of "Un violador en tu camino" can be traced through the material oppressions and embodied symbolisms of the original performance, changes to global renditions of the performance, and its circulation on social media. Between its in-person performanc-

es and its digital circulation, "the elements of the rhetorical situation simply bleed," interacting with each other through affective encounters—ultimately capturing the attention of transnational audiences (Edbauer 9).

To effectively analyze "Un violador en tu camino," new analytical lenses could be useful. Iconographic tracking, a prominent methodology in rhetorical circulation studies, traces the becomings of images across digital spheres to study their large patterns of circulation. Iconographic tracking examines these large patterns in conversation with the close analysis of exemplary remixes. It is a digital research strategy that "(a) follow[s] the multiple transformations that an image undergoes during circulation, and (b) identif[ies] the complex consequentiality that emerges from its divergent encounters" (Gries 337). With an emphasis on materiality, it makes the process of studying circulation transparent. In their introduction to a forum on rhetorical new materialism, Gries et al. describes the approach as "an emerging and unfixed constellation of scholarship that puts rhetorical theories into conversation with interdisciplinary theories, philosophies, and cultural epistemologies" (138). This essay extends the methodology of iconographic tracking through merging its methods with the tools of performance studies. Doing this accommodates the interplay between still and moving remixes to consider how performances' consequences derive from both its ephemeral nature and archiving into digital spheres.

"Performance"—as a theory, methodology, and metaphor—offers a lens to study this Latin American transnational feminist movement in the context of its socio-political histories. This essay bridges rhetorical studies with Latin American performance studies, namely, Diana Taylor's theory of performance, to explore how "Un violador en tu camino" creates collective memory through embodiment in its various remixes. To begin analyzing the rhetorical phenomenon of "Un violador en tu camino," I first describe the timeline of its circulation: (1) its original series of performances in Chile, (2) performances rendered globally, (3) social media activism based on the performance, and (4) the backlash to and parody of the movement. I then describe and apply Taylor's performance theory to trace the protest's rhetorical circulation through three main remixes: a popular rendition of the performance in Mexico City, an X (formerly Twitter) trend based on the performance's lyrics, and a viral parody of the performance. I further demonstrate how performance theory extends the methodology of iconographic tracking by offering tools to analyze rhetoric in motion and the archiving of these events. Studying feminist protests as performances helps us understand (1) historically situated and embodied transmissions of knowledges and (2) the entangled and remixed circulation between digital and physical publics, or in Taylor's terms, the "archive" and the "repertoire."

An Overview of the Circulation of "Un violador en tu camino"

At its peak, "Un violador en tu camino" circulated between the end of 2019 to the beginning of 2020, taking the form of protests, digital videos, and a variety of social media remixes and responses. Its original series of performances in Chile, however, emerged from the socio-political context of gendered violence and social unrest in 2019. From October 2019 to March 2020, the "estallido social" (social explosion) responded to social and economic inequalities, paired with the rising cost of living in Chile. The estallido social was met with mass injury, arrests, and human rights violations perpetuated by state military and police forces. 3,153 complaints were filed against armed forces and law enforcement, some of which included reports of sexual

assault, forced nakedness, and rape in detention facilities, according to the National Human Rights Instutite ("Archivo de reportes"). This police-sponsored violence was only the most recent case of the high rates of gendered violence in Chile. For example, in 2019, there were reports of 46 femicides, defined as "an intentional killing with a gender-related motivation" ("Five essential facts"), and 109 frustrated femicides, which is an attempted murder with gender-related motivation ("Complementary Report"). Although the ideation process for "Un violador en tu camino" had been underway since 2018, estallido social presented a kairotic moment for the national, and soon international, attention to the performance.

The original series of performances, created and executed by LASTESIS, occurred between November 20-29 of 2019 in ten different locations between Valparaíso and Santiago, Chile. For the November 25 performance in Valparaíso, around 50 women donned blindfolds, red lipstick, and black attire, while dancing in unison and chanting the lyrics:

Spanish [Original]	English [Translation]
[Verso 1] El patriarcado es un juez Que nos juzga por nacer Y nuestro castigo Es la violencia que no ves El patriarcado es un juez Que nos juzga por nacer Y nuestro castigo Es la violencia que ya ves	[Verse 1] Patriarchy is our judge That imprisons us at birth And our punishment Is the violence you DON'T see Patriarchy is our judge That imprisons us at birth And our punishment Is the violence you CAN see
[Pre-Coro] Es femicidio Impunidad para mi asesino Es la desaparición Es la violación	[Pre-Chorus] It's femicide. Impunity for my killer. It's our disappearances. It's rape!
[Coro] Y la culpa no era mía, ni donde estaba, ni cómo vestía Y la culpa no era mía, ni donde estaba, ni cómo vestía Y la culpa no era mía, ni donde estaba, ni cómo vestía Y la culpa no era mía, ni donde estaba, ni cómo vestía	[Chorus] And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dressed. And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dressed. And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dressed. And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dressed.
[Pos-Coro] El violador eras tú El violador eres tú	[Post-Chorus] And the rapist WAS you And the rapist IS you
[Pre-Coro] Son los pacos Los jueces El Estado El Presidente	[Pre-Chorus] It's the cops, It's the judges, It's the system, It's the President,
[Coro] El Estado opresor es un macho violador El Estado opresor es un macho violador	[Chorus] This oppressive state is a macho rapist. This oppressive state is a macho rapist.
[Pos-Coro] El violador eras tú (Paco culiao) El violador eres tú (Paco culiao)	[Post-Chorus] And the rapist was you And the rapist is you
[Verso 2] Duerme tranquila, niña inocente Sin preocuparte del bandolero Que por tu sueños dulce y sonriente Vela tu amante carabinero	[Verse 2] Sleep calmly, innocent girl Without worrying about the bandit, Over your dreams smiling and sweet, Watches your loving cop.
[Pos-Coro] El violador eres tú (Paco culiao) El violador eres tú (Paco culiao) El violador eres tú (Paco culiao) El violador eres tú (Paco culiao)	[Post-Chorus] And the rapist IS you And the rapist IS you And the rapist IS you And the rapist IS you.

