

Becoming a *public action subject*: articulatory practices and political subjectivity in
Mexico's *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud*

Jesús Rivero Casas

Thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Philosophiae Doctor degree in Sociology

The School of Sociological and Anthropological Studies
Faculty of Social Science
University of Ottawa

Dedication

To my mother

María Guadalupe Casas Rodríguez

Résumé

Cette thèse de doctorat présente une analyse complète de l'émergence d'identités collectives et d'organisations sociales parmi les jeunes pour la participation politique, en se concentrant spécifiquement sur *l'Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud*, une organisation dirigée par de jeunes mexicains. La recherche a comme objectif de comprendre comment l'identité collective a émergé et a impacté les membres de cette organisation, en employant la perspective théorique du post-marxisme et la sociologie de l'action publique. L'étude approfondit les pratiques articulatoires menées par les *Ateneistas* pour s'imposer comme sujet politique participant à l'action publique et explore l'évolution de la subjectivité *Ateneista*. Elle met également l'accent sur le rôle des réseaux sociaux numériques dans les processus organisationnels, reflétant l'influence croissante de la technologie sur les organisations sociales.

Des revues de littérature théoriques et empiriques sur la jeunesse et les organisations de la société civile (OSC) ont été apportées pour contextualiser l'étude dans le système socio-économique actuel du capitalisme tardif. La nécessité de redéfinir la jeunesse dans le contexte du capitalisme tardif est abordée, en mettant l'accent sur l'impact de la mondialisation, de la précarité de l'emploi et de l'extension de l'éducation sur la vie des jeunes. L'étude souligne également la participation active des jeunes dans la sphère sociale et politique pour améliorer leurs conditions de vie, en soulignant le rôle des organisations sociales dans la génération d'une conscience critique et dans la fourniture d'un cadre de référence pour l'engagement des jeunes. Cette thèse vise à apporter une compréhension nuancée de la participation des jeunes à la sphère sociale et politique, notamment à travers les réseaux sociaux numériques, et ses implications pour le changement social à une époque où les mouvements sociaux se sont détachés du mouvement ouvrier. Les résultats éclaireront et stimuleront les débats théoriques sur l'étude des jeunes et de la jeunesse, le post-marxisme et la sociologie de l'action publique. De plus, il offre des informations pratiques aux organisations de jeunesse comme *l'Ateneo* qui cherchent à donner aux individus les moyens d'influencer des transformations sociales positives.

Mots-clés : études de la jeunesse, identités collectives, post-marxisme, réseaux sociaux numériques, organisations de la société civile, organisations de mouvements sociaux, participation des jeunes, *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud*, sujets politiques, subjectivités politiques.

Abstract

This doctoral thesis presents a comprehensive analysis of the emergence of collective identities and social organization among youth for political participation, specifically focusing on *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud*, an organization led by young Mexicans. The research sought to understand how collective identity emerged and impacted the members of this organization, employing the theoretical perspective of post-Marxism and the sociology of public action. The study delves into the articulatory practices carried out by *Ateneistas* to establish itself as a *political subject* participating in *public action* and explores the evolution of the *Ateneista subjectivity*. It also places a significant emphasis on the role of digital social networks in the organization's processes, reflecting the increasing influence of technology on social organizations.

Theoretical and empirical literature reviews on youth and civil society organizations (CSOs) have been conducted to contextualize the study within the current socio-economic system of late capitalism. The need to redefine youth within the context of late capitalism is addressed, emphasizing the impact of globalization, job insecurity, and educational extension on the lives of young individuals. The study also underscores the active participation of young people in the social and political sphere to improve their living conditions, emphasizing the role of social organizations in generating critical awareness and providing a frame of reference for youth engagement. This thesis aims to contribute a nuanced understanding of youth participation in the social and political sphere, particularly through digital social networks, and its implications for social change in a moment where social movements have detached from the workers' movement. The findings will inform and stimulate theoretical debates on youth studies, post-Marxism and the sociology of public action. Additionally, it offers practical insights for youth organizations like *Ateneo* that seek to empower individuals to influence positive social transformations.

Keywords: Youth studies, collective identities, post-Marxism, digital social networks, civil society organizations, social movement organizations, youth participation, *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud*, political subjects, political subjectivities.

Acknowledgements

I especially want to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Claude Denis. Claude, your outstanding support, guidance, and academic mentorship have been more than I could have ever asked for. Your kindness, friendship, and unwavering dedication have been invaluable throughout this research journey. I am deeply grateful for the numerous seminars and thought-provoking discussions on contemporary social theories, especially Marxism and post-Marxism, which have enriched my academic growth. Additionally, I sincerely appreciate the opportunity to work as your teaching assistant in the undergraduate courses, which has provided me with invaluable practical experience.

I am also thankful to the members of my academic committee, Professors Marie-Josée Massicotte Efe Peker, and Vicente Ugalde for their insightful feedback on my thesis proposal and their ongoing support during the course of this research. I also recognize and appreciate Professor José López's exceptional teachings during the doctoral seminar, which have been instrumental in shaping the trajectory of my research journey, and for the very supportive conversations we had during the last years.

Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the invaluable contributions of my esteemed colleagues. Professor Lauren Lecuyer from the University of Bern introduced me to the sociology of public action, which has significantly influenced this research. I am also indebted to Professor Andrea Samaniego from the National Autonomous University of Mexico for her insightful discussions on discourse analysis and populism. Moreover, I thank Dra. Luz Helena Rodríguez, for our long

sociological talks on society and life and Dr. Tonatiuh Martínez for our enriching discussions and collaborative work on public policy analysis.

I extend my heartfelt appreciation to José Luis Gallegos, Marisma Sierra, and Juan Carlos Baños for his generous support, including providing access to the *Ateneo* archives and engaging in numerous interviews that have greatly enriched this doctoral research. Additionally, I want to acknowledge the pivotal role of *Ateneo*'s president, Noel García, in facilitating my interactions with the interviewees.

Last but certainly not least, some personal acknowledgements. I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to some people. I am deeply thankful to my dear friends Karen Borré and Alex Bravo for providing me with a warm and loving home. I am also filled with gratitude for my family in Montreal—Liliana, Oscar, Sebastian, and Leo—for standing by me with love throughout the years. With gratitude to my father, Arturo Rivero, for his support during this doctoral journey. Furthermore, I want to thank my family and friends in Mexico, who were in my thoughts every moment. Especially, to my brothers Joel Hernández and Rodrigo Huerta.

Finally, I am profoundly grateful to the University of Ottawa and Canadian society for their unwavering support and invaluable resources, which have played a crucial role in shaping my academic journey. The privilege of pursuing my doctoral studies in sociology in the beautiful country of Canada is an experience that I will forever cherish, and I am deeply thankful for the opportunities and support I have received.

Table of Contents

<i>Dedication.....</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Résumé.....</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Abstract.....</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Figures.....</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>xiv</i>
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Research problem	1
1.2 Object of Study	5
1.4 Theoretical Anchors	8
1.5 Research Question and Objectives	11
1.6 Methodological Research Strategy	13
1.7 Results of the Research: Three <i>Ateneos</i> and their <i>Subjectivities</i>	14
1.8 Relevance and Importance of the Research	17
1.9 Identity, Positionality and Reflexivity.....	20
1.10 Contextualization.....	22
1.10.1 <i>Mestizaje</i> (mixed race), Nationalism and Racism.....	22
1.10.2 Mexico's Politics.....	28
1.10.3 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Mexico	29
1.10.4 Understanding Mexican Youth.....	33
1.10.5 <i>Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud</i>	34
1.11 "Raza:" A warning to the reader	38
1.12 Outline of the Thesis.....	39
Chapter 2. Literature Review	42
2.1 Introduction.....	42

2.2 Youth: Theoretical and Empirical Debates.....	43
2.2.1 Theoretical Perspectives on Youth.....	43
2.2.2 Empirical Research on Youth.....	51
2.3. The Study of Collective Identities and <i>Subjectivities</i>	59
2.4 Collective Action and Digital Social Networks (DSN).....	61
2.5 Collective Action and the Public Sphere.....	62
2.6 Marxism and Post-Marxism in the study of collective action.....	64
2.7 Discussion.....	67
Chapter 3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework.....	72
3.1 Introduction.....	72
3.2 Poststructuralism: <i>Discourse</i> and <i>Subjectivity</i>	73
3.3 Post-Marxism: <i>Hegemony</i> , <i>Political Subject</i> and <i>Subjectivities</i>	76
3.3.1 <i>Hegemony</i> and Articulation.....	76
3.3.2 The Discursive Structure.....	79
3.3.3 <i>Political Subjects</i> and <i>Subjectivity</i>	80
3.3.4 <i>Populism</i>	81
3.3.5 <i>Subject Consciousness</i>	85
3.4 The Sociology of <i>Public Action</i>	88
3.4.1 Public Policy Analysis in a Sociological Perspective.....	88
3.4.2 The Sociology of <i>Public Action</i>	90
3.4.3 <i>Public Action</i> as Object of Study.....	91
3.4.4 Discursive Structure and <i>Public Action</i>	92
3.4.5 <i>Political Subjects</i> and <i>Public Action</i>	93
Chapter 4. Methodology.....	94
4.1 Introduction.....	94
4.2 Research Strategy, Ontological and Epistemological Position.....	94
4.3 The Ethnographic Perspective.....	94
4.3.1 The Digital Ethnographic Field.....	95
4.3.2 Digital Ethnographic Observation.....	96
4.3.3 Interviews.....	97
4.3.4 Documentary Analysis.....	100
4.4 Gathering Information and Processing.....	101
4.4.1 Information Gathering.....	101
4.4.2 Operationalization of Concepts.....	102
4.4.3 Translation of Interviews and Documents.....	107
4.4.4 Presentation and Analysis of the Results.....	107
4.5 Ethics of the Research.....	108
4.5.1 Informed Consent.....	108
4.5.2 Restitution of Results.....	109
Chapter 5. The First Ateneo: Becoming Subject.....	110

5.1 Introduction.....	110
5.2 <i>Ateneo of 1909 and Context</i>	111
5.2.1 <i>Ateneo of 1909</i>	111
5.2.2 José Vasconcelos' Life and Project	119
5.2.3 The National University and <i>Ateneo's</i> Influence	121
5.3 <i>Ateneo of 2009: The Beginning</i>	124
5.3.1 <i>Preparatoria 2</i>	125
5.3.2 <i>Casa del Adulto Mayor</i>	130
5.3.3 <i>Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud</i>	139
5.4 Conclusion.....	149
Chapter 6. The Second <i>Ateneo</i> : becoming a <i>public action subject</i>	153
6.1 Introduction.....	153
6.2 The National <i>Ateneo</i>	154
6.3 The Legal Constitution	157
6.4 The Alliance with <i>Acatlán</i>	161
6.5 The <i>Oratoria</i> Contests	163
6.6.1 The First and Second <i>Observatorio</i>	168
6.6.2 The Third <i>Observatorio</i>	173
6.6.3 The Last <i>Observatorio</i>	175
6.7 <i>La Ley de Juventudes</i> (The Law for Youths)	176
6.8 The Declining of a <i>Populist Leadership</i>	182
6.9 Conclusion.....	184
Chapter 7. The Third <i>Ateneo</i> : <i>Digital Action</i>	187
7.1 Introduction.....	187
7.2 From the Outside to the Center.....	188
7.3 COVID-19	192
7.4 <i>Techniques of Recognition on Youth Diversity</i>	193
7.4.1 Feminism.....	193
7.4.2 Sexual Diversity	205
7.4.3 Physical and Mental Disabilities	210
7.4.4 Ethnic Diversity	218
7.5 Conclusion.....	223
Chapter 8. The <i>Ateneista</i> Subjectivity.....	225
8.1 Introduction.....	225
8.2 Reaching <i>Ateneo</i>	226
8.2.1 The Faculty.....	226

8.2.2 Digital social networks (DSN).....	227
8.3 Before being <i>Ateneista</i>	228
8.4 Personal <i>Demands</i> and <i>Universalization</i>	232
8.4.1 First <i>Ateneistas</i>	232
8.4.2 Second <i>Ateneistas</i>	233
8.4.3 Third <i>Ateneistas</i>	236
8.5 <i>Ateneista</i> Consciousness.....	238
8.5.1 First <i>Ateneistas</i>	238
8.5.2 Second <i>Ateneistas</i>	239
8.5.3 Third <i>Ateneistas</i>	243
8.6 The life as an <i>Ateneista</i>.....	250
8.7 Why be an <i>Ateneista</i>?	253
8.8 Resisting the <i>Ateneista Subjectivity</i>.....	256
8.9 Leaving the <i>Ateneista Subjectivity</i>.....	258
8.10 Conclusion.....	263
<i>Chapter 9. Discussion of the Results</i>	266
9.1 <i>Ateneo</i> as a political subject.....	266
9.2 <i>Ateneista Subjectivity</i>	271
<i>Chapter 10. General Conclusions</i>	278
<i>Bibliography</i>.....	288
Books.....	288
Scientific Articles	303
Documents	311
Newspapers Articles.....	312
Websites	313
Private Archives.....	313
<i>Appendices</i>.....	315

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1. Ateneistas of 1909</i>	<i>116</i>
<i>Figure 2. Book Conferencias del Ateneo de la Juventud.....</i>	<i>117</i>
<i>Figure 3. Ateneo's meeting in 2010 at Preparatoria 2</i>	<i>129</i>
<i>Figure 4. Escuela de Formación Humana</i>	<i>138</i>
<i>Figure 5. First slogan.....</i>	<i>143</i>
<i>Figure 7. El Ágora magazine.....</i>	<i>145</i>
<i>Figure 9. Susana Quintanilla at Filosofía a las Calles.....</i>	<i>149</i>
<i>Figure 9. UNAM's Faculty of Political and Social Science Committee, 2015.</i>	<i>155</i>
<i>Figure 10. Acta Constitutiva 1.....</i>	<i>158</i>
<i>Figure 11. Oratoria and debate workshop flyer</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>Figure 12. José Luis won the national oratory competition</i>	<i>165</i>
<i>Figure 13. The First Observatorio.....</i>	<i>169</i>
<i>Figure 14. Participants of the first Observatorio</i>	<i>170</i>
<i>Figure 15. Presentation of the first Observatorio's report.....</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Figure 16. Environmental team</i>	<i>172</i>
<i>Figure 18. The opening of the third Observatorio</i>	<i>175</i>
<i>Figure 19. Hacia una Ley General de Juventud en México</i>	<i>180</i>
<i>Figure 10. Gender and Diversity.....</i>	<i>194</i>
<i>Figure 21. Atenea award, 2021</i>	<i>196</i>
<i>Figure 22. Olimpia C. Melo</i>	<i>197</i>
<i>Figure 23. Simone de Beauvoir</i>	<i>198</i>
<i>Figure 24. Mary Wollstonecraft</i>	<i>199</i>
<i>Figure 25. Women who inspire.....</i>	<i>200</i>
<i>Figure 26. Workshop on street harassment.....</i>	<i>201</i>
<i>Figure 27. Statement on Soledad N.'s femicide</i>	<i>202</i>

<i>Figure 28. Challenges and achievements of being a woman.....</i>	<i>203</i>
<i>Figure 29. Making visible women who do science is vital</i>	<i>204</i>
<i>Figure 30. Drag Queen’s meeting.....</i>	<i>207</i>
<i>Figure 31. International Day of Transgender Visibility.....</i>	<i>208</i>
<i>Figure 32. International Day of Asexuality</i>	<i>209</i>
<i>Figure 33. Reasons to learn Mexican sign language</i>	<i>212</i>
<i>Figure 34. World Down Syndrome Day</i>	<i>213</i>
<i>Figure 35. World Depression Day.....</i>	<i>214</i>
<i>Figure 36. World Autism Awareness Day.....</i>	<i>215</i>
<i>Figure 37. The mental health of youth.....</i>	<i>216</i>
<i>Figure 38. National Mental Health Day.....</i>	<i>217</i>
<i>Figure 39. Grief and Society.....</i>	<i>218</i>
<i>Figure 40. First Meeting of Youth in the Mixteca.....</i>	<i>219</i>
<i>Figure 41. Facebook Live on the preservation of 15 Indigenous languages.....</i>	<i>220</i>
<i>Figure 42. The rebellion of the Indigenous silent.....</i>	<i>221</i>
<i>Figure 43. Voices of my land.....</i>	<i>222</i>
<i>Figure 44. Ateneista Decalogue.....</i>	<i>241</i>

List of Tables

<i>Table 1. Interviewees.....</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Table 2. Archives reviewed.....</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Table 3. Operationalization of concepts.....</i>	<i>106</i>

List of Appendices

<i>Appendix 1. Ethics Certificate</i>	<i>315</i>
<i>Appendix 2. Interview Guide.....</i>	<i>317</i>
<i>Appendix 3. Letter of Invitation to participate in the research.....</i>	<i>320</i>
<i>Appendix 4. Informed Consent for members of Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud.....</i>	<i>324</i>
<i>Appendix 5. 2022 Ateneo's Census.....</i>	<i>329</i>

Abbreviations

CGH: *Consejo General de Huelga* - General Strike Council

CONEVAL: *Consejo Nacional para la Evaluación de la Política Social* - National Council for the Evaluation of Social Policy

CONDUSEF: *Comisión para la Protección de Usuarios de Servicios Financieros* - National Commission for the Protection of Users of Financial Services

CSO(s): Civil Society Organization(s)

DAPs: Digital Articulatory Practices

DSN: Digital Social Networks

EZLN: *Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* - Zapatista Army of National Liberation

INEGI: *Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática* - National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics

IMJUVE: *Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud* - Mexican Youth Institute

MC: *Movimiento Ciudadano* - Citizen Movement

MORENA: *Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional* - National Regeneration Movement

PAN: *Partido Acción Nacional* - National Action Party

PRD: *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* - Democratic Revolution Party

PRI: *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* - Institutional Revolutionary Party

SMO(s): Social Movement Organization(s)

UN: United Nations

UNAM: *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* - National Autonomous University of Mexico

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Research problem

Young people's political participation acquired prominence during the 20th century due to global mobilizations in the late 1960s. In Mexico, students mobilized in 1968 to demand more democracy in the country and in university institutions. This movement was repressed, notably through a massacre on October 2nd of that year (Aguayo, 2018; Poniatowska, 1991; Revueltas, 2013). This event, known as the *Tlatelolco* massacre, shaped the relationship between Mexicans and the government for the remaining decades of the 20th century. Some authors (Acosta, 2020; Canto, 2018) argue that since 1968, society started to be politicized and emerged as a social actor.

Other key moments of youth activism have marked the decades since. In 1999, students started a nine-month strike at the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (UNAM) (the National Autonomous University of Mexico) against increasing registration fees (Acosta, 2020). In 2012, through the #YoSoy132 (#IAM132) movement, students from private universities mobilized again to demand more participation in public decisions and the media (Portillo, 2015). In 2014, young people from different sectors of society joined activists and *maestros rurales* (rural teachers) to mobilize in response to the disappearance of 43 students from the *Escuela Normal de Ayotzinapa* (Ayotzinapa Normal School) (Avalos, 2017). Since 2019, a notable number of young women have participated in mobilizations in favour of their rights inside UNAM and against feminicides in different states (Álvarez, 2020; Castellanos, 2021). These mobilizations were linked to a

worldwide feminist movement. A notable phenomenon is that in these recent movements, their *articulation* was possible, to a great extent, through digital social networks (DSNs) (Avalos, 2017; Portillo, 2015).

As of 1968, young people and other sectors of society continued to organize, not only through social movements but also collectives and social organizations, to overcome different public problems, like the earthquake of September 19th of 1985 and the electoral fraud in 1988. As a consequence of these mobilizations, the government allowed in the 1980s the institutionalization of these social actors by recognizing them as *Organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil* (CSO, Civil Society Organizations) (Castillo, 2013; Chávez & González, 2018). This attempt to incorporate emerging civil society organizations (CSOs) into the still-existing corporatist structure of the Mexican state was successful to the extent that many social actors have sought to influence the institutional sphere of decision-making (Cadena, 2004; Canto, 2018; Woldenberg, 2012). In some cases, they replaced street demonstrations with institutional mechanisms that allowed them to have ongoing relationships with government institutions.

However, the general relationship between social movements and CSOs is complex. It has not turned out entirely in the corporatist / integrative way envisaged by the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) (Institutional Revolutionary Party) regime (1939-2000). On the one hand, several movements have stayed away from such incorporation. On the other, many CSOs have been established based on little or no link to social movements and with no ambition to create such links.

In the case of young people, CSOs have allowed them to reach the institutional sphere to promote policies from a youth perspective. This perspective means that public policies consider this population's cultural features and capacity to define its future. The IMJUVE (Institute for Mexican Youth) define the youth perspective as follows:

The proposal focuses on overcoming a tutelary and contentious conception of youth, expressed in clientelist and adult-centric policies, towards an approach that advocates comprehensive social protection, the guarantee of rights and the free exercise of the agency of the youths. (IMJUVE, 2022, p.15) (Translation).¹

In this way, CSOs have been the means of allowing young people to move from collective to public action. Collective action refers to the capacity to resist, confront and modify the institutions, practices, and values that guide the configuration of the society from the organization of individuals guided by shared values and interests (Puga, Peshcard & Castro, 2007), whereas *public action* refers to the effects and results of collective action inside the public sphere (Genieys, 2001; Hassenteufel, 2004 & 2017; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & LeGales, 2007; Massardier, 2003; Ribémont, 2018). Lagroye (2006) points out that the activity carried out by social groups, known as collective action, is essential in the decision-making process. *Public action* is the result, not always coherent or predictable, of the interactions of social actors and institutions concerning public interests and public decisions.

¹ La propuesta se centra en trascender de una concepción tutelar y contenciosa de la juventud, expresada en políticas sectoriales de corte clientelar y adulto céntrico, hacia un enfoque que fomente la protección social integral, la garantía de derechos y el ejercicio libre de la capacidad de agencia de las juventudes.

Most of the activities of youth CSOs have been developed in Mexico City. The reason is that in 1999, the *Ley de Juventud del Distrito Federal* (Federal District Youth Law) was enacted. From this event, the local government continued to promote youth policy and established a permanent link with civil society organizations. Among different youth CSOs participating in local policy-making, the most visible are:

- 1- Elige
- 2- Fay Bartolomé de Vitoria
- 3- Seraj
- 4- Spolea
- 5- Ollin
- 6- Causa Ciudadana
- 7- Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud
- 8- Motiva
- 9- Diálogos
- 10- Parlamento de la Juventud

In 2014, the government of Mexico City started a new dialogue with these organizations to publish a new youth law. The organizations attended multiple meetings to design and discuss the proposals. Some organizations showed more interest and commitment than others, and in 2015 the *Ley de las Personas Jóvenes de la Ciudad de Mexico* (Mexico City's Young Persons Law) was adopted. After this policy process, the organizations continued to participate in policy processes. In recent years, they have continued to recruit new members by holding institutional meetings,

conferences and social activities to disseminate their political and ideological agendas. It is necessary to point out that since the COVID-19 quarantine, most of these organizations have transferred their activities to the digital sphere. It made the digital world the place for social interaction in the political and social spheres.

