

“We do not want a faith that subjugates us”

Christian feminists and the struggle over faith in Argentina’s right-wing context

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Introduction

The assumption that religious traditions are necessarily patriarchal, that self-identifying as both religious and feminist is inherently contradictory or that religious women are conservative has already been widely analysed and questioned by scholars in different parts of the world. However, how our understanding of both religion and feminism is informed by singular forms of religious feminism within the larger political context, as well as the diverse dynamics around the self-presentation and religious identification of feminists remains insufficiently theorized. Indeed, the varied meaning that feminism takes in different religious settings, beyond the traditional secular/religious divide framework, remains underdeveloped (Mahmood 2005; Zion-Waldoks 2021). This article aims to address this gap, albeit partially and as a preliminary exercise, focusing on the case of Argentina.

The Argentine case is interesting in this context, as both the religious/spiritual and the feminist landscape have undergone some transformations in the past decades. On one hand, Argentina shows a process of relative religious diversification alongside a decline of Catholic hegemony. While in the mid-twentieth century Catholic identification exceeded 90 %, by 2019 a survey noted that only 62.9 % self-identified as Catholic while evangelicals¹ had grown from 11.3 % to 15.3 % from 2008 to 2019 (Mallimaci et al. 2020). Rather than indicating a straightforward process of secularization, these shifts point to a reconfiguration of the religious field, characterized by increased individual autonomy in belief construction and circulation across religious traditions where institutional Catholicism continues to maintain a key role in the “distribution of social legitimacy” of beliefs (Frigerio 2017; Weber 2002). The diversification of the religious field also encompasses non-institutionalized spiritualities, indigenous cosmologies and Afro-descendant religiosities which may operate as complementary (and often stigmatized)

¹ In the Argentine context, the category ‘evangelicals’ mainly includes Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches and other independent evangelical congregations, which constitute the fastest-growing sector of the religious field; it includes also (but with a comparatively small share) what it is understood in the German language as ‘evangelisch’, which generally refers only to Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

ritual practices rather than exclusive religious identities, and therefore tend to remain partially underrepresented in survey-based measurements.

On the other hand, since the return of democracy in the 1980s, feminism has also undergone important transformations. While in the 1980s and 1990s, the movement was seen as formed mainly by middle-class, university-educated white women and a practice built in antagonism with the Catholic Church doctrine (Masson 2022), since 2001, and in the context of recurrent economic crisis and the expansion of popular and grass-root movements, feminism in Argentina became increasingly federal, including the demands of popular, community and peasant feminisms (Barrancos 2020). Since 2015, a significant revitalization of feminist mobilization was witnessed, marked by the emergence of the *Ni Una Menos* movement, which began as a protest against femicide and rapidly expanded into a broader platform demanding action against gender-based violence and reproductive justice. This awakening of feminist activism (the 'green tide') transformed public debate, generating massive street mobilizations and placing gender at the centre of the political agenda, contributing to the emergence of a plural and vibrant feminist public sphere. It also played a key role in the parliamentary debates of 2018 and 2020 on abortion and eventually successfully pushed for the Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy Law (IVE) in 2020. The IVE was the culmination of several progressive gender and diversity legal reforms, including the Equal Marriage Law (EML) in 2012. Under the Presidency of Javier Milei, the dismantling of gender institutions and public policies, together with the rise of an explicit anti-gender ideology discourse, has contributed to a context that many observers describe as one of partial demobilization and fragmentation within the feminist field.

The article examines the way women who identify publicly as Christian feminists in the public sphere (participating in marches and feminist gatherings with Christian banners and symbols, organizing events and workshops, producing theatre plays, among others) and the digital space (posting regularly on Instagram, podcasts and streaming about Christian feminism) conceptualize their political activism. I do this through digital ethnography and in-depth interviews with members of *Sororidad y Fe*³ and *Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir*,⁴ among others, who started participating in the feminist movement in recent years. The study draws on 14 in-depth interviews and digital ethnography, including participation in online events and systematic analysis of Instagram content and publicly available interviews. In this article, I will focus particularly on women who define themselves as Christian and started to identify as feminists in the context of the gender and feminist mobilizations. In the first section of the article, I will explore some ways in which faith is visually conveyed as a force and a political tool. Reflecting on the role of decolonial thinking in their self-presentation and political approach, I analyse how this informs how they present themselves and see their political intervention. In the second and third sections, I analyse their posts, reposts and reactions around two issues: the figure of Pope Francis (formerly Cardinal Bergoglio) in their political activism and the participation of the extreme-right President Milei in an evangelical Church in July 2025. I argue that both issues reveal the display of religious emotional sensibilities, which complicate the relationship between politics and religion. Throughout this article, I take the concept of 'lived religion' (Orsi 2002) and apply it to Latin America (Frigerio 2021; Pereira Arena 2024) and, more specifically, to gender-related issues (Vaggione et al. 2021). I adopt this perspective as a way to transcend analysis that is fixed on the institutional and instead to explore different ways in

