

Body-Territory, Masculinities and Rural Youth Vulnerability: Embodied Formative Experiences in a Community Organisation in Southern Córdoba, Argentina

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Citation: Fernández-Ojeda, A. and Aguilar-Mancilla, F. (2026). Body-Territory, Masculinities and Rural Youth Vulnerability: Embodied Formative Experiences in a Community Organisation in Southern Córdoba, Argentina, *Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change*, 11(2), 90-96. <https://doi.org/10.64753/jcasc.v11i2.4852>

Published: May 18, 2026

ABSTRACT

This article analyses how embodied masculine practices are produced and reconfigured among socially vulnerable young men participating in a rural community-based pedagogical organisation in southern Córdoba, Argentina. Drawing on a qualitative ethnographic approach developed between 2021 and 2023, it examines how sport, cooperative labour, and playful practices both render visible and potentially transform the heteronormative norms embedded in dominant masculine models. The findings show that football reinforces hierarchies grounded in bodily endurance and performance, while other practices—such as yoga and cooperative agricultural work—enable relational repertoires linked to care, solidarity, and affective expression. Vulnerability emerges not only as a material condition but also as an embodied and territorially mediated experience. The article proposes understanding masculinities as situated processes configured at the intersection of body, territory, vulnerability, and institutional mediation.

Keywords: masculinities; vulnerability; body-territory; rural youth; community pedagogy.

INTRODUCTION

Research on youth in Latin America increasingly challenges developmental models built around universalising assumptions, foregrounding instead the structural inequalities, territorial conditions, and power relations that shape young people's lives (Vommaro 2016; Cardona & Gutiérrez 2023). Within this framework, social vulnerability exceeds mere economic deprivation: it encompasses restricted access to education, precarious employment, exposure to multiple forms of violence, and processes of symbolic stigmatisation (Oliver-Smith 2004). In rural contexts, these dimensions intertwine with territorial exclusion and a limited institutional presence, intensifying experiences of risk and social disaffiliation.

This study is situated in a rural community-based pedagogical organisation located in Las Higueras, Córdoba, Argentina. Since 1993, the organisation—known locally as Granja Siquem—has accompanied more than 1,300 young men from socially vulnerable backgrounds, combining schooling, agricultural work, cooperative tasks, and physical-sport activities as part of a pedagogical project aimed at preventing social exclusion and criminalisation.

The guiding question is: how are embodied masculine experiences produced, negotiated, and transformed in a rural pedagogical territory marked by structural inequalities? We argue that corporeality constitutes both a mechanism for reproducing masculine hierarchies and a potential space for relational reconfiguration. To address this, the study draws on body-territory theory (Cabnal 2010, 2018), anthropology of the body (Citro & Puglisi 2015;

Citro et al. 2019), and masculinity studies (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005; Wacquant 2006), from a critical and situated perspective.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Youth Vulnerability and Structural Inequality

Vulnerability has been conceptualised as the deprivation of substantive freedoms, understood as what people are effectively able to be and do (Sen 1999). Yet vulnerability is also produced through symbolic and cultural processes that classify populations as risky or dispensable (Douglas & Wildavsky 1982). For rural youth, these dynamics manifest in fragmented family trajectories, educational discontinuities, and labour precariousness—configurations that produce not only adverse material conditions but also embodied subjectivities. Participation in labour markets does not automatically translate into development when material conditions fail to expand real freedoms; precarious employment can sustain poverty even when work is nominally available, restricting material security, social affiliation, and autonomous life planning (Senkrva 2023).

Body, Capital, and Masculine Recognition

The anthropology of the body posits that gestures, postures, emotions, and sensory experiences are socially produced and historically situated (Citro & Puglisi 2015; Citro et al. 2019). Bourdieu (1986) conceptualised the body as habitus, whereby social distinctions are incorporated as dispositions. In contexts of marginality, the body frequently operates as capital: strength, endurance, and tolerance for pain become sources of recognition (Wacquant 2006). Wacquant's research in urban marginalised settings shows how masculine bodies are constituted around a heroic ethic that exalts force, emotional control, and the capacity to overcome pain. This ethic intensifies under conditions of vulnerability, where the body may be one of the few resources available for obtaining recognition and belonging. From a body-territory perspective, this heroic ethic can be read as a corporeal response to territories in which young men defend their bodies as they defend their land—because both are spaces in which their dignity is at stake. However, this defence simultaneously reproduces patriarchal logics that constrain emotional expression, care, and affective bonds between men.