On the same day, a similar performance took place in the Commune of Santiago for the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. This time, hundreds of people demonstrated. The recording of this performance, uploaded by the Colectivo Registro Callejero, an organization of artists, has 1.4 million views on YouTube, making it one of the first viral renditions. Afterwards, LASTESIS encouraged people to "re-appropriate" their performance for different contexts (LASTESIS et al.)—an invitation that would spread their feminist message transnationally.

Image 1: Open Street Map from Fabra (2019) depicting a series of pins on a world map that represent performances of "Un violador en tu camino." Pins are concentrated in regions such as Latin America and Southern Europe.

Since LASTESIS's call for re-appropriation, the performance has been rendered 446 times in 54 countries (Fabra) and has been adapted into at least 16 different languages (Fortin et al.). Still, Chile and Mexico lead the way with the highest number of performances, with 90 and 48 renditions, respectively. Even beyond Latin America, notable performances have made national headlines and garnered millions of views, from Turkey, to the U.S.A, to India, to Thailand. Different socio-political contexts have reimagined "Un violador en tu camino"; for example, the performers in Delhi, India on December 8, 2019 translated and altered the lyrics to reflect the relationship between sexual violence and the caste system: "In the name of the caste / In the name of religion / We disappear / We are exploited / We carry the worst part of rape / And violence on our bodies" (Noriega par. 2). This is only one of many cases where "Un violador en tu camino" has flowed between spaces and material realities. The protest's circulation exemplifies how meaning transforms between remixes—whether through physical performances in new locations, parodied performances, or X trends.

The digital circulation of "Un violador en tu camino" enabled its transnational re-appropriation, further complexifying its ecology. Increasingly, digital circulation has complexified our understanding of the way meaning is moved and remixed, leading to a "current hyper-circulatory condition of writing" (Dobrin 142). Digital recordings of the performance became plentiful and viral soon after the aforementioned renditions.

In a study of "videoactivismo," Valentina Carranza Weihmüller et al. found 1393 videos of Spanish and Portuguese performances between November 20, 2019, and December 24, 2019. An analysis of 77 of these videos revealed that the movement was characterized by its "pluridad articulada (articulated plurality/cultural pluralism)" (16). During this period of "videoactivismo," different remixes also emerged to extend the message of the protests. Several large-scale news publications, such as *BBC*, *The Washington Post*, and *Telemundo*, covered the protests, re-circulated the videos, and further spread the message across the world. But, of course, anything that gets circulated online is subject to an even wider audience—and even more scrutiny. "Un violador en tu camino" is no exception. It faced an immense amount of misogynistic backlash and ill-intentioned parodies on social media platforms. "Ciberviolencia machista (Machista cyber-violence)" characterized a corpus of TikToks posted within a year of the first protest (Mueses Flores and Nolivos Garzón) and a corpus of viral memes and parodies on YouTube, Instagram, X, and Facebook (Pilay). In viral YouTube meme compilations, creators edited clips of comedies or dancing animals to the chorus of the chant, with comments that ranged from reactions of humor to explicit gendered insults (Pilay). These remixes and responses not only showcase that "Un violador en tu camino" circulated to a variety of social media platforms, but also that its feminist message was frequently critiqued, rejected, and ridiculed.

The timeline of "Un violador en tu camino" reveals a complicated interplay between performance, circulation, and digital platforms. The transmission of its message—its "re-articulation," as encouraged by LASTESIS—took on forms that could not have been imagined by its creators in solely a Chilean context. While LASTESIS has described their original intentions for the lyrics and movements in interviews (such as Fortin et al.'s "Embodied Feminist Resistance in Chile"), the derivatives of their work interact with various contexts, humans, and technologies to alter its intended message. This brings to mind the distinction between distribution, which is intentional, and circulation, which is uncontrollable (Porter 11). For example, Mary Queen's essay "Transnational Feminist Rhetorics in a Digital World" tracks the rhetorical circulation of a letter critiquing the Feminist Majority regarding its championing of oppressed women in Afghanistan. Elizabeth Miller, the author of the letter, initially distributed it in an email to the editor of a magazine, but its subsequent circulation on various "cyberfields"—listservs, news outlets, and academic journals—caused a variety of unintended consequences. These consequences included its misattribution to RAWA (an Afghan feminist organization), recontextualization for conservative arguments, and spread to new (anti-)feminist audiences (Queen 483). But how may circulation be conceived when a case study gains momentum in both "cyberfields" and in-person events? In the case of "Un violador en tu camino," the performances were often planned and distributed intentionally, such as the first series of protests in Chile; however, their permanent archiving as digital videos and lyrics allow them to be viewed internationally, which spurs uncontrollable redistributions and remixes, both as new performances and online media. This is the nature of contemporary social movements that take on physical embodiments and digital remixes, where the expansiveness of these movements depend on this complex interplay.

Previous studies of "Un violador en tu camino," in disciplines such as Latin American cultural studies (Martin and Shaw, Serafini), linguistics (Pilay, Saejang), and feminist activism studies (Fortin et al., Figueroa, Merlyn Sacoto, Weihmüller et al.), have focused on either the protests themselves or its digital deriva-

tives—rather than the relationship between the two. Yet, this case has not been examined through the lens of rhetoric and performance. Rhetorical circulation studies, specifically rhetorical ecologies (Edbauer) and iconographic tracking (Gries), highlight the importance of networks in social movements to embrace images' ontological complexity. Rhetorical methodologies uncover the larger patterns and specific minutiae of case studies' becomings and consequences. In alignment with this goal, performance studies offer new methods to analyze ontological complexity. The language of performance fixates on the changes in materiality of moving and still icons, with an emphasis on how bodies and voices transmit knowledge. Both approaches are integral to a fuller understanding of cases such as "Un violador en tu camino."