² Other key laws included national laws on sexual education, gender identity law, gender mainstreaming of national public administration (quotas in public employment for transpeople and gender training for public officials) and against gender violence and femicide.

³ *Sororidad y Fe* is a Christian feminist collective in Argentina that combines gender and diversity activism with a critical and community-based reinterpretation of faith, promoting change from within religious spaces.

⁴ *Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir* is an international feminist organization, active in Argentina, that advocates for sexual and reproductive rights from a critical Catholic perspective, challenging ecclesiastical authority on issues of gender and autonomy.

which religious socialization produces and transmits religious ideas and emotions while focusing on the everyday and overcoming fixed dichotomies (Frigerio 2021).

The spiritual turn and the feminist movement in Latin America

8th March, International Women's Day. Several of the Instagram accounts that post regularly about Christianity and feminism in Argentina share images titled "*Mujeres de Fé Feminista*" (Women of Feminist Faith⁵). The images show ethnically diverse women – white women dressed as pastors, women wearing indigenous facepaint, black women gazing upward – whose varied appearances signal inclusion and plurality. In one image, they stand in a circle holding hands, wearing green scarves tied around their wrists, a widely recognized symbol of feminist and reproductive rights movements in Latin America. A candle, a megaphone and a poster reading "Justice" appear in the images. The caption reads: "We do not want a faith that subjugates us. We want a faith that walks with us for the dignity of our lives."

The images offer a visual articulation of how Christian feminists – many of whom embraced feminism in the context of the 'green tide'⁶ – publicly define themselves in contemporary Argentina. They inscribe religious feminists within a key feature of the transformation of Argentinean feminist movement(s) over the last decades: the process of expansion and diversification, incorporating actors and agendas from historically marginalized sectors. This transformation became particularly visible in the renaming in 2019 of the National Women's Meetings (founded in 1986) into the Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Travestis, Trans and Non-Binary People, signalling a broader shift towards a more inclusive and intersectional feminist field.

Despite their emphasis on unity, the images conceal the heterogeneous ways in which spirituality and religion (or what Frigerio (2017) in Argentina defines as "the relationship with the suprahuman") is conceptualized across Latin American feminisms. From this perspective, the category of faith that structures the images and title of the Instagram images is not neutral. As Jean Pouillon (1989) and Talal Asad (1993) have shown, categories such as 'belief' and 'religion' are historically situated and shaped by Christian traditions. Rather than referring simply to inner conviction, in many Indigenous and Afro-descendant cosmologies relationships with non-human beings or ancestors are grounded in practice, relationality and lived experience. What is often translated as 'faith' may therefore hide other ways of inhabiting spirituality.

Indeed, feminist spiritual and religious dimensions emerge from distinct epistemological and political frameworks. Communitarian feminisms and those Afro-Latin feminisms which articulate memory, care and politics within religions of African origin (such as Candomblé/Axé) and their symbolic universe of orixás position themselves in tension with Christianity as a colonial institution, foregrounding instead forms of spirituality rooted in territory, collective life and embodied practice. On the one hand, these spiritual feminisms share, in different ways, the argument that binary gender frameworks were imposed and/or intensified by colonial and racist powers and their colonial representatives. On the other, their politicization of spirituality challenges hegemonic feminist frameworks that present as secular, arguing that these remain historically entangled with Christian matrices of coloniality. The inclusion of spirituality in their feminist activism is, in this sense, a decolonial practice in itself.

Still, an issue that needs further research is the specific way in which Christian feminists define faith, as opposed to both the concepts of spirituality and religion. In the context in which I conducted my

⁵ Translations of original texts are mine. Due to word limit restrictions, I do not include original texts here.