1.2 Object of Study

In last decades, Mexican young people have mobilized through social organizations, collectives and small groups seeking to change their social realities (Aguilar, 2011). This mobilization has been made possible by persuading individuals to join the group and strengthening collective power. Before enrolling in the University of Ottawa's Sociology Ph.D. program, I spent about four years in Mexico working with one of these organizations, *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud* (National Youth Atheneum), dedicated to promoting youth political participation. I observed that recruiting and convincing people about the importance of participating in public decision-making was challenging.

Ateneo, as it is called among young people, is a social organization whose beginnings are in a collective founded in a UNAM's high school, *Preparatoria 2*. Over time, *Ateneo* consolidated as a social organization and moved towards promoting cultural activities among young people inside and outside the University; in 2011, *Ateneo* was formally registered as a CSO. Since then, its objective has been to bring culture and humanities to young Mexican individuals, to promote the youth perspective in the public sphere, and to fight for the recognition of youth diversity (Ateneo, 2022). In 2014, *Ateneo* and the *Asamblea Legislativa de la Ciudad de México* (Mexico City

Legislative Assembly) launched the *Observatorio de Derechos Juveniles* (Observatory of Youth Rights), which allowed them to make observations on youth policies. At that moment, I started to work with this organization as an advisor to train its members in public policy analysis. Since that moment, I have asked myself how it was possible for individuals, apparently indifferent to fighting for social change, to become interested in being part of a CSO and participate in all the activities of *Ateneo*, such as giving courses on philosophy and humanities and participating in the *Observatorio*. I stopped working with them at the beginning of 2017.

As a doctoral student, I have continued to be interested in studying youth political participation, and I have done it using the sociology of *public action* framework, which is a relatively new approach in Sociology. Specifically, the sociology of *public action* refers to the study of collective actors involved in public decisions. It has been developed by French scholars interested in expanding the study of the policy-making process from political actors linked to the state to social actors such as social organizations (Genieys, 2001; Hassenteufel, 2004 & 2017; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & LeGales, 2007; Massardier, 2003; Ribémont, 2018).

The first formal contact I had with *Ateneo* in preparing this research was in 2020, when I was enrolled in a seminar on digital ethnography and I conducted some interviews with members of *Ateneo*. The objective was to get information on how young people became involved in public action. The interviews showed that it happened through a process by which individuals accepted a collective identity. This identity predisposes them to participate in *public action* by identifying themselves as *Ateneistas* (noun in the plural to refer to members of *Ateneo*, *Ateneista* in the singular), which implies being a young person committed to promoting a youth perspective and

the values of *Ateneo* in society and public policies. For example, an interviewee pointed out that although she had not participated actively in politics before, she realized, after contacting *Ateneo*, that it was possible to do many activities for her community and “change things”. *Ateneistas* recognized themselves as agents of social change by acquiring this collective identity and changing their understanding of being young individuals. At this stage, I reformulated my concern: How did young individuals become interested in building *Ateneo* as a social organization and participating in public action? How and why do they get convinced to become *Ateneistas*? At this stage, I realized that the sociology of *public action* allowed me to frame the study of *Ateneo* in the political sphere through the concept of *public action*. Still, it was insufficient to understand the formation of collective identity.

To solve this problem, I reviewed the relevant available theories (see 2.3.4 section). I found two important perspectives: one coming from collective action studies (Almeida, 2019; Della Porta & Dani, 2020; Melluci, 1996) and the other from Marxism and post-Marxism (Adam, 1993; Butler, 2020; Fraser, 1995; Laclau & Mouffe, 2021, Mouffe 2023). Collective action studies focus on how new social movements (NSMs) organize to defend cultural issues. Marxism and post-Marxism center on how these movements are built to get into the political sphere to solve problems related to political economy. Both of them are interesting and valuable, but I found the post-Marxist perspective to be more powerful to carry out this research, taking into account the research done by authors like Du Bois-Reymond (2009), Furlong (2009) Heinz (200), Win & White (1992), and White, Wyn & Albanese (2011), who hold that young people face problems derived from late capitalism, like difficulties in accessing education and labour markets, low income and extensive dependency on their parents, among others. Therefore, their reasoning suggests that research on

youth should assume that young individuals' struggles are against capitalism's effects. For more details about this discussion, see section 2.2.1.

In this way, using post-Marxism and the sociology of public action, I could formulate a better theoretical framework to study the way in which *Ateneista* identity emerged and allowed the rise of *Ateneo* as an organization involved in public action.

1.4 Theoretical Anchors

Collective action studies and post-Marxism both seek to explain how individuals organize for social change. On the one hand, collective action studies are a set of analyses based on the methodological individualism that has become prominent in European and North American schools. This perspective assumes collective identity as the result of a rational-strategic action. Applications belonging to this perspective include: a) resource mobilization theory (RMT), b) political opportunities theory (POT), and b) framing theory, all of which explain collective action from rational decisions and objectives. This approach focuses on the objective dimension of reality. On the other hand, post-Marxism seeks to explain collective action in the context of a socio-historical process focusing on the subjective dimension of reality, which is closer to comprehensive sociology.

For this reason, the main difference between collective action studies and post-Marxist studies is how both study the same phenomenon—the first, from a rational-individualistic perspective, and the second, from a socio-historical angle based on an interpretative and humanistic approach.

I consider the post-Marxist approach as ideal for developing this research because its objective of getting a comprehensive understanding of collective action is close to sociologies that reach for a comprehensive sociological explanation of social facts based on the subjective experiences of individuals (Becker, 1999, 2017; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Giddens, 1984; Weber, 1958). Comprehensive sociology recognizes that any social phenomenon emerges from a socio-historical process based on patterns of behaviour that appear in a specific time and space and that can be understood from the meaning individuals give to their actions.

Post-Marxism, notably through the *Essex School of Discourse Analysis (ESDA)* founded by Ernesto Laclau in the 1980s, addresses the crucial questions of agency and subject formation in social movements/organizations. It can provide a profound understanding about how *Ateneo* was established as an organization oriented towards *public action* and how the *Ateneista* identity was formed and experienced by individuals.

Post-Marxism (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) emphasizes that *discourse*, as a set of ideas and practices, shapes social behavior in a specific time and place, thereby creating *subjectivities* through the production of knowledge. It explains how social movements/organizations originate from articulatory practices that build subject positions in the discursive field. In this sense, society is symbolically constructed through *discourse*. It is in the overdetermined dimension that materiality emerges. Articulatory practices aim to ascribe meaning and establish identities when they unite the different *demands* of individuals in a *chain of equivalence* represented by a *universal demand*. This means that different *demands* not satisfied by the system are united in solidarity in a unique

demand. For example, even though there are different *demands* in a society, like access to education, urban services and health insurance, they can join a movement/organization that *demands* the democratization of the public budget. This *universal demand* represents the others (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). This *political subject* emerges as a "people" striving to assert a specific agenda against another (Laclau, 2005, 2015b).

Regarding the study of public decisions, the sociology of *public action* introduces the concept of public action, which refers to how social actors such as social movements, collectives, and organizations participate in the public sphere to influence public decisions. This perspective mainly focuses on the policy-making process by moving away from traditional top-down models to focus on collective actors from a bottom-up perspective (Genieys, 2001; Hassenteufel, 2004 & 2017; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & LeGales, 2007; Massardier, 2003; Ribémont, 2018). Further discussion on post-Marxism and sociology of *public action* can be found in chapter 3.

At this stage, informed by the outlooks and concepts of these frameworks, I have reformulated my initial concerns around the following questions:

1. How did *Ateneo* become a political subject?
2. When and how did *Ateneo* become a *public action subject through articulatory practices*?
3. How did *Ateneo*'s members become *Ateneistas* and experience this *subjectivity*?

1.5 Research Question and Objectives

From the literature review on youth activism and mobilization that will be detailed in section 2.2, it was possible to problematize that collective organizations, such as civil society organizations (CSO), seek to transmit frames of reference to foster social change through political participation (Delgado & Arias, 2008; Pabón, 2013). This also opened the door for questioning how the collective activities of these organizations influenced individuals to change the social order. In this case, how did *Ateneo* predispose individuals to participate in *public action* by mobilizing *discourses* that gave rise to a political *subjectivity*?

Another interesting point arised from the review of the work by Van Stekelenburg, J., & Klandermans, B. (2017) about the role of digital social networks in collective action. In this sense, it was important to ask how did *Ateneo* build a political *subjectivity* through DSNs to advocate *public action*, especially because after the COVID-19 pandemic most of their activities turned into the digital world. Following this reasoning, it was possible to ask if *articulatory practices* were carried out digitally and if they affected *Ateneo* as a *political subject* and its *subjectivity*.

By building a research question that foregrounds these concerns, I wanted to draw a map to an understanding of how political *subjectivities* emerge and evolve in contemporary social organizations to mobilize young people to change their social realities through *public action*, how individuals experience that *subjectivity* and what role digital social networks play in this process. The methodological strategy for building the research question followed Becker's (1998) suggestion to contextualize the object of study by asking "how" instead of "why." In this way, I

propose to reconstruct the socio-historical process that made *Ateneo* to emerge as a *public action subject* and young people as *Ateneistas*.

Therefore, the general research question was formulated as follows:

How did Ateneo emerge from articulatory practices, and how did it become a political and public action subject in Mexico? What does this tell us more broadly about how young people become Ateneistas, and how did they experience this subjectivity? What role did digital social networks play in this process?

The research question intended to guide this study in understanding the emergence of *Ateneo* as a political subject. This task implied knowing how the articulation of interests occurred and how the *subjectivity* of being *Ateneista* appeared from a *discursive hegemony* that came from *articulatory practices*. Likewise, this question sought to understand how the individuals joining this organization experienced becoming *Ateneistas*, how this changed their identity and critical awareness as young persons, and their attitude towards *public action*. Finally, it was intended to observe and understand what type of *articulatory practices* were carried out and reproduced through DSNs, and how this occurred. The research objective was to study the *articulatory practices* that allowed *Ateneo* to become a *public action subject* and its members, *Ateneistas*.

1.6 Methodological Research Strategy

This research was expected to be empirical and theoretical, based on a qualitative strategy anchored in digital ethnography. It was an iterative research process in which theory and data had been continuously discussed to build interpretative explanations of the object of study (Gaudet & Robert, 2018). In this sense, a non-participant observation of *Ateneo*'s DSNs, interviews, mostly done remotely through Zoom app, and the analysis of documents, were developed.

Thirty-three interviews were carried out from 28 informants. 448 posts were analyzed from *Ateneo*'s Facebook fan page, 175 from its X account and 115 from its Instagram account. A review of *Ateneo*'s entire institutional historical archive was also carried out. There, I was able to review 178 photos, two legal records, 14 internal administration documents, two databases from the national census, eight files with information from local *Ateneo*'s committees, 56 documents on the history of the organization and four files from the *Comisión de Honor y Justicia* (Honour and Justice Commission).

Data was coded through the Atlas.ti and Excel software, and 27 biographies were elaborated. The analysis of the results was grouped in two main themes: a) becoming a *political subject* and b) the *Ateneista subjectivity*. This was achieved by building ideal types that concentrated on the *discursive practices* that made *Ateneo* a *political subject* and the emergence of an *Ateneista subjectivity*.

One of the difficulties faced during the research was deciding how to observe and analyze the *articulatory practices*. I decided to follow Foucault's path in the study of *discursive practices*. Foucault (1969, 1971) was very interested in studying how everyday life arises from *discourses* originated by social practices and how these *discourses* are the basis for the emergence of specific types of subjects.

To study *discursive practices*, Foucault registered and described them by elaborating ideal types. He introduced the concepts of *technique* and *dispositif*. The first added the concepts of tactic and strategy to *discursive practices*. In this way, practices are studied in relation to means and goals. He used this methodology to analyze discipline, biopower, and ethics (Foucault, 2012; 2013). The *dispositif* materialized in the asylum and prison is a mechanism to lead individuals to behave in a particular way, “punir est une fonction formalisée, et aussi soigner, éduquer, dresser, faire travailler” (Deleuze, 1986, p. 43). In the case of *Ateneo*, it was possible to identify *techniques* that sought to build *Ateneo* as a political subject, as well as two *dispositifs*: *Observatorio* (Observatory of Youth Rights) and digital social networks.

1.7 Results of the Research: Three *Ateneos* and their *Subjectivities*

The results showed that *Ateneo* is a social organization present in part of Mexico's territory and focused on the issues of Mexican youth. It is an organization of young people (between 17 and 30 years old) who belong to civil society and are concentrated in Mexico City, and the states of Puebla, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Yucatán, Quintana Roo, and Morelos, among others.

The analysis of the results indicated that *Ateneo* had been constituted as a social subject in three different moments of its life. This meant that *Ateneo* was not permanently a *public action subject*, as I thought at the beginning of the research. It was only a specific period when hegemonic practices made it a *subject* focused on *public action*.

The first *Ateneo* emerged from 2009 to 2011; when it was an organization focused on achieving its institutionalization and carried out the objectives and principles of the 1909 *Ateneo*, which was a Mexican social organization of intellectuals that had a significant influence on the educational and cultural development of the country during the beginning of the 20th century (see 5.2 section). During the first *Ateneo*, *Ateneistas* sought the support of social organizations and people of other age groups to obtain financing for their activities. I called these *discursive practices foundational techniques* (Foucault, 2012; 2013) since they sought to provide the organization with a myth of origin and an objective. These *discursive practices* sought to articulate the interests of different people who wanted to support Mexican youth with education, culture and humanities, reaching the *universalization* of those *demands* into a single one that was precisely the progress of Mexico and youth. The discursive structure of nationalism and assimilationism from the 19th and 20th centuries influenced this first *Ateneo*.

In the case of the second *Ateneo*, the *discursive practices* were modified, leaving behind the objective of promoting culture and the humanities in young people to provide them with training to influence the institutional decision-making sphere. In this way, these *discursive practices* sought to make young people agents of change through public action. It was made possible through a *dispositif* called the *Observatorio de Derechos Juveniles* (Observatory of Youth Rights). The

articulatory practices (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) tried to collect the *demands* of young people, especially from Mexico City, to affect public policies that affected their daily lives. The objective was to impose the youth perspective in public decisions in Mexico. This moment was when the *Ateneo* became a *public action subject* between 2012 and 2019.

The organization left aside the *Observatorio* and the public action objective in the third *Ateneo*, which can be identified from new *discursive practices* that started in 2020 and continued until now. The new objective was to recognize and make visible the diversity of the Mexican youth, who have historically been far from the attention of government and society. These *recognition techniques* (Foucault, 2012; 2013) sought to make visible the populations of young women, sexual diversity, people with disabilities, and indigenous ethnicity among others. This was possible thanks to the *dispositif* of digital social networks, which gave rise to a new type of discursive practice that occurred through digital environments, *digital articulatory practices*. *Digital articulatory practices* sought to unify the different *demands* of social organizations and young people belonging to these minority groups by offering *Ateneo* as a means to make the visibility of differentiated youth possible. This third *Ateneo* showed a rupture with the nationalist/assimilationist *discourse* that affected the two previous *Ateneos*.

The analysis of the results also showed evidence that these three *political subjects* were linked to three different *subjectivities*. That is to say, *Ateneistas* of these three different *Ateneos* perceived themselves as having different responsibilities and objectives as well as conceptions of what it meant to be young. Not only did the *Ateneistas* perceive themselves as different in the three *Ateneos*, but they also determined their stay in each of them.

It is essential to highlight that the results showed the importance of the role played by the populist leaders (Laclau 2005; 2015b) in the building of the *chains of equivalence* and the *universalization of demands*. In the life of *Ateneo*, there have been two strong leaders, one who strongly influenced the destiny of the first and second *Ateneo* as an organization focused on the reproduction of the assimilationist/nationalist discourse and the participation in *public action*, and the other one, who influenced the third *Ateneo* as an organization focused on promoting the recognition of the Mexican youth diversity.

1.8 Relevance and Importance of the Research

Youth studies have focused on the issue of cultural identities and very little on student participation in social movements. Practically, the study of youth collective action has been approached from the studies of social movements. However, Cini, Della Porta & Guzman-Concha (2021, p.5) point out that since 2008, new waves of movements have appeared. In Chile, England, Hong Kong, Italy, and Quebec, “students have mobilized around various issues, ranging from resistance to authoritarianism to opposition to tuition fees.” For these authors, even though students are in mobilizations around the world, they are not in the studies of collective action or social conflict.

This fact makes it necessary to develop more research on students’ leadership in social change, “a systematic analysis of these episodes of student activism would now seem all the more necessary, especially given the fact that there are very few comparative studies of contemporary student protests in the literature” (p. 2). In this sense, this research seeks to contribute to developing social

research on youth political participation by understanding how young individuals organize to affect the public sphere, precisely, how the Mexican social organization *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud* became a *public action subject* and its members *Ateneistas*.

In this respect, there exists a gap in the empirical research on youth reviewed (section 2.2) on the role of collective identities in organizing young people for changing their realities by affecting the public sphere. For example, some authors (Aguilar, 2011; Ávalos, 2017; Brussino, Rabbia & Sorribas, 2009; Chávez & Poblete, 2006; Fernández, 2015; Ortiz, G., 2019; Portillo, 2015; Restrepo, 2010; Valenzuela, 2007; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017) have focused on the way young people organize themselves for social action, but leave aside the subjective process by which people become members of an organization, how they accept and construct their values and objectives. Additionally, how that happens through the *Digital Social Networks* (DSNs) still remains to be investigated. In sum, these authors do not recognize that collective identities play a fundamental role in the organization and construction of social movements.

For this reason, the results of this research are relevant to sociology. They showed that a social organization and its *subjectivity* is neither a total nor permanent entity. It is constructed through *discursive practices* that articulate *demands*, which are universalized to give rise to a *political subject* and a particular *subjectivity* that guides the collective behaviour of the organization's members. The results fill out the gap mentioned above. This research also makes a valuable contribution to sociology by studying youth political participation from a post-Marxist perspective to understand how they organize for social change in a global era in which social struggles are linked to the problems of late capitalism but detached from the worker's movement.

Additionally, this research contributes to the development of the sociology of *public action* by analyzing the subjective process behind the life and development of social actors in the public sphere to give rise to *public action subjects* (Genieys, 2001; Hassenteufel, 2004 & 2017; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes, P. & LeGales, 2007; Massardier, 2003; Ribemont, 2018). The sociology of *public action* still has not focused on how collective identities appear in social organizations linked to public action, they are taken as a given. This phenomenon needs more attention in this recent sociological field.

Finally, this research can contribute to a great extent to understanding how young Mexican individuals are organizing to participate in the social and political sphere to affect their social environment. Mainly because young individuals through CSOs are also working to influence the public sphere in Mexico, just as *Ateneo* does. For instance, there is another interesting case of a *public action subject*, a social movement of young feminists called *Frente Nacional para la Sororidad* (National Organization for Sisterhood), which negotiated with representatives of the state of *Puebla* to change the penal code to punish cyberbullying. After two years, they achieved a change in the law in 10 states in the country and brought this policy to the national level in 2021. In this sense, scholars in Mexico have yet to explain how these movements appear, grow, organize, and operate to achieve social changes. Still, more research is necessary to explain this phenomenon, which is essential in the context of today's young individuals facing the consequences of the neoliberal model (Furlong, 2009; Giroux, 2015; Wyn & White, 1997).

1.9 Identity, Positionality and Reflexivity

I was born into a middle-class family in Mexico City in the 1980s. I attended primary and secondary school in private institutions. I did an undergraduate in political science, a certificate in political economy and a master's in public policy at the UNAM. I have been part of left wing parties such as *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (PRD) (Democratic Revolutionary Party), where I published a book on the process of building the Mexican identity. Academically, I consider myself close to Marxism. I have worked on youth and differential rights from the framework of Marxist and feminist critiques of liberal egalitarianism. Even though I consider my ideology oriented to progressivism and the left political wing, the University's assimilationist/nationalist project had influenced me significantly.

I have been policy analyst on indigenous languages at the *Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* (INALI) (National Institute for Indigenous Languages), and policy advisor at the national congress. My job experience has included advising social movements and CSOs on policy analysis. I have been university professor at UNAM in the last 7 years in political science and public administration.

In 2014, I met José Luis Gallegos, one of the founders of *Ateneo*, when I started teaching at UNAM during my master's studies. José Luis, an undergraduate student, invited me to train *Ateneistas* to launch the *Observatorio de Derechos Juveniles* (Observatory of Youth Rights). I worked (pro-bono) for them until 2017 as an advisor in public policy analysis. During this time, two editions of the *Observatorio* were carried out. In 2017, I started to study *Ateneo* academically. I published the

article *Modelo de las Coaliciones Promotoras (ACF) para el análisis de la participación ciudadana de los jóvenes en el cambio y promoción de las políticas de juventud en la Ciudad de México Ciudad de México* (Advocacy Coalitions Framework Model (ACF) to analyze the citizen participation of young people in the effort to change and promote youth policies in Mexico City)² in the UNAM's Center for Public Administration Journal to study the beliefs and values that allowed *Ateneistas* to participate in the *Observatorio*. Soon, I realized that rational-strategic models were insufficient to investigate in deep the subjective process by which individuals get involved in the policy process. In 2016, I met Laurent Lecuyer, a Ph.D. student at the Université de Montpellier, France, who introduced me to the *sociologie de l'action publique* in order to get more tools to study my concerns and better conceptualize *Ateneo* as an organization linked to public action. For this reason, I framed the study of *Ateneo* in the post-Marxist approach and the sociology of *public action*, leaving aside the rational-strategic models based on actors' choices to analyze social movements as in the collective action studies happens.

I am aware that my personal life and experience working with *Ateneo* can affect the way in which I built and developed my object of study. One of this research's principal risks was forcing *Ateneo* to fit into the concept of *public action subject*. Another potential risk was considering *Ateneo* as an organization mainly oriented toward affecting public policies, the results showed other reality. My academic background shaped this assumption, which made me to focus on this aspect of the whole repertory of activities *Ateneistas* do. The same happened when I considered *Ateneo* as a

² See: <http://revistas.unam.mx/index.php/encrucijada/article/view/58574>

social organization that sought social change by fighting directly in the sphere of power to justify using a post-Marxist perspective and no other like the rational-strategic models.

