

Music celebrities, fans and politics: Swiftie activism in Argentina's 2023 presidential elections

Celebridades musicais, fãs e política: o ativismo swiftie nas eleições presidenciais da Argentina em 2023

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ABSTRACT: *In this article, the political engagement of Taylor Swift's fandom — the “Swifties” — is analyzed in the context of the 2023 Argentine presidential elections, with a focus on the digital campaign “Swiftie no vota Milei” (“Swiftie doesn’t vote for Milei”). Through a case study, the author investigates how cultural manifestations related to musical performance and the celebrity can spill over into the realm of political action, especially in contexts marked by the rise of the far-right and the weakening of traditional feminist movements. The analysis suggests that Swifties’ actions demonstrate new forms of political participation, mediated by pop culture and symbolic consumption, challenging dominant narratives about youth depoliticization. The article contributes to the fields of fandom studies, celebrity culture, and political participation by highlighting the capacity of fan collectives to operate as active political subjects in electoral disputes and contemporary public debate.*

Keywords: *fandom; digital activism; pop culture; elections; feminism; Taylor Swift.*

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RESUMO: *Este artigo analisa o engajamento político do fandom de Taylor Swift — os “swifties” — no contexto das eleições presidenciais argentinas de 2023, com foco na campanha digital “Swiftie no vota Milei”. A partir de um estudo de caso, a autora investiga como manifestações culturais relacionadas ao espetáculo musical e à celebridade podem transbordar para o campo da ação política, especialmente em contextos marcados pelo avanço da extrema-direita e pelo enfraquecimento dos movimentos feministas tradicionais. A análise propõe que as práticas dos swifties revelam novas formas de participação política, mediadas pela cultura pop e pelo consumo simbólico, desafiando os discursos sobre a despolitização da juventude. O trabalho contribui para os estudos sobre fanatismo, cultura de celebridades e participação política, ao evidenciar a capacidade de coletivos de fãs em atuar como sujeitos políticos ativos em disputas eleitorais e no debate público contemporâneo.*

Palavras-chave: *fandom; ativismo digital; cultura pop; eleições; feminismo; Taylor Swift.*

Introduction: an electoral-political activism arises from fandom

The visit of the American singer Taylor Swift to Argentina unexpectedly became one of the social stages of the political strife that took place in the country amid the 2023 presidential elections, which would take place a few days after the three shows she performed in the city of Buenos Aires. Taylor Swift performed at the Monumental Stadium during her *Eras Tour* on November 9, 10 and 11, 2023. The second round of the presidential elections would take place a week later, on November 19.

The depth and intensity of the “Swiftie” universe progressively became visible in the media. It began months before the event, when a camp was set up near the stadium where the concerts would take place. That is, the starting point of the media cycle was the concern with the occupation of public space and culminated with the impactful news of the Swiftie fandom’s campaign against the far-right party, summarized in the slogan *Swiftie no vota Milei* [“Swiftie doesn’t vote for Milei”]. The campaign was debated through the publication of a document that went viral on social media and was resumed as news by the local press. The manifestation of different groups of fans who tried to exert political influence in their community, with greater or lesser relevance, reached its peak between the primary elections and the second round between the two most voted candidates: Sergio Massa, of Peronism, and Javier Milei, leader of a new pro-USA libertarian neoliberal political party, linked to and identified with Donald Trump. The context between the two elections in October and November coincided with Taylor Swift’s visit to the country for the first time in her career.

We present a paradigmatic case study on the contemporary role of the performing arts and its celebrities in the public debate (BULLONI *et al.*, 2022) from a gender perspective. Faced with the growth of international proto-fascist political projects, whose leaders share a hypermasculinity style (ILLOUZ, 2022, p. 25) that even takes, as in the case of Milei, openly anti-feminist positions. If this case allows us to reaffirm

the cultural criticism of the fruitless representation of fandoms, questioned by fandom studies (BORDA, 2012; SPATARO, 2013; BORDA; GANDOLFI, 2021; among others), it also allows us to observe modes of action and political collectivization in the youth layers of society in close relation to the musical experience and its celebrities.

