



*Time, Power, and Resistances in Latin America:
Narratives, Democracy, and Global Reconfigurations
(English Version)*

ISBN: 978-9915-704-40-1

DOI: 10.62486/978-9915-704-40-1.Ch09

Pages: 89-100

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Configuration of the revolutionary political subject: anti-fascist and anti-racist movement in Argentina

Configuración del sujeto político revolucionario: movimiento antifascista y antirracista en Argentina

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ABSTRACT

Argentina has been the subject of numerous studies that have addressed Social Movements over time, particularly between 2023 and 2025. This is due to the recurrence of protests, repertoires of action, forms of resistance, and interpretive frameworks used by civil society against neoliberal and fascist positions. These dynamics have reconfigured a political subject from revolutionary, popular, intersectional, and emancipatory perspectives, confronting hegemonic, authoritarian, sexist and discriminatory practices that deny the recognition of gender ideology and diverse relationships. The aim of this paper is to reflect on this reconfiguration drawing on the theoretical contributions of Chantal Mouffe, specifically the concept of “the political.” Within this descriptive framework, the different crises that have affected these structures are examined, as well as how the prototype of the past re-establishes and rethinks, in categorical terms, the reality of the subject in the present. Methodologically, a systematization and analysis of different sources of information is carried out, including documentary analysis, media monitoring, and audiovisual material of mobilizations. Finally, it is argued that the subject positions itself within resistance frameworks in the face of emergencies, not only in Argentina, but throughout a broader historical context in Latin America.

Keywords: Political Subject; Crisis; Resistance; Gender; Emancipation.

RESUMEN

Argentina ha sido objeto de estudio de múltiples investigaciones que han abordado los Movimientos Sociales (MS) a lo largo del tiempo, particularmente entre 2023 y 2025. Esto se debe a la recurrencia de protestas, repertorios de acción, resistencias y marco interpretativos que ha utilizado la sociedad civil en contra de las posturas neoliberales y fascistas. Lo anterior ha reconfigurado un sujeto político desde perspectivas revolucionarias, populares, interseccionales y emancipadores de prácticas hegemónicas, autoritarias, sexistas y discriminatorias, que desconocen el reconocimiento de la ideología de género y de las relaciones diversas. El presente trabajo tiene como objetivo reflexionar dicha reconfiguración desde los aportes teóricos de Chantal Mouffe, específicamente desde el concepto de Lo Político. En este entramado descriptivo, se relacionan las diferentes crisis que han incidido en estas estructuras y cómo el prototipo de antaño restablece y repiensa categóricamente la realidad del sujeto en el presente. Metodológicamente, se lleva a cabo una sistematización y análisis de distintas fuentes de información como son: análisis documental, monitoreo de medios y material audiovisual

de las movilizaciones. Finalmente, se afirma que el sujeto se posiciona desde los marcos de resistencia de cara a las emergencias, no solo en Argentina, sino de todo un contexto histórico en Latinoamérica.

Palabras clave: Sujeto Político; Crisis; Resistencias; Género: Emancipación.

INTRODUCTION

The political subject has been one of the largest and most important discussions and configurations generated in the scientific field. Numerous branches of the social sciences have proposed various spectra related to phenomena caused by different global crises. These have not only been observed and studied since ancient times, but have also increased dramatically in the 21st century. As Morales et al. (2017) argue “The current international crisis is much more than an economic or financial crisis” (p. 2). The maximization of wealth, the disproportionate accumulation of capital, the high volatility of exchange rates, corruption, clientelism, polarization, and the supremacy of elites, among other factors, have severely fractured Latin America. In the face of these imposed positions, it has been essential for resistance and social mobilizations to consider common goals to counter models that not only seek to extinguish and exploit the lower classes, but also to pursue emancipation as a means of finding freedom in these situations.

Historically, these crises have gained momentum since various events in the 20th century that affected the quality of life of populations and turned the global economy on its head. Such as: I) The fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union’s overthrow in 1991. II) The concrete foundations of the Maastricht Treaty for the European Union in 1994. III) The consolidation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which sought to reduce tariff barriers in 1995. IV) The emergence of the Group of Eight (G8) in Birmingham in 1998. V) China’s entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. However, these discussions have arisen from the transformations globalization has facilitated. Given that it has not only interfered with the economic component but also concentrated on various aspects of human activity. To be specific, it has been conceptualized as a multidimensional construct in the social and political relations among individuals (Morales et al., 2017; García & Pulgar, 2010).