It could be possible that I could have over-estimated the capacity and scope of *Ateneo*. There is a risk of having thought of *Ateneo*'s capacities as powerful enough to influence the policy process. I took care of all these risks during the research by applying *epistemological surveillance* (Bourdieu, Chamboredon & Passeron, 2004) to differentiate my common sense and pre-notions from the reality shown by the information and data. Finally, as a sociologist, I am aware of have been part of my object of study (Macionis & Plummer, 2011), not only as a Mexican but also as a person involved personally with some of the individuals I will observe. This awareness made me take care of my emotions and thoughts concerning *Ateneo* and *Ateneistas*.

1.10 Contextualization

1.10.1 *Mestizaje* (mixed race), Nationalism and Racism

1.10.1.1 The Mexican Indigenous past

Mexican history dates back to the 13th century B.C. The territory was known as *Mesoamerica* (Mesoameric) and extended to what is today, Costa Rica. Among the first cultures and peoples that settled in the area were the *Olmecas*, which developed in the north of the state of Veracruz with 350,000 inhabitants. The *Olmecas* were present until 500 B.C. After this period, around 100 and 200 B.C. The *Teotihuacan* culture developed in the center of what is now Mexico. *Teotihuacans* influenced southern cultures such as the Mayas and *Zapotecas*. Ancient Mexico's

most significant cultural, social and economic development occurred there. *Teotihuacan* lost their hegemony around 600 BC (Escalante, 2008).

By the 12th century B.C., the *Mexicas* had risen to become the most dominant empire in the history of ancient Mexico. Descendants of the *Toltecas*, who had settled in the present-day state of Querétaro, the *Mexicas* undertook a transformative journey to central Mexico, where they founded the city of *Tenochtitlan*, now known as Mexico City. The *Mexicas* established an empire that subjugated neighboring towns and imposed tribute payments. When Europeans arrived in the 16th century, they formed alliances with the subjugated peoples to challenge the *Mexicas* and seize control of the most influential center of the Mesoamerican zone in 1521. The European occupation, lasting seven months, marked the defeat of the *Mexicas* (Escalante, 2008).

The European conquest of *Mesoamerica* lasted 300 years, during which a Spanish colony was established to govern the political and social life of the Indigenous population. This period saw the creation of new identities, with a new population composed of Afro-descendants, Indians, Creoles (Spaniards born in New Spain), and Spaniards.

The emergence of Creole nationalism in 1808, amidst the Napoleonic occupation of Spain, allowed the Creoles to challenge the political control of the Spanish elites. It led to an 11-year war for the independence of New Spain, which was finally achieved in 1821. The war was marked by several significant battles and political negotiations, ultimately leading to the signing of the Treaty of Córdoba, which recognized the independence of Mexico from Spain.

1.10.1.2 *Mestizaje* and Nationalism

After gaining independence, the Creole elite faced the challenge of integrating Creoles, mestizos, and Indians into a unified and independent country. According to Smith (1986), nationalism was seen as a way to achieve unity in countries with diverse ethnicities, and it was considered a product of modernity. Nationalism served as a tool for the dominant populations to establish a set of values and allowed for the construction of a new identity in Mexico known as *Mexicanidad* (Mexicanity). To achieve this project, Gutiérrez (2012) identifies two strategies that were used to unite the diverse population: 1) exalting the Indian heritage of the past, and 2) marginalizing it in the present. This led to the creation of a myth surrounding the cultural greatness of the Aztecs, which then evolved to accommodate the new mestizo identity, inclusive of all ethnicities. However, in this new Mexico, being Indian was no longer recognized, as the emphasis was on being *Mexicano* (Mexican). This was facilitated by incorporating narratives and symbols that solidified the bonds of identity and validated the new nation-state. This narrative involved the establishment of national heroes, stories, and patriotic holidays, which reinforced the discursive structure of the new ethnic identity, and ultimately aimed to eradicate indigenous identity. Gall (2004) described this approach as assimilationist racism.

An effective strategy for enforcing this homogenization was making Spanish the sole language, resulting in the disruption of oral transmission of indigenous cultures. Moreover, through the establishment of widespread education, which was previously inaccessible to the Indigenous populations, the spread of Mexican nationalist *discourse* was achieved (Gutiérrez, 2012).

1.10.1.3 *Indigenismo*

Following the Mexican Revolution in 1910, a more aggressive assimilationist approach emerged, and a policy known as *indigenismo* (indigenism) was implemented. This policy aimed to compel Indigenous people to abandon their languages and cultures in order to integrate them into the national progress, heavily influenced by European nations. The adoption of positivism as a means of progress promoted the image of the white man as a symbol of modernity. This process of “whitening” ensured integration into the dominant Creole culture under the idea of promoting racial mixing. The indigenist policy was developed by the Mexican anthropological school led by Manuel Gamio. According to Gutierrez (2012, p. 148), the goal was to *Mexicanizar* (Mexicanize) the Indigenous peoples: “Creating and instilling a shared national culture; an attempt to integrate - “Mexicanize” - the Indigenous peoples into national life, as well as putting into practice measures aimed at improving the living standards of the indigenous population” (Translation).³ For many positivists of the time, multiethnicity was an obstacle to progress.

Indigenous peoples during the twentieth century were equated with rural backwardness, reduced to poverty, a lack of development, and obstacles to progress due to the persistence of their original cultures and languages. Since 1940, a public policy, known as indigenism, has been implemented so that Indigenous people adopt *mestizaje* as a national integration strategy (Caso 1962). The integrationist strategy planning was carried out with scientific methods, guided by the anthropology of those years, to promote the assimilation of the Indigenous people by adopting Mexicanity, which consisted of leaving aside their languages and cultures and becoming Spanish

³ Crear e inculcar una cultura nacional compartida; un intento de integrar -”mexicanizar”- a los pueblos indígenas a la vida nacional, así como poner en práctica medidas dirigidas a mejorar los niveles de vida de la población indígena.

speakers, leaving behind “ancestral” customs, adopting “corrective hygiene”, and parting with their lands to facilitate economic development. (Gutiérrez, 2020, p.2)

Mestizaje was a strategy aimed to achieve national unity and progress. During the early 20th century, the intellectual elite promoted the creation of nationalist myths. For instance, the *Ateneistas of 1909* endeavored to introduce Hellenic culture to the Mexican masses. José Vasconcelos, in particular, advocated for the blending of cultures in order to create a superior race. In his renowned work, *La Raza Cósmica* (The Cosmic Race), he suggested that the fusion of cultures was the path to establishing the superiority of Mexicans and Latin Americans over white Europeans (Vasconcelos, 2019). Similarly, Antonio Caso, another *Ateneista*, supported the biosocial concept of *mestizaje* to achieve national progress. *Ateneistas* greatly influenced the UNAM’s project of massification of education. In many ways, the assimilationist aspiration was a university policy, as can be observed through the official logo and slogan: *Por mi Raza Hablará el Espíritu* (For my race, the spirit will speak), which was, precisely, a Vasconcelos’ creation inspired in the cosmic race myth.

1.10.1.4 From *Indigenismo* to Pluriethnicity

In the late 20th century, the policy of *indigenismo* based on *mestizaje* started to decline due to international and domestic pressures. At the global level, the Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, adopted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1989 and ratified by Mexico in 1990, stated that children of indigenous cultures should be taught to read and write in their indigenous language. The UN's Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National,

Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities also required states to permit and guarantee the use of indigenous languages in public and collective activities.

Domestically, the emergence of the EZLN in 1994 brought the issue of indigenous rights and self-government to the national discussion. When the PAN government came to power in 2000, the country's constitution was reformed to recognize the Mexican nation as pluricultural and based on indigenous peoples, who were granted the right to self-government and self-determination. Additionally, the *Ley General de Derechos Linguisticos de los Pueblos Indígenas* (General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples) was adopted in 2003, recognizing the obligation of the Mexican State to promote indigenous languages. These reforms marked the end of indigenism and the idea that *mestizaje* was the path to progress and national consolidation. However, the notion that indigenous people should abandon their cultural identity persists. *Mestizaje*, which was initially the foundation for the construction of the Mexican nation, persisted until our time to be the basis of racism. For Gutiérrez, "[*mestizaje* is] the basis of Mexican racism, since mestizo and white populations often discriminate against and despise the Indian population" (Gutiérrez, 2020, p. 2).

The discussion on racism has been revisited in the last years to address discrimination based on skin tone and belonging to impoverished populations. For example, Solís, Güémez, and Campos (2023) highlight the effect of color on accessing social mobility and labour positions. Gómez (2020) points out that Mexicans exercise racism in everyday life without consciousness about it in hospitals, schools, institutions, companies, and so on. This behaviour, he argues, plays a significant role in determining one's socio-economic status, as racism is correlated with class: "In Mexico, the

privilege is white color, poverty dark skin, and indigence the Indigenous appearance" (Gómez, 2020, p.10) (Translation)⁴.

1.10.2 Mexico's Politics

After the 1910 Mexican Revolution, Mexico's politics was based on *caudillismo*, a term used to indicate presidential succession based on the figure of social leaders, who were primarily military. It was not until 1929 that the first political party of the post-revolutionary era was created, *Partido Nacional Revolucionario* (PNR) (National Revolutionary Party), which would later change its name to *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) (Revolutionary Institutional Party). This party enabled the transition from military to civilian governments for 71 years (1929-2000 (Cordova, 2002)).

During these years, the revolution's ideology was *populism*, which made it possible to reconcile the power of capital with the *demands* of workers. In this way, the PRI managed worker and peasant mobilizations by creating unions and social organizations (Cordova, 2002). This system was known as corporatism. At that time, civil society was identified as a type of organization close to the government (Torres, 2002).

The PRI government was successful in power thanks to negotiations with the *Partido Acción Nacional* (PAN), founded in 1939 as a Christian reaction to the Mexican Revolution. Towards the

⁴ En México el privilegio es de color blanco, la pobreza tiene por lo general la piel morena y la indigencia el rostro indígena.

end of the 80s, the PRI suffered a rupture due to the arrival of neoliberal technocrats. A nationalist wing of the party broke away and founded the left-wing party called *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (PRD) (Democratic Revolution Party). In 2000, PAN won the presidential election, and the first government that did not come from the PRI was established (Woldenberg, 2012).

In 2012, PRD had a break, and a wing of that party led by Andrés Manuel López Obrador—who ran for the presidency in 2006, 2012, and 2018—founded the *Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional* (MORENA) party. This party won the presidential election in 2018 and represented the first left wing government in Mexico. In 2024, this party won the presidential election again for a six-year government led by Claudia Sheinbaum Pardo, the country's first president women. Since 2000, three different political parties have governed Mexico: PAN (2000-2012), PRI (2012-2018), and MORENA (2018-2030).

Constitutionally, Mexico is a democratic and federal republic with a presidential regime. The territory is composed of 31 states divided into 2,458 municipalities. A federal district, which achieved political autonomy in 1997 and the status of a state in 2017 (now Mexico City), houses the three political powers: executive, legislative, and judicial.

1.10.3 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Mexico

Three major events have impacted the emergence of civil society in Mexico: a) the student mobilization of 1968, b) the social mobilization after the 1985 earthquake, and c) the armed mobilization of 1994 in Chiapas. During 1968, there were different mobilizations against the

authoritarian regime. Notably, the army heavily repressed student mobilization on several occasions. On October 2nd, several young people were murdered in what is now known as *La Noche de Tlatelolco* (Tlatelolco Night) (Aguayo, 2018; Poniatowska, 199, Revueltas, 2013).

This fact represented a significant issue in the collective memory that undermined the stability of the political system. A series of political and social actors began to demand a democratic opening of the political system. The groups that emerged from this event found allies in the left movements. This expression of civil society reached great visibility after the earthquake of 1985 when they had to address different mobilizations to demand housing services after the tragedy. For Aranda (2009), the period from 1968 to 1985 was a period of emergence and politicization of civil society, but it was not until 1985 that different organizations that were linked to the government began to appear formally to manage goods and services. In some sense, the politicized part of society got a seat in the public sphere when they were accepted as a left political party named *Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)* (Democratic Revolutionary Party) and governed Mexico City in 1997 (Woldenberg, 2012).

In 1994, an armed group, known as Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) (Zapatista Army of National Liberation), in the state of Chiapas demanded the inclusion of indigenous communities in the country's development. This group declared war on the Mexican State and demanded the recognition of the rights of self-government and self-determination. This movement represented another part of Mexican society that was not represented by the movements arising from 1968. As a result, a new expression of civil society emerged in the country's rural areas to

promote a series of constitutional reforms that forever changed the relationship between the state and Indigenous peoples (Boronnet et al., 2011).

Aranda (2009) points out that EZLN sought to bring the problems of the indigenous communities, poverty and inclusion to the national debate. Likewise, this period was the moment of greatest consolidation of social mobilization in civil society when the organization *Asociación Cívica Nacional Revolucionaria* (National Revolutionary Civic Association) appeared, best known as *Alianza Cívica* (Civil Alliance), which represented a significant movement in favour of Mexico's democratization.

The notion of civil society organizations (CSOs) became relevant in Mexico starting in the 1980s to differentiate the activities of private organizations from public institutions and organizations. The United Nations and international institutions first described these organizations as palliative instruments of the State because their actions are on behalf of those individuals excluded from growth and tempering the effects of the reforms (Torres, 2002). In Mexico, most CSOs carry out non-profit activities and are made up of organized citizens. Some of these organizations seek to support people in vulnerable conditions, and others seek to promote democracy (Olvera, 2010).

Currently, the notion of the third sector (non-profit sector) is the framework through which civil society organizations (CSOs) are understood and defined in terms of their importance in the public sphere. Chavez & González (2018) point out that CSOs are defined by specific characteristics:

- 1- Institutionalizing of their internal administration

- 2- Not seeking profit
- 3- Being private
- 4- Being autonomous
- 5- Not having religious interests
- 6- Not having electoral interests
- 7- Focusing on helping others

CSOs are regulated by the *Ley Federal para la Promoción de las Organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil* (Federal Law for the Promotion of Civil Society Organizations), adopted in 2004. This law defines CSOs as those social organizations that are legally constituted under the figure of *Asociación Civil* (Civil Associations) and whose purpose include some of the following activities:

- 1- Social assistance.
- 2- Food Banks.
- 3- Civic activities.
- 4- Support for indigenous communities.
- 5- Support for vulnerable groups.
- 6- Support for Human Rights, health, and sport.
- 7- Education, culture, art, science, and technological development and promotion.

The Law also defines some of the rights and duties of these organizations:

- 1- Receiving institutional and financial support.

- 2- Participation of CSOs in the development and implementation of public policies.

1.10.4 Understanding Mexican Youth

Traditionally, youth is defined by age. For the United Nations (UN), young people are those between 15 and 24 years old. In this sense, there are 1.2 billion young people worldwide (UN, 2021). However, the law in Mexico identifies young people as being between 12 and 29 years old. Based on the last Census conducted by the *Instituto Nacional de Geografía Estadística e Informática (INEGI)* (National Institute of Geography, Statistics and Informatic), there are 37 764 587 young people (INEGI, 2020), which represents 30% of the population. The average of Mexico's total population was 29 years old.

For some scholars, youth must not only be defined by age but also by social circumstances. In this sense, Wyn and White (1997) point out that the effects of neoliberal policies must define young people. In the same sense, Furlong (2009) states that in recent decades, young people have faced three main problems: education, the labour market, and dependence on parents. They have become a sector of society that has not been able to achieve a minimum social satisfaction, such as access to the labour market and welfare.

In this respect, Goodwin and O'Connor (2009) hold that by transitioning through these stages, young people move from youth to adulthood: school to work, from living with their parents to independent living, or from singleness to marriage and forming a family. For young people, one transition facilitates others (Mulder, 2009).

The transition to adulthood has been modified for young Mexicans compared to their parents' generation. According to the *Comisión para la Protección de Usuarios de Servicios Financieros* (CONDUSEF) (National Commission for the Protection of Users of Financial Services of the Government of Mexico), 70% of young people between 18 and 29 still live with their parents. These circumstances have delayed their transition to an independent life and life with a partner (CONDUSEF, 2019).

Youth is also defined by some authors based on cultural identities. Côté (2009) points out that youth identity is relational and depends on how some people define themselves in relation to others. In this sense, it is necessary to say that most young Mexicans considered themselves mestizos, 19% indigenous, and only 2% Afro-descendants. Most of the indigenous youth live in the states of *Campeche, Chiapas, Guerrero, Hidalgo, Puebla, Oaxaca* and *Yucatán*. The school life of young people has been complex. About 67% have an education; of this percentage, only 19% have a bachelor's degree (INEGI, 2020). Regarding employment, 67.3% of young men and 40.5% of young women are in the economically active population (INEGI, 2020).

1.10.5 Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud

Ateneo started as a collective in 2009, when its founder, José Luis Gallegos, started a cultural group called *Ateneo de la Juventud* at the *Preparatoria 2* (High School number 2) of UNAM. *Ateneo* was conceived as a space of "freedom, recreation, reflection and consciousness for

Mexican youth" (Ateneo, 2022) (Translation)⁵. Two years later, in August 2011, this organization reached legal status as a civil association constituted by and for young people. Its inspiration was the *Ateneo de la Juventud de 1909* (Atheneum of Youth of 1909), a group of intellectuals from the Mexican society elite that assumed a cultural mission in Mexico in 1909. In this sense, *Ateneistas* adopted the mission of "bringing philosophy and the humanities to the popular sectors and building a nation project that starts from our collective identity" (Ateneo, 2022).

In the beginning, the association started as a cultural organization. However, the underrepresentation of Mexican youth in the public sphere made *Ateneo* assume the commitment to defend the interests and rights of youth. Currently, the organization has taken the role of: "building citizenship in young people, involving them in reflection, deliberation and influence of public affairs" (Ateneo, 2022) (Translation)⁶. This organization has three lines of action: cultural diffusion, public deliberation and civil rights promotion.

Cultural diffusion

Ateneo conceives citizenship as a historical and social phenomenon that involves taking action for social change. The objective for *Ateneo*, in this area, is to promote spaces for reflection where critical thinking is developed, and civic relations are established with the community. How? Through philosophy, literature and meetings with leaders. For this, they have developed four

⁵ Libertad, recreación, reflexión y conciencia de la juventud mexicana.

⁶ Construir ciudadanía en las personas jóvenes a través de involucrarlos en la reflexión, deliberación e incidencia en la esfera pública.

projects: a) Philosophy in the streets, a series of conferences in public spaces (the metro, parks and squares) to make philosophy available to everyone; b) Literary workshops, the analysis of Mexican writers, Latin American authors, and universal classics; c) *Vis-à-vis*, a project where young people and personalities from the public sphere meet to talk about politics and society; d) *Interliteraria* Magazine, a magazine that seeks to establish itself as a generational bridge between established writers and new talents (Ateneo, 2022).

Public deliberation

Ateneo offers courses on debating for young people and organizes forums and competitions on various themes. The objective is to involve youth "in public debate, in whatever sphere they operate: the home, the classroom or an assembly between neighbors" (Translation)⁷. They have developed two projects: *Cruzada por la Palabra* (Crusade for the Word) and Youth Forum projects. The first deals with implementing workshops to speak in public and organizing debate competitions whose purpose is to develop the capacity for analysis and agency. The second are forums that aim to empower their participants "by offering them a space of freedom where they can present their ideas and positions with their peers" (Ateneo, 2022) (Translation)⁸.

⁷ En el debate público, en cualquier ámbito en el que operen: el hogar, el aula o una asamblea entre vecinos.

⁸ Ofreciéndoles un espacio de libertad donde puedan presentar sus ideas y posiciones con sus pares.

Civil and Political Rights Promotion

This activity aims to encourage young people to evaluate and analyze public policies. Thus, *Ateneo* created the *Observatorio de Derechos Juveniles* (Observatory of Youth Rights), the School of Citizen Activism and Youth Agenda. The *Observatorio* trains young people to analyze and evaluate programs and policies. Likewise, *Ateneo* annually prepares a report in which they issue recommendations. These reports are intended to influence the policy process. The School of Activism focuses on teaching theoretical and practical tools for implementing campaigns for solving public problems. Finally, the Youth Agenda is a network of youth groups led by *Ateneo*. The network meets yearly to establish a collective agenda for public policy and legislation (*Ateneo*, 2022).

As of May 2020, when the COVID-19 quarantine was formally declared in Mexico, *Ateneo* began most of its activities related to the above-mentioned missions. Since then, many new members have been recruited through digital media. Social networks are the means by which the interaction between the members of this organization and the new ones occurs. On February 27, 2022, they elected their new Staff. By that time, *Ateneo* had 348 affiliated members. For more details about how members are distributed in the country see Appendix 5.

1.11 “Raza:” A warning to the reader

It is important to caution the reader about the use of the word *raza* (race) in various sections of the thesis. Although we now know that race does not exist, the concept of race was prevalent in the Mexican context of the 19th and 20th centuries due to the nationalistic and Mexican identity-based discursive structure influenced by eugenic ideas from social Darwinism. These ideas were supported by the notions of progress at that time (Moran, 2024). This idea has been widely discredited in scientific articles, such as "Unraveling the Human Genome: 6 Molecular Milestones" by Pappas, S. (2012).

The reproduction of racist and nationalist *discursive practices* (Foucault, 2012; 2013) during these two centuries reinforced racism in Mexico. Even today, although the Constitution recognizes pluriculturalism and various movements against racism have influenced culture and policies, the concept of race is still used in everyday life by Mexicans as a common word. For example, the *Diccionario del Español Mexicano* (Mexican Spanish Dictionary) by *El Colegio de México* (The College of Mexico) points out that the word *race* is used to refer to the general population, and especially to Mexicans as *raza de bronce* (bronze race)⁹. There are everyday uses of this words in which Mexicans say "my race" to refer to, or as a substitute for, "my family", "my people", or "my friends."

⁹ See: <https://dem.colmex.mx/ver/raza>

The word "race" is deeply connected to the slogan of UNAM, created by José Vasconcelos, one of the most prominent *Ateneistas of 1909*: *Por mi raza hablará el espíritu* (For my race the spirit will speak). This slogan is proudly pronounced and repeated every day at the institution, probably without a full awareness of the implications of perpetuating practices that support the assimilationist project.

The thesis does not intend to judge the *Ateneistas of 1909*, José Vasconcelos, UNAM, or the current *Ateneistas* for reproducing the assimilationist project. Instead, it aims to uncover the discursive structure that shaped political subjects and *subjectivities* by repeating *discursive practices* (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021). The findings reveal that the nationalist *discourse* shaped the noble commitment of the *1909 Ateneo* to bring education and culture to the masses and eradicate illiteracy.

1.12 Outline of the Thesis

Following this Introduction, the thesis is divided into nine chapters, beginning with the literature review (Chapter 2). First, it shows the theoretical and empirical research focused on studying the organization of young people who seek to change their living conditions. This chapter also reviews the theoretical debates on studying youth collective action, collective identities and public action.