There are three non-linear stages of "Un violador en tu camino": its series of performances across the world, remixes in support of the movement on social media and news websites, and digital parodies and backlash to the movement. These three case studies capture significant, though non-comprehensive, parts of this circulation. First, the performance in Mexico City on November 29, 2019 is one of the largest ones to date, with thousands of people filling the plaza in the Zócalo; due to its size and virality online, this performance is analyzed as an example of remixing performances in different public spaces. Second, an X trend emerged within this movement between November 25, 2019 to December 31, 2019, where X users would use the chorus of the chant to tell their personal stories of gendered violence. The third case study for analysis is a viral instance of parody covered by MILENIO with 496,000 views, posted on Dec 4, 2019, in which players in a South American soccer team facetiously dance to the chant. Compared to the Santiago protest, these three case studies—the Mexico City performance, the X trend, and the soccer team parody—can illuminate how performance theory reveals layers of complexity in the embodied activism of "Un violador en tu camino."

Performance and "Un violador en tu camino"

Performance as Methodology: The Archive and the Repertoire

Performance, especially the concepts of the archive and the repertoire, enhance our understanding of methodological approaches to rhetorical circulation studies. I draw on Gries's definition of rhetorical circulation here: "spatio-temporal flows, which unfolds and fluctuates as things enters into diverse associations and materializes in abstract and concrete forms" ("Iconographic Tracking" 335). According to Diana Taylor in *The Archive and the Repertoire*, performance as a theoretical concept identifies two forms of cultural transmission within these "diverse associations." Privileged by colonial powers, the archive encompasses permanent materials that can resist change and travel across distances, such as texts, documents, and buildings. For instance, video recordings, tweets, and hashtags fall under the archive. The repertoire, on the other hand, relates to corporal memory, through gestures, rituals, oral stories, songs, and dance. The repertoire has a finite duration, its manifestations disappear, and it requires physical presence for transmission (20). The live performances or parody renditions of "Un violador en tu camino" exemplify the repertoire. So, while Gries' work on iconographic tracking and remixes focuses on still images, such as the Obama Hope image, an approach that centers performance allows us to analyze texts with live motion (the repertoire), their subsequent digital archival (the archive), and the circulation between these networks.

Alternatively, performance could be thought of as events. Citing DeLuca and Wilferth's call for a Derridean framework that decenters print-based analysis of images, Gries advocates for understanding images as events to study their "dynamic network of distributed, unfolding, and unforeseeable becomings" (335). For Gries, eventfulness, with all of its complexities and unpredictability, is at the heart of circulation studies. Even a still image can be conceptualized as an event because of the underlying processes that enable it to exist. The metaphor of event also informs Phil Bratta's analysis of The One Million Bones Project, a public art installation that raised awareness for genocide in Congo, which he refers to as a rhetorical lived event. Rhetorical lived events "draw more attention to embodiment and proprioception" by exploring how bodies engage in public spaces through sensory components and create political acts through collective action (Bratta n.p.). The essential aspect of lived events is that they disappear, as do performances. Taylor posits a paradox: performance's power lies in its ephemeral nature—it disrupts, resonates, then disappears (5). But the knowledges it carries cannot be maintained in the same way beyond the start and end of the event. To complicate the binary between permanent and ephemeral, Queen characterizes electronic text as ephemeral as well, due to how circulation allows texts to encounter other forces, "forming and dissolving simultaneously" (475). These encounters include new audiences, links, and contexts that change their material processes. In any case, the metaphor of event rejects the notion that texts can be static or stable, so our methods for studying them must account for their ever-changing natures.

Although performance and events both highlight ephemerality and dynamism in artifacts, performance underscores power relationships in different types of knowledge transmission. Taylor constructs her theory of performance as a decolonial epistemology, one that counters the idea that Indigenous knowledges are primitive or non-contemporary because they are not in writing, but rather embodied. Historically, the Conquest of Indigenous Peoples, such as Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas in present-day Latin America, did not introduce writing systems or erase forms of embodied practices, but rather set up a hierarchy that privileges writing within the archive. Part of this privileging stems from the archive's ability to largely maintain its form through script and symbols when circulating, even when its ecology changes. Regarding this difference, Taylor poses the question: "Whose memories, traditions, and claims to history disappear if performance practices lack the staying power to transmit vital knowledge?" (5). While most electronic texts also form and dissolve as Queen suggests, and thus may not be statically permanent, they are texts in the archive that can be returned to, as their existence and messaging does not rely solely on embodied experiences. However, to name the archive and the repertoire is not meant to create a binary between them, but rather to increase the visibility of their networks in the circulation of social movements. As Taylor writes, "Other systems of transmission—like the digital—complicate any simple binary formulation," yet the repertoire provides "the antihegemonic challenge" (22).The importance of drawing a distinction—albeit a gray one—between the archive and the repertoire is acknowledging that the archive is regarded as the dominant form of knowledge transmission.

In the case of protests, performance further lends itself to align with the concept of *performativity*, more so than events. According to Judith Butler's theory of gender, "As performance which is performative, gender is an 'act,' broadly construed, which constructs the social fiction of its own psychological interiority" (279).