Subsequently, we describe and analyze Taylor Swift's artistic and political trajectory, highlighting her connections with the Me Too movement and considerations of the American pop feminism. Later, we analyze the activist and artivist material produced by the Argentine fandom and relate it to the bibliography, according to which there have been recent changes in fan activity, its connection with different social movements, and feminist activism.

Taylor Swift: from singer to political celebrity

It is worth mentioning that Taylor Swift is considered one of the most internationally transcendent music artists in recent years (SKINNER, 2022). She has gathered an audience among those who began to listen to her in adolescence and still maintain their admiration for the artist, besides winning new fans among the younger generations. The core of her audience is mainly composed of women, people with self-perceived gender identities, and men.

In 2020, Taylor Swift became a political celebrity by challenging the commercial mandate of the mass culture of non-political involvement. Earlier that year, the singer publicly spoke against Donald Trump's presidential reelection, pointing out his denialist politics regarding women's rights and sexual diversity. In fact, Swift's *political coming out*, in the words of Simone Driessen (2022), did not begin with this fact, but rather in 2018, when Swift wrote a statement about Republican Senator Marsha Blackburn's candidacy for the state of Tennessee, where Taylor Swift was born, questioning her political platform against abortion legalization.

Feminist activism in the performing arts was manifested in the United States through the mass accusations of harassment and assault in the

artistic sphere that took place between 2017 and 2018. The mediatization of individual experiences of sexual violence was involved in the processes of contemporary popularization of many artists. Swift's image as a feminist reference intensified in 2017, when she joined the Me Too movement — initiated in response to sexual assaults committed by US film producer Harvey Weinstein —, as well as her personal accusation of DJ David Mueller for sexual assault when both artists posed for a photo, a blatant fact widely covered by the media and criticized by public opinion. *The New York Times* and *The New Yorker* published the results of an investigation conducted by Ronan Farrow about the assaults committed for decades against more than sixty female performers in the show business in the United States, among whom were well-known actresses and singers, such as Taylor Swift, who appeared on the cover with other whistleblowers who attended the Golden Globes ceremony wearing black in a sign of protest.

Since then, the singer has used her artistic platform to defend historical struggles of women, such as sexual freedom or the right to abortion, gender equality and consent. What happened alongside the musical performance was crystallized in her album titled *Reputation*, of 2017. Swift recorded this album a few years after distancing herself from artistic work and the media, after having gone through a crisis due to personal exposure and criticism of all kinds since the beginning of her career (GENTO DE CELIS, 2017).

This album served as a poetic anticipation of what was the Me Too and Time's up campaigns, while having an impact on her trajectory with a striking character of personal agency identified with contemporary social struggles. The album was nourished by new musical influences: electropop and rap, genres closer to the musical aesthetics identified with feminism in recent years (LISKA, 2024)¹. The key song of this album is

1 Taylor Swift's artistic trajectory began with the release of her first album in 2006, of contemporary country music. She approached a more pop style in the album *Red*, of 2012 — the moment of her release on the international market — without losing reference to country (GENTO DE CELIS, 2017).

dedicated to her haters through satire and irony, whose title is *Look What You Made Me Do*. The video clip (2018) contains indirect references to specific moments of her life and her media biography that only fans can understand, that is, a content designed to be unraveled by her loyal, most knowledgeable audience, who at the same time appreciates recognizing these references — or rather, these Easter eggs².

The idea of agency is manifested at the beginning of the video clip, by showing Taylor rising from her grave in a cemetery. One of the artistic-biographical data also present in this video is the MTV Awards 2009 event, in which American rapper Kanye West ripped the microphone from her hand to express his disappointment with the award given to her and stating that Beyoncé was the one who deserved the award among the three nominees. This public event of violence against Swift, the young Barbie representative of the American white countryside spoiled by the industry, took a mundane turn not present in her origins, a public victim of violence that exposed the hostile side of the world of cultural industry and that strengthened ties with her fans. Later, West composed a song dedicated to her: *I Made that Bitch Famous*³.