The third chapter presents the theoretical perspectives that guided the analysis. Specifically, the perspectives of poststructuralism and post-Marxism are shown as the theoretical bases of the analysis. Concepts such as *discourse* and political *subjectivity* are defined, and some debates about

how these *subjectivities* are resisted and changed. The postulates of the sociology of *public action* and how its definition of *public action* relate to post-Marxism are also discussed. Then, chapter four delves into the methodology used, the research strategy, the ethnography, and data collection techniques such as interviews, documentary analysis, and non-participant observation are also discussed, as well as the way in which the data were analyzed.

The following four chapters report the results from the field work. The first three focus on presenting how the *Ateneo* became a *political subject* through the different *discursive practices* implemented. The last chapter focuses mainly on presenting the results of how individuals lived the experience of *Ateneista subjectivity*. Chapter five shows the *foundational techniques* that gave rise to the first *Ateneo*. Chapter six shows the *discursive practices* that, through the *dispositif* (Deleuze, 1986; 1990) of the *Observatorio*, gave rise to the second *Ateneo* as a *public action subject*. Chapter seven shows the *discursive practices and techniques* of recognition (Foucault, 2013; 2013) that gave rise to the third *Ateneo* through the *dispositive* (Foucault) of digital social networks. Then, Chapter eight shows how the *Ateneistas* experienced the *Ateneista subjectivity*.

Chapter nine analyzes and discusses the results of the four previous chapters, focusing on analyzing *Ateneo* as a *political subject* and *subjectivity* by confronting the empirical results to the literature review to understand and explain the research question.

Chapter ten is a conclusion section, discussing the whole research journey. The objectives and research question are summarized, as are the literature review, theoretical frameworks, and results. In this section, the last thoughts about the research are shown in terms of what remains to be

investigated in future research. Finally, in the last part of the thesis the reader can find the bibliography and appendices.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main sections that introduce the theoretical and empirical debates on youth and the theoretical debates on the study of civil society organizations (CSOs). The first section presents the principal theories on youth developed in the field, as well as the empirical research carried out in different countries from Latin America regarding collective action and political participation. In some cases, it included some works developed in North America and Europe. The principal perspectives on youth, specifically developed in Mexico, are included in this section.

The second section presents the main concepts and theoretical debates about CSOs and social movement organizations (SMOs). Della Porta (2020) and Walker & Martin (2019) point out, both concepts overlap in the empirical field, so it is necessary to establish a bridge to create better analytical frameworks. Additionally, a discussion is presented on the topic of collective identities and *subjectivities*, as well as the effect that digital social networks have on collective action and how it affects the public sphere. The section ends with a review of Marxism and post-Marxism and the study of collective action. The chapter closes with a discussion section that addresses the material reviewed.

2.2 Youth: Theoretical and Empirical Debates

2.2.1 Theoretical Perspectives on Youth

2.2.1.1 Introduction

Youth studies have a history dating back to the 20th century. It is possible to affirm that it reached prominence as a result of the movements of young people in the 1960s. Coté (2014) identified four stages in youth studies: a) modern adolescents in turmoil from the 1900s to 1960s: psychology, delinquency studies and urban crime emerged to explain youth conditions; b) modern youth in rebellion from 1950 to 1970s: functionalists started to see youth as a role expected in modern societies; c) youth as active agents from 1960s to 1990s: sociologists link youth to worker movements; d) prolonged youth as positive identity from 1980s to the present: interdisciplinary studies focus on the extension of youth into the twenties. Coté (2014) holds that youth studies are currently focusing on material and subjective dimensions. In this sense, the literature in youth studies highlights the need to reconceptualize youth due to the effects of neoliberal policies on young individuals and to concentrate on how they are facing these circumstances (Du Bois-Reymond, 2009; Furlong, 2009; Heinz, 2009; Win & White, 1992; White, Wyn & Albanese, 2011).

2.2.1.2 Reconceptualizing Youth

There is a consensus among authors (Du Bois-Reymond, 2009; Furlong, 2009; Heinz, 2009; Win & White, 1992; Wyn & Albanese, 2011) on the need to reconceptualize youth in late capitalism. Most of them agree that risk society has affected the youth condition (Beck, 1999), in which young individuals must take care of many aspects of social life independently. For instance, Heinz (2009, p. 4) points out that youth is defined by the instabilities of contemporary societies and a culture of individualism, “instabilities of the life course stem from the tension between uncertain life chances and the culture of individualism which expect that people actively shape their biographies.” In the same sense, Du Bois-Reymond (2009) holds that youth face a tension between risks and outcomes because they live in risk societies, which increases the level of contingency perception. In this sense, White, Wyn and Albanese (2011) highlight the use of concepts like *risk society*, *globalization* and *individualization* in youth studies.

Furlong (2009) points out that young people have been affected by neoliberal policies that have modified how they live compared to other generations. The changes are visible in three main aspects: a) education, b) labour experience and c) dependency. For her, individuals spend more time in educational institutions and delay leaving the family house, “transitions take longer to accomplish, they are less likely to involve a linear movement from education to work and independent living with ‘backtracking’ and mixing of statuses that were once distinct becoming ever more common” (Furlong, 2009: 2).

In the same sense, for Win and White (1997), most of the problems young individuals currently face are derived from the effects of the political economy, which shape the social position and

opportunities they have, “the position and opportunities of young people in society are ultimately shaped by relations of wealth and poverty” (11).

The above positions about contemporary youth have made social researchers discuss the need to drop the criterion of age as a definition of youth, which has been historically used to identify it as a moment of transition in life. Win and White (1997) state that the age-centered definition of youth is still to be currently used due to the lack of research from social science, especially sociology. For these authors, youth must be defined as a relational concept that defines socially what it means to be young. A concept that “refers to the social processes whereby age is socially constructed, institutionalized and controlled in historically and culturally specific ways” (p. 14). Following this perspective, Margulis (2007) states that continuing to define youth through age only does not allow to capture the set of meanings around this kind of individual. A concept that defines youth should contain the social and historical circumstances linked to socially related subjects.

Furlong (2009) calls for a form of youth studies that understand the impact of social change in the definition of youth, “for social scientists, the study of young people’s lives provides a unique opportunity to study processes of change, to understand how inequalities are reproduced between generations and to reflect on how structure and agency combine to shape lives.” (p. 2) Lynn and Tanner (2009) offer the concept of emerging adulthood to differentiate young individuals from those of previous generations. For them, in the 1950s, adulthood came in the twenties, whereas nowadays, it is in the thirties. Young individuals are spending more time schooling and making life decisions.

For this reason, some authors study youth, classifying it by generations to distinguish the social conditions that shape young individuals at different times. Goodwin and O'Connor (2009) hold that one of the better ways to understand what is happening with contemporary youths is to study them through the lenses of the generation framework. Wyn and Woodman (2006) state that generation as an analytical tool provides better and more powerful explanations based on social constructions instead of those frameworks linked to psychological and deterministic frames like the age criterion of transitional studies. White, Wyn and Albanese (2011, p.3) suggest that the generation framework can help to study social conditions, patterns of behaviour and transitions: “[T]he concept of “social generation” is a useful framework that enables researchers to link social conditions with young people's patterns of living and transitions.”

2.2.1.3 Youth: *Subjectivity and Identity*

White, Wyn and Albanese (2011, p. 6) state that even if patterns of behaviour are essential, youth studies should focus more on youth *subjectivities* and identities because social change has shaped how youth is lived, “for this reason, it is very important to understand young people's subjective experiences, the meanings that they attribute to their actions and lives, and the ways in which they shape their identities.” For these authors, it is necessary to make clear that in a risk society (Beck, 1999), the tendency to individualization comes from the fragmentation of traditional structures (Bauman, 2000) and that this circumstance make youth identity something to be acquired and not given.

They make a distinction between *subjectivity* and identities. *Subjectivity* refers to political, economic, and social frameworks in which identities are constructed, “identities are produced by young people through the experiences they have in schools, like their family relationships, their workplaces, and in all areas of their lives” (White, Wyn and Albanese, 2011, p. 14). The idea of identity allies to understand the decisions made by young individuals with respect to how they observe themselves in the world. Now, identities are formal in social institutions like family, workplaces, schools, and media, which have changed in the last 30 years. This fact gave rise to new identities forged by social practices that can be collective or institutionalized. Young individuals negotiate to acquire or reject these identities based on subjective experiences. In this way, “identity formation is never fixed; it is always a work in progress” (White, Wyn & Albanese, 2011, p. 250).

Coté (2009) argues that in the context of late modernity in the last decades, the concept of identity has become relevant to understanding youth and young adulthood, allowing the emergence of youth-identity studies. Identity does not belong to any discipline but has been raised as the key concept for understanding the complexity of youth and young adulthood. Among the most influential theories on identity, Coté highlights those coming from psychology and sociology. Regarding the last, cultural studies are the most prominent. The intersection between identity studies and youth studies can be observed in the study of the of youth identities in each historical period. In contemporary societies, youth transitions are affected by the decline of social markers in the transition from adolescence to adulthood, giving young people a greater capacity to choose opportunities for identity.

2.2.1.3 Youth Studies in Mexico

As in many other countries, the study of young people in Mexico became relevant due to the student wave protests in 1968. Reguillo (2013) identifies three stages in youth studies in the country. The first is under the student category, precisely in the context of the 1968 student movement. The second, under the category *banda urbana* (urban band), identifies groups of young people in metropolitan cities. The third is under the category of youth identities in the context of globalization. Then, the youth category as we know it today is a product of the post-war. However, these three stages have formed socio-political dynamics, such as the oppressive political system and growing inequalities. These categories still remain to be explained in the study of Mexican youth.

Concerning the first stage, Acosta (2020) analyzed the mobilization of university students. He divided it into two phases: from the 1968 student mobilization to the 1999 UNAM strike and from 2012 to the present, when the #YoSoy132, #Ayotzinapa and #8M movements appeared. Regarding the second stage, Valenzuela (2013) points out that Mexican youth have been historically stereotyped and criminalized. In the 1950s, *La Pandilla* (without translation) was the category under which scholars and society identified young people from the poorest locations in the cities. The members were predominantly men without a job or opportunity for studies. *Rebeldes sin causa* (rebels without cause) was a way to identify middle-class young individuals in the same situation. For Valenzuela, even though *Pandilla* was a criminalized term, it became a relevant category for the study of youth. It referred to a social phenomenon that extends until today to refer to a non-institutionalized socialization process that replaces the family and formal institutions as providers of ties of solidarity in the context of poverty. With time, *Pandilla* extended to new forms of

expression, such as punks in the 1970s, *Los Chavos Banda* (guys band) and cholos in the 1980s, and skates and emos in the 2000s.

In the last category, cultural identities have been studied through the study of collectives. Nateras (2013) points out that the condition of youth in México is being affected by political, cultural and economic factors that generate a feeling of hopelessness that is expressed by cultural identities related to darkness, like *Darketos* and *Góticos*, social groups that transmit messages linked to death and catastrophe through urban art production. For Nateras, these kinds of people genuinely feel death. Pacheco (2013) states that ethnic identities have been studied less than urban identities. For her, indigenous youths were studied as part of the *Zapatista* movement and as adults in recent years. More recently, Gutierrez (2021) conducted a study of Indigenous youth from an intersectional (skin color, ethnicity and class) point of view that allows a better understanding of how they access education, security, and urban services.

In the last decade, new studies related to the effects of neoliberal policies, violence, and participation on Mexican youth are emerging. Regarding neoliberal policies, Margulis (2007) points out that young Mexican people have been affected by the deregulated labour market and are facing a setback in achievements related to jobs and social security. For example, Giglia (2019) holds that jobs have become a painful and exhausting experience for young individuals because of exploitative and precarious conditions.

Regarding violence, Ramírez (2013) holds that young men exercise homophobic and sexist practices through toxic masculinities. This kind of masculinity is constantly expressed through symbolic and physical violence. In this form, Ramírez says that youth, masculinity and violence

are interrelated dimensions among Mexican youth that relate to the social and economic context. In the same sense, Vargas and Fernández (2011) highlight the need to explore the relation between gender, friendship and violence as a way to understand how hegemonic masculinity is spread. Friendship networks are the paths to the transmission of violence between young men.

Concerning digital social networks, Uribe (2011) states that new forms of violence appear in digital environments. Cyberbullying is a new modality of collective violence present among Mexican youth in which women and men are involved. Valenzuela (2013) points out that three main types of violence affect Mexican youth: inequality, violence and criminalization. Young people from poor environments are exposed to violent practices and stereotyped.

New explanations of political participation are becoming popular in social science. Aguilar (2011) has stated that young Mexican people are disenchanted by formal political participation, such as voting, and are organizing to participate in different ways through social organizations. García (2011) holds that tension between youth and political power exists derived from the repression against students in 1968 and 1999. Politics in Mexico is highly conservative, centered on the presidential figure, and rejects how young people organize to affect politics. In this respect, Mendoza and Audelo (2011) say that urban art is a space for the political expression of young individuals. It is a way to exercise a type of citizenship. Through urban art, they express political and social views that cannot be seen through formal channels. Another form of expression is *Radio Comunitarias* (community radio), a collective means of communication in rural and indigenous communities. Through *Radio Comunitarias*, some youths seek to build political communities (Hernández, 2011).

Finally, regarding public policies, García (2011) holds that the state designs youth policies in Mexico for the young population under the perception of problematic youth. These policies regard youth as potential criminals instead of subjects of rights. In this respect, Meyra (2011) points out that young people must be treated as subjects of rights in a national Law, which is absent in Mexico. Such a law would make it possible to avoid stigmas and recognize diversity, breaking with the adult centrism and egalitarianism promoted by youth policies. In addition, a framework base on youth rights could allow young individuals to identify themselves as agents of change.

2.2.2 Empirical Research on Youth

2.2.2.1 Introduction

This section presents empirical research on young people's political participation in social change and public action. The discussion is organized by author groups that delve into specific themes.

The first group focuses on the collective organization of young people, especially how they organize to influence their social and political reality (Aguilar, 2011; Brussino, Rabbia & Sorribas, 2009; Chávez & Poblete, 2006; Fernández, 2015; Restrepo, 2010; Valenzuela, 2007). A second group focuses on how young people advocate through different frames of reference to foster political participation (Delgado & Arias, 2008; Pabón, 2013). A third one is interested in how these frames of reference allow young people to develop a critical awareness of the political and social sphere (Christens, Winn & Duke, 2016; Diemer & Li, 2011; Diemer & Rapa, 2016; Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham, 2006). The fourth group pays attention to information technologies use

around political participation (Ávalos, 2017; Ortiz, 2019; Portillo, 2015; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). The fifth focuses on the relationship between collective action and social classes (Kriger & Dukuen, 2012; Gaby, 2017; Ødegård & Berglund, 2008; Santos & Paz, 2012). The last group focuses on how young people relate to public action how they affect public decisions from collective action (Alejandre & Escobar, 2009; Becquet, 2018; Labadie, 2012; Loncle, 2011; Richard & Tabard, 2001; Vázquez & Díaz, 2010). The criteria for choosing these authors from the vast research production was to develop an approach to research the political participation of young people in Mexico and Latin America. In some cases, especially on critical awareness, social classes, and public action, authors from North America or Europe were chosen because of the relevance of their research.

2.2.2.2 Youth, Collective Action and Institutional Political Participation

For some authors (Aguilar, 2011; Brussino, Rabbia & Sorribas, 2009; Chávez & Poblete, 2006; Fernández, 2015; Restrepo, 2010; Valenzuela, 2007), young people seek to intervene in their social and political reality by organizing to form communities of support that allow them to face problems that have arisen in globalized societies. Aguilar (2011) points out that young people organize around the political sphere but not through traditional institutional channels. They do it through popular organizations in their neighborhoods. Valenzuela (2007) focuses on the Chilean case, in which after the transition to democracy, the political participation of young people did not emerge as expected. Valenzuela points out that there is another type of political participation that scholars, such as cultural and student mobilizations, do not recognize. Chávez and Poblete (2006) also researched young people from Chile. They found that young people are far from institutional

practices due to the dissociation between the economic, political and social spheres and the deinstitutionalization of social life.

Fernández (2015) analyzes the case of youth mobilizations due to Mexico's *Ayotzinapa case*, in which 43 students disappeared and were murdered in 2014. For him, young people have developed greater confidence in collective action than in political institutions. In this regard, we find in the study made by Brussino, Rabbia & Sorribas (2009) a better way to understand these forms of youth participation. The authors conducted a survey with young people from Argentina to understand how young people distinguish between various political categories. The authors themselves distinguish between conventional political action and unconventional political action. The first is action through institutions such as political parties, rallies, or the vote, while the latter refers to strikes, demonstrations or civil disobedience. The authors conclude that most young people prefer or are more likely to participate in unconventional political action. As Aguilar (2011) writes, young people, in some sense, are disappointed with traditional institutional politics.

2.2.2.3 Collective Action and Frame of References

This group of authors studies how collective action, as a form of social organization, allows the transmission of specific political ideas and values as frames of reference (Delgado, R. & Arias, JC, 2008; Pabón, R. A., 2013). Delgado and Arias (2008) investigated Mexico to understand the role of collective action in constructing citizenship. They analyzed the frames of reference that collectives give young people to engage with politics and how to influence it. The researchers conclude that frames of reference that guide the political action of young people are directly linked

to the activity and the creation of meaning within social groups. For instance, Pabón (2013) analyzes Colombia's youth situation through a literature review. For this author, young people opt to organize in social groups to face and understand the political sphere. Pabón affirms that it is in the collectives where ideologies and political and social positions are acquired or reaffirmed.

2.2.2.4 Collective Action and Critical Awareness

Another group works on how certain reference groups contribute to generating critical awareness in some individuals, especially young people who belong to marginalized social strata (Christens, Winn & Duke, 2016; Diemer & Li, 2011; Diemer & Rapa, 2016; Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham 2006). Fegley, Angelique, & Cunningham (2006) studied whether communities can foster and build critical awareness in young people. They analyzed a small sample of 22 United States youth enrolled in community activities through focus groups. After five weeks, they found that the participants had developed a new perspective on various problems, for example, finding solutions to drug use. This work provides evidence of the increased critical awareness from community members' interaction.

In a more in-depth study by Diemer & Li (2011), it is possible to understand how the communities contribute to critical awareness. They analyzed 665 young people from marginalized social classes in the United States. They found that parents, family, teachers, and social networks contribute significantly to forming a critical consciousness in young people in a situation of marginalization. These individuals improved their perception of their capacity to generate social changes. In the same sense, in another study, Diemer & Rapa (2016) tried to understand how critical awareness

can help marginalized young people insert themselves into different forms of political participation. Using the National Study of Civic Education of the United States, they studied Afro-descendant, Latino, and working-class populations. They found that young people perceiving social inequality were involved in greater activism.

2.2.2.5 Digital Social Networks (DSNs) and Political Participation

The next group of authors focuses on how young people organize through DSNs (Ávalos, 2017; Ortiz, 2019; Portillo, 2015; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Ávalos (2017) and Portillo (2015) focus on the role of DSNs in the organization and the visibility of collective action. Ávalos (2017) analyzed mobilizations between 2014 and 2015 around students' disappearance from the *Escuela Normal de Ayotzinapa*. Through participant observation, the author traced DSNs' role in mobilizing young people in Mexico City. Similarly, in Mexico, Portillo (2015) analyzed the techno-communicative mediations in the #YoSoy132 (#IAm132) movement in 2012. He concluded that DSNs allowed #YoSoy132 organization and visibility in Mexican society.

A broader study on the role of DSNs in collective action is found in Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans's (2017) work. They point out that protests in digital media such as Twitter and Facebook can differ from those that appear traditionally in physical environments. The authors conducted a study with 319 participants to see the impact of self-organization through digital networks versus in-person recruitment. They found that people recruited by DSNs respond more to a circumstance than an interest. These people had a lower level of education and politicization. On the contrary, when the recruitment was direct, individuals showed a greater interest in political

activity and a higher level of education. Another finding was that youth organizations through DSNs could become more successful due to the capacity for influence in this context. In this respect, Ortiz (2019) reviewed the literature written in the previous ten years in Latin America, Spain and Portugal on youth political participation and socio-digital networks. He found that among the authors' significant concerns around DSNs, one draws attention to online and offline participation practices: online practices promote greater political participation in young people, but with the limitation that it ends there. Collective action does not continue towards the institutional sphere and does not impact offline worlds.

2.2.2.6 Social Class and Youth Political Participation

This group analyzes the relationship between social class and collective action by young people (Gaby, 2017; Kriger & Dukuen, 2012; Ødegård & Berglund, 2008; Santos & Paz, 2012). The first two studies seem to agree that social class does not determine collective action (Kriger & Dukuen, 2012; Ødegård & Berglund, 2008), while the following two indicate a strong link between social class and collective action (Gaby, 2017; Santos & Paz, 2012). Kriger and Dukuen (2012) analyzed the relationship between young people's schooling and political participation using the concepts of social and cultural capital elaborated by Pierre Bourdieu. The research was conducted in seven schools in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The authors concluded that low political participation crosses the different social classes. Ødegård & Berglund (2008) conducted a survey study in Norway to determine if youth political participation is a choice or is determined by the socioeconomic context. They found that young people today participate more through individualized strategic choices influenced by family culture than by belonging to a social class or political organization.

In contrast to what was pointed out by Kriger & Dukuen (2012) and Ødegård & Berglund (2008), Santos & Paz (2012) investigated the forms in which young people are reacting to problems derived from the neoliberal context in Spain. They found that young people from the university sectors are mobilizing to exercise their citizenship against the effects of globalization and neoliberal policies. Similarly, Gaby (2017) analyzes how the socioeconomic context affects youth civic participation. This author found that between 1976 and 2009, in the United States, people living in areas with a high socioeconomic level were more likely to be in contact with civil associations, which increased their participation in social and civic activities.

2.2.2.7 Collective and Public Action

The final group researched young people and political participation through institutional channels. Figueroa (2018) focuses on how young people participated in elaborating the youth policy at Nariño, Colombia. The author points out that collective action within the public policy process allowed the elaboration of a law involving young people. However, she points out that collective action was restricted to the institutional mechanisms imposed by the state because the city government carries out the training and communication in the political organization of young people. Vázquez & Díaz (2010) show great concern about the low participation of Mexican youth in institutionalized political participation. They analyzed the scarce participation in Estado de Mexico, a state close to Mexico City. They conclude that citizen participation is not a mechanism young people use due to a lack of trust in institutions. In this same sense, Alejandre & Escobar (2009) analyzed the political participation of young people in Mexico, noticing that a lack of

confidence in political institutions discourages political participation, which leads young people to avoid political expression.