These social fictions are reinforced through regulatory practices that create gender norms, which have material consequences despite being a construction. Taylor references Butler's use of performativity as distinct from but related to her theory of cultural collective memory, since the process of socializing identities "is harder to identify because normalization has rendered it invisible" (5). Notably, Taylor attempts to separate a logocentric discussion of discourse—a space where she claims "performativity" inhabits—from "the non-discursive realm of performance" (6). However, the performativity of identity seems integral to analyzing feminist protest performances, where the embodiment of protesters lends to the resonance of the protest itself. A consideration of performativity works towards "foreground[ing] material matters alongside concerns with politics, race, class, and gender (Schell)," as well as resistance and citizenship in public spaces (Gries et al.). Thus, this essay considers performativity as a layer of performance. With this layered meaning, performance—as a site of study and methodology—allows us to recenter power in our analyses, highlighting how embodied practices are saturated with political meanings.

To study performance, we first consider its scenario or scene, including physical location, clothing, and sounds. This analysis examines how "the place allows us to think about the possibilities of the action" and how "action also defines place" with specific histories and socialization processes (Taylor 29). An example of this is the performance by Las Tesis Senior on December 4, 2019. This group, composed of women generations older than LASTESIS, performed in the Estadio Nacional de Chile. This is a site where victims were detained and tortured under Augusto Pinochet's regime, a place imbued with collective memory for those who lived through his dictatorship from 1973-1990 (Martin and Shaw). Attended by 10,000 people, the Las Tesis Senior performance consisted of a "scene" that held cultural memories of violence under the Pinochet regime, revealing how physical location can shape the meaning of the performance itself.

The other main component of performance analysis is "the embodiment of social actors" (Taylor 29). We can see how embodiment plays a role during the "Un violador en tu camino" performance in Santiago de Compostela, Spain. A recording of this performance, posted by T13 on December 11, 2019, has garnered 7.1 million views and sparked controversy. In this recording, a man interrupts the protest, shouting "Ahora a casa a hacer la cena (Now to the house to make dinner)" (00:16-00:18); the performers respond by chanting "cuidado machista, estás en nuestra lista (be careful, machista, you are on our list)" (00:30-00:53). The interruption derives meaning from the domestic stereotypes associated with feminized embodiments. The gendered binary of marianismo and machismo marks the opposition between performers and agitators, aspects particularly visible through the lens of the repertoire. Highlighting the relationship between the repertoire and the archive, *Metro Ecuador* covered the Santiago de Compostela incident, which, along with its recording being posted on YouTube, transmitted it to the archive and opened it up to further reaction from online publics. In a study of a Facebook comment thread under a post with the news article, Marie-France Merlyn found that 45.96% of the comments were negative responses to the initial poster, and 35.48% of the comments were negative towards women and/or feminism as a whole. Gendered embodiment played a large role in the renditions and responses to "Un violador en tu camino," as each remix connected to a central message about gendered oppression.

Transnational Remixes of "Un violador en tu camino"

If we study "Un violador en tu camino" in Santiago, Chile through Taylor's theory, we can see how its scenario and embodiment make the performance resonant. The lyrics of the song call out the institutional forces that perpetuate and provide impunity to gendered violence, a message that is further re-emphasized through the choreography of the performance. As the protesters call out the institutional violence by the state ("Es femicidio (It's femicide) / Impunidad para mi asesino (Impunity for my killer) / Es la desaparición (It's disappearance) / Es la violación (It's rape)" (LASTESIS 1, 9-12)), the performers put their hands behind their heads while squatting down, representing a position of shame and degradation that was forced upon women in police custody, a secluded space (Image 1 below). But performativity in the repertoire allows for a "generative critical distance between social actor and character," where the protesters transfer the degrading position to a public space and resignify its meaning to be resistant and subversive (Taylor 30). As characters with agency, they expose the police's inappropriate behavior by putting this position on display. At the same time, the protesters as social actors create "frictions between plot and character (on the level of narrative) and embodiment (social actors)," emphasizing how the state subjects feminized bodies to violence (Taylor 30). They simultaneously draw on their roles as performers—as demonstrators—and their embodied gender to denounce state-sponsored gendered violence.