In 2020, amid the social confinement, the Swift phenomenon reached its peak. Apparently, several factors contributed to this. In essence, there is an aspect related to the confessional narrative of her songs (MONTES HERRERA, 2022) as well as to mental health and self-esteem (GIMÉNEZ, 2023), but there was also a concrete fact: the release of the documentary *Miss Americana* (WILSON, 2020) on January 31. This documentary, which premiered at the Sundance Film Festival and

2 “Easter eggs” as a general concept first emerged with Atari’s “Adventure” game in 1980. One of the executives did not want to include the names of the people who worked on the game, but designer Warren Robinett hid his name in one of the game’s pixels, which could be found by clicking on that area. Since then, there is a tradition of leaving Easter eggs in video games, movies, series, etc., that fans can find and thus get a little more information about what they are consuming (LAKIER; VOGEL, 2022 in MONTES HERRERA, 2022, p. 2).

3 On the content created for fans, we can see an example in the video clip of *Look What You Made Me Do*. The snakes that appear in the video refer to the snake emojis that flooded Taylor Swift’s social media by their haters when, in the 2016 MTV Awards, she defended herself from the song West dedicated to her, although the singer has given him permission to edit it.

later in theaters and on the Netflix platform, represented a contemporary landmark of the relationship between the world of musical celebrities and the spectacle of politics.

The documentary *Miss Americana* revisits Taylor's career, addressing important events in her life: her fight against a food disorder, her mother's cancer diagnosis, the judicial process for sexual assault, among others, and her present moment, the decision to make public her political position against Trump's candidacy in the presidential elections in November 2020. The Netflix's documentary synopsis is as follows: "*Miss Americana* offers an intimate and emotional look at Swift as she learns to accept her role not only as a songwriter and performer, but also as a woman harnessing the full power of her voice." Thus, the possibility of a singer being able to significantly influence the elections of a country — and not any country — becomes an innovative cultural and commercial commodity. The fact is that the singer became an anti-Trump public reference with influence on the US vote in the 2020 elections (TORRES, 2023).

The documentary shows, in parallel with these events, the process of making her new album, *Lover*, of 2019. That same year, the single *You Need to Calm Down* was released, a song dedicated to Donald Trump, then president, released on his birthday and during the LGBTQ+ Pride month. The media argued that such a statement by the artist could influence elections in the United States, considering that, as recorded in the documentary, on the days following her political statement, the number of entries to vote — as per the American system — exponentially grew among young women.

In addition to the global public millionaire, Taylor Swift is, as aforementioned, the preferred target of numerous criticisms. Based on research on social media and the media, criticism is distinguished between aesthetic and symbolic criticism of her music, associated with banality, her delicate and romantic style. Conversely, there is a certain ethnic and class indignation based on disqualifying the singer for being an upper-class woman, representative of the successful white

American nation. This, in turn, turns into an intellectual criticism: Taylor Swift is representative of white feminism from a pop perspective. This can be easily perceived in an article published in the Argentine news website *Infobae* titled “*El feminismo de Taylor Swift bajo la lupa en un debate sobre inclusividad*” [Taylor Swift’s feminism challenged in inclusion debate]. The piece focuses on the opinion of American academics:

Swift’s business facet and the fact that she had accumulated a great fortune with her musical career fueled her image as a feminist and empowered woman: “She is considered a reference for her economic power, but that’s ‘white’ feminism, really” says Paola Zamperini, a professor of the Gender and Sexuality Studies program at Evanston University, Illinois. [...] “Swift is an example of how feminism in America is linked to capitalism. Financial success is equal to women’s empowerment, in other words,” says Lee Pierce, an adjunct professor of Rhetoric Communication at the State University of New York (SUNY) and a researcher specializing in American rhetoric, race, and political culture (SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, 2024, free translation).

It turns out that during the Fourth Wave, musical stars who raised the flag of feminism were criticized for the insufficiency of their political proposals (MARTÍNEZ, 2019; LISKA, 2024), and not just Taylor Swift. Meanwhile, the singer’s fandom often argues, from a gender perspective, that society does not accept the economic success of a woman and that, wherever she goes, the singer drives local economies. In addition to these criticisms, what kind of social and cultural experiences can arise from the public’s relationship with a musical celebrity and international politics?