As *public action* is understood in French sociology, another type of research can be found in this group. Becquet (2018) reflects on the decisions made by the European Union concerning public action. She built a typology of the systems decision-makers have developed to solve citizenship *demands* in education and youth. In the same sense, Labadie (2012) focuses on the decentralized models of the European Union to promote the active participation of young people in public policies. Analyzing the results of the youth programs implemented in 2003, 2006, and 2009, Labadie concluded that the programs that supported the civic training of young people through social organizations positively fostered their mobilization.

Finally, Loncle (2011) points out that youth policies in France have generated local action systems with their dynamics where young people can promote values through institutional mechanisms. The author concludes that the inequalities facing young French people are somehow dealt with in their participation through the mechanisms imposed by local policies. In this sense, Richard & Tabard (2001) say that *public action* must be fostered in public programs in France from the *Ministère de la Jeunesse*.

2.3. The Study of Collective Identities and *Subjectivities*

The concept of collective identity is widely used in collective action studies to analyze social, psychological and cultural factors left aside by mobilization theory, political process models, rational choice models, and ideologically based explanations in the study of social movements. Collective identity has to do with a shared group identification based on common interests and goals to make it possible for a social movement to emerge, “in order for movements to emerge and/or persist over time, there must be some form of shared sense of purpose and reciprocal identification and mutual recognition among movement participants” (Flesher, 2019). In this sense, Almeida (2019) points out that the conversion of grievances and threats in collective action needs to accept common interests, which is only possible through a sense of belonging and collective identification. A collective identity is built by the shared definition of grievance and threats and the feeling of protection and solidarity that the collective offers its members (Almeida, 2019).

Following the above, for Melucci (1996), the unity of a social movement is a starting point to be analyzed as a result of a developmental process which can be identified as the formation of a collective identity. Collective identity, then, is a process by which an action system is built; this “is an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place” (p.41). In the first stage, the process of collective identity building concerns the cognitive definition of “ends, means and field of action” (p. 41). The second is a network of actors interacting to define and make decisions. Finally, in the last stage, collective identity is consolidated by the emotional identification of individuals as part of

the group. Collective identity is relational; it depends on self-differentiation and recognition by others, and changes in time are non-permanent.

An exciting question Flesher (2019) raises is whether collective identity is located in the person or the collective interaction. For this author, collective identity is a phenomenon presented in both the individual and the group: “I argue that collective identity is both; it cannot exist unless individuals hold it within their self-conceptions. But unless expressed through action and interaction, it cannot be generated in the first place, nor can it be constructed, maintained or developed over time” (p. 429). The reflection by Flesher is pertinent; otherwise, if the collective identity is a phenomenon corresponding to the individual, it does not apply to the sociological studies of social movements and belongs to the psychological field.

Concerning the above, a different form of conceptualizing collective identities exists inside Marxism. For Marxist studies, collective identity in collective action studies has been reduced to cultural identification for mobilization purposes and detached from political economy (Adam, 1993; Barker et al., 2013; Hetland & Goodwin, 2013). For Marxism, collective identities have a meaning as a political identity for the struggle in the political sphere to overcome the problems derived from the capitalist system. Whether one sees the term *class for itself* in classical Marxism or the *subject position* in post-Marxism, both are thought of as the building of political identification to political struggle oriented towards overcoming the problems derived from relations of production. In the same sense, for post-Marxism (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021), NSMs are considered a new expression of the relationships of subordination inside the capitalist system, where collective identification comes as a *subjectivity* resulting from social interaction.

Currently, post-Marxist studies are led by the Essex School of *Discourse* Analysis (ESDA). In this way, several authors (see Howarth, 2005) have implemented this paradigm to explain different international political phenomena. This program began in the 80s from the postgraduate program in ideology and *discourse* analysis. Since then, there have been important efforts to develop and enrich this type of analysis. The school of *discourse* analysis arises from the search for an alternative to the rationalist and pluralist approaches with which political phenomena are traditionally studied, assuming that behind collective behaviour there are meanings linked to discursive structures.

2.4 Collective Action and Digital Social Networks (DSN)

Networks are essential to spread social movements' frames. Networks "shape conditions for participation in collective action and social movements by acting as conduits for the flow of information, the development of pro-movement attitudes and values, and the development of collective identities" (Tindal, 2015, p. 231). Smith (2015) classifies networks into four main categories. Formal and informal, and non-movement and movement. In this way, the formal non-movement entities include churches, unions, professional associations, foundations, etc. Informal non-movement is constituted by friendship networks, individuals in government, professional networks, etc. Formal movements include transnational NGOs, movement research institutes, and SMOs at the national and local levels: informal movements, activist networks, affinity groups, and refugee and exile networks.

In talking about digital social networks (DSNs) or information and communication technologies (ICTs), Earl, Hunt & Garrett (2015), explain that ICTs have not only affected the internal life of the movements but also how protests are defined and carried out. Social movements now have the opportunity to consolidate quickly and with a transnational character, having the capacity to overwhelm the social environment with information to place public opinion, political leaders and policymakers under pressure. Regarding students' social movements and DSNs, Luescher et al. (2021) studied how student movements develop through the Twitter platform, now X. They analyzed the case of the #FeesMustFall protest in 2015; they found that media have a significant impact on the development of student movements. For this reason, they coined the concept of a *digitally networked student movement* “for understanding the impact of social media use on the organizational forms and leadership of a student movement” (103).

In this sense, for Castells (1997, 2012), the main characteristic of the NSMs is that they are powered by communicative action through digital social networks (DSNs). DSNs shape collective action, they are the new scaffolding on which social structures are built (Castells, 1997). This new social movement nature has made them operate through nodes that lead the definition of leadership and objectives. Social movements are now open spaces without defined boundaries that constantly configure the participation of individuals (Castells, 2012).

2.5 Collective Action and the Public Sphere

Most of the studies related to the influence of social movements in the policy process come from the policy field: “[I]n general, research on social movements has concentrated on the production of legislation,” and others in responsiveness and political agenda: “[Q]uantitative and qualitative

analyses attempt to measure the response of parliaments and governments. However, an analysis of the concrete effects of social movements cannot stop with the production of legislation” (Della Porta & Dani, 2020, p. 197). In the same sense, López Leyva (2012) says that the policy study in the literature on social movements has two concrete perspectives based on policy responsiveness and collective goods results.

In the field of public policy, Galego (2021) points out that studies about the relationship between collective action and public policies have used the following approaches: a) political opportunities structure, b) institutional politics, c) interest groups, and d) resource mobilization. Nevertheless, these approaches have been criticized for reducing public decisions to a state-movement interaction focusing on strategies and decisions (Galego, 2021).

In this sense, the advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999) is one of the most influential theories trying to understand and explain how social actors build coalitions to promote a public policy agenda. The basis of the coalitions is the set of beliefs shared by the social actors. Another framework used to analyze the role of actors in the policy process is *agenda setting*. This theory explains how social actors such as movements, media and politicians set different themes in the public agenda (Parsons, 2007).

On the other hand, in the last decades, a new field in sociology has emerged to study collective actors in the policy process. This approach is known as the sociology of *public action* (Hassenteufel, 2014; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007; Massardier, 2008; Ribemont, 2018; Thoening, 1997). It seeks to overcome the limits of those coming from a rational-strategic model that reduces, through methodological individualism, the policy process to a series of strategies that collective actors use to affect the policy process. The *public action* approach tries

to develop explanations based on a comprehensive perspective in which collective actors are analyzed from a socio-historical view. Some examples of this type of research are how these actors appear in the public sphere and how they recruit members (Genieys, 2001). The main difference with the rational-strategic models, popular in collective action studies, is the possibility of giving theoretical explanations from a macro and micro perspective of social interactions. Collective actors are studied from social practices inside collectivities instead of individual rationality.

2.6 Marxism and Post-Marxism in the study of collective action

For Barker et al. (2013), the Marxist study of collective action seeks to offer movements-relevant research. The objective is to get knowledge from and for social movements. For these authors, the Marxist critique of collective action studies assumes that most of the new social movements emerged linked to the consequences of late capitalism. In this sense, Hetland and Goodwin (2013) hold that in the current literature on social movements, the word capitalism has practically disappeared, suggesting that there is a disconnection to the relations of production that in Marxism remains to be one of the principal causes of social conflict.

Gunvald Nilsen and Cox (2013) explicitly say that one of the problems in current explanations of social movements is their academic origins: “Their purpose is not to change the world but to explain, celebrate or condemn” (Gunvald Nilsen & Cox, 2013, p. 64). For them, Marxism pursues social change by a theory of collective action that takes seriously the micro- and macro-level explanations about the facts that constrain social action.

Similarly, Adam (1993) affirms that social movement theories have separated the new social movements from the political economy and reduced them to cultural issues. For Adam, new social movements arise not only for the defense of collective identities by themselves but because these identities are fully rooted in the contexts of late capitalism, which defines and shapes their trajectories: “the proposition that the new social movements represent movements of cultural defense has failed to take into account their ongoing struggles with the state and capital” (Adam, 1993; 316). Collective identities are constructed in a socio-historical process that is not determined only by political dimensions but by the inferiorization of many other spheres of social life.

Classical Marxism has developed a solid theory on how social movements emerge and build a collective identity. For Marx (1968; Marx & Engels, 2007), social change was possible only by identifying a group with respect to the means of production and articulating interests and objectives to create a *class for itself*. Similarly, Lukacs (1968) theorized that individuals face this process by acquiring class consciousness. Post-Marxism, as a theoretical approach led by Laclau and Mouffe (2001), has studied the new social movements by taking the post-structuralist thesis as its basis. The post-Marxist proposal was to revise the Marxism of the 20th century (Kouvelakis, 2021). For Laclau and Mouffe (1987), it is an adaptation of Marxism to overcome essential class determinism, but not to break with it. They consider post-Marxism to be part of the Marxist tradition.

In this sense, Butler (2020) has defended the appropriation of the post-structuralist approach in the Marxist analysis of collective action. For her, the material and cultural dimensions affect one another. In the same sense, Fraser (1995) argues that, currently, the socialist project seeks to overcome capitalism from its cultural basis, recognizing that the material inequalities are rooted in the cultural sphere. For Fraser, SMOs have relaunched the worker struggle by fighting to reformulate the cultural conceptions in which material life is built.

Post-Marxism seeks to identify the discursive conditions that give rise to a collective action that fights against inequalities and domination resulting from the capitalist system in contemporary societies. For that, post-Marxism, in the same way as Marxist studies of social movements, recognizes the NSMs as the new protagonists of the political struggles that emerged from the impact of the relations of production in the different spheres of individuals' lives.

For this reason, post-Marxism has overcome Marxist determinism and essentialism. For Geoff Boucher (2021), Laclau and Mouffe's proposal is a conception of Marxism that moves away from the traditional vision by adopting the post-structuralist perspective. For Laclau and Mouffe, Marxism's fundamental problem was having continued to hold that the proletariat is the class destined to overthrow the capitalist system (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). In this context, there is only one possible way to recover the power of Marxism for the conditions of contemporary society in which the labour movement is no longer predominant: To reconfigure the category of *hegemony* to allow any social group capable of articulating a *political subject* that modifies the relations of production in the political sphere (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001).

One of the novel contributions of post-Marxism is the concept of *political subject* and political *subjectivity* to refer to what in traditional literature is conceived as a social movement and collective identity. For Laclau and Mouffe (2021), political subjects and political *subjectivities* arise from a series of *articulatory practices* that appear in the discursive field. In the post-Marxist perspective, the social world is overdetermined, meaning it comes from a symbolic conception of social reality. Social overdetermination is possible due to the discursive structure in which society rests. For this reason, this perspective assumes that social movements and collective identities are discursively constructed through *articulatory practices*, giving them a changing nature.

2.7 Discussion

Regarding the literature reviewed, it is possible to point out that studies on youth started in the 20th century. At the beginning of the century, researchers focused on studying young people from approaches based on crime and delinquency. Beginning in the 1950s, functionalist studies focused on reviewing the functions of youth in modern societies. It was in the 1960s that young people started to be studied as agents of change. However, from the 80s until now, studies have focused on the effects of globalization on current generations of young people (Coté, 2014). Most of the authors currently studying youth focused on how youth face and overcome the problems derived from neoliberalism, such as education, labour markets, low income and extensive dependency on their parents (Du Bois-Reymond, 2009; Furlong, 2009; Heinz, 2009; Win & White, 1992; White, Wyn & Albanese, 2011).

These reflections suggest the need for studies on young people based on the idea that their struggles are against the effects of late capitalism. Win and White (1997) state that the political economy determines social positions and opportunities. In this way, it is necessary to research young people's collective action from the understanding that they are mobilizing to change the social environment that derives from the economic model and not only for the defense of cultural identities.

Regarding the Mexican context, different investigations have been carried out on young people since 1968 due to student mobilizations (Reguillo, 2013). Towards the 1980s, studies on youth focused on the way in which young people moved from the rural areas of the country to the cities,

paying particular attention to the formation of urban bands as a means of socialization and organization to overcome marginalization and poverty. In recent decades, studies on young people have focused on the effects of neoliberalism and its policies on this population. Especially regarding the labour market and social security (Margulis, 2007). This is consistent with the research carried out in other places worldwide (Du Bois-Reymond, 2009; Furlong, 2009; Heinz, 2009; Win & White, 1992; White, Wyn & Albanese, 2011).

White, Wyn and Albanese (2011) point out the need to focus on the study of identities and *subjectivities* precisely because the way in which youth is lived is, in some way, shaped by the experiences that young people have in the socioeconomic context. For this reason, it is necessary that this research focuses on analyzing the *subjectivities* derived from the collective action of young people seeking to overcome the challenges of the globalized world—the ways in which they organize and generate collective identities in order to affect the public sphere.

Linked to the above, some authors (Aguilar, 2011; García, 2011; Hernández, 2011; Mendoza and Audelo, 2011) have focused on studying how young people have organized to affect the political sphere through community organization, urban art and community radio. In this sense, it is essential that new research on youth focuses on studying the forms of collective organization, which range from the most basic forms, such as collectives, to the most complex ones, such as social movements and social organizations.

Regarding the empirical research, Aguilar (2011), Brussino, Rabbia & Sorribas (2009), Fernández (2015), Chávez & Poblete (2006), Restrepo (2010), and Valenzuela (2007) point out that young

people are organizing to modify their social realities through collective action. They seek to change their realities by working together locally and nationally. Some authors agree that social movements have an advantage within contemporary society in addressing collective action through digital channels. This can be corroborated by the empirical research carried out by Ávalos (2017), Portillo (2015), Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017), and Ortiz (2019), who agree that young people are using digital social networks (DSN) to potentiate their collective action.

This also opens up the possibility of questioning whether the collective activities of these organizations influence individuals to change the social order, as was shown by the analysis of Diemer & Li (2011) in the sense that young people, from marginalized conditions, develop from collective action a critical awareness about their capacity for agency. This is supported by some authors who recognize the role of collective action in promoting self-perception in individuals about their capacity to change social reality (Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham, 2006; Diemer & Rapa, 2016).

It is necessary to point out that investigations that were found and that expressly study *public action* in young people are limited to analyzing the role of the state institutions in promoting youth political participation but not how social actors affect the policy process (Vázquez & Díaz, 2010; Alejandro & Escobar, 2009; Becquet, 2018; Labadie, 2012; Loncle, 2011; Richard & Tabard, 2001).

In summary, the literature review clarifies that social research on young individuals must focus on explaining the forms in which they organize to overcome the problems and challenges of the

political economy and how this dynamic creates *subjectivities* and collective identities that seek to change the social and public sphere. It is important to say that the empirical research reviewed has focused on collective action and not on *public action* as understood by Genieys (2001), Hassenteufel (2004 & 2017), Lagroye (1997), Lascoumes & LeGales (2007), Massardier (2003), and Ribémont (2018). More specifically, the current research shows an essential gap in explaining how young people organize for social change from the public sphere, as well as the role of digital social networks in encouraging young individuals to exercise their agency capacity. On the other hand, many unknowns exist about the role of collective identities in promoting public action. No author reflected on how political identities allow young people to organize and mobilize for affecting the policy process. Finally, more research and analysis are needed on how youth political identities emerge from social practices to affect *public action* and how these are affected by the wide use of digital social networks.

Regarding the study of collective identities, Melucci (1996) understands it as the process of building a collective identification to orient social action. In the same way, Almeida (2019) points out that the conversion of grievances and threats in collective action requires the acceptance of common interests, which is only possible through a sense of belonging and collective identification. Consequently, collective identities are taken as a defense of cultural bonds. On the contrary, for Marxism, collective identities have to do with building collective action to affect the political sphere to overcome the problems related to the political economy (Adam, 1993; Barker et al., 2013; Hetland & Goodwin, 2013). This logic matches with the need of explaining how young individuals organize to face and change their social context in globalization (Du Bois-Reymond, 2009; Furlong, 2009; Heinz, 2009; Win & White, 1992; White, Wyn & Albanese, 2011). For this

reason, is important to build research that focuses on the subjective process by which *Ateneistas* built and accepted their collective identity and how this is linked to the emergence of *Ateneo* as CSO to public action.

I considered the post-Marxist perspective as an ideal framework for developing this research. Post-Marxism provides a frame in which collective identities can be studied by reconstructing the socio-historical process that gives rise to an overdetermined order that shapes political subjects and *subjectivities*. It is important to mention the need to use and differentiate political *subjectivity* from collective identity (Melucci, 1996). In classical Marxism and post-Marxism, collective identities have the function of identification between individuals for political struggle; in other words, *political subjectivity* (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021) does not function as a means for cultural identification. In this way, post-Marxism helps to study *Ateneo* as a *political subject* and *Ateneista* as a *political subjectivity* from the post-structuralist thesis that presuppose that language, and knowledge creates subjects and *subjectivities*.

The *public action* approach (Hassenteufel, 2004; 2017; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & LeGales, 2007) can provide the concept of *public action* to be linked to that of the *political subject* coming from Marxism to identify *Ateneo* as a *public action subject*. This way, it could be possible to have a working concept to define a CSO whose activities have been oriented to affect public policies since its legal and formal constitution. This way, this research will assume *Ateneo* as a *public action subject*.

Chapter 3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theories and concepts to be used in the research. First, *discourse* and *subjectivity* are defined from the post-structuralist perspective, especially that of Foucault (1971; 2003) and Butler (1997, 2006). Second, using the post-Marxist perspective, I present the concepts of *political subject* and *subjectivity* utilizing the work of Laclau and Mouffe (2001) and the concept of *articulatory practice*. I adapted this category to the digital era to build the category of *digital articulatory practice* to identify the *articulatory practices* developed in digital environments. *Populism* was Laclau's most developed form of *hegemony* (Laclau, 2015b; Laclau, 2005), so I include the populist theory and its concepts to understand how political identities are built. Also, I worked on the concept of *subject consciousness* to analyze the political *subjectivity* at a micro-level.

Third, using the literature on *public action* (Hassenteufel, 2014; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007; Massardier, 2008; Ribemont, 2018; Thoening, 1997), I built the concept of *public action subject* to mean the kind of subjects that focus their activities on affecting public decisions. Finally, I worked on the *Ateneista framing* concept to understand how the *Ateneo* promote different frames of reference, inside and outside the organization.

For Becker (1999), building concepts is an artisanal task that requires imagination, free association and consultation with what authors have said. Initially, these concepts are working definitions. They can be considered orientation concepts based on established theories. They have a theoretical

heritage that allows the management of empirical data in a primary research stage (Layder, 1998). After collecting information, I will transit to a justification stage to strengthen or discard it. This will be possible by looking for a repetition of events that allows us to build generalizations to support the concept (Kaufmann, 2016). As Bourdieu (2015) points out, concepts get meaning and importance inside a coherent system. In this way, all the concepts presented are linked to specific theories.

3.2 Poststructuralism: *Discourse and Subjectivity*

Post-Marxism works with the concept of *subjectivity* instead of identity, unlike collective action studies. This concept comes from poststructuralism. *Subjectivity* is a critical and analytical concept that leads us to question where and how our identity as individuals arises and to what extent we can control and influence this process (Hall, 2004). Hall differentiates *subjectivity* from identity. Identity involves a set of traits and beliefs that define personality and social being. Unlike identity, *subjectivity* implies a space for reflection, a self-consciousness of one's identity and social constraints. In the same sense, Mansfield (2000) points out that *subjectivity* is a way of understanding that the *Self* is linked to external elements and not only internal ones. These can be the intersection of general truths and shared principles within the society.

For Hall, with the emergence of poststructuralism, the debate on *subjectivity* now concerns the form in which language and knowledge affect our understanding of who we are. Poststructuralism is a stream of philosophy that seeks to understand the relationships between individuals and the practices of elaboration and reproduction of meaning. One of the basic premises is that

consciousness is not a product of language and reasoning in isolation but of learned and reproduced social meanings expressed in norms and values. Individuals learn the symbolic system, where their awareness comes from (Belsey, 2002). A second post-structuralist premise is that language is a resource for obtaining social values. Language constitutes the values and knowledge that form cultures; therefore, the signifiers are not within our reach. When reproducing the language, the signifiers are reproduced through the knowledge of the generations that precede us, inculcating discipline: "[T]he subject is subjected to the meanings and sentence structures that language permits" (Belsey, 2002, p. 37).

The post-structuralist approach to *subjectivity* is mainly represented by two authors relevant for their works on the relationship between knowledge/power and *subjectivity*: Foucault (1971; 2003) and Butler (1997, 2006). Foucault's project was to review the different modes of construction of the subject "to create a history of the different modes [of objectification] by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 2003, p. 126). This thesis led him toward the relations of production of meaning and relations of power. He proposes to study society, not as a rationalization of culture, "but to analyze such a process in several fields, each with reference to a fundamental experience: madness, illness, death, crime, sexuality and so forth" (Foucault, 2003, p. 127).

Foucault developed a theory of *discourse*. *Discourse* is constituted as a homogeneous but discontinuous series of events: "césures qui brisent l'instant et dispersent le sujet en une pluralité de positions et de fonctions possibles" (Foucault, 1971, p. 60). Veyne (2014) points out that *discourse*, for Foucault, is a social construction through which people in every epoch have seen and acted on things. With its *dispositifs*, a *discourse* constitutes a singularity in a historical

moment. *Dispositifs* are those acts, words, practices and laws that build a historical formation like science, hospital, or prison that aim to impose a behaviour on a population in a given space and time (Deleuze, 1986). *Discourse*, then, throughout its techniques and *dispositifs* at different times and places, as well as the struggles over their establishment, creates *subjectivities* (Foucault, 1971 & 2003).

Foucault analyzed the forms of resistance to *subjectivities* by individuals. For him, this was not only possible but obligatory; in every power relationship, there is resistance and a sphere of freedom. If this possibility of resistance did not exist, it would not be a place for power (Fornet-Betancourt et al., 1984).