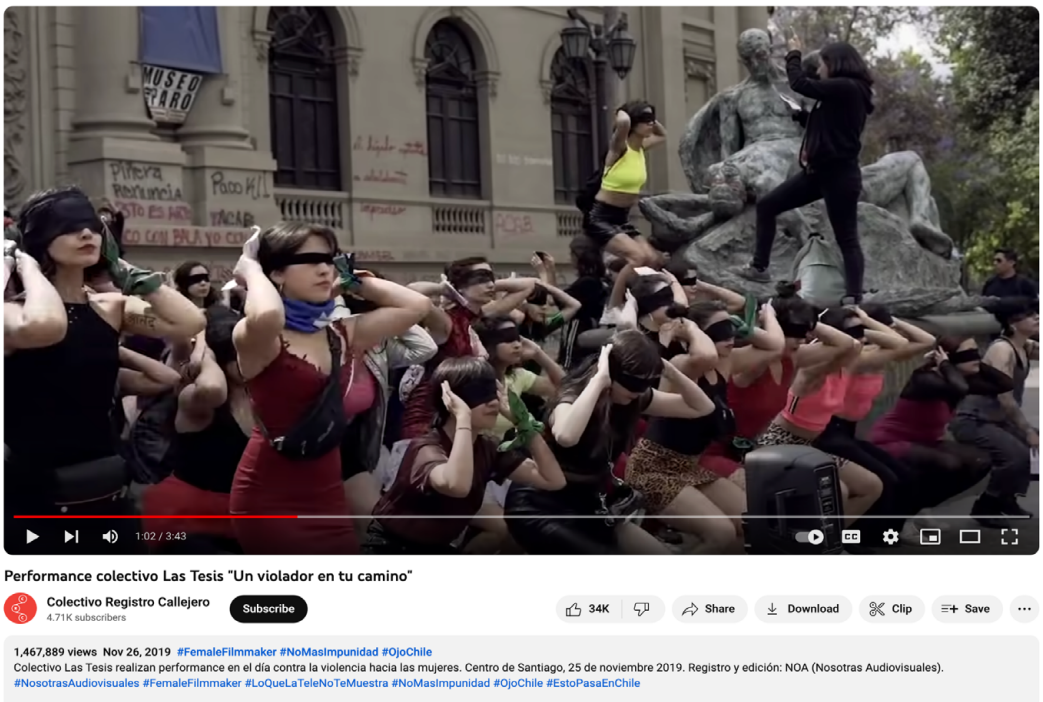

Image 2: A screenshot of a performance of "Un violador en tu camino" in Santiago, Chile, posted by Colectivo Registro Callejero. Most of the protesters wear dresses or skirts, black blindfolds, and green bandanas tied around their wrists, as they put their hands behind their heads and squat.

The performers' clothes, or costuming, also reinforce the message that clothes are not to blame for gendered violence, as many of them wear revealing "party" outfits. Again, gender performativity marks these rhetorical choices, in the context of gender being disciplined within the cultural script of "marianismo." Mar-

ianismo, put briefly, refers to a Latin American gender role that characterizes ideal femininity as virtuous, modest, and chaste in the image of the Virgin Mary. The protesters' costuming acts as an antithesis to marianismo. Even more, they use clothing to shape their embodiment into the patriarchal image of someone who "deserves" to be violated, in order to dispel this myth and reaffirm all women's rights to safety, no matter how they are dressed. In both choreography and costuming, "Un violador en tu camino" draws on the dual role of its protesters as feminized bodies, who are disciplined into a particular model of gender, and as performers, who subvert cultural scripts of patriarchy. In other words, they are performing the policing of their bodies. This, paired with the impassioned chant, creates two levels of meaning and resonance: We are showing you how you imagine and act on our bodies, and we are telling you that it is inhumane.

The embodied nature of the repertoire is the foundation of meaning-making for "Un violador en tu camino," even as it circulates online. Online, the interplay between the archive and the repertoire becomes more complex. The recording of "Un violador en tu camino" allowed for it to be archived on social media platforms, specifically YouTube, causing it only to disappear in the physical space of the Commune of Santiago, but still be preserved digitally. However, the repertoire is memorable because it is non-reproducible. It cannot be studied or felt in the same way twice, and a digital representation of the performance cannot be the performance itself. Yet, the virality of the recorded Santiago performance propelled "Un violador en tu camino" to be replicated in Mexico City. With each remix of the protest, different socio-political contexts and public spaces create new rhetorical situations, albeit under similar oppressive structures of gendered violence.

The transmission of "Un violador en tu camino" to Mexico City exemplifies how public spaces emphasize communities' specific relationships to gendered violence. Taylor calls Mexico City "a palimpsest of histories and temporalities" due to the mass destruction of Indigenous architecture and culture, which was forcibly replaced with buildings erected by Spaniard colonizers (Taylor 82). In this setting, "Un violador en tu camino" occurred in la Plaza del Zócalo on November 29, 2019. The history of gendered violence differs between Chile and Mexico; while Chile's feminist movement has a larger emphasis on police violence, Mexico has a more prevalent history of femicide, due to the high number of cases of femicide in Ciudad Juárez in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Drawing on this collective memory, the protesters in Mexico City hold up fliers with images of red and black crosses, a prominent icon in anti-femicide movements, which intertextually ties the performance with the social movement #NiUnaMenos (#NotOneMore). Expanding on Michael Warner's *Publics and Counterpublics*, Gries explains that the assemblage of strangers, in this case protesters, relies on circulation, "not just because of circulating texts around which strangers gather and through which intertextuality occurs but also because of the recognition that discourse circulates" (Gries 5). Through the linking of two feminist social movements, the "Un violador en tu camino" protesters and #NiUnaMenos advocates can consider themselves within the same public, joined by the exigency of violence against women within the political setting of Mexico City.

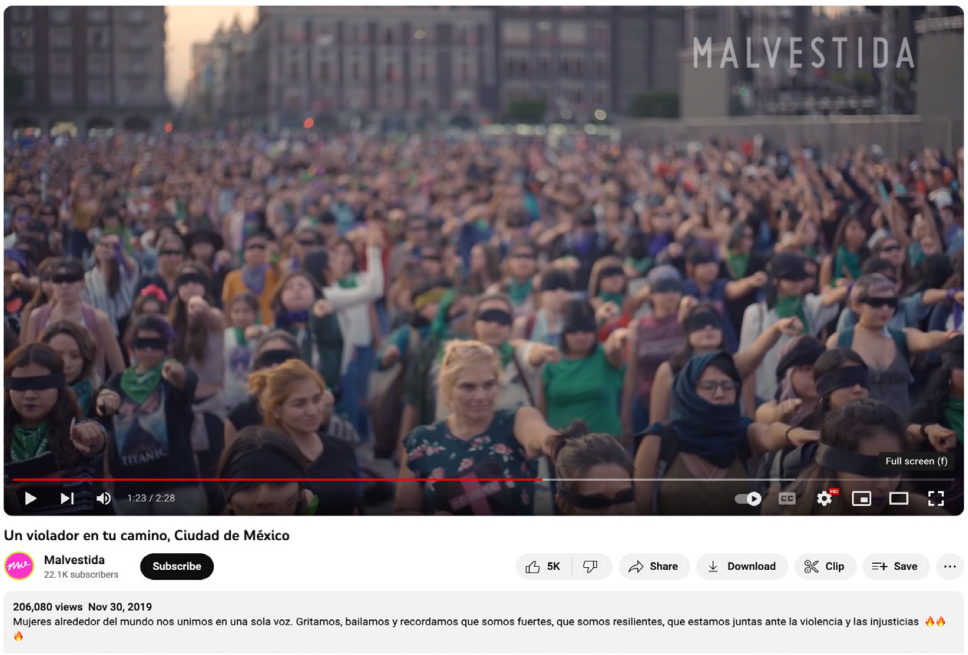

Image 3: A screenshot of a performance of "Un violador en tu camino" in Mexico City, posted by Malvestida. The protesters, who fill up the plaza, point forward during the chorus of the chant.