Fans in the representation of social discourse: the swiftie experience in the media

According to the definition established in the dissertation of Paloma Gento de Celis (2017) “Swiftie” is a person who is a fan of and knows

everything about Taylor Swift, from biographical anecdotes to demos. Initially, it refers to followers of the artist since her pre-massive era of contemporary country music, a genre that remains present in her repertoire in a more mixed, stylized, and spaced way. Other considerations refer to the degree of affective closeness of a fan audience that constitutes a global community very “loyal” to the artist (EL DESTAPE, 2023). *Loyal* is the most used word to refer to the characteristics of this fandom.

The first report on Swifties and their preparation for the concerts in Buenos Aires demonstrates the persistence of historical judgment in relation to the fan audience in its dominant representations: useless energy expenditure, sacrifice by the artist, and public nuisance. With the title “*Insólito acampe en River para el recital de Taylor Swift... ¡dentro de cinco meses*” [Unusual camping outside River for Taylor Swift’s concert... five months from now], the sports newspaper *Diario Olé* (2023) reported that, although there were still 158 days left for the event, some fanatics were already camping in the vicinity of the River Plate football stadium, warning that, as more people started camping, it would be impossible to access the football matches.

As the concert approached, media attention to the camp has increased, with the presence of mobile television stations. From brief interviews with the campers, the negative representation began to change and reveal a whole system of rotation of people in the camp, the organization of care, and a certain state of predominant communitarianism. An individual case propagated by various media outlets that illustrates this gradual change in the acceptance of the Swiftie phenomenon, which became a crowd on the streets, was that of a medical student who, identified by her hospital uniform, was studying to take her last tests in one of the tents (MARÍN, 2023). However, this ambiguous representation of fandom is not such a new finding. In 2000, Argentine expert Libertad Borda (2012) observed gradual changes in the representations, more relaxed and everyday-based, outside the figure of

the inrush in public space. For at least two decades, there is a dualism of the term “fan”: a sense that applies to a stigmatized minority and a “neutral” sense, an affection for some exhaustive knowledge. In recent decades, the meaning of fan or fanatic has been taking on neutrality and semantic expansion.

After a few days, it was announced that tickets sold out within eight hours of sales opening. Later, more detailed news was published, going from the sections of general or cultural topics to the columns of politics. These publications were divided into two moments: the publication and viralization of the Swiftie Statement released by the media on October 26 and 27 and, later, the performance of the first concert and the various events that occurred in the public gathering during the hours leading up to the concert of November 9 in the vicinity of the Stadium.

Based on some journalistic columns, in October, the “*Agrupación Swifties Contra Milei*” [Swiftie Collective against Milei] (PÁGINA 12, 2023) or “*Swifties contra LLA*” — *La Libertad Avanza* — [Swifties against LLA (Argentine political coalition and party)] (SIETECASE, 2023) was created. This organized group of Argentine followers of the artist posted a document on the X social media on October 26, calling fans to vote against the libertarian candidate, leader of a new political party in a strong rise, which surpassed the liberal party in the primary elections, remaining in the dispute for the presidency with the Peronist front. The *Comunicado a la comunidad swiftie* [Statement to the Swiftie community], which quickly went viral, asked the fandom to stay “on the right side of the story,” a sentence uttered by Taylor Swift in 2018 when she spoke against Donald Trump’s Tennessee candidate: “One of the candidates, Javier Milei, leader of a wrongly-called liberal party, is actually the representative of the anti-democratic right who comes to take from us all the rights we have won. Why should this summon us as a fandom?”⁴.

4 Posted on the X account: @swiftAGAINSTLLA.

The manifesto referred to a political issue: Javier Milei's similarity to the politics of his great idol, Donald Trump, a candidate to whom the singer actively opposed the reelection in 2020, becoming a political celebrity. In particular, the argument of similarity between the candidates of each country focused on the statement against state gender-based politics, the advances in women's rights, and sexual diversity, achievements accomplished thanks to the intense struggles of the LGBTQ+ and feminist movements in the country. In turn, we can resume this political question from the Swifties' statement as a sociological questioning: how did a fandom community get involved in the presidential elections? In other words, understanding the process by which part of the Argentine public of an American pop singer developed political content in opposition to Javier Milei's candidacy, resorting to Taylor Swift's figure.