⁶ 'Green tide' (marea verde) refers to the mass feminist movement in Argentina around the 2018 and 2020 IVE debates. The name points to its key symbol, the green handkerchief, and to its broad, cross-generational mobilization.

fieldwork, the word spirituality was generally associated with the privatization of religion (Felitti 2019) while religion was linked to an institutional structure. By contrast, faith was articulated as an alternative space that disrupted both doctrinal rigidity and the secular injunction to confine religion to the private sphere. Faith is described as a practice closely tied to community and social justice. Faith thus emerges not as a private belief but as a shared resource that sustains both personal and political life.

Many respondents also described feminism as a “magnifying glass” or a “compass” through which they reinterpreted their faith. For several, tensions surrounding gender and sexual diversity within Christian spaces triggered a crisis that led them towards feminist frameworks. Natalia, one of the founders of Sororidad y Fe, articulated the complexities of negotiating feminist and religious belonging:

We're not going to go and defecate in a church, for example, nor do we believe this is right, but that's because many of us are still part of the established religious system (...) It's not a sensitive issue for me when people attack the Church because I understand their perspective (...) I agree with what they're saying, not the way they're saying it (...) but I still maintain my faith and I still think the structure can be changed from within. So I have a different strategy, but (...) I'd argue more with a woman who doesn't want a trans woman to march with me. (...) when you're going against a trans woman, you're directly attacking a person who's here, who (...) has suffered much more discrimination (...) and it's been much harder for her. (Natalia)

Her testimony illustrates how feminists with Christian faith articulate a hybrid stance that combines institutional critique with continued religious affiliation. While she explicitly acknowledges the Church's role in gender discrimination and sexual violence, she also sustains the possibility of transformation from within. Her position also reflects broader tensions within feminist strategies, while also reaffirming a sense of unity, based around shared commitments to inclusion and anti-discrimination. Following decolonial perspectives, it illustrates forms of agency that do not fully align with either secular liberal frameworks or institutional religious authorities.

The notion of ‘authenticity’ also emerged as a key theme in the interviews. Respondents described becoming feminist as a process marked by internal conflict, often resolved through encounters with others who articulated similar experiences. Authenticity was not simply described as an individual attribute but a collectively produced condition, emerging through shared practices, languages, and spaces of recognition. It was only after they met other people who were also defining themselves as feminist and religious that they found a language to define what they were feeling. They described the discovery of this new way of defining themselves sometimes by meeting other women in feminist events who shared their same beliefs and still considered themselves as feminist, others by discovering feminist theology promoted through book clubs, podcasts or online searches. Finding a language to articulate their emotions is described as a key step to being able to raise their voice. In contemporary sociology of religion, authenticity has become a key concept for describing the transformation of religious experience in modernity. While authenticity is often associated with individualization (Taylor 2004), understood as its relegation to the sphere of individual conscience, my material seems to suggest that religious authenticity is also produced through collective practices of ethical formation. From this perspective, authenticity can become a driver for collective forms of religiosity and public action, challenging the assumption that religious subjectification in modernity necessarily entails the privatization of religion.

While ‘being authentic’ in their feminist activism was described as being open about their faith before other (secular) feminists, it was also framed as the source of their commitment to promote ‘change from within’ their communities of faith. Authenticity is understood both as an identitarian process (being able to present oneself as ‘fully’ who one is) and as an enabling condition for political practice, particularly in

resisting imperial attitudes within hegemonic forms of feminism. Sanchez (2025), a scholar who was a former member of the Free Brethren Church and wrote a doctoral thesis on these issues, explained it this way:

Do evangelical women need feminism to save them? (...) this is a *colonial reading*, since from this position of power/knowledge it is presumed that one knows the oppressions experienced by evangelical women, as well as what freedoms they need and how they should guide their desire for transformation. (...) Giving voice to evangelical women means recognizing them as agents of their own lives (...) The process of affirming and recognizing themselves as interlocutors within feminisms involves a process (...) that some evangelical women have already begun to go through, finding the spaces and the context to do so through different forms of institutionalization made possible by religion (2025, pp. 173–179, my translation).