Today, we must remember the great scientific contributions that explain the various phenomena within the subject’s relationships, such as the circumstantial patterns that have historically materialized in the subject’s emancipation in the constant search for freedom. Likewise, to acquire better conditions of equity and equality. In other words, their primary interest is to have dignity and recognition within their own reality.

As Salazar (2013) argues: The Latin American political scene presents various scenes of tension and conflict that in most cases do not lead to a social movement capable of bringing about change in the structures of the current economic model, whose primitive extractivist export-oriented productive matrix has disastrous results in the depletion of strategic resources such as water, large swathes of land with tons of polluting products, dispossession of land from rural and indigenous communities, the impoverishment of labor, and, above all, irreparable destructive processes in nature, in the human condition, and in the security of the inhabitants of this part of the planet (p. 155).

For this reason, the configuration of the new political subject must, in perspective and

prospectively, interrupt the different scenarios observed in the current reality. It also contemplates “unlearning in order to learn” to rethink its ways of acting and consolidate its political stance. This will allow it to vindicate the demands required for the common good, showing strength and conviction in the situation in which it is exposed.

However, it must be made clear that the subject’s emancipation has been manipulated and distorted. Thus, a very controversial phenomenon arises in which subjects immersed in vulnerable conditions and poverty support those who have historically destroyed them. This is evident in the voting process, where this segment of the population votes overwhelmingly for the right or, failing that, for the elites—those who agree to commercialize and privatize basic social services and cut financial allocations for social programs.

This phenomenon can be understood through Sousa’s (2024) analysis, which argues that three concepts help explain it. First, there is the rationality, desirability, and usefulness of the subject within an economic context. Second, there is the “confusion and disorientation” that exists in the social sphere. This allows the subject to be manipulated through discourse and other actions. Third, there is the argument that the poor vote not only for economic reasons but also for moral reasons. These are intertwined with religion and conservatism, from the different positions of the classes. It is this moral dimension that leads people to act in ways that seek vindication and recognition within their social reality (Sousa, 2024).

As Acuña (2025) rightly argues, “these moral motivations have been amplified by the right, to the extent of confirming that humiliation is something irrational and personal. With this, the public sphere has been replaced by aggression and stripped away by the right” (para. 6). In other words, he states that such humiliation is one of the considerations that the subject has within their desire and longing to belong. Likewise, they are attributed with a blindness to the historical problems that undermine their reality, and they completely forget them when it comes to participating democratically in proposing an alternative and bringing about change.

As for the political instability that exists in Latin America, the political subject is in a state of constant construction. Its configuration has been proportional to the chaos and conflict that it experiences. Therefore, new ideologies would be created in response to its way of thinking, the identity structure it embraces, whether due to its cultural, ethnic, or gender diversity, or its political ideology. In clearer words, for Ávila (2022), the subject “becomes aware of their capacity to constitute themselves autonomously in the struggle for power in the field of the modern Latin American mestizo state and society” (p. 207).

Moreno et al. (2015) refer to the political subject as a being with critical and reflective capacity. This capacity stems from multiple convictions, ideals, and notions, mainly based on charisma and notable social service, which prioritize the common good (Moreno et al., 2015, p. 22). However, the conditions of the subject and their reality can be undermined by the concept they adopt within sociology, philosophy, politics, and history. This is because we must start from the fact that this subject implies the construction of a social order, whether viewed from the perspective of institutions or civil society (Retamozo, 2009).

If political relations have a direct connection to the construction of the subject, it would be necessary to analyze whether national and international antecedents are connected to their quest for emancipation and freedom. While it is true that progressivism has gained strength today, this is due to the lack of conditions, the absence of guarantees for the lower classes,

and the extremist polarization in the power struggle. This has generated social discontent, strengthening a long-term emancipatory process. As Rojas (2022), this rise occurred at the beginning of the 21st century “(...) when left-wing movements and parties came to power in Venezuela (1999), Brazil (2003), Argentina (2003), Uruguay (2005), Bolivia (2006), Chile (2006), Ecuador (2007), Nicaragua (2007), Paraguay (2008), and El Salvador (2009) (p. 20). However, for the second election period, many of these countries returned to the right.

In line with the above, Soler (2019) argues that the new governments that began in 1999 under the banner of left-wing progressivism were the result of circumstances marked by conflict and the consolidation of numerous social movements. This shaped an indignant political subject that took “center stage in the wake of the crisis that arose after the implementation of the neoconservative reforms of the ‘Washington Consensus’ and the cutback or elimination of basic social citizenship policies” (p. 20) (Soler, 2019). In other words, the emancipation of the subject has gained strength as it shares common goals and takes advantage of political opportunities and repertoires of action as new interpretive frameworks in its liberation, not only in the social and political spheres, but also at the scientific and structural levels.