According to what some Swifties reported to the media, the conflict between Swifties and Milei began years before, in 2019, when Milei was merely an aspiring political leader. This was explained by journalist and fan Ana Correa and by Swiftie Malena Valladares in an interview published in the news portal Filo.News (GIMÉNEZ, 2023). Questioning gender equality policies, Javier Milei spoke about Taylor Swift in his Twitter account to deny the pay gap between men and women, considering Swift's accumulated fortune as a result of her success as a music artist (Figure 1).

After the publication of the statement, Swiftie activists were interviewed by several printed and radio media outlets. Journalist Reynaldo Sietecase (2023) conducted a radio interview with one of the members of "*Swifties contra LLA*" on social media, the campaign of fans who asked other fans not to vote for Milei. Among other things, the interviewee pointed out that she has been a fan of Taylor Swift for over a decade and that she does not participate in any political militancy, but carries out feminist activism linked to independent organizations. However, she emphasizes that, just as the singer took a partisan stance

Figure 1 – Javier Milei's post on the wage gap between genders.



when it was necessary, the Swifties that followed Taylor's process must actively manifest in Argentine politics. She did not expect Swift to engage in political issues in a country that is not her own, but rather that those who performed the action yearned for the singer to become aware of the Swiftie activism against the candidate and give a "sign" during the show, including performing a song she composed urging her audience to politically take sides, which was not in the set list she had been presenting on the *Eras* tour. The composition of the song *Only The Young* appears in the documentary *Miss Americana*, inviting young people to

abandon the state of political disillusionment and become agents of change. In the words of Abel Gilbert (2023), the song became an anti-Trump musical symbol.

In turn, in the interview to Filo.News portal, participants of the Swiftie campaign stated that women in the country could determine the presidential election, as occurred in the 1983 elections in the return to democracy, and hoped that Taylor's visit to Argentina a week before the second round would lead to awareness by fans who would listen to her (GIMÉNEZ, 2023).

As Noelia Torres (2023) points out in her note after the statement, this fact unveils new electoral territories. In a recent study on *feminism in fan communities*, Marta Prego Nieto (2023), from the Universidad de Murcia, states that fans currently use the Internet to create content from media products that offer political-themed discourses or related to social movements. In this sense, it resumes a work by María del Mar Grandío (2016), who identifies a new profile of "participative-activist" fans. These are fans who organize themselves to collaborate in the development of social or political movements that, later, are contextualized in a concrete sphere⁵. According to Prego Nieto (2023), fan communities, which have always had a significant presence of women, have driven feminist resignification processes on — or based on — the transmedia content of mass culture and the celebrity system. Likewise, according to the demand of the fan audience to exert influence on the cultural objects they consume, the feminist activism of the Fourth Wave resonated with these demands, claiming, for example, the protagonism of fictional female characters and non-hegemonic gender identities, among others (PREGO NIETO, 2023, p. 11). In this sense, the popular mass culture offers ideas and discourses that are reproduced in social struggles.

5 Grandío (2016) describes four types of fans: (1) extratextual-seeker fans, who distance themselves from the "raw" media product to get more information; (2) participatory-talkative fans, who talk about it on different digital platforms; (3) participatory-creator fans, from which new content arises; and (4) participatory-activist fans, who perform actions organized among themselves.

Among the actions carried out during the days of the concert, posters were put up at the stadium fence with the sentence published on social media — *Swiftie no vota Milei* —, which the public used as a background to take pictures and post them (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Photograph by Agência de Notícias Télam [Télam News Agency].