Working from Foucault's inheritance, Butler (1997; 2006) has shown how *discourse* forms subjects and how they resist and try to modify their identities from the imposed *subjectivities*. Butler takes up Foucault's thesis of the discursive creation of *subjectivities* to point out the need to understand that the struggles against *discourse* are immersed and formed within the *discourse* and under the same categories. She explains:

We understand power as forming the subject as well as providing the very condition of its existence and the trajectory of its desire, then power is not simply what we oppose but also, in a strong sense, what we depend on for our existence and what we harbor and preserve in the beings that we are (Butler, 1997, p.15).

The subject appears essentially due to his subjection to power. Power subjects the individual to a *discourse* that s/he does not choose and/but sustains their agency (Butler, 1997). There is then a

regulatory power on the individual's psyche that is expressed in the internalization of the norm, whose success is in the possibility of the individual keeping a stable and lasting social recognition. Nevertheless, Butler points out that *subjectivities* are social temporalities constructed by *discourse* within social framework. They do not appear in an unalterable and permanent way. They can be altered through interpellation, overthrowing the centers of power through subversive practices that become a collective exercise that recontextualizes and recreates the *discourse* (Butler, 2006). For Hall (2004), the hope that Butler places in agency to challenge and exceed the *discourse* requires a critical consciousness that breaks the automatism with which the subject reinforces and reproduces it.

3.3 Post-Marxism: *Hegemony, Political Subject and Subjectivities*

3.3.1 *Hegemony and Articulation*

The concept of *hegemony* was the response of Marxist orthodoxy to the crisis of the late 19th century. With Lenin, the political-economic struggle of the proletariat is not located exclusively in the working class but in the "alliance between classes" that includes cooperating with the bourgeoisie. In this case, *hegemony* is a political calculation. *Hegemony* is found in political leadership, not limited to the class, but of the class alliance. In this form, the role of the working class was to lead a coalition (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001).

With Gramsci, the class alliance is extended to all possible sectors: "[T]he proletariat can become the leading and dominant class to the extent that it manages to create a system of alliances that

allows it to mobilize the majority of the working population against capitalism and the bourgeois state” (Gramsci, 1978, p.1921). The principal Gramscian thesis is that for the working class to obtain the hegemonic leading role, it is necessary to defend the interests of other sectors, not just their own. However, as with Lenin, Luxemburg, Kautsky, and Plekhanov, leadership remains to be the responsibility of the working class.

A development of great importance in Gramsci is turning the attention from a political-economic dimension to an intellectual and moral one by pointing out that *hegemony* resides in political and cultural leadership. In other words, the intellectual and moral plane constitutes a collective will. With the help of ideology, this collective will become the unifying element of what he calls a historical subject. To elaborate his theory of *hegemony*, Gramsci took from Karl Marx the idea that revolution and energy are not enough for a class that proposes emancipation and power. It must do so in the name of all society's general rights, reflecting their misfortunes in those of other classes. In essence, for Gramsci, domination under *hegemony* is not only coercive but cultural, which, in principle, bourgeois society has managed to impose through schools, communications media, religion, etc. In this way, the ruling class seeks to impose *hegemony*, which must be the proletariat's project.

Hegemony, then, articulates the interests of various groups in a common project supported by cultural values (Gramsci, 1978). Laclau and Mouffe (2001) hold that only by overcoming determinism of history and essentialism of class is it possible to develop a theory for overcoming capitalism in today's society, in which any social group can articulate a collective movement that affects capitalism.

From the above, it can be argued that *hegemony* is the central category in post-Marxism. In turn, the category of articulation shapes this concept. To build the category of articulation, Laclau and Mouffe return to Althusser's concept of overdetermination, which comes from psychoanalysis and linguistics. Overdetermination is constituted in the symbolic field, and there is no meaning outside this field. In this way, if the social order is overdetermined and overdetermination is constituted in the symbolic field, then the social order is symbolic.

The concept of articulation is based on the overdetermined character of social relations. Specifically, Laclau and Mouffe call articulation "any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: 105). The *articulatory practice* will consist "in the construction of nodal points that partially fix the meaning" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: 106). They call *discourse* the result of the *articulatory practice*. This research will understand *articulatory practice* as those rituals, practices, norms, and institutions that seek to bring together different *demands* in one that represents the others through a process of universalization. That is to say, all practices that allow the modification of the priority of certain *demands* are transferred to a new one. I will return to this later in the section on *populism* (3.3.4). In this context, in this research, especially in chapter seven, by *digital articulatory practices (DAPs)*, I will refer to those *articulatory practices* developed by digital social media.

3.3.2 The Discursive Structure

Laclau and Mouffe (2001) follow Foucault in that *discursive articulation* modifies the identities of the articulated elements, which means that when some individuals or *demands* are linked together by *articulatory practices*, they get represented by the same identity. They also point out that they do not distinguish between discursive and non-*discursive practices* because, in their perspective, every object is defined within the field of discursivity. Laclau and Mouffe also point out the material character of *discourse*, that is, that the elements' position is found in the discursive structure. In this sense, the practices and institutions define discursive construction. For them, *discourse* is an attempt to control the field of discursiveness and thereby control differences. The result is the social.

[The social] only exists as an effort to produce a final fixation of the meaning through *discourse*, the practice of articulation consists, therefore, in the construction of nodal points that partially fix the meaning; and the partial character of this fixation comes from the opening of the social, resulting in turn from the constant overflow of all *discourse* due to the infinity of the field of discursivity (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001,107).

In post-Marxism, a subject position is a discursive position. Laclau and Mouffe intend to break with the idea that subjects are predetermined and locatable. Laclau (2015) points out that although classical Marxism recognizes subjects as classes determined by their antagonistic positions to the means of production, in their theory, they are not. The problem is that these positions presuppose a specific history, totalizing and unalterable. *Antagonisms* are *political subjectivities* not limited to

social class determination; conversely, *discourse* modifies *antagonisms* as an *articulatory practice*.

Therefore, *hegemony* is the concept that articulates the great multiplicity of the social that manifests itself in the struggles for social change. In this way, this struggle goes beyond the borders of economic determinism to the political sphere. For Laclau and Mouffe, power is not limited to the dominant sector or class; it arises from the appeal of opposing logics due to hegemonic articulation. That is to say, new political subjects appear from the symbolic construction of meaning.

3.3.3 Political Subjects and Subjectivity

According to Foucault, resistance to power can occur collectively. For him, political resistance can appear through the working class or a union via revolution or strike (Fornet-Betancourt et al., 1984). In this sense, Laclau and Mouffe (2001) distinguish between the subject as a collective category, such as Man and Woman, and *social/political subject* as a collective group of persons with a subject position. In this sense, *political subjectivities* are constructed from *articulatory practices* that sustain a *hegemony*, which is contingent, partial and temporary. For them, as for Foucault and Butler, *discourse* is the basis for *political subjectivities*.

Antagonisms are related to *political subjectivities* that arise from *articulatory practices*. In this way, political subjects are not limited to class determination; conversely, *discourse* builds and modifies them. Following this reasoning, as a working definition, I consider *Ateneo* as a political

subject, a subject position providing a political *subjectivity* as an *Ateneista*. *Ateneo* and *Ateneista* are considered to be discursive constructions from *articulatory practices*.

3.3.4 Populism

In the last decades the studies on *populism* have proliferated in political studies. *Populism* can be traced to the peasant movements of 19th century in Russia. It was in the 20th century that it emerged as analytical concept from the experience of *Peronismo* in Argentina. In the last decades, *populism* has had a pejorative connotation to highlight leaders and *discourses* that are not aligned to capitalist/liberal ideas (Kaltwasser, 2017).

Recently, the interest in *populism* has become relevant to describe different phenomena, like ideology, democracy and *discourse*. For some scholars *populism* is an "ideology" (Di Tella, T. (1973), Ianni, O. (1973), Venturi, F. (1975), Mudde, C. & Rovira, C. (2017), Finchelstein, F. (2017), Bovero, M. (2021), Rovira, C. et al. (2017)). Others, propose *populism* as a path for democratization (Lynch (2017), Laclau & Mouffe (2001), Germani, G. (1973)). Some of them see *populism* as a "discursive strategy" (Rodríguez, J. M. et al. (2016), Rancière, J. (2016)), others as a form of politics (Fernández, L. (2016), Bovero, M. (2021), Laclau (2005) Salmorán, G. (2021).

Laclau is located among the authors that think of *populism* as a means for democratization and a form of politics. Howard (2015) states that Laclau worked on three types of *hegemony* that appeared as his theory developed: a) as a way to rethink ideologies since Gramsci and Althusser, in *Politics and ideology in Marxist theory: Capitalism, fascism, populism*, b) as a form of

articulatory practice that constitutes social formations, which he elaborated with Mouffe in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, and c) as the construction of the *representation* of a totality, worked on in *New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time* and *On populist Reason* (Howard, 2015). The concept of *populism* allowed Laclau (2005; 2015b) to build a theory of *representation* based on a *chain of equivalences* derived from a series of dispersing *demands*. In this way, *populism* is not an ideology but a way of establishing social relations based on the rhetorical appeal of specific *demands*.

Populism, for Laclau, is a form of *articulation* that seeks to ensure that the *universalization of demands* has *representation* in the political sphere. For this to be possible, it is necessary to build certain borders that will shape the political subject, which, as pointed out, is not determined but is partially configured from the *discourses*. The analysis of this type of *hegemony* comes from paying attention to the category of demand, which can be understood as a request and a claim. For example, a demand for access to education. It is a claim in the populist process when the request is not satisfied by the institutionalized system; it turns into a demand when it joins in solidarity with others to break into the political space. Then, it goes from a democratic demand, if satisfied by the system, to a populist demand, when not satisfied. For example, the demand to access education (D1) is not satisfied and joint to others, also not satisfied, more health services (D2), increment in salary (D3)...n. Individuals claiming for these *demands* join in a movement/organization for promoting a *universal demand* that represents all of them, democratization of public budget. $D1+D2+D3\dots n = U$ (Democratization).

Once the *demands* are united in a *chain of equivalence*, the borders that are drawn open space for a popular subject (the movement/organization) that will replace the institutional subject (the system). Chains of equivalence do not eliminate differences; different *demands* continue to operate within the universalization.

A popular *subjectivity* corresponds to the *popular subject* (the movement/organization): *the people* in English, *le peuple* in French, and *el pueblo* in Spanish. The greater the *articulation* of *demands*, the greater the popular *subjectivity*. For the equivalent chain to become hegemonic, *empty signifiers* representing the *demands* are required. By *empty signifiers*, Laclau understands those signifiers that lose their specificity due to a significant *representation of demands*. They are ideas and/or concepts that lose intention in favor of extension. In this case, democratization (U) is the *empty signifier* due to its embrace of as many *demands* as possible, whereas miss its specificity. Once the equivalent chain has been established, the borders are defined and the *political subject* appears inwardly, thanks to the *hegemony* generated by the *universalization* of an *empty signifier* (Laclau, 2005). The appearance of *the people* depends on the creation of *empty signifiers*.

[I]n the same way as gold, without ceasing to be a particular commodity, transform its own materiality into the universal representation of value... This process by which a particular demand comes to represent an equivalential chain incommensurable with it is, of course, what we have called *hegemony*. (Laclau, 2015, p.157)

All those external social constructions and *antagonisms* will be defined as the enemy. When a populist construction declines, *demands* are integrated into the institutional system. There is only

populism if *articulatory practices* achieve the *hegemony* necessary to construct the *popular subject*. In this sense, Butler (2016) points out that naming oneself, *the people* or a group is self-constructed as a *political subject*. For Butler, self-naming is the act that does not describe but constitutes. *The people* can be “the nation” or “the community” (Howarth, 2015).

No social movement or organization is exempt from the populist logic because, in all of them, there is a degree of *populism* since equivalence articulates dispersed *demands*. *Populist leadership* must be understood as the ultimate object of the *representation of equivalence*. The construction of a project such as *populism* entails constant mediation between leaders who are representatives of the *demands* and those who make the demand. The leader is the one who discursively encourages the chain of equivalences (Howarth, 2015; Laclau, 2015b). In the example given above, democratization (U) can be represented by a social leader, social movement/organization.

Finally, *representation* is possible through a libidinal investment, the power of affection (Laclau, 2015b; Mouffe, 2022). Affect is constituted through the chain of meaning. That is to say, discursive or hegemonic formations are intelligible by the power of affects. Social totality results from the relationship between meaning and affect (Laclau, 2005). Affection is one of the libidinal functions that allow the construction of collective identities because there are no essential identities. In the example on democratization, individuals can join to a social movement/organization or follow a populist leader if s/he builds a *discourse* that mobilizes feeling related to political ideologies (left/right). The social bond is a libidinal bond based on the role of affects in collective identification. Identification is simultaneously the mechanism by which *subjectivity* is constructed.

Thus, identification with an object, such as ideology or other social constructions, necessarily entails affect (Mouffe, 2022).

Summarizing, the construction of a populist project or agency is based on five fundamental principles (Howarth, 2015):

1. It appeals to a collective subject called *the people*.
2. The configuration of political frontiers by defining an adversary.
3. The establishment of the *demands* and a *chain of equivalences* that will achieve *universalization* based on a populist *discourse*, “the identity of the *demands* that constitute a populist moment thus depends upon the hegemonic practices that confer meaning in particular historical context” (p. 14)
4. The construction of *the people* requires the production of *empty signifiers*, which can unite heterogeneous elements from a total identity that fills the absence of signifiers.
5. An investment (affection) in a partial object is required.

3.3.5 Subject Consciousness

When post-Marxism took the post-structuralist approach focused on the macro-level analysis. For example, the post-Marxist perspective concentrates on studying *discursive practices* and does not pay sufficient attention to how people experience their subject position and react to the discursive structure. It could be explained from the post-structuralist perspective, for which individual experiences do not have much to say when explaining *subjectivities* (Foucault 1971; 2003).

Nevertheless, Butler (1997, 2006) opened the possibility of another level of explanation that is more situated in the individual when she holds that *subjectivities* can be resisted and modified. In this regard, Hall (2006) insists that Butler's proposal inevitably implies a self-consciousness about who the individuals are.

In the study of *Ateneo*, the category of *subject consciousness* seeks to show how young individuals live, face and are interpellated by *subjectivity*. I decided to use the concept of consciousness because the current scientific literature refers to it as the process of awareness about the self and social environment (Blackmore, 2017; Humphrey, 2022). For Grinberg-Zylberbaum (1986, 1997), consciousness's relevance is that it represents the basis of human experience through which social reality is created. In this way, *subject consciousness* could refer to the collective self-awareness of individuals facing a discursive structure. It is a way to observe some patterns of subjective processes inside the formation of *political subjects*.

This argument is related to the investigations made by Christens, Winn & Duke (2016), Diemer & Li (2011), Diemer & Rapa (2016), and Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham (2006) in the sense that social organizations shape a particular awareness in individuals. That is to say, the *subject consciousness*, in this case, turns into *Ateneista consciousness* as a product of the discursive structure made by the reproduction of practices.

The study of *Ateneista consciousness* is a micro-level analysis of *subjectivity*. This also opens the possibility to think and question if the individual experience affects the discursive structure and if this process can be observed. These *political subjectivities* change from a reflective disposition

from individuals to *articulatory practices*. This process could be better understood if we assume that the acquisition of identity or *subjectivity* needs a process of identification through which individuals get attached to the *discourse*. As Laclau (1994) affirms, the construction of political identities presupposes an identification phase by which the individuals who lack attachment to some identity adhere to another. Specifically, the psychoanalytic category of identification, for Laclau, is the possibility of the construction of a political identity, which implies necessarily a subjective process.

For Mouffe (2022), identities are not essential, but different identification processes exist for individuals; in this way, the history of individuals is the history of identifications. For a political identity to emerge, a libidinal investment is needed “[a]ny identity, therefore, is constructed through a variety of identifications with socially available objects as images and signifiers”. (Mouffe, 2022, p.55). In other words, identification calls for an emotional relation to an object, in this case the *discourse*. Social ties are possible due to the libidinal investment in the identification. This identification process can only be studied from a micro-level analysis focused on how individuals reacted to the *Ateneista subjectivity* and how they responded to the question: who are we? And how they respond to: what do we want to be?

Like the other post-Marxist categories, in this case, *Ateneista consciousness* is detached from economic determinism and essentialism of class. *Ateneista consciousness* is rooted in the post-structuralist and post-Marxist thesis and has no connection to *class consciousness* from classical Marxism (Luckacs, 1968). I assume that *articulatory practices* affect individuals and build their consciousness by influencing their awareness of the social world and self-recognition, as stated by

Delgado & Arias (2008) and Pabón (2013). In that process, they reproduce, resist, interpellate and change the *articulatory practices*, giving, as a result, a collective process of *political subjectivity*. *Ateneista consciousness* is a step in producing and reproducing *political subjectivity*. *Subject consciousness* is adapted to post-structuralist logic; it recognizes the power of the discursive structure from *articulatory practices* to shape the individual consciousness and the capacity of the individuals to affect it.

3.4 The Sociology of *Public Action*

3.4.1 Public Policy Analysis in a Sociological Perspective

In recent decades, political science and sociology have shared a same object of study: public policies. Public policies are those decisions and actions that governments take regarding problems and objectives of public interest with citizens' participation to guide the destiny of society (Aguilar, 2011). Both disciplines have approached this object from different perspectives. Political science focuses on a top-down approach, paying attention to the figure of the state as the main actor around the policy process; and sociology, from a bottom-up perspective, focusing on social actors and their collective action as the principal decision-makers of the public sphere.

Hassenteufel (2014; 2017) recognizes that within political science, the sequential, organizational model, and the rational model, also known as the pluralistic model, were developed. For these authors, the big problem with the organizational and pluralistic approaches is that they analyze the actors individually, while for obtaining a complete analysis it is necessary to take into account

collective action. For Muller (2000) the main problem with the pluralistic approach is having adopted methodological individualism as the basis for the analysis of public decisions. This author argues that methodological individualism has not solved the enigma of how individual actors are constrained and determined by the social in their strategies and action.

Following this criticism, a significant number of authors point out that sociology must deal with political issues because power and its phenomena have a basis in social relationships (Cejudo, 2010; Coleman, 1978; Genieys & Hassenteufel, 2012; Hassenteufel P., 2014; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007; Cot & Mounier, 1974; Giraud & Warin, 2008; OyHandy, 2010; Ribemont, 2018; Thoening, 1997). Among these authors, It is possible to identify three perspectives on sociological analysis in the study of public policies. The first one refers to the role of sociology in the study of political power (Cejudo, 2010; Cot & Mounier, 1974; Giraud & Warin, 2008; OyHandy, 2010). The second perspective points out that sociology offers public policy analysis the possibility of observing how public policies are a product of collective action (Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007; Ribemont, 2018). Finally, the last one differs from the previous ones, giving sociology a role in providing information for elaborating and evaluating public policies (Coleman, 1978). In summary, the first two perspectives lead sociology to study public decision-making, and the third to provide it with information.

Regarding the second perspective Lagroye (2006) is emphatic in pointing out that the activity carried out by social groups to change social structures, which is known as a collective action, changes when it is related to the public sphere to give rise to what is known as a public action. For

Lagroye, *public action* is the result, not always coherent or predictable, of the interactions of social actors about public interests and political decisions.

Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007) highlight that the role of sociology in the study of collective action in the public sphere. For them, the sociology of the public is about the sociology of collective action in the study of public decisions, allowing to break with the centrality in a single actor that was the state, "elle, [la sociologie de l'action publique], privilégie les raisonnements bottom up (par le bas) partant des modes d'échange et d'agrégation entre acteurs individuels et collectifs" (Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007, p. 20) . The role of sociology in the study of public policies is based on the assumption that the state and political groups are not the only actors that define public policies. They recognize that many social actors with the capacity for organization and action are involved in the decision-making process.

3.4.2 The Sociology of *Public Action*

The sociology of *public action* is an area in development in France. For Leca and Muller (2018), before the 1980s, the concept of *politiques publiques* did not exist in French because its translation, public policies, originated in the United States. The study of public policies in France has shown a rejection of quantitative analysis in favor of qualitative ones and a cognitive approach. The cognitive approach allowed French sociology to become interested in public policies as frames of reference for shaping the world. Musselin (2005) points out that the analysis of public policies in France appeared towards the end of the 1970s when political scientists and sociologists who had been on research stays in the United States brought new questions to the French scientific

community. For Musselin, the policy analysis was developed in sociology thanks to the works and efforts of J. G. Padioleau and J. C. Thoenig to whom joined later Pierre Lascoumes, Patrick Le Galès and Vincent Dubois. They led sociology to stay more focused in *public action* than public policies.

3.4.3 *Public Action as Object of Study*

For some authors, the sociological analysis of public policies has developed its own object distanced and differentiated from that of the political science and public policy studies (Hassenteufel, 2014; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007; Massardier, 2008; Ribemont, 2018; Thoenig, 1997). From these perspectives, what characterizes the sociological analysis of public policies is the centrality of collective action in the policy process. This process, known as *public action*, focusses on how collective actors define and solve public problems.

Thoenig (1997) defines *public action* as how society develops public problems and confronts them through responses from the public sphere, through collective action. In the same way, Ribemont et al. (2018) point out that *public action* is the process by which public policies are elaborated by collective actors with different resources. In the same sense, Lagroye (2006) defines *public action* as the result of interactions between a multiplicity of actors, institutions, and governments interested in political decisions.

Regarding the above, Massardier (2003) argues that *public action* is evidenced when the elaboration of public policies results from managing collective action, no longer from the cohesion

of authority, but considering the rationalities of the different political, economic and social actors. For Hassenteufel, P. (2014), *public action* is the interaction of various interlocking actors at multiple levels, local and international, from which contemporary states' transformations are carried out. It is a collective action from which public policies are built.

3.4.4 Discursive Structure and *Public Action*

For some authors, the sociology of *public action* assumes a cognitive approach. They point out that this perspective allowed sociology to be interested in public policies (Cejudo, 2010; Hassenteufel 2017; Leca & Muller, 2008; Muller, 2000). They agree that public policies are forms of understanding, thinking, and constructing public problems and their solutions. In other words, public policies are the materialization of the ways of seeing the social world that certain collective actors seek to place and impose through collective action. Cejudo (2010) points out that the importance of the cognitive approach lies in the fact that it allows us to assume that public policies are not only the result of a normative process but from the mobilization of referential frameworks that, when expressed in *discourses*, end up affecting the design, implementation, and evaluation of the policies.