Undoubtedly, in these new left-wing governments, there was no configuration of the political-ideological subject that was recognized as a revolutionary alternative that would broaden the debate on the convictions and conceptions of the state and power (Soler, 2019; Quiroga, 2010). Only in Bolivia was a “counter-hegemonic subject” developed and formed in 2005, due to clashes in the protests, demands marked by the mobilizations, and collective action that consolidated to expose a common enemy. This is an aspect that Argentina shares in its opposition to fascism (Muñoz, 2016).

As Soler (2019) argues, Latin America was “the resurgence of a statist, nationalist, and nativist vision of politics, resulting from the failure of neoliberal policies applied in the region and the crisis of the parties” (p. 22). This establishes a central aspect in the scientific and empirical rupture with the ideals of the new political subject. In contrast to the neoliberal schemes adopted by politicians, it was the slogan and the creation of different interpretative frameworks that led people to take to the streets and demand change that would affect the construction of the country as a whole. As Salazar (2013) considers:

The demonstration is the proclamation of the political subject, the visible hologram, the mobilized face, the organic force, and the demanding voice. Mobilization is the movement that gives visibility to the eyes of other members of society; it is a collective action that reveals who they are, what they do, why they do it, how they discover what is possible, and where they forge the opportunity to install the mediations that lead them toward better democratizing spaces. In each praxis derived from mobilization, they generate values in their practices within the organization; likewise, they nurture dialogues, discussions, and new agreements that guide political activity (p.158).

In short, the elements that have marked the transformations of political subjects have been the antagonistic stance within their social field. Here we can see the relationship between politics (ontic) and the political (ontological) as argued by Mouffe (2007), who maintains that the category of the political is constituted from an antagonistic stance in human relations, that is, a position that opposes or generates conflict when it is in conjunction with another. This is very different from politics, which is seen as the set of practices, activities, and institutions that establish order in the context of conflict (Mouffe, 2007).

According to Mouffe (2007), her conception of the political subject involves a process of hegemonic and intersectional struggle. It seeks not only individual consensus, but also a collective rethinking of the dispute over social order. Similarly, Retamozo (2009) affirms that there must be moments that solidify the political subject in the search for order. These include the historicity of the central aspects within the subject's subjectivities and empirical behaviors, collective memory as a reconstructive support for the present, experiences as a way of interpreting the current situation and the conflict presented, and the consolidation of a political project that promises to break with representative hegemonic principles (Retamozo, 2009).

On the other hand, Reitano (2010) maintains a separation between the subject (analyst) and the object (analysable). Clearly, his contribution is informed by Adorno (2008) through the conceptual and critical foundation the subject has, with the intention of objecting to his illusion through the recognition of a self-constituted phenomenon. He also cites Holloway et al. (2007), who argue that this foundation goes beyond reality. The intention is to understand why it is hidden in the immediacy and appearance that mark the subject's identity and subjective processes.

Finally, the subject has been transformed by the crises exposed and imposed within their relationships in the social and political spheres. These crises are reminiscent of the present and require the configuration of an ideal prototype that feels indignation at the suffering of their country. This prototype must be disenchanted with its reality in order to contribute significantly to its construction. Therefore, it will be important to describe how subjects were configured for different exponents of political sociology and how these contributions will be fundamental to understanding the subject.

Configuration of the political subject for Chantal Mouffe

Chantal Mouffe was one of the leading exponents of contemporary politics and a truly necessary figure for the evolution of radical democratic theory. Mouffe (2007) focuses her proposal on the need to rethink democracy from an antagonistic position of conflict and plurality. This foundation has framed the post-foundational and post-Marxist shift in the approach that corresponds to the political subject. This cannot be configured by fixed essences or predetermined identities, but rather by an emerging framework grounded in the political subject's participation in the agonistic public space where its descent constitutes the proper essence in the face of the political.

Mouffe's ideas have been relevant to Latin American politics and politics in general. Where its tensions enter into politics and the elites, that is, inclusion and exclusion are constantly evident in countries such as Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina, or Mexico, in the face of this emergency, popular political subjects have highlighted the need to rethink democracy beyond the liberal model as a political subject in which it is understood as a collective identity that constructs the confrontation of power structures exclusively. In response to this, citizenship becomes an active practice of dispute and politics with a focus on the struggle for cultural and symbolic hegemony.