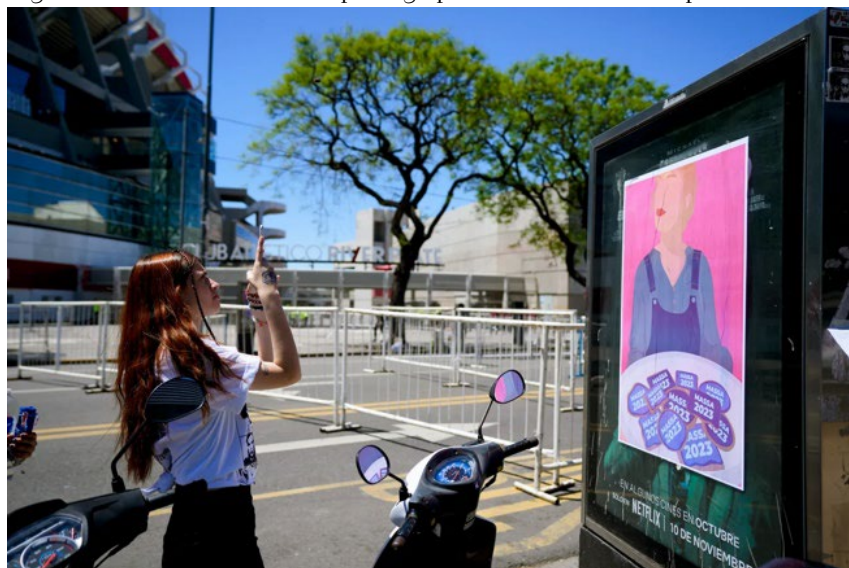


Source: Torres (2023).

The activist creation is organically related to Taylor Swift’s discursive and artistic production in 2018 and, fundamentally, in 2020, from the launch of the *Miss Americana* documentary to the American elections in November. The strategy aimed to bring Swift’s thought of that time to the present, with coded messages to the fandom. In the *Comunicado a la Comunidad Swiftie*, phrases coined by the artist at specific moments, such as “Being on the right side of the story” and “Cheers for the resistance,” were used. One of the posters that was put up on the walls of the stadium shows a portrait of

Swift holding a cookie tray with the sentence “Sergio Massa 2023.” Swifties know that the poster refers to a famous photo of the singer campaigning in favor of Joe Biden’s candidacy for 2020 (Figures 3, 4 and 5).

Figure 3 – Natalia Pizarenko’s photograph for the website Tampa.



Source: Politi and Pisarenko (2023).

If personal posters are increasingly abundant in social protests, in Swiftie activism this has resulted in numerous accessories. At the concerts in Buenos Aires, the “friendship bracelets” and the practice of exchanging them among Swifties as a gesture of sisterhood took on a situational meaning. Several visual and audiovisual records documented the making of bracelets with the initials “UXP” — *Unión por la Patria, Frente de Coalición Peronista* [Union for the Nation, Peronist Coalition Front], among other initials alluding to the election. There was also the collective singing of songs with political symbolism. In the immediate vicinity of the stadium, before the concert, fans sang *Only the Young* and *You Need to Calm Down*.

Figure 4 – Joe Biden’s post with Taylor Swift’s image campaigning for his candidacy. October 7, 2020.



Figure 5 – Photograph by Agência de Notícias Télam.



Source: Torres (2023).

The *Agencia de Noticias Télam* and *La Nación* media outlets, among others, collected spontaneous testimonies during the hours leading up to the Thursday concert to ask about the relationship between Swift and the Argentine elections (MARCUSZI, 2023). *La Nación* stated that most of the interviewees would vote in favor of the Peronist candidate, Sergio Massa. The dissident voices of the Swiftie electoral campaign that were gathered shared an argument, which is to reject the artist's excessive politicization by Swiftie activism, and asked that the artistic event be separated from political issues. "Either you don't know Taylor well or you don't know Milei well" (GILBERT, 2023), as per another testimony

that pierces the Swiftie heart: the audience cannot ignore the political position of their favorite artist. “Because Taylor has done everything for the right not to win in her country” (LA NACIÓN, 2023); “As young people and Swifties, it is important to have a consistency with what Taylor stands for: her feminism, the need for women’s rights and diversity to be preserved” (TORRES, 2023). One of the reports indicated that fan activism had effects on the fandom. A young woman told the press that she changed her vote when she saw the message “*Swifties contra Milei*” on Twitter and on television, a vote that she confirmed that day by feeling the impact of posters and graffiti in the vicinity of the stadium (LA NACIÓN, 2023).

Final considerations: derivatives of Taylor Swift’s “impure” feminism

In this study, we analyzed the active role of the Swiftie culture and identity in the presidential elections of Argentina. At the same time, we described social processes in the field of music production and consumption that exceed the limits of what has been known so far. The situational use of Taylor Swift’s media biography at the time of the massive congregation of her audience, a week before the elections, led the Swiftie fandom to a prominent place that established precedents. Swift’s visit generated the conditions for such relevance, and the *Comunicado* encouraged other statements: from the local ARMY — fans of the South Korean K-pop band BTS — to *Las nenas de Sandro* — fans of the well-known Argentine singer Roberto Sánchez —, showing fan collectives as political agents beyond the eventual fact.