In the Mexico City protest, the embodied nature of performance provides a throughline for the movement, while the scenario changes to produce new meanings. Similarly to the Chilean performance, the protesters point forward when chanting "El violador eras tú (The rapist is you)." However, the public space of Mexico City and the orientation of the performers create a new layer of meaning in this gesture, since they are pointing at the National Palace, where the federal government resides (Image 3, "Un violador en tu camino, Mexico City," above). The occupation of this space "is not merely social; it is political" (Dobrin 43). The interactions between place and the lyrics highlight institutional critique—the message that gendered violence is not an interpersonal issue, but a political one. Even more, the Mexican protesters slightly change the lyrics based on their context. The Chilean protesters name the rapists as "Son los pacos (They're the cops) / Los jueces (The judges) / El Estado (The State) / El Presidente (The President)." In Mexico City, the protesters call out the institutions as "Los jueces (The judges) / Los curos (The priests) / El presidente (The president)," while they point at the federal judicial center (the judges) and the Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral (the priests), before crossing their arms in an X above their heads, once again toward the National Palace (the president) (LASTESIS, 19-22). The indictment of the priests is the most notable change, since it underscores the Catholic Church's role in promoting a culture of victim blaming. Place also becomes political through its publicness, as the performers reach large audiences "who would watch, digitally record, share, and communicate using multiple channels about what they saw, extending the reach of the message" (Martin and Shaw 451). In real time, the performance would transfer between the repertoire and the archive to reach new transnational audiences and contexts.

Digital Activism in the Archive

One example of how the message transferred from the repertoire to the archive is the "Y la culpa no era mía" X trend. Emerging from the lyrics of the protest, the X trend demonstrates how participation in this movement extends beyond organized performances, with distinct affordances or limitations due to its form. The "Y la culpa no era mía" trend takes three lines from the lyrics, then provides details of the user's sexual assault in parentheses under each line. An example that is representative of the trend is below (Image 4):

Image 4: A screenshot of a tweet by @SoyLadyCorrales.

Translation: "And the blame was not mine/(I was 15 years old)/Nor where I was/(At the beach)/Nor how I dressed/(Shorts and white blouse)

It took me 22 years to write this tweet and I'm joining in. These are not isolated events, it is an epidemic of systematic violence."

Multiple replies use the same template to tell their own stories, and dozens of other users have posted this trend outside of the cited thread. Evidently, there are not visual or physical bodies in these acts of resistance, like in a performance, but the lyrics and details still draw on corporal rhetoric. Many of these tweets, the example included, represent the body as innocent and thus undeserving of violence—that of a child, in places that are supposed to be safe, in everyday modest clothing. This is a distinct approach from the typical immodest costuming of the performance. The similar imagery of childhood innocence, however, is part of the lyrical chant: "Duerme tranquila, niña inocente (Sleep calmly, innocent girl) / Sin preocuparte del bandolero (Without worrying about the bandit)." Although the body is still at the center of this movement, multiple elements of embodiment are lost—the presence of material bodies, the publics they occupy, and the layers of performativity.

When remixed into the archive, "Un violador en tu camino" has a different relationship to collective action. While every tweet tells an individual story, they share the argument that victims should not be blamed for gendered violence. The diversity of experience creates an overarching narrative in a digital space, creating a discoursal unity instead of the physical and visual unity of performers in a public space. This trend uses similar activist literacies as the 2011 Uprising of Women in the Arab World, a movement studied by Jennifer Nish, in which activists used selfies in particular genre patterns to connect themselves to the larger movement. In both cases, audiences would be able to "situate specific examples of rhetorical activity in relation to collective projects, social structures, and systems of power" (34). "Y la culpa no era mía" participants accomplish this with phrasing such as "I'm joining in" and "it is an epidemic of systematic violence," or even repurposing the hashtag #NiUnaMas (#NotOneMore). For the comparable movement #YesAllWomen, Dustin Edwards and Heather Lang argue that hashtags have a "cultural weightiness" that allow them to circulate, be remixed, and gain rhetorical velocity (132). Edwards and Lang highlight "the complexity and mess" of tracing hashtags and their material effects, such as its transmission to demonstrations and rallies (121). We can see a similar material movement within the circulation of "Un violador en tu camino" between demonstrations, digital representations, and remixes. However, the "Y la culpa no era mia" X trend never elicited its own hashtag, but rather amassed together through the same structural use of lyrics. Perhaps as a consequence, the virality of the trend was comparatively less than many of the recorded videos of the protest, or even similar social media movements on X, such as #MeToo or #NiUnaMenos.