Empirically, this is visible in the forms of activism participants develop. Ana highlights that her experience as a Baptist gives her the language she needs to talk to other believers about alternative ways of living their faith "without being cancelled." Natalia feels compelled to talk to other Christians about the possibility of "relating to God from a more liberatory way" because "it would have saved me ten years of anguish to meet someone like me when I was 30." These include reinterpretations of sacred texts, interreligious gatherings, marching together with Christian banners and artistic interventions. One example is the theatre play called "La Rota Virtud", staged in evangelical churches, which addresses tensions between gender norms and women's bodies within religious contexts. Rather than abandoning religion, respondents rework it as a site of political struggle, collective transformation and negotiation. They open an alternative space for religious voices to promote gender and diversity rights and advance feminist-based practices against religious violence.

In the following sections, I will explore the digital reactions and emotional religious sensibilities that were displayed by these activists in response to two issues: the figure of Pope Francis and the participation of President Milei and his political party in evangelical spaces.

"We miss you, Pancho!"

The figure of Pope Francis reveals important ambivalences within Christian feminist activism. Once perceived as a key opponent to gender reforms in Argentina, he is increasingly reinterpreted by feminist and LGTBQ+ activists as a symbolic ally. Indeed, during the debates around EML, Bergoglio was serving as Archbishop of Buenos Aires and became one of the most visible religious voices opposing reform. Through pastoral letters, public statements and internal communications within the Catholic Church (which were later publicly revealed) he described the bill as part of a broader moral struggle that attempted to "destroy God's plan." In 2013, Bergoglio was elected Pope after the resignation of Pope Benedict XVI. He took the name Francis, becoming the first pope from Latin America. In *Who's afraid of gender?*, Judith Butler (2024) claims that Pope Francis contributed to the phantasmoric creation of the concept of 'gender ideology' as "destructive to the human, family, the Nation and God-given natural order" (p. 83) and the construction of feminism and LGTBQ+ activism as an enemy.

Yet the very same Bergoglio is reconceptualized (now as Pope Francis) by many LGTBQ+ and feminist Catholic activists in Argentina as a symbolic ally. How can this be explained? This shifting positioning is visible in several ethnographic moments. In an online meeting organized around the need to promote "access to rights for feminists with faith" (which included speeches from indigenous and Christian feminists), a representative of Catholics for the Right to Decide described how she had once stood as a fierce adversary of Bergoglio, while today she finds herself "on the same sidewalk" as Pope Francis.

Similarly, Catholic feminist collectives such as Sororidad y Fe often circulate social media posts featuring quotations from the Pope and displayed banners reading “We miss you, Pancho.”⁷ These expressions of support for his legacy were also observed among LGTBQ+ activists in Argentina. Evidence of this is the banner displayed by the FALGBT (one of the historical LGTBQ+ organizations in Argentina and one of the main activists for the EML) on their Instagram page and the multiple articles and positive expressions after his death in April 2025.

Such gestures suggest a reconfiguration of symbolic alignments in which Francis becomes a resource for articulating alternative Catholic feminist imaginaries. The trajectory of the activist Milagros further illustrates these ambivalences. Milagros became known for her participation in the documentary “Amén: Francisco responde” in 2023, where she directly engaged Pope Francis in a conversation about abortion and gave him the ‘green scarf’ as a present. The Pope accepts the scarf and hugs her, although not without posing his opposition to the right to abortion. A few weeks after the documentary was launched, in one radio intervention, Milagros presented herself as Catholic and feminist, but distanced herself from the Pope while demanding synodality and greater participation of women in Church governance. Later, however, she publicly acknowledged that she had previously overlooked Francis’s humanism, reframing her position while emphasizing the political visibility she gained as “the woman who gave the green scarf to the Pope.” After his death, she shared an emotional post expressing grief and faith, marking a shift in affective orientation towards the pontiff. Taken together, these episodes reveal how the figure of Francis circulates across multiple moral and political registers within Catholic feminist activism.

These episodes can be read through the lens of affective economies. As Sarah Ahmed (2004) suggests, emotions do not simply reside in subjects but circulate between bodies, signs and institutions, attaching value and meaning to particular objects (and bodies). The figure of Pope Francis becomes a nodal point through which different affects – first anger, then love and longing – are redistributed within Catholic feminism activism. The shift from Bergoglio as adversary to Francis as mourned ally illustrates how affect reorganizes political alignments, allowing activists to reinterpret past antagonisms through new emotional investments.