After the concert of November 9, there were reactions on social media by voters of the candidate Massa out of the Swiftie universe. One of the most publicized memes showed Swiftie political density compared to the neutrality of some left-wing parties in the face of the advance of market neo-fascism. What is worth highlighting in this example is the comparison between a fan organization and a political-party organization (Figure 6).

Figure 6 – Viral post titled “*Las Swifties demostraron más responsabilidad histórica que la izquierda de Bregman y del Caño*” [Swifties have shown more historical responsibility than Bregman’s and del Caño’s left].



Source: Twitter account: @wakundamm.

Through the case study, we can verify the continuity of the fan audience, as supported by John Fiske (1992), as a highly-productive and participatory audience, which generates a popular cultural capital that is semiotic and enunciative. According to Henry Jenkins (2007), Swifties build the reception of the artist with emotional closeness while exercising the criticism and conceptual interpretation of her music, constituting themselves as consumers with rights and creating a social community. In turn, Argentine expert Libertad Borda argues that fandom has become a true source of resources that integrates practices, attitudes, expectations, and modes of relationship and communication available for the creation of collective and individual identities, both lasting and ephemeral (BORDA, 2012)⁶. More than a set of characteristics attributable to an individual or social group, fandom can be considered a stance. According to Borda and Álvarez Gandolfi (2021), recent research perspectives have ceased to insist on a strict definition of fan and fandom, as it is a field of cultural struggle in which not only the academy participates, but also the subjects themselves who claim this condition. In this sense, fandom is

6 Definition elaborated based on the definition of culture by Edward Palmer Thompson (1990).

conceived as a performative identity capable of being simultaneously outside and within the process of commodification. In the midst of the crisis of democratic ideals that assume the great electoral support received by the *La Libertad Avanza* party in the elections, the depoliticization of the youth was discussed. Surely, this is a broad and complex subject, but perhaps this case of fan-activism and its repercussions will help to observe those territories of culture that invigorate social organization and democratic political participation.

Conversely, we highlight that, through the musical and political experience analyzed, we can consider that the feminist struggle in Argentina has continued in the most recent political processes, considering that popular music is a prominent discursive support in contemporary gender policies and public debate. We can contextualize the Swiftie effect in relation to the weakening status of the feminist movement in Argentina during the period of electoral debate that preceded the elections. If the feminist movement was the main social strength of resistance during Mauricio Macri's neoliberal presidency (2015–2019), the inauguration of a Peronist President, Alberto Fernandez, has reached a new stage. The nationalization of gender policies and the legalization of abortion, fundamental achievements that, coupled with the general social disarticulation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, the activist initiative showed a clear weakening from 2021 onward. Thus, we can see that the celebrity world and pop culture have served as support for feminism in an adverse context, bringing new forms of public intervention. Similarly, the feminist movement in the streets persists in other ways, following the university protests or resisting from an anti-fascist cultural position.

It should be noted that this electoral campaign included a particular analysis of the gender-based voting trend: the transversal inclination of the female vote to Peronism because it assumed, based on the State, the task of advancing in obtaining rights, such as support for the Law of Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy, among many others (CAVALERO; GAGO, 2023). Authors of different studies denied and corroborated this trend through research and fieldwork prior to the electoral

moment (CHÁVEZ MOLINA; DE LA FUENTE, 2021; SEMÁN *et al.*, 2023). Possibly, the worsening of the economic crisis during the months prior to the vote has interrupted this trend. Perhaps it was a longing to revive something similar to the presidential reelection of Juan Domingo Perón, in which the approval of the female vote in 1947 was decisive for obtaining the support of Argentine women. However, it was not possible to effectively know whether a certain gender-based voting trend has remained, as, since 2011, electoral rolls have been alphabetic.

The positive and festive reaction of the anti-Mileist Swiftie spectacle by the media also demonstrates the ambiguous position that the country's power sectors had in those days. After the fall of the liberal party's candidacy in the first round of the elections, irreconcilable with the Peronist party and still afraid to support the uncontrolled libertarian candidate, the Swiftie campaign freely reverberated.

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