Translating the repertoire to the archive offers an opportunity for activists. That is, social media provides digital access points for participation in the larger movement, but could arguably dilute the movement by being too individual. This was a common critique of the #MeToo movement that originated in the U.S; in a comparison of the two movements, Deborah Martin and Deborah Shaw go as far to say that "while MeToo builds a collection of individual stories which shines a light on the scale of sexual violence against women, Un violador and Ni una menos understand apriori that rape and femicide are rooted in misogynistic cultures, rather than in individual men" (720-1). These online movements also lack the embodiment of the repertoire, and, as Jason Del Gandio asserts, "Collective action relies upon the coordination and communication of bodies. Subtract those bodies and the collective action disappears" (151). Certainly, the "Y la culpa no era mia" X trend takes a more individual and less embodied approach compared to the performance, but because it still derives from the performance, it pulls from the rhetorical resonance of it. This trend could be considered what Chris Ingraham calls "gestures of concern," or "an expression into form of an affective relation" (1). With a "gesture of concern," participants in the trend reveal their solidarity with the larger movement, associating their unique narrative with the message of the performance's lyrics. These gestures, of course, are mediated by the material realities of the archive, in this case digital platforms, which allow the trend to present new avenues for people to interact in even more minute gestures, such as liking, retweeting, or commenting. Furthermore, as the trend pushes the movement into new public spheres of political discourse, it contributes to "decentring any authorship associated with the original performances," which extends the movement's message while paying homage to its origins (Martin and Shaw 714). The results of these social media campaigns are "sticky uptakes" (Nish 128), which can influence other types of action. They can spur new social media campaigns, such as the intertextual relationship between #NiUnaMenos and "Un violador

en tu camino," and new protest performances in transnational settings. Although the X trend may be critiqued by those who put social media activism in opposition to protest performances, it can indeed resonate with an audience and allow "citizens to come together around issues of mutual import…in order to act amid the contingencies of their civic and social circumstances" (Ingraham 16).

Parody Performances in the Repertoire

With widespread circulation comes remixes that diverge completely from a text's original message. As previously described, the circulation of "Un violador en tu camino" resulted in misogynistic backlash and parody remixes, a given for any social movement stored in the archive. A parody that garnered media attention was created by players of a South American U-17 team. One of the players posted the video on his Facebook page, which then went viral. News media reported on the situation after the Disciplinary Commission of the Mexican Association Football Federation announced an investigation into the team's misconduct, as the federation and news outlets likely anticipated public outrage. The team eventually issued an apology for mocking a movement against gendered violence. The most viral version of this parody is critically reported on by MILENIO and posted on YouTube, garnering 490,182 views as of December 4, 2019. Yet, the comments on the news report mostly condemn the reporter's negative attitude toward the parody or commending the humor of the parody. For example, the top comment, "La conductora encabronada por dentro jajajajj (The reporter is pissed off inside hahahaha)" reflects how even women who defended the movement received backlash, aligning with the findings of Marie-France Merlyn's study of Facebook comments. This new parody-performance created spaces for antagonistic audiences to engage with "Un violador en tu camino" through its circulation in the archive.

In the video, seven boys dance and react to an audio recording of "Un violador en tu camino" with an added instrumental beat in the background. The part of the song played in the video is the institutional critique of the police, judges, state, and president; three boys sway their hips and point around the room, then make an X with their arms, mimicking the choreography of the protest (Image 5). The parody takes place in a locker room, a space where these gestures lose their original meaning, in contrast to the public and political spaces that are rhetorically integral to "Un violador en tu camino" performances. To further elucidate the mocking nature of the reenactment, the camera pans to boys off screen laughing at the performance. This parody deviates far from the precise and forcible moves of the protest choreography.

Image 5: A screenshot of a video of South American U-17 team players parodying "Un violador en tu camino." In a locker room surrounded by teammates, the players cross their arms above their heads.

In this way, the body is still central to the meaning of "Un violador en tu camino," albeit subversively. Protesters' bodies—and the feminized gender associated with them—are vulnerable to gendered violence and unprotected by the state, so the collection and movement of bodies in solidarity makes their resistance resonate with populations around the world. By examining a parody, we can further understand how "bodies participating in the transmission of knowledge and memory are themselves a product of certain taxonomic, disciplinary, and mnemonic systems" (Taylor 86). Through the lens of performance, the masculine body takes on new political meanings. Their carefree movements reflect how their bodies are not disciplined or threatened due to being gendered as women under a patriarchal state. They reinforce their masculinity by representing their embodiment as antithetical to the protesters, within the scene of a locker room that signifies a male-only space. By parodying the original message, they actually reinforce a key point of "Un violador en tu camino": there is a thriving culture that blames—or even makes fun of—victims and thus contributes to a culture of gendered violence. They are counter-rhetorics of the repertoire, which "expand the lived experience of the original rhetorics by adding to them—even while changing and expanding their shape" (Edbauer 19). The fluid extension of the archive and repertoire into each other reinforces cultural memories. The exigence of "Un violador en tu camino" relies on both the publics and bodies integral to the repertoire, but also the transnational circulation of the archive, even in its subversion.

Performance and Entangled Circulations

By analyzing "Un violador en tu camino" as a performance, we can understand how the setting of the rhetorical event contributes to its meaning, as well as how the performance's ephemeral nature disrupts its settings. Additionally, the protesters as performers transgress against patriarchal culture; they use their per-

formativity of gender to manipulate the societal expectations of victims of gendered violence. The transmission between the repertoire and the archive entangle the body to create a message against gendered violence. Based on the analysis of the three remixes done above, I now further discuss how performance theory extends rhetorical circulation by explaining (1) embodied and situated transmissions of knowledges and (2) the entangled and remixed circulation between digital and physical publics.