Regarding the above, Muller (2000) clarifies that the cognitive approach of sociological analysis is not opposed to the conception of interests of the actors involved in the policy process but rather assumes that these interests become and are expressed through interpretive frameworks. Muller points out that although interpretive frameworks are built from interactions, they come to take such independence that they are imposed on the actors themselves as models of interpretation of the

world. This is close to Christens, Winn & Duke (2016), Diemer & Li (2011), Diemer & Rapa (2016), Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham (2006) concerning the idea that social organizations transmit frames of references to their member, affecting their social awareness and behaviour. Furthermore, the framing perspective from the sociology of *public action* is compatible with post-Marxism (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) if one accept that public policies, as frames of reference, are part of a discursive structure coming from *discursive practices* that seek to draw the boundaries of the social. In this sense, public policies are part of the CSOs' efforts to affect the field of discursiveness.

3.4.5 Political Subjects and Public Action

As mentioned above, in post-Marxism the new social movements are considered *political subjects*, as they pass through a hegemonic formation process to social change. During this process, subjects retake different *demands* to build a *universal demand* from a *chain of equivalence*. That is to say, different interests are contained in a bag of common demand. In the case of public action, social actors seek to affect the public decision process to promote specific policies. In this sense, these actors can be considered *public action* actors. Following this reasoning, if these social actors are analyzed from post-Marxism as *political subjects* due to the hegemonic process they face and the objective of changing their social conditions related to the political economy they could be identified as *public action subjects*.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Research Strategy, Ontological and Epistemological Position

The ontological perspective that guided this research was subjectivism, based on the premise that social reality is constructed by those involved in the social event but based on a unique experience in which each individual gives value to their actions. The epistemological approach was interpretivism, assuming that the observed reality must be interpreted from reconstructing the sociohistorical process (Weber, 2012; Schutz, 2015) – in this case, the process by which *Ateneistas* guided their actions in *Ateneo* becoming a *public action subject*. The research strategy is deductive-inductive because I went from the theory to the data and returned to obtain an explanation of the imputable facts about the formation of *Ateneo* as a *public action subject* and *Ateneista subjectivity*.

4.3 The Ethnographic Perspective

In this research, the object of study demanded a methodology that allowed me to approach the phenomenon of *political subjectivities* in *public action*, focusing on the interactions outside and, in some occasions, inside the digital sphere. Specifically, digital ethnography allowed me to track the activities carried out by *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud* on social media, conduct interviews with its members using digital tools such as the Zoom app, access to audiovisual and visual

materials in digital format, and analyzing many documents through digital means. I used traditional and digital ethnography to reconstruct the socio-historical process through which *Ateneo* became a *subject of public action* and the emergence of *Ateneista subjectivity*.

4.3.1 The Digital Ethnographic Field

In this research, the field was developed the most in digital environments, not only because of the ability of young people to interact through digital social networks but also because the COVID-19 pandemic brought most of the interactions of youth activism to take place in these spaces. In this regard, Ferguson (2017) points out that researchers must go to digital environments if interactions occur there, even when they consolidate offline. This idea highlights Cora et al.'s (2009) claim about the fact that researchers must adapt to the new conditions of society because reality and the phenomena of interest that traditionally occurred in physical environments currently overlap with what happens in digital environments.

Therefore, in this research, I mainly worked in the digital ethnographic field, defined by the digital spaces where *Ateneistas* currently interact the most to build the political *subjectivity* of being *Ateneista*. I observed *articulatory practices* through digital networks such as *Ateneo*'s Facebook fan page, X, and Instagram. In this field delimitation, I watched the events transmitted on Facebook live, comments, posts, photos, publicity, digital magazines, etc. The *Ateneo* Facebook fan page had 21 599 followers as of October 15th, 2022, when I started the research, and can be consulted at: <https://www.facebook.com/atnaju>. On the same date, the Twitter account had 1 075 followers

and can be consulted at [@ateneo_juventud](#); the impact of the destabilization of Twitter following Elon Musk's purchase of the company in late October will be taken into account.

Additionally, I contacted and met most informants in this digital field and accessed the institutional archives of *Ateneo* and *Ateneistas*.

4.3.2 Digital Ethnographic Observation

In this research, I conducted a non-participant observation, limited to observing what happened in the ethnographic digital field. I observed *Ateneo's* Facebook fan page, Twitter account, and Instagram account activities for 14 months, from January the 1st, 2022, to February 28th, 2023. During this time, I observed posts, live events, infographics, photos, videos, and interactions between followers and *Ateneistas*. Most of the information obtained came from the Facebook fan page, where I registered and reviewed 448 posts, from X 175, and from Instagram 115. The data was coded and classified by themes to recognize patterns of *articulatory practices*.

I chose this period for two reasons: first, in January 2022 *Ateneo's* national committee was renewed. Second, by observing the 2022 DAPs, I could follow *Ateneo's* protagonists and interview them during 2023. Third, the research could be done by matching observations and interviews. This time was sufficient to reach theoretical saturation.

4.3.3 Interviews

To gather the necessary information to answer the research question, interviews were conducted to learn how *Ateneistas* interacted and established *articulatory practices*. I conducted two types of interviews: those related to *Ateneo* as an institution and those about the personal experiences of *Ateneistas*. I had 28 informants from whom I obtained 33 formal interviews. Additionally, I had informal talks with some of them by phone calls, WhatsApp voice messages, and text messages, from which I got essential information.

Name/pseudonym	No. Interviews	Date/place
José Luis	3	January 2022 (Zoom) July 2022 (Zoom) October 2023 (Zoom)
Marisma	2	Sep 2022 (Zoom) August 2023 (Mexico City)
Alex	1	August 2023 (Mexico City)
Noel	2	August 2023 (Mexico City)
Alan	1	August 2023 (Zoom)
Soledad	2	August 2023 (Mexico City) November 2023 (Zoom)
Berenice	1	September 2023 (Zoom)
Mario	1	September 2023 (Zoom)
Alitzel	1	September 2023 (Zoom)
Sofia	1	September 2023 (Zoom)
Alejandro	1	September 2023 (Zoom)

Rodrigo	1	September 2023 (Zoom)
Arturo	1	September 2023 (Zoom)
Carol	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Christian	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Sergio	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Andrea	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Leilany	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Luz Helena	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Eduardo	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Alí	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
María Fernanda	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Fernando	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
José Luis' Mother & Father	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Patricia	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Dioneý	1	October 2023 (Zoom)
Andrea A	1	November 2023 (Zoom)
Marisma	1	July 2024 (Mexico City)

Table 1. Interviewees

I used the biographical interview to study the subjective experience of being an *Ateneista*. The biographical interview within qualitative research aims to answer research questions that examine the subjective meaning of the informants' life experiences concerning a specific phenomenon. In this research, the objective of the interview was to provide the necessary information to construct the biography of each interviewee to identify how the members of *Ateneo* experienced the process

of getting the political *subjectivity* of being *Ateneista*. In total, I built 27 biographies (Newman & Robson, 2018: 261).

The interview involved asking questions, listening to the informant, and capturing the physical expressions that provide relevant information about the general research question. I conducted semi-structured interviews. The Interview Guide can be seen in Appendix 2. Another non-structured interview was conducted with the founders and some *Ateneistas* to reconstruct the history of *Ateneo*.

Due to the comprehensive nature of qualitative research, probabilistic samples are not used, but theoretical samples are. For this research, I used the convenience and snowball criterion (Newman & Robson, 2018). The First contact was made through the administrators of the fan pages (Facebook Messenger). After negotiating the possibility that the organization and some of its members would be part of this investigation, they were asked to contact possible informants who meet the inclusion criteria. Others were contacted by convenience for the researcher because they were informants of relevance for the research. To do this, I sent an invitation letter. See appendix 3.

The total number of interviews was established under the criterion of theoretical saturation when the number of interviews was sufficient and solid (Gaudet & Robert, 2018). Finally, the inclusion criteria for interviews related to personal experiences in *Ateneo* were as follows: a) people between 18 and 40, who were in the past active members of *Ateneo*.

4.3.4 Documentary Analysis

A qualitative content analysis of the events published on the fan pages, such as debates, conferences, analysis tables, posts, etc., was carried out. The objective was to identify the meaning transmitted through *articulatory practices* in digital social networks (Newman & Robson, 2018: 320). As mentioned above, I analyzed 448 posts from the Facebook Fan page, 175 from X, and 115 from Instagram. It was also very valuable for me to access Ateneo's institutional archive and some personal information. The table below lists the number and type of archives.

Name of the Archive	Number of documents & type
Ateneo's institutional archive	178 photos 2 Legal Acts 14 Documents on internal administration Two databases on national census Eight files with information on local committees. 56 documents about Ateneo's history Four files about cases from the Honour and Justice Committee
Leilany's archive	76 photos
Soledad's archive	Seven documents from electronic mail
Alejandro's archive	Six photos

Table 2. Archives reviewed

4.4 Gathering Information and Processing

4.4.1 Information Gathering

Gaudet and Robert point out that the data are constructed and reconstructed during the gathering. In this sense, the information collected was processed from the first moment and throughout the research. The gathering instruments were divided into two types: a) direct information instruments and b) indirect information instruments. The direct information instruments help build the data by observing what happens in digital social networks, the information derived from the interviews through the recordings and transcripts, and the files of the collected documents. The indirect information instruments provide personal analysis and reflections on our experiences (Gaudet & Robert, 2018; Kauffmann, 2016; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Digital tools to collect direct information:

- Observation: Excel sheet
- Interview: Zoom record files and Word documents for transcripts
- Documents: File folder

Digital tools to collect indirect information:

- Recording of activities and memos: Field journal

Information processing was done using direct and indirect instruments. The information processing for the data construction had three stages: a) coding, c) contextualization, and d)

confrontation. Traditionally, information processing is done via vertical and horizontal coding. The coding process begins through the elaboration of a codebook, which comes from the researcher's first concerns and the findings from vertical coding. In this case, coding started with the *articulatory practices* as a central category in the research. I also identified categories that emerged from the field. Semantic condensation was made to determine the collective signifiers present in the object of study. Likewise, some categories were contextualized to allow the organization and classification of the information.

4.4.2 Operationalization of Concepts

Concept	Theoretical definition	Operational definition
Discourse	<i>Discourse</i> is the totality structured as a result of <i>articulatory practices</i> . This way, a discursive structure seeks to organize social relationships. This structure does not have a mental character but is material because it is expressed in practices and institutions that hold the social order. For post-Marxism, this confirms the discursive character of the social. <i>Discourse</i> tries to limit the contingent character of human nature. It is a regularity between the dispersion of the elements (Laclau, 2015a; Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	It is the result of <i>Ateneo's articulatory practices</i> , which give rise to <i>Ateneista subjectivity</i> and <i>Ateneo</i> as a <i>political subject</i> . Those practices should be all activities that allow different <i>demands</i> to become united in a universal one.
Discursiveness	The symbolic field in which discursive structures emerge (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	It is the symbolic sphere in which all <i>Ateneo's</i> meaning rests.
Antagonism	<i>Antagonism</i> negates some symbolic order. It is outside of it and imposes its	<i>Ateneo</i> disagrees with Mexico's different

	limits. The origin of <i>antagonism</i> is not the contradiction, but the frontiers drowned by the change of equivalence. (Laclau, 2015b; Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	institutions, cultures, and policies that promote adult centrism. This perspective diminishes the youth agency. So, Ateneo as <i>antagonism</i> is a social construction that emerges as a negation of a discursive system.
Articulation	<i>Articulation</i> is any practice that establishes a relationship between elements to the extent they modify their identity. <i>Articulation</i> presupposes these elements can be observed separately (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	Is the process by which the <i>demands</i> of some young individuals come linked in a more significant and unique demand advocated by <i>Ateneo</i> .
Articulatory practices	All practices are discursive and build the discursive structure in which society rests. <i>Articulatory practices</i> have a material character and are expressed through rituals, social practices, norms, and institutions. Every social practice is an <i>articulatory practice</i> (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	Social practices by <i>Ateneo</i> and <i>Ateneistas</i> that tie together the different <i>demands</i> , such as institutional rules, events, activities, conferences, talks, writings, and publications.
Digital articulatory practices		These are the social practices through which <i>Ateneo</i> tries to connect the different <i>demands</i> through digital social networks (DSNs).
Overdetermination	Is a term retaken by Althusser from psychoanalysis to mean the symbolic character of the society. In post-Marxism, the symbolic comes from the field of discursiveness (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	The different abstract conceptions that give meaning to <i>Ateneo</i> as an organization. This meaning comes from the <i>discourse</i> built by the activities that articulate the <i>demands</i> of young individuals.
Identity	Appears as the result of a relationship between elements. Identities are not permanently fixed and have to pass for a process of identification.	The link between the different <i>demands</i> thanks to the <i>articulatory practices</i> from <i>Ateneo</i> in a <i>universal demand</i> . Also, the

		identification of young individuals with the <i>Ateneista</i> subjectivity.
Identification	The process by which an individual adheres to a collective identity, to a <i>political subject</i> .	The process by which young individuals identify themselves as <i>Ateneistas</i> thanks to the <i>universal demand</i> that represents theirs.
Affects	The libidinal investment that individuals make in a collective identity (Mouffe, 2023).	The emotions that <i>Ateneistas</i> experienced in the identification as members of <i>Ateneo</i> .
Subject	There is a difference between the subject, as an individual, and the <i>political subject</i> . As an individual are those involved in the building of a <i>political subject</i> (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	Individuals that are part of the <i>Ateneista</i> discursiveness.
Political subject/subject position	As a group of individuals in the struggle for social change. In post-Marxism, the reference to a <i>political subject</i> means a subject position in the discursive field. Subjects, in this way, are not the origin of social relations as was supposed in classical Marxism; they are the result of it. The subject position is a discursive position with a contingent character.	<i>Ateneo</i> as discursive production inside the sphere of Mexican discursiveness. <i>Ateneo</i> as organization built by the <i>articulatory practices</i> of <i>Ateneistas</i> .
Subjectivity	Is a self-relationship and recognition by individuals from the <i>discourse</i> that shapes their practices and self-identification. The <i>subjectivities</i> can be resisted and altered by self-consciousness or awareness (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	The collective identity coming from <i>Ateneo</i> 's <i>articulatory practices</i> that determine the political behaviour of <i>Ateneistas</i>
Element	They are flowing meanings not articulated to a discursive structure. Only when they are articulated does an overdetermined dimension appear, thanks to the <i>articulatory practices</i> that try to fix a meaning that affects the elements (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	Those meanings or <i>demands</i> from young individuals that do not get articulated to the <i>universal demand</i> of <i>Ateneo</i> .

Political moment	it is the result of the <i>articulation</i> of different elements in a discursive structure. It is the moment in which a <i>political subject</i> builds the I (Denis, 2015).	In this case, the moment in which <i>Ateneo</i> builds its discursive position as an organization that affects the political sphere. That is the process by which <i>Ateneo</i> emerges as a <i>political subject</i> .
Chain of equivalence	The capacity for a meaning to include the different <i>demands</i> in a <i>universal demand</i> . This chain is possible from a solidarity that appears from different unattended <i>demands</i> . Emerge a <i>universalization</i> of a demand (Laclau, 2015b; Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	The way in which the <i>Ateneo</i> gets to include the different <i>demands</i> of its members and allied organizations as part of a <i>universal demand</i> that is the youth perspective. This happen when <i>articulatory practices</i> from <i>Ateneo</i> get to be hegemonic.
Demand	A request not satisfied by the institutional system.	All those requests from the young individuals that found in <i>Ateneo</i> the channel to turn on their requests in to <i>demands</i> to be represented.
Universal demand	It is the <i>representation</i> in the political sphere of the different <i>demands</i> that change their identity, but that do not erase their individuality (Laclau, 2015b).	It is the main <i>Ateneista</i> claim that represents the <i>demands</i> coming from young individuals.
The people	It is the popular <i>subjectivity</i> that results of the <i>chain of equivalence</i> that is hegemonic (Laclau, 2015b).	<i>Ateneo</i> as organization that represents the interests of some young Mexican individuals.
Populist leadership	The leader is the one who discursively encourages the <i>chain of equivalences</i> (Howarth, 2015; Laclau, 2015b).	The person who encarnate <i>Ateneo</i> and <i>Ateneistas'</i> <i>universal demand</i> .
Hegemony	It is a political relationship that results from the <i>articulatory practices</i> that seek to fix a meaning around which the different elements, by modifying their identity, turn into a moment (Laclau, 2015a; Laclau & Mouffe, 2021).	The result of <i>Ateneista's</i> <i>articulatory practices</i> that builds the discursive structure in which <i>Ateneo</i> emerges as CSOs with a defined objective and

		activities.
Public Action	Is the effect of collective action in the public sphere. It is a way to understand the change process in public decisions from the lobbying and institutional political participation of social organizations (Genieys, 2001; Hassenteufel (2004; 2017); Lagroye (1997); Lascoumes & LeGales (2007).	The process by which <i>Ateneo</i> and other social organizations participate and affect the policy process in México.
Public Action Subject	It is a <i>political subject</i> involved in <i>public action</i> processes.	The moment in which <i>Ateneo</i> , as a result of the <i>articulatory practices</i> , gets involved in <i>public action</i> to advocate the <i>universal demand</i> of including the youth perspective in the youth policies.
Subject consciousness	The subjective and individual process (self-awareness and reflection) by which individuals interpellate the <i>articulatory practices</i> and decide to reproduce or change them, altering the subject position and <i>subjectivity</i> . <i>Subject consciousness</i> assumes the post-structuralist and post-Marxist thesis that discursive structure comes first and is reproduced by normalization, but a reflective process can interpellate and change it through modifying the <i>articulatory practices</i> .	The micro dimensional process by which <i>Ateneistas</i> observe themselves involved in the discursive structure of <i>Ateneo</i> .

Table 3. Operationalization of concepts

4.4.3 Translation of Interviews and Documents

The interviews and the documents consulted were in Spanish. This is because Spanish is one of the official and the predominant language in the country where the object of study is located, Mexico. For this reason, those resources that are in Spanish were translated into English, accompanying the original text in footnotes when documents are shown through a photograph, screenshot, or PDF the footnotes have been avoided. The American Psychology Association (APA) seventh edition standards indicate that translations are not considered quotations but a production from the author's interpretation. For this reason, they may differ from the original text and should not be considered as a direct quote. I have chosen to indicate when the text is a translation.

4.4.4 Presentation and Analysis of the Results

There is no specific way to write an ethnography, so a multiplicity of paths has in common the need to carry out the task from the relationship with the literature and theories already in existence. In this sense, the theoretical frameworks supported the ethnography writing in this research through thick descriptions.

In this case, I decided first to review the information and, after processing it, to write the description on themes that represented the different *articulatory practices* that made it possible for *Ateneo* to emerge as a *political subject*. I divided *Ateneo* history into three stages: a) the first *Ateneo*, b) the second *Ateneo*, and c) the third *Ateneo*. As Foucault did in his works, I presented

the *discursive practices* grouped in a particular discursive phenomenon as ideal types. In the case of the *Ateneista subjectivity*, the descriptive theme allowed me to present and analyze the life experiences of the young people interviewed and described in depth how they experienced becoming *Ateneista*.

4.5 Ethics of the Research

4.5.1 Informed Consent

Concerning the subjects of study, some behaviors may be unethical but legal or constitute established practices in research. In the relationship established by the researcher with the subjects, there are unequal power relations in which the authority of the observer can lead the informant to relive painful experiences or perform inappropriate behaviors (Gaudet & Robert, 2018). In this research, I have adhered to the principle of informed consent, which consists of letting the observed subjects know that they will be studied as part of academic research. They were aware of the type of information that I wanted to obtain. The researcher's identification and the research's objective were explicit. Likewise, an invitation with a summary of the study and the researcher was provided to candidates. When they were accepted, I delivered an informed consent form to be signed. These documents can be consulted in Appendix 4 and 5. The Office of Research Ethics and Integrity of the University of Ottawa has established guidelines for human research. This research received an ethics certificate from this office. See Appendix 1.

4.5.2 Restitution of Results

The restitution of results can be considered a research stage to inform the subjects of the study about the results of having shared their experiences. This can help them better understand their personal and social relationships and the community in which they are situated. Restitution is considered a in some research codes. Restitution is, therefore, an ethical responsibility (Bergier, 2000). In this research, it will be agreed with the social organizations to report on the results obtained to the interviewees and the organizations via email once the study is formally presented and approved by the academic committee.

This action also contributes to the Marxist analysis objective (Baker et al., 2013) of conducting research on collective action for knowledge of social movements. That means this research can help *Ateneo* and *Ateneistas* understand who they are and how they became what they are currently. The processes they have experienced in the last 15 years, and to have better tools to carry out their goals.

Chapter 5. The First *Ateneo*: Becoming Subject

5.1 Introduction

Ateneo has emerged as a *political subject* at three different historical moments. The first time it appeared in 2009 as a group that sought to form an organization guided by the myth of the 1909 *Ateneo*. The second time, from 2011 to 2019, it was established as a civil society organization that sought to influence public policies; it is there that *Ateneo* turned into a *public action subject*. The third time, from 2019 to 2024, it ceased to be a *public action subject* and focused on collective organization and the recognition of youth diversity. The latter is mainly characterized by developing *articulatory practices* in digital media, such as social networks, Facebook, Instagram, and X. Each *Ateneo* is described in this chapter and the next (six and seven). This chapter focuses on the first *Ateneo*.

Each of the following chapters (six and seven) focuses on analyzing the *articulatory practices* that made possible the universalization of the different *demands* of the members of the *Ateneo*, giving rise to a popular identity. Following the methodology of Foucault (1980), I have made ideal typologies of the practices that I found and which I considered to be *articulatory practices*, which are those aiming to bring the different *demands* to a *chain of equivalence* to give rise to *Ateneo* as a *people*: as a *political subject*.

Regarding the first *Ateneo*, *foundational techniques* characterized this first period. As Foucault (1980) stated, *techniques* have a strategy and objective. By *foundational techniques*, I mean the

different *articulatory practices* that sought to consolidate *Ateneo* as a social organization based on the myth of the 1909 *Ateneo*.

In this sense, *articulatory practices* made it possible to build a *discourse* around the inheritance and legacy of the 1909 *Ateneo* through conversations, documents, writings, norms and social practices. The discursive structure allowed *subjectivity* to emerge around the duties and obligations of all members who tried to honour the 1909 *Ateneistas*, following their steps: promoting culture and humanism. During this time, a social organization that taught courses on culture and humanities can be observed. Each *Ateneo* member was committed to bringing the mission to Mexicans to promote human development from the Mexican nationalist framework, as 1909 *Ateneistas* did.

5.2 *Ateneo of 1909 and Context*

5.2.1 *Ateneo of 1909*

1909 *Ateneo* was an intellectual group of Mexicans at the beginning of the 20th century that sought to influence political, social, and cultural spheres. Vargas (2010), in his work *El Ateneo de la Juventud y la Revolución Mexicana* (Athenaeum of Youth and the Mexican Revolution), holds that 1909 *Ateneistas* were a group of people coming from the highest class that was interested in cultural issues but that did not have the intention of criticizing the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz or being the philosophical providers of the Mexican revolution. That means that originally, they only

wanted to be present in the cultural sphere, but as it will see later, they affected the political and social spheres.