Hegemonic Masculinity and Relational Repertoires

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) conceptualise hegemonic masculinity as a relational configuration of practices that legitimises male domination and organises hierarchies both among men and in relation to women. This hegemonic form does not describe all men's experiences; rather, it operates as a normative model that orients social expectations and regulates symbolic recognition. Jewkes et al. (2015) and Courtenay (2000) demonstrate how mandates of toughness, self-sufficiency, and emotional restriction structure masculine identities and model risk behaviours that affect physical and psychosocial wellbeing.

Masculinity, however, is neither fixed nor homogeneous. Hammarén and Johansson (2014) show that homosocial relations can articulate power and intimacy, opening the possibility of alternative affective repertoires that contest—though do not necessarily abolish—hegemony. These relational repertoires reveal internal tensions in the process of masculine formation, evidencing that youthful practices can oscillate between the reproduction of hierarchical competition and the emergence of bonds grounded in care, cooperation, and emotional expressiveness.

When youthful masculinities are interpreted exclusively through the prism of deviance, risk, or deficiency, a 'negativising' effect is produced that reduces young people's agency and fixes them in deficit categories (Chaves 2005). Analysis of masculinities in contexts of vulnerability therefore requires attention to the disputes, ambivalences, and possibilities of reconfiguration that unfold in concrete relational practices.

Body-Territory and Decolonial Perspectives

From the standpoint of community feminism, territory is not merely a geographical space but the primary arena of historical inscription and political contestation (Cabnal 2010). Lugones (2007) argues that coloniality organises hierarchies of gender and race that traverse bodies and territories simultaneously. In rural contexts, these configurations become embodied in everyday practices and processes of territorial stigmatisation.

Walsh (2009) extends this understanding by arguing that the coloniality of power structures not only economies and racial hierarchies, but also epistemic matrices that define which bodies matter, which knowledges are legitimate, and which forms of existence are recognised as fully human. From this perspective, the youthful

body-territory is not merely a space wounded by coloniality, but a locus of enunciation and resistance where situated knowledges emerge that exceed hegemonic rationality.

Mignolo (2008) proposes a 'delinking' from the colonial matrix of power that has naturalised certain forms of subjectivity, masculinity, and territoriality. This convergence implies recognising other genealogies of thought and feeling, which means understanding that bodily practices—whether sporting, laborious, quotidian, or playful—are not neutral but reproduce or challenge the coloniality inscribed in modes of inhabiting the body.

The articulation between Wacquant and Cabnal, read in light of Walsh and Mignolo, is particularly productive for thinking about masculinity in contexts of vulnerability. If marginality produces hardened corporealities oriented towards recognition and survival, the decolonial perspective allows us to understand such corporealities as also effects of a colonial matrix that racialises and hierarchises life. The heroic ethic can be read as an ambivalent form of resistance and reproduction: it resists dispossession, but may reaffirm the patriarchal and competitive logic inherited from coloniality.

Pedagogy, Corporealities, and the Transformation of Masculine Heteronormativity

Drawing on Freirean pedagogy (Freire 1997), bodily practices observed in the organisation cannot be read merely as cultural or sporting expressions, but as spaces of praxis in which young men, through situated reflection, may come to recognise the structures shaping their masculinities and territorialities. The organisation operates as a pedagogical territory where conscientisation allows the heroic ethic to be resignified, displacing it towards more cooperative and affective ways of inhabiting the body.