In short, Mouffe (2007) offers a radical conception of the political subject as a product of the processes of identification of contingencies and conflicts. In other words, the rational and neutral individual of liberalism proposes that the political subject be an actor committed to the different hegemonic projects that dispute the meaning of democracy through their agonistic model. This model vindicates the role of dissent in political passions and representation in a comprehensive way, configuring subjects who can challenge the structures of dominant

power and their changing constitution in the face of that power. Ultimately, what it seeks is to reconfigure politics from an inclusive, pluralistic, and transformative logic, that is, one that is not born, but rather formed and constructed little by little in the struggle (Mouffe, 2007).

Argentina: multiple scenarios of anti-fascist and anti-racist mobilization

In this section, a contemporary phenomenon will be presented for discussion. To begin the discussion, it is important to mention that the most specific case to be presented is that of political subjects who have constantly fought to eradicate or challenge ideologies that are contrary to gender equality. Although historically, a wide spectrum of social movements (student, feminist, anti-racist, among others) has participated, it is necessary to note the different mobilizations and their causes. Within what many scientists have considered the rise of anti-fascism in Argentina, these triggers have generated different political opportunities for individuals, new frameworks for interpretation, the formation of mobilization structures, and the constitution of repertoires of collective action to express their indifference toward society.

In terms of context, it is necessary to rethink what Bordagaray (2012) mentioned when he introduced the notion of anti-fascism in Argentina, quoting the following: (...) The banner of anti-fascism brings together, for the first time, sectors that were previously unpoliticized and those already mobilized: women appear. Moreover, alongside women, the reference to anti-fascism from a gender perspective is raised for the first time in the history of women's analysis of the anti-fascist struggle in Spain (p. 128).

From the above, it can be seen that violent actions continue to be perpetrated around gender ideology. Therefore, it should be promptly related to what is conceived as anti-fascism, making it clear that it refers to any ideology, mobilization, and action that strongly opposes a political and authoritarian regime. In accordance with the above approach, it is necessary to start with the following question: Why do political subjects act as mechanisms of resistance and defense against policies promoting gender ideology in Argentina? To answer this question, we have considered the period from 2023 to 2025, covering the election of Javier Gerardo Milei as president to the present day. This is because there have been several events in which the president has made his views on public spending, gender, and non-hegemonic relationships very clear. This has sparked demonstrations and protests against his patriarchal discourse and neoliberal positions.

The first precedent observed is December 20, 2023, when left-wing movements led protests against oppression and the president's discourse. This was followed by another protest on December 27, 2023, during which various social actors mobilized under the slogan "Down with the Decree of Necessity and Urgency" against economic and state reforms, which they perceived as neoliberal measures (France 24, 2023). Subsequently, on January 24, 2024, the third general strike was called by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and some political parties, collectives, and human rights associations under the slogan "continue the struggle," which would go against the discourse mentioned by President Milei based on the "Omnibus Law" (DW, 2024).

Then, on March 18, 2024, after 100 days in office, members of society mobilized when he cut off food supplies to community kitchens across the country. Citizens said this was done so Argentina could save money, pay off its foreign debt, and engage in capitalist business. Similarly, on April 23, another march was reported in support of higher education institutions (HEIs) to increase their budgets, as the established budget was insufficient to cover the expenses of

thousands of enrolled students (France 24, 2024). Likewise, on June 12, 2024, excessive use of force by the police threatened the lives and integrity of citizens who were mobilizing, as there were countless arbitrary arrests (DW, 2024).

It is important to note that this administration has seen the most protests to date since its election. The anti-fascist and anti-racist movement is an important subject of study in the configuration of the revolutionary political subject. On February 1, 2025, a large number of people took to the streets to protest his speech in Davos, Switzerland. The president claimed that the "LGBTIQ+ community was associated with pedophilia, questioned gender politics, and argued that feminism seeks 'privileges' that undermine equality before the law." This led to the slogan "Federal March of Anti-Fascist and Anti-Racist Pride," to avoid gender-related difficulties at all costs (Reuters, 2025).

While it is true that Milei has taken a strong and clear position, this can also be seen as an American influence, since, like the president, Donald Trump also decreed the recognition of female and male sexes, leaving non-binary relationships and non-hegemonic transitions outside the historical advances that the LGBTQ+ movement and feminism had proposed (CNN, 2025). This far-right argument has served as a reference for those countries that still view sexuality, feminism, and different expressions of gender as an aberration of society.