Despite its potential widespread application, Taylor's performance theory is specifically fit for Latin American contexts, as it draws from rhetorical traditions embedded in the histories of this region. The performance's rhetorical strategies draw on histories of activism in Chile, ones that LASTESIS was invested in. The originators of "Un violador en tu camino" intended for the 2-minute, 30-second performance to disperse before police violence could erupt: "this [performance] ends and we go, we don't want any confrontation, we don't want to expose ourselves" (LASTESIS). This strategy reflects a lineage of activism through theatrical performance, particularly during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet between 1973 to 1990, when dissenters of the government would be silenced, exiled, or killed. Because of this, theater groups would imbue political significance in their performances under the guise of the mise en scene (Grass et al.), showing their audiences "culturally specific imaginaries—sets of possibilities, ways of conceiving conflict, crisis, or resolution" without alerting authorities to their dissent (Taylor 13). In protest to the Pinochet regime, and similarly to "Un violador en tu camino," theater groups would perform in short bursts in public spaces to present a clear message of resistance to the passerby audience, then disperse (Fortin et al.). In relation to Taylor's theory, the ephemerality of "Un violador en tu camino" is both a political strategy and a preservation of historical activism, situated in Chile's history with institutionalized violence. Even the blindfolds—or the costuming—worn by the Valparaíso and Santiago protesters reference the blindfolded victims of torture under the Pinochet regime, which lose or change meaning in different contexts. Performance itself draws on the histories of communities and activists in Latin America, which many other methodologies or metaphors could not capture.

When the protest circulated transnationally, many activists opted to change the costuming, symbolisms, lyrics, and physical spaces of the performance, as explored in the previous sections. However, the protest circulated beyond Latin America, meaning that in these settings, new culturally specific meanings emerge. For example, on November 14, 2020, almost a full year after the original Valparaíso protest, the group Thai Feminist Liberation performed a version renamed Sita Lui Fai (Sita Walks through Fire). This title refers to Thailand's national epic *Ramakien*, where Sita, the wife of the protagonist, "is subjected to ordeal by fire to prove her purity and fidelity to her husband, Rama," which symbolizes men's ownership of women (Saejang 168). Jooyin Saejang's critical discourse analysis of the Thai rendition reveals that changes to the lyrics and choreography, such as an addition of a "cutthroat gesture signifying Sita's experience with deadly pain," emphasizes an affect of anger for the victims of gendered violence (171). Thai Feminist Liberation draws on an entirely different folklore and tradition to resonate with its national audience. To effectively protest, activists must consider how "civic obedience, resistance, citizenship, gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity…are rehearsed and performed daily in the public sphere," then find ways to draw on or subvert these imaginaries in their protest performance (Taylor 3). These strategies rely on historical nuances, rhetorical traditions, and

sociopolitical ideologies about embodied identities.

Performance's emphasis on embodied transmissions of knowledge also strengthens the analysis of transnational feminist movements. In the context of "Ni Una Menos" in Mexico—a feminist movement that has been referenced by "Un violador en tu camino"—Nina Maria Lozano brings attention to how structures and processes of violence create women's sociomaterial realities, often tied to the relationship between women's bodies and neoliberal economic structures. Performance similarly draws attention to the body. We can see performativity of gender in both the protest performances and the parody performances, which draw on societal expectation of gendered bodies to subvert the audience's expectations. The protesters use costuming to present as feminized bodies that are subjected to violence, using the societal image of a promiscuous woman paired with the impassioned lyrics to subvert the narrative that women deserve violence; the boys parodying the performance also draw on their masculinized bodies to exaggerate the choreography, with the purpose of denying an inter-gender solidarity that rendering this performance would typically signify. Understanding protests and its counters as performances offers a lens to study embodied identities—in their resistance and relationship to power.

Finally, Taylor's specification of the "archive" and the "repertoire" point us to how in-person protests, digital activism, and counter-rhetorics interplay, entangle, and cross-over. A spotlight on the affordances of the repertoire is not meant to set it in opposition to the archive, but rather to recognize the historical dominant Western privileging of the archive over the repertoire. Rita Segato's feminist theories, which informed LASTESIS's activism, critique lettered feminism that is primarily conceived and preserved through academia (Fortin et al.); the live Chilean performances of "Un violador en tu camino," on the other hand, were intended to make theory accessible for wide audiences (Martin and Shaw 715). The digital circulation of the performances then creates a network that continuously weaves between the archive and the repertoire. Promoting a comparative materialist approach, Zhaozhe Wang calls this type of hybridity "cyber-public activism," which is "the hybrid rhetorical practice of creating and circulating activist materials and discourse online and assembling people offline to occupy public spaces" (240). Although the "archive" and the "repertoire" do not exactly parallel a "cyber-public" dichotomy, both Wang and my discussions delve into exploring the entanglement between these seemingly binary realms, an entanglement that has become almost ubiquitous within modern day social movements. As seen from the three case studies, the archive and the repertoire forefront important questions about the accessibility of information, the opportunities for collective participation in (digital) activism, and the role of counter-rhetorics in driving circulation.

The Potential of Performance for Transnational Feminist Movements

"Un violador en tu camino"—and its rippling resonance—is a contemporary Latin American model for "how rhetoric moves and how rhetoric moves us" (*RSA 15* 6). It reveals a relationship between the archive and the repertoire that is becoming prevalent through the circulation of protests on social media; although physical and spatial disruptions are ephemeral, recordings of them spread through digital spaces, and thus the protests can be manifested in new places. This circulation, of course, also facilitates manifestations that attempt to subvert the knowledges being created, as the movement takes on a life of its own online.

Performance theory offers rhetorical studies new ways to interpret layers of complexity and focus on embodiment. Its methodological and metaphorical applications facilitate the analysis of moving, embodied texts in relation to their digitized forms. Performance theory moreover centers epistemologies that have historically been sidelined in rhetorical studies, such as Indigenous forms of cultural memory transmission, while providing language for connected realms of circulation, such as the archive and the repertoire. The theory's position in the contexts of Latin American feminism further reveal connections between contemporary and historical strategies for activism. Future studies should explore performance as activism in different movements, preferably as a live audience member who can experience the sensory elements of the repertoire. In embracing the dynamism of performances like "Un violador en tu camino," future research might illuminate the evolving intersection of digital activism and embodied practices, a crucial step for advancing global feminist movements.

Biography

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