Cooperative work, assemblies, and body workshops configure spaces where pain can be narrated, attentive listening acquires legitimacy, and collective responsibility begins to contest individual performance as the primary criterion of worth. From the body-territory perspective, pedagogy does not appear as an external instance that corrects prior dispositions, but as a relational field where criteria of value and belonging are rearticulated. These displacements do not constitute a substitution of hegemonic masculinity by an alternative model. Rather, they evidence the tense coexistence of differentiated corporeal repertoires.

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative ethnographic design was adopted, developed between 2021 and 2023 in the community-based pedagogical organisation in Las Higueras, Córdoba, Argentina. The ethnographic approach allowed masculinity to be examined as an embodied, relational, and territorially situated process, with sustained attention to everyday practices, interactional norms, and institutional mediations over time.

Fieldwork and Data Production

Data were produced through: (a) participant observation and observant participation in pedagogical and community spaces—football activities, agricultural work, assemblies, workshops, and communal routines; (b) systematic field diaries recording scenes, interactions, and reflective memoranda; and (c) 30 semi-structured interviews with male adolescents and young men aged between 15 and 19 years.

Interviews explored trajectories of belonging, peer regulation, experiences of recognition, pain and emotion, participation in sporting and non-sporting practices, and perceptions of institutional norms. Institutional records and pedagogical documentation—including internal guidelines, activity plans, and reports—were also analysed to contextualise observed practices and to triangulate emerging interpretations.

Analytical Strategy and Rigour

Analysis articulated deductive, abductive, and iterative reasoning. An initial set of sensitising concepts—drawn from masculinity studies, anthropology of the body, and decolonial body-territory perspectives—oriented first-cycle coding. Categories were subsequently refined through sustained reading of the corpus and cross-source comparison.

Coding proceeded in two stages: first-cycle coding captured empirical actions and discursive markers (e.g. team selection, endurance discourses, emotional regulation, racialised humour, mentorship interactions); second-cycle coding grouped these elements into interpretive patterns (e.g. bodily capital as convertible prestige; intra-gender regulation mechanisms; emerging relational repertoires; territorial mediation of recognition; pedagogical mediation as structured renegotiation). Triangulation between field diaries, interviews, and institutional documents strengthened analytical credibility and distinguished recurrent patterns from isolated episodes (Guber 2012).

Ethical Considerations and Reflexivity

Ethical procedures included informed consent—and, where applicable, guardian consent—anonymisation through pseudonyms, and the suppression of identifying details. Given the potential for disclosure of experiences of violence or risk situations, referral and safeguarding protocols were incorporated to prevent harm.

Reflexivity was maintained through field diary memoranda recording the researcher's positionality, access conditions, and the interpretive effects of her presence in the field, in accordance with ethnographic standards of methodological transparency.

Analytical Categories

Table 1 presents the analytical framework, which operationalises key dimensions—bodily capital, hegemonic regulation, relational repertoires, body-territory, and pedagogical mediation—linking theoretical grounding with empirical indicators and interpretive focus.

Table 1. Analytical categories and empirical indicators

Analytical Dimension	Theoretical Grounding	First-Cycle Codes	Second-Cycle Interpretive Focus
Bodily Capital	Bourdieu (1986); Wacquant (2006)	Team selection rituals; endurance discourse; prestige talk	Bodily performance as convertible symbolic capital
Hegemonic Regulation	Connell & Messerschmidt (2005)	Emotional restriction; hierarchy enforcement	Mechanisms of intra-gender stratification
Relational Repertoires	Hammarén & Johansson (2014)	Yoga participation; care gestures; cooperative acts	Emerging affective masculinities
Body-Territory	Cabnal (2010–2018); Lugones (2007)	Racialised language; rural belonging; stigma	Territorial mediation of masculine identity
Pedagogical Mediation	Freire (1997)	Assemblies; mentorship; task redistribution	Structured renegotiation of recognition

Note: Own elaboration.

RESULTS

The results reveal a field of tensions in which hegemonic masculine configurations and emerging relational repertoires coexist. Rather than a linear transition, what is observed are overlaps, frictions, and renegotiations situated in concrete practices—sport, communal work, assemblies, and workshops (see Table 2).