Rather than signalling a coherent ideological transformation, these gestures reveal how religious authority can be resignified through the circulation of affects in moments of political and biographical rupture. While Bergoglio was widely perceived as a critical voice against the Kirchner governments and as embodying the conservative resistance of the institutional Church, after his election as Pope Francis in 2013, his critiques of neoliberal economic policies placed him on the left within Argentine political imaginaries. Furthermore, his relationship with Cristina Kirchner became notably warmer, with several highly publicized meetings in the Vatican and a mutual effort to recalibrate earlier tensions. This, together with interactions that were interpreted as more distant and cold with Argentine political representatives of the right contributed to cultivating sympathies among progressive sectors in the country. His emphasis on “an open church”⁸ and the need for the “Church to go to the streets” find similarities to the political approach described by Christian feminists in the previous section. “To cause trouble” is interpreted in these contexts as an invitation to go beyond conservative Catholic doctrine, incorporating new demands and promoting change from within.

The circulation of these new affects can also be understood in the context that his death, in April 2025, occurred while the extreme right held the Presidency. Javier Milei’s government, whose libertarian administration implemented strong austerity measures and sharp cuts to public spending is also openly hostile to gender policies and frequently invokes ‘gender ideology’ to criticize feminist and LGTBQ+

⁷ Pancho is the common nickname for those called Francisco in Spanish.

⁸ Speech by Pope Francis, 25 July 2013, Rio de Janeiro.

friendly policies, as well as left-wing activism and state intervention. In this highly polarized political climate, Pope Francis is increasingly remembered through selected elements of his papacy – his discourse on poverty, social justice and the dignity of the poor, as well as his statements on the importance of opening the Church to welcome the LGBTQ+ community. Rather than emphasizing unfulfilled expectations regarding women's participation or gender and sexuality debates, many activists frame his legacy within the institutional constraints of the Church and shift his humanism and social empathy to the fore.

"The forces of heaven are feminist"

On Saturday, 5 July 2025, Javier Milei, the right-wing President of Argentina, delivered a speech from the pulpit of the Neo-Pentecostal megachurch *Portal del Cielo* in Resistencia, Chaco. While politicians had previously participated in religious events, this marked the first time a sitting president spoke from an evangelical pulpit, signalling not merely proximity but a symbolic reconfiguration of the boundaries between political and religious authority. Milei's intervention can be understood as a broader process of the theologization of anti-statism, in which libertarian political economy is reframed as a moral and quasi-theological order. Within this framework, the State was constructed as a 'false God', social justice as a 'sin' and capitalism as a system aligned with divine law. In his speech, Milei framed his political project as a defence of Judeo-Christian civilization. These claims were condensed in his now characteristic closing phrase, "may the forces of heaven be with us", which has by now become as an identity marker of his political interventions and constructs his presidency in explicitly messianic terms.

The image of Javier Milei speaking from an evangelical pulpit can be read as part of a broader reconfiguration of the Argentine (and global?) public sphere, which, following the example of Bolsonaro in Brazil or Trump in the United States, frames religious arenas increasingly as sites for the production of political legitimation. The strategy is, however, not new in Argentina. As Esquivel (2025, p.32) argues, the relationship between religion and politics has historically been shaped by a "cosmology and a praxis which integrates, more than divides the religious and the political". What is novel in Milei's intervention is the growing centrality of Neo-Pentecostal Churches (rather than the Catholic Church) as sites of political legitimation. His intervention has also been accompanied by legal, material and symbolic benefits granted to different independent churches such as the channelling of social budgets to their churches and the presence and active participation of several evangelical pastors in right-wing events around the country (Esquivel 2025, p. 32).

The construction of the State as a 'false God' is also particularly significant. The figure operates as a theological inversion that delegitimizes state intervention not only economically but morally, framing social policy as an ethical transgression. Such a construction is deeply entangled with anti-gender frameworks insofar as it underpins specific moral regimes regarding the intervention of the State in gender violence and the protection of sexual and reproductive gender rights. Within this discourse, the reduction of budgets for gender policies and austerity measures of Milei's libertarian economic doctrine are framed as a moral project sustained through religious language.