For this reason, the reactions of society in Argentina have aimed to achieve recognition of the progress they have made over time, that is, to have their rights and integrity respected. Not that the struggles to regulate and compromise gender ideology be hindered and stalled. Finally, when considering this analysis, it can be seen that the struggle for human rights and recognition has been a constant challenge, even with the existence of barriers from institutionalism and fascism, which do not allow for the growth of the nation, such as the vindication of the people and the reconstruction of what is considered the state.

Due to these situations, the political subject that has been shaped in Argentina has included elements of resistance and revolution to counter those practices, discourses, and actions that mark hatred and repudiation of diversity and anti-hegemony. These originate with a specific meaning, which is to safeguard and recognize human rights at all costs, allowing future generations to understand the historical struggles of social movements and thus prevent new acts of violence. Similarly, when observing the difficulties Argentina has faced regarding the ideals of freedom, it is collective actions that show a total rejection of norms that do not welcome the people, as well as positions of fascism and authoritarianism.

The importance of the political subject in Argentina

Given the subject's configuration in Argentina, some of the dimensions that traverse it must be related to the conception of the state, power, legitimacy, and hegemony. This is due to major events arising from forms of government, repression, and state neglect. It is these categories that allow for the consolidation of fundamental elements in the structure of the political subject. This has developed amid various colonial tensions, exclusions within its structure, and social struggles framed by authoritarianism, neoliberalism, and popular resistance.

As has been understood since colonial times, indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants, and different subaltern sectors came to be dispossessed. Not only of their territories and the resources that belonged to them, but also of their political agency. Since the subject was a construction denied to the majority. Where their citizenship was supported as a restrictive

category, designed for an elite with greater access to economic power and to the enlightened knowledge that developed in underdeveloped countries.

Faced with this resurgence of the popular and revolutionary subject in the various struggles that have been emancipated. Independence did not come to mean the inclusion of “everyone” or “us” in the political sphere. However, the revolts that manifested themselves under slogans expressed rejection and dissatisfaction with these situations. Therefore, the configuration of this and new political subjects must include collective practices to overcome traditional liberal notions.

In this way, there was growth and a shift towards modernization during the 20th century. This developed under populist regimes that became developmentalist and authoritarian, thereby consolidating strong states while deepening the various inequalities that had arisen. The political subject of this period can be said to have oscillated between the figure of the nationalist citizen who operates within the state and the one who has been excluded by the resistance of the margins of education, industrial work, and trade unionism, which played a really important role in the production of the political subject in religion.

With the neoliberal shift in the 1980s and 1990s, the traditional political subject bifurcated in ways that were truly important in the face of the category of citizenship. In other words, there was resistance and a rupture in the face of this stereotype, which originated from national and partisan circumstances, as well as better forms of organization outside the institutional framework. The problematization that arose in the face of new social actors included feminist, environmentalist, student, and identity communities (non-hegemonic relations), indigenous peoples, and youth. They showed a subjective plurality in the face of politics, challenging the old paradigm of the political subject as uniquely and universally defined.

In the 21st century, political processes have developed in countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Mexico, demonstrating a different vitality in their engagement with political subjects in dispute with indigenous communities, feminist movements, and urban collectives that have redefined public space and political representation, and citizenship itself. These subjects not only demand rights but also seek to reconfigure notions of power, the state, and democracy. In the words of Herrera (2018), “In a context of exclusion and competition for space and resources, classic notions of ethnicity and community are redefined and appear as new areas of negotiation.” (p. 116).

Given this, the configuration of the political subject in Argentina cannot be understood under a single model. It is a historical, dynamic, and conflictive process that reflects the different struggles over the recognition, distribution, and relevance of representation, which go beyond a category reduced to the Latin American political subject. It is known as a constantly evolving construct, shaped by history, culture, and the different idiosyncrasies and resistances of the peoples.

CONCLUSIONS

Finally, the arguments of one of the greatest exponents of political sociology were taken into account to describe her different conceptions of the configuration of political subjects. Something the author shares is that this structure has been marked by circumstantial, conflictive, and violent events that categorically rethink the recognition of the subject within their reality. Broadly speaking, Chantal Mouffe’s thinking was discussed from a grounded position on gender

ideology and politics in order to understand the origins, process, and consolidation of the subject in accordance with the times and the history that reconstructs the present.

It is important to mention that the contemporary subject must be able to oppose when they disagree with something. Clearly, their emancipation and search for freedom must also be based on consensus, articulation, and collective action to propose affirmative actions in the construction of the country. A subject who feels the collective pain of their peers is destined to safeguard the principles of democracy. Likewise, they will focus on the reconfiguration of broad categories discussed in academia, supported by clear, solid arguments.

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FUNDING

None.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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