Table 2. Configured patterns of masculinity in embodied practices

Analytical Tension	Dominant Hegemonic Pattern	Emerging Relational Pattern	Pedagogical Empirical Spaces
Normative Orientation	Competition; domination	Reciprocity; cooperation	Football matches vs. assemblies
Sense of the Body	Strength and endurance as value	Affectivity and bodily listening	Sport vs. yoga workshops
Interpretation of Pain	Virility through resistance	Pain as reflexive awareness	Training sessions
Emotional Regulation	Mandate of self-control	Legitimation of vulnerability	Peer conversations
Homosocial Structure	Hierarchical stratification	Inclusive bonds	Team dynamics
Territorial Logic	Football pitch as prestige arena	Rural community as shared territory	Agricultural work
Recognition Regime	Athletic dominance	Responsibility and solidarity	Mentorship practices

Note: Own elaboration.

Football as a Space of Hierarchical Recognition

Football operated consistently as the principal space of public recognition. In team-selection rituals observed throughout fieldwork, more skilled players chose their companions first, visibly ordering peers according to perceived competence. Speed, strength, and endurance were repeatedly invoked as explicit criteria of status.

One participant remarked during a match: 'If you complain too much, they won't pick you next time.' This type of statement shows that emotional self-control and pain tolerance function as informal conditions of inclusion. At the same time, in informal matches cooperative gestures were recorded—passes to less experienced companions, collective celebrations—that do not eliminate hierarchy but reveal its situational flexibility.

Pain and the Moralisation of Endurance

Physical discomfort was frequently narrated as evidence of effort and moral worth. Expressions such as 'It was a good session; my whole body aches' appeared at different moments and among different participants. Pain was normalised, compared, and at times celebrated in peer conversations.

Longitudinal observation revealed subtle displacements, however: some young men began to describe pain as a bodily signal to be interpreted and shared—'At first I thought pain meant I'd done it right. Now I try to listen to my body'—suggesting a partial resignification enabled by reflective workshops and spaces.

Yoga and the Reorientation of Bodily Meaning

Yoga initially generated resistance expressed as mockery or dismissal. Mati declared 'this is for girls', drawing collective laughter; Juan called it 'boring', both enacting gender boundary control. Over time, the repetition of practice modified these reactions. Several participants began to describe sensations of calm, breathing, and bodily attention in affective terms: 'I didn't know I could feel this relaxed.'

Yoga reoriented the meaning of the body from external performance towards internal experience. A decisive element was the institutional framing, which presented the practice as discipline and self-care, thereby diminishing mockery and increasing legitimacy. Young men typically participated in both football and yoga, configuring a situational plurality rather than a replacement of hegemonic norms.

Racialisation and Territorial Mediation

Racialised expressions circulated in everyday interactions, often framed as humour, associating skin tone with physical or intellectual attributes. These associations, however, did not consistently predict leadership or prestige. Territorial proximity—shared agricultural work, communal meals, dormitory life—appeared to moderate rigid categorisations.

Lucho stated in an interview: 'Here we are all equal; outside it is different.' This distinction between an 'inside' and an 'outside' suggests that the organisation functions as a bounded relational territory in which external hierarchies are partially reconfigured, without disappearing.

Temporal Reconfiguration of Recognition

A central finding concerns temporal displacements in recognition regimes. Participants did not remain anchored to a single masculine configuration. Some young men who initially invested their symbolic capital almost exclusively in football prestige later assumed roles in cooperative work or in accompanying younger companions.

Recognition also expanded: where prestige had concentrated on athletic dominance and physical endurance, qualities such as responsibility, reliability, and solidarity progressively gained legitimacy. Assemblies, agricultural tasks, and mentorship systems structured opportunities for this reorientation. The transformation was incremental, uneven, and situated, and it occurred within a context of structural vulnerability that is not dissolved, but negotiated in concrete practices.