Faced with this configuration, Christian feminist activism in the digital space around this event did not withdraw from the religious field, but instead can be thought of as a form of counter-theological intervention. Rather than rejecting religion as an interference with the political (as a strategy that was indeed widely used by Catholic feminists in parliamentary debates during the 2010s), new mobilizations show how they increasingly frame the dispute around the meanings of religion. Alternative interpretations of faith are mobilized to legitimize claims around social justice, care and collective life. These interventions can be read as a search to reposition themselves as legitimate religious subjects in

a contested moral public sphere. One widely circulated intervention, which was printed on banners and used in different marches, noted “Our forces of heaven preach love; they do not promote hate speech”. The banner was accompanied by biblical references. By resignifying Milei’s own symbolic language, feminist Christian believers contest the monopolization of religious authority and rearticulate faith as inseparable from love, respect and social responsibility. In doing so, they do not abandon the terrain of religion but transform it into a site of political struggle. As Juan Marco Vaggione (2005) suggests, the emergence of feminist, progressive and sexually diverse believers and groups can be understood as a response to attempts to challenge conservative moral authority from within religious traditions themselves. In this perspective, the religious field becomes a site of political struggle where competing normative projects regarding sexuality, gender and family – and also social justice – confront one another.

The posts and reposts shared in the days following Milei’s intervention reflected several dimensions of this dispute. First, they included a critique of those who framed the debate within the secular/religious divide, including members of all evangelical religions as Milei supporters. Many of these responses attempted to differentiate between evangelical denominations, emphasizing that not all evangelicals are right-wing nor supportive of Milei’s political position. Second, the posts also affirmed that the Church is – and has always been – political, while questioning what some activists described as the “fiction” of secular neutrality. This position was illustrated in a repost from the Instagram account of Sororidad y Fe, quoting Catholic priest Norberto Saracco:

The question is not whether the Church can speak about politics. The Church is always political: it either embodies the Kingdom of God in the midst of the world, or it does not. The problem is not the presence of the political, but the absence of the Gospel (...) It does not speak of Jesus. It does not proclaim the Kingdom. It does not announce good news to the poor. It speaks of capitalism.⁹

A few days later, Catholics for the Right to Decide published the following statement:

At Catholics for the Right to Decide, we believe that faith cannot be used as an excuse for inequality or for the destruction of the commons. We also contest the meaning of the sacred, because for us faith is a collective practice that protects dignified life, our bonds with one another, and our deepest decisions.¹⁰

Together, these interventions reveal how Christian feminist activism not only contests conservative religious discourses but also seeks to redefine the ethical and political meaning of faith in contemporary public debates. In this context, feminism is conceptualized mainly as an ethical and moral code in opposition to what the extreme-right comes to represent. While not denying the values of autonomy and gender equality of feminism, the focus travels to a “collective practice that protects dignified life” and “the poor”.

An open conclusion

This article examined feminist Christian activism in Argentina in order to explore how this is being reconfigured within the specific national context. In this sense, it opens up a particularly fertile research agenda for contemporary debates on religion, gender and politics in Latin America and beyond. Its main

⁹ Repost by Sororidad y Fe on 5 July 2025.

¹⁰ Post by Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir on 15 July 2025.

contribution lies in proposing that activism of feminist Christian women compels us to rethink classical analytical categories such as authenticity, religion and authority, secularization and the public sphere.

Based on the Argentine case, the text allows for the expansion of the research agenda towards other current debates, including, for instance, on (1) how lived religion intersects with feminist, trans and sexual diversity sensibilities in different contexts across the world, (2) the struggle for moral legitimacy within the religious field itself in relation to conservative and far-right actors, and how that plays into the distribution of legitimacy across different religions, (3) the relationship between affects, religion and political reconfiguration in gender rights in different regions, especially surrounding the figure of Pope Francis and his legacy, (4) the debate between the privatization and revitalization of religion and (5) the scope and challenges of digital mediatization of faith as a political repertoire.

Moreover, the article suggests future comparisons with Chile, the United States or Germany, regarding alliances between right-wing populisms and the role of religious actors, as well as with broader studies on the role of care within religious spaces in relation to gender and diversity rights. Overall, the research suggests that religion and feminist transformation should not be understood as separate spheres, but as intertwined processes of ethical, affective and political resignification.

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