DISCUSSION

The results allow a complexification of classical formulations on hegemonic masculinity. In line with Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), practices observed in football show how masculinity is relationally organised through intra-gender hierarchies that legitimise symbolic domination among men. Yet the ethnographic work reveals that these configurations do not operate as closed structures, but as situated recognition regimes that are updated and contested in concrete practices. Hegemony, far from imposing itself univocally, appears as a dynamic process whose stability depends on its daily reiteration.

The centrality of bodily performance and the moralisation of pain resonate directly with the 'heroic ethic' described by Wacquant (2006), wherein endurance and emotional control constitute symbolic capital in contexts of marginality. Unlike the urban setting studied by that author, however, in the case analysed here the pedagogical

organisation introduces mediations that create tensions within this ethic without abolishing it. 'Endurance' does not disappear, but begins to coexist with affective repertoires that expand the criteria of masculine legitimacy. This finding suggests that bodily capital—in the Bourdieusian sense (Bourdieu 1986)—is not fixed or exclusively competitive, but susceptible to resignification within specific relational frameworks.

From the body-territory perspective of Cabnal (2010, 2018), youthful bodies cannot be understood apart from the territories they inhabit. The empirical results deepen this notion by showing that the pedagogical territory is not merely context, but an active condition of subjectivity production. In this sense, the concept of 'pedagogical micro-territory' proposed here extends the decolonial discussion by evidencing that local institutions can function as interstitial spaces where the effects of the coloniality of power described by Lugones (2007) and Mignolo (2008) are negotiated—partially and contingently. This does not amount to an overcoming of the colonial matrix, but to its embodied problematisation in everyday practices.

The homosocial dynamics observed confirm the tension identified by Hammarén and Johansson (2014) between power and intimacy. Hierarchical competition coexists with gestures of care and solidarity that do not eliminate stratification, but render it more porous. Vulnerability, understood as structural production (Oliver-Smith 2004), is thus embodied in ambivalent forms of belonging where reproduction and transformation are not mutually exclusive poles, but simultaneous dimensions.

Taken together, the study does not propose the emergence of an 'alternative' masculinity in a normative sense. Rather, it shows how masculinities are produced at the intersection of historical inequality, territoriality, and pedagogical mediation. The contribution lies in displacing the gaze from identity to process, evidencing that masculine hegemony is not a homogeneous bloc but a field of embodied disputes in which criteria of recognition can be rearticulated without the structures that sustain them disappearing.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings support the claim that youthful masculinities in rural contexts of vulnerability do not constitute fixed identities or homogeneous repertoires, but situated processes produced and reconfigured at the intersection of corporeality, territory, and pedagogical mediation. Masculinity appears as an embodied, relational, and contingent practice inscribed in historical webs of inequality that exceed the individual.

Football operates as a privileged device of hierarchical recognition, in which endurance, competitiveness, and emotional self-control constitute symbolic capital. Yet in that same territory, alternative relational repertoires emerge—linked to care, cooperation, and affective expressiveness—that do not linearly supplant hegemony but introduce significant friction in the criteria of masculine legitimacy.

Vulnerability, far from being reduced to a socioeconomic indicator, manifests as a corporeal and territorially mediated experience, produced by historical, political, and economic configurations that differentially distribute risks, prestige, and possibilities of recognition. From this perspective, the body is not merely a support for inequality, but a space where it is lived, reproduced, and also negotiated.

The pedagogical mediations observed do not dismantle the structures sustaining rural inequality, but they do enable partial displacements in recognition regimes. In this sense, the studied organisation can be understood as a micro-territory where non-hegemonic ways of inhabiting masculinity are rehearsed, expanding—albeit in a situated and contingent manner—the repertoires of legitimacy.

Nonetheless, tensions and ambivalences persist. Racialised language and certain symbolic hierarchies evidence that transformation and reproduction coexist in permanent tension. More than an overcoming of hegemony, what emerges is a situated cartography of tensions in which masculinities are reconfigured in an uneven, incomplete, and open manner.

The contribution of this study lies in situating masculinity as a territorially embodied process, showing how everyday practices constitute privileged spaces for understanding the articulations among vulnerability, power, and recognition.

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