Palou (2016), in *The Ateneo de la Juventud: The Foundations of Mexican Intellectual Culture*, mentions that 1909 *Ateneo* is usually identified as a group of people reacting to literary and cultural modernism; it had a significant influence on the intellectual ideas of Latin America and Spain until it became the basis of Mexican cultural nationalism and a “Latin American consciousness”.

It was a unique group in the Mexican intellectual landscape at the beginning of the twentieth century because many of its members would later become famous and because it hosted significant events in Mexican cultural history...The *Ateneo* promoted development based on the humanities, it encouraged significant university reform, and its intellectual leaders influenced Latin America and Spain. (Palou, 2016, p. 233)

In this regard, it is necessary to highlight that *Ateneistas* were significantly influenced by the nationalism of the 19th century, which, as mentioned in section 1.10.1, sought to bring Indigenous populations into an assimilationist project. Nationalism was present in both political ideologies, conservatives and liberals. So, *Ateneistas*, as liberals, supported the idea that Mexican progress was only possible if a new race based on mestizaje emerged. For that project to be successful, it was necessary to bring the humanities and philosophy to the masses. It was, overall, an Eurocentric project. This could be explained by the fact that philosophical categories used to think Latin American realities had historically come from European philosophy (Dussel, 2015).

[They thought of] forming citizens, to create a nationalist, Ibero-American *polis*, with its roots sunk in Athens, in the creations of Dante, in Cervantes. A *polis* supported by a well-formed, solid *demos* capable of making the best decisions. (Matute, 1999, p. 21) (Translation)¹⁰

For that reason, 1909 *Ateneo* started a cultural project favoring the humanities to overcome the limitations of the educational system based on positivism. The Porfirio Diaz's¹¹ government, conversely to *Ateneistas*, saw Comte's principles and philosophy as the means to peace and development.

At the end of the 19th century, only positivist philosophy enjoyed a legal academic status in the country's official institutions. In the versions of Comte, Mill and Spencer, positivism prevailed in the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* [National High School] and the other professional schools dependent on the state. It stood as a *hegemony* in the country's intellectual life. Its supporters claimed that finding the truth was impossible outside of this philosophy. (UNAM, 2000, p.7) (Translation)¹²

However, at the beginning of our [20th] century, a group of young people began to stand out in the cultural environment of the country who rebelled against the philosophical oppression exercised by positivism and began to read and meditate in small cenacles, precisely those authors that the official philosophy had asphyxiated and banned from classrooms. Not only did they read

¹⁰ [Ellos pensaban en] formar ciudadanos, para crear una *polis* nacionalista, iberoamericana, con sus raíces hundidas en Atenas, en las creaciones dantescas, en Cervantes. Una *polis* sustentada por un *demos* bien formado, sólido y capaz de tomar las mejores decisiones.

¹¹ Porfirio Diaz (1830-1915) was president of Mexico in different moments between 1876 and 1911 when the Mexican Revolution started. This period is known as *dictadura porfirista* (Porfirist Dictatorship).

¹² A finales del siglo XIX, sólo la filosofía positivista gozaba de estatus académico legal en las instituciones oficiales del país. El positivismo, en las versiones de Comte, Mill y Spencer, prevaleció en la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria y en las demás escuelas profesionales dependientes del Estado y se mantuvo como hegemonía en la vida intelectual del país. Fuera de esta filosofía, afirmaban sus partidarios, encontrar la verdad era imposible.

and meditate, but they also expose their dissent from the official philosophy in public conferences and in their sympathy for those authors and doctrines that were banal. (UNAM, 2000, p.7)
(Translation)¹³

1909 Ateneo started in 1905 informally as meetings led by Antonio Caso to talk and reflect on philosophy, art, and literature, from classical Greco-Latin texts to German romantic thought. Among the members were Pedro Henríquez Ureña, José Vasconcelos, Alfonso Reyes, Martín Luis Guzmán, Ricardo Gómez Robelo, Alfonso Cravioto, Julio Torri, Mariano Silva y Aceves, Luis Castillo Ledón, Carlos González Peña, Alejandro Quijano, and Jesús T. Acevedo (Lara, 2012). The group started with *articulatory practices* that would be copied later by the *Ateneo* of 2009 to universalize the different *demands* of its members. Practices such as a reading book club in personal libraries and homes to address the member's *demands* of engaging the philosophy and humanities absent in educational institutions of that time. They read the classics and the contemporaries of literature and philosophy. In the same way, they met to read Plato and were impressed by Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Hegel.

The authors and books that this group of young people read and meditated on in their small cenacles, and that, along with the teachers mentioned above, influenced them to move away from positivism [...] José Vasconcelos recognizes that the readings that influenced his group were Schopenhauer, Kant, Boutroux, Eucken, Bergson, Poincaré, William James, Wundt, Nietzsche,

¹³ Pero a principios de nuestro siglo comenzó a destacarse en el ambiente cultural del país un grupo de jóvenes que se rebelaron contra la opresión filosófica ejercida por el positivismo y comenzaron a leer y meditar, en pequeños cenáculos, justamente a aquellos autores que la filosofía oficial había asfixiado y expulsado de las aulas. No sólo lee y medita, sino que también expone en conferencias públicas su disidencia con la filosofía oficial y su simpatía por esos autores y aquellas doctrinas prohibidas.

Schiller, Lessing, Winkelman, Taine, Ruskin, Wilde, Menéndes Pelayo, Croce and Hegel.
(UNAM, 2000, p.10) (Translation)¹⁴

The reading clubs were a kind of *dispositif* (Deleuze, 1986; 1990) that allowed the *universalization* of the *demands* about *culturalizar* (make it cult) Mexican society through *Ateneo*. In a document named *José Vasconcelos y el Ateneo* (José Vasconcelos and *Ateneo*) written and published on the website of the Minister of Culture, it can be read:

For Don José, the secret of the *Ateneo's* success lay in the advantage of participating in group readings, like those he did with his friends back at the dawn of the recently ended century but strengthened by a good selection of texts. This method seemed infallible to him because situations were unraveled through individual interpretations of the classics that sometimes a single person could not perceive. (CONACULTA, 2022) (Translation)¹⁵

This practice will be copied by the *Ateneistas* in 2009. It will be interesting to notice how European philosophy shaped the *subjectivity* of both, the 1909 *Ateneo* and that of the 2009. Both of them, felt on themselves the *subjectivity* of the rational man that modernity promised: with the power of build to himself. In 1906, the group started different activities that allowed the consolidation as a *political subject*. They published critical texts and gave lectures on cultural issues under the name

¹⁴ Los autores y libros que este grupo de jóvenes leyó y meditó en sus pequeños cenáculos, y que, junto con la enseñanza de los citados maestros, influyeron en su alejamiento del positivismo, han sido confesados también por ellos. José Vasconcelos reconoce que las lecturas que influyeron en su grupo fueron Schopenhauer, Kant, Boutroux, Eucken, Bergson, Poincaré, William James, Wundt, Nietzsche, Schiller, Lessing, Winkelman, Taine, Ruskin, Wilde, Menéndes Pelayo, Croce y Hegel.

¹⁵ Para don José, el secreto del éxito del Ateneo residió en la ventaja de participar en lecturas grupales, como las que hacía con sus amigos en los albores del siglo recién terminado, pero fortalecidas con una buena selección de textos. Este método le parecía infalible porque a través de interpretaciones individuales de los clásicos se desentrañaban situaciones que a veces una sola persona no podía percibir.

of the *Sociedad de Conferencias* (Society of Conferences) to finally establish as *Ateneo de la Juventud* (*Ateneo* of Youth) on October 28th of 1909 (Zanoli, 2019). On that date, 26 individuals signed the act that gave them a legal identity as an organization. The next photo from *Ateneo*'s archive shows the inaugural meeting.



Figure 1. *Ateneistas* of 1909¹⁶

In 1910, *Ateneistas* jumped into the political sphere and gave seven public lectures to commemorate the centenary of Mexican independence. These lectures, supported by some members of the dictatorial government, sought to reflect on the work of some Hispano-American intellectuals (Matute, 1999).

¹⁶ Photo from the *Ateneo*'s archive.

In 2023, I visited José Vasconcelos' library and consulted the book *Conferencias del Ateneo de la Juventud*, a compilation of different talks. The first of them, by Antonio Caso, was about Eugenio M de Hostos's moral philosophy; Alfonso Reyes talked about Manuel José Othon's poetry. Among other thinkers, it is interesting that *Ateneistas* highlighted in the sixth conference the work of Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, a female from the 17th century.

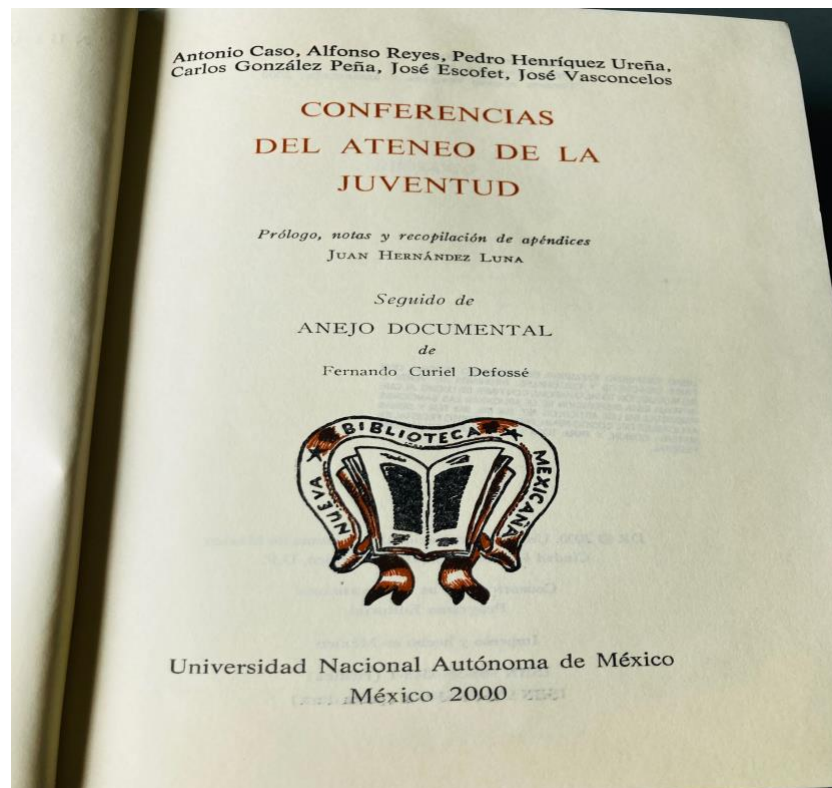


Figure 2. Book *Conferencias del Ateneo de la Juventud*¹⁷

¹⁷ Book from José Vasconcelos' Library.

The conferences sought to signal the necessity of moving from a positivist education to another one based on the humanities to elevate man metaphysically. That is to say, intellectual development was necessary for the living of a worthy life. For example, in the conference *Don Gabino Barreda y las ideas contemporáneas* (Mr. Gabino Barreda and the contemporary ideas), José Vasconcelos delivered a strong critique of positivism. In the other two conferences, Pedro Henríquez Ureña focused on attacking Comte's philosophy.

Giving lectures on positivism may seem an attempt in Europe to be of little current or only historical interest. This is not so in America: Positivism is still a living thing among us. In Mexico, Comte's philosophy, in fusion with Spencer's theories and Stuart Mill's ideas, is the official philosophy since it prevails in teaching... and is invoked as the ideological basis of the political ideas on the rise. (UNAM, 2000, p.153) (Translation)¹⁸

By 1913, the Mexican Revolution caused the exile or self-exile of most *Ateneistas*. It was not until the 1920s that some of its members could return, becoming, along with those who stayed, critical figures in public life. It is essential to highlight that the 1909 Ateneo carried out different activities that helped it consolidate itself as a group of intellectuals with considerable power and influence in the political, social, and cultural life of Mexico. Ateneo was formally dissolved by 1914 (Matute, 1999).

¹⁸ Dar conferencias sobre positivismo puede parecer en Europa un intento de poco interés actual o sólo histórico. No así en nuestra América: entre nosotros el positivismo sigue vivo. En México, la filosofía de Comte, en fusión con las teorías de Spencer y las ideas de Stuart Mill, es filosofía oficial ya que prevalece en la enseñanza... y es invocada como base ideológica de las ideas políticas en ascenso.

5.2.2 José Vasconcelos' Life and Project

José Vasconcelos was born in the state of Oaxaca. Probably the first significant moment that would mark the beginning of Vasconcelos' path dedicated to promoting culture and education was when he presided over *1909 Ateneo*, from which the idea of implementing a monumental project was born: to end illiteracy. This task consisted of bringing culture to *the people*. To do that, he dedicated his efforts to giving lectures and workshops and organizing concerts and readings, which were held not in educational spaces but in public spaces and even people's workplaces. This idea would later take shape in the famous sentence, "culture engenders progress."

In 1914, he was appointed chief of the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* (National Preparatory School) and in 1920-21 as chief of the Ministry of Education and Provost of the National University of Mexico. For Gallegos (1992), it is in the speech that Vasconcelos gave upon assuming the maximum position at the University that he defines the educational and cultural task of the Revolution and explains what education means to him.

At this time, I am not here to work for the University, but to ask the University to work for the people... (Matute, 1983, 101) (Translation)¹⁹

Thus, a few days after assuming his new position, he called on intellectuals (especially the youth), and who wanted to collaborate in the task of "redeeming ourselves through education" (Matute, 1983, p. 101) (Translation)²⁰ to begin a literacy campaign. We could summarize this educational

¹⁹ En estos momentos yo no vengo a trabajar por la Universidad, sino a pedir a la Universidad que trabaje por el pueblo.

²⁰ Redimimos a través de la educación.

policy in the following points: 1) literacy for the population; 2) creation of dining halls for students with limited economic resources and elimination of fees in exchange for school services; 3) creation of a department dedicated to libraries; 4) construction of infrastructure for educational spaces; 5) increase in the budget for education; 6) federalization of education.

In mid-1924, Vasconcelos ended his work at the Ministry of Education by resigning from the office to begin his political campaign to run as an independent candidate for the governorship of Oaxaca and, later, for the presidency of the Republic. Vasconcelos' almost apostolic work for literacy can be traced back to his early years, when he and his family lived in the north of Mexico, in Piedras Negras, state of Coahuila. The city was besieged by *Apaches*, who assaulted and robbed the inhabitants. In the book *Primeros Recuerdos* (First Memories), he reveals the reason why he had an aversion to the Indians and the need to convert them to Catholicism, but also to educate and assimilate them.

One night, I will remember forever... [My mother told me:] If *Apaches* come and take you with them, you do not fear, live with them and serve them, learn their language and tell them about Our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us and them. Never forget that there is an all-powerful God and Jesus, his son... When you grow up a little more and learn to recognize the roads, go south, get to Mexico [City], and ask there for your grandfather, his name is Esteban... tell him how you escaped and how they killed us. (Vasconcelos, 2017, p.16) (Translation)²¹

²¹ Una noche se me quedó grabada... [Mi madre me dijo:] si vienen los Apaches y te llevan con ellos, tu nada temas, vive con ellos y sívelos, aprende su lengua y háblales de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, que murió por nosotros y por ellos. Nunca olvides que hay un Dios todo poderoso y un Jesús, su hijo... Cuando crezcas un poco más y aprendas a reconocer los caminos, toma hacia el sur, llega a México, pregunta allí por tu abuelo, se llama Esteban... le cuentas como escapaste y como nos mataron a nosotros.

Vasconcelos' image of the Apache Indians was that of a savage population that needed to be redeemed. He describes them in his memoirs as follows:

When [*Apaches*] carried out their raids, the savages killed the men, raped the women; they smashed the small children against the ground and recruited the older ones for war; they trained them and used them. (Vasconcelos, 2017, p.13) (Translation)²²

In this way, and under the influence of readings of Greek and Indian philosophy, he developed his theory on the cosmic race. In it, he pointed out the virtues of crossbreeding to create a new ethnicity that could surpass the Europeans and redeem the Mexican Indians.

The Indian has no other door to the future than the door of modern culture, nor any other path than the already cleared path of Latin civilization. (Vasconcelos, 2019, p. 16) (Translation)²³

5.2.3 The National University and *Ateneo's* Influence

The oldest record of establishing a university in New Spain corresponds to the interest of Archbishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga in 1536. It was not until September 21st, 1551, when, by royal decree, the Real y Pontificia Universidad de México (Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico). During the time of Independence, the title of Royal and Pontifical was replaced by that

²² [Los Apaches] al consumir sus asaltos, los salvajes mataban a los hombres, violaban a las mujeres; a los niños pequeños los estrellaban contra el suelo y a los mayores los reclutaban para la guerra; los adiestraban y utilizaban.

²³ El indio no tiene otra puerta hacia el porvenir que la puerta de la cultura moderna, ni otro camino que el camino ya desbrozado de la civilización latina.

of Imperial, which, after the country was established as a Republic, became National, which was suppressed after the arrival of the Second Mexican Empire, to remain, solely, as the University of Mexico. During this period, it was definitively closed on November 30, 1865 (Marsiske, 2006).

To replace the University's role as an academic institution, the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* (ENP) (National High School) was created in early December of 1867, becoming "the backbone of the educational organization to launch the positivist project in Mexico" (Marsiske, 2006, p.18) (Translation).²⁴ Since the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* curriculum was based almost entirely on the thought of Auguste Comte, all knowledge that was not subject to verification by the scientific method was practically relegated. In this context, in February 1881, Justo Sierra presented to Congress a project for creating a different university for Mexico. This project would not be successful until the latter part of 1910, when, as head of the Ministry of Education, and within the celebration of the hundred years of Independence, the Universidad Nacional de México was inaugurated on September 22 of that year.

The Mexican Revolution forced the University to carry out an educational project based on the nationalist/assimilationist project, which was influenced by the politics of *indigenismo* and assimilationism and sought to promote the Mexican national identity (Graciádiego, 1996). The *1909 Ateneo* had an essential influence on the definition of the University project. *Ateneo's* members were shaped by German romanticism, as well as the classical and the oriental world. They fought and won against positivism, led by Antonio Caso, and would generate, through a series of conferences, concerts, workshops and publications, the cultural environment for the

²⁴ La columna vertebral de la organización educativa para lanzar el proyecto positivista en México.

flourishing of European philosophy and humanities in the recently created *Universidad Nacional* and the country. To overcome the positivist thesis that *progress comes from order*, 1909 *Ateneistas* held and promoted another: *la cultura engendra progreso* (culture engenders progress) (Martínez, 1992).

Vasconcelos, as already mentioned, was one of the principal leaders of the *Ateneo of 1909*, Minister of Education and University's Provost. His principal and best-known theoretical work was the book *La Raza Cósmica* (The Cosmic Race), in which he theorized the Mexican mixed ethnicity and its future triumph. This work inspired the UNAM's slogan: *Por mi Raza Hablará el Espíritu* (For my Race the Spirit will Speak). One of UNAM's internal circulation magazines highlights that the university's slogan "reflects a conviction in the creation of a culture of spiritual essence and freedom, born of the Mexican and Latin American race" (UNAM Global, 2023, August 3rd) (Translation).²⁵

The influence of *Ateneo* in the University made its concern to bring culture for *el pueblo* (the people) and assimilate it. For Alfonso Reyes, that was a great task to be accomplished:

If the *pueblo* cannot go to school, the school must go to the *pueblo*. This is the *Universidad del Pueblo* (The University of the People), the school that has opened its doors and poured its teachers into the streets so that they can go and find *the people* in their workshops and meeting centers. (Reyes, 1913, p. 1) (translation)²⁶

²⁵ Refleja una convicción en la creación de una cultura de esencia espiritual y libertad, nacida de la raza mexicana y latinoamericana.

²⁶ Si el pueblo no puede ir a la escuela, la escuela debe ir al pueblo. Esto es la Universidad Popular, la escuela que ha abierto sus puertas y derramado por las calles a sus profesores para que vayan a buscar al pueblo en sus talleres y en sus centros de agrupación.

When Vasconcelos assumed the position of Provost of the National University in 1920, he made a special effort to modify the curricula of the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*, now a branch of the University. Thus, he consolidated the teaching of a project that became part of the nationalist/assimilationist *discourse*.

In June 1929, the Law that regulated the University was adopted, granting limited autonomy and giving it the power to conduct research in addition to those it already had, such as the ability to spread culture and teaching. Full autonomy lasted until 1931, when the Mexican Government embodied it in the promulgation of a Law, providing it with economic resources but removing its national character by conceiving it as a private institution. It was in 1945 when another new Law returned the title of National, conceiving it as the most important educational institution in the country, defining it as the National Autonomous University of Mexico (Marsiske, 2006).

5.3 *Ateneo of 2009: The Beginning*

In 1999, UNAM faced a strike that lasted nine months and was organized by students and professors. Schools and faculties closed during this time, and students took over the facilities. The origin of the protest was the increase in fees and the demand for public education. The strike was organized by committees and assemblies in each school and faculty. This movement opened the door for a significant mobilization of students through local committees, organized in each school and faculty, linked to a general assembly: *Consejo General de Huelga (CGH)* (General Strike Council). On February 6th, 2000, the strike was dissolved, and tuition fees ended (Acosta, 2020).

By 2009, in faculties and schools, there were still strike committees managed by students and inherited from generation to generation. In these committees, students undertook different activities related to domestic politics. In this context, the *Ateneo* emerged as a collective in a high school at UNAM in 2009 and evolved into a formal organization by 2010-11.

In this first period, I have identified a set of *articulatory practices* that sought to consolidate *Ateneo* as a social organization heir of the 1909 *Ateneo*. These *articulatory practices*, as *foundational techniques* (Foucault, 2012; 2013), were hegemonic until 2011, when the *articulatory practices* changed. Next, I present the *techniques* identified and how the *articulatory practices* attracted individuals who joined their *demands* to a *chain of equivalence* that universalized them through the main demand of bringing culture and humanities to young individuals in Mexico City (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Laclau, 2005).

5.3.1 *Preparatoria 2*

Ateneo appeared as a collective led by some high school students who could not find space for their *demands* in the traditional strike committee at *Preparatoria 2* (popular name for UNAM's National High School number 2). For the first *Ateneistas*, the strike movement ended by no longer representing the aspirations of the new students, which provoked, with time, the dissolution of the mobilization. An example of this disappointment is José Luis's case, one of the founders of *Ateneo*. For him, there was no more space for developing other kinds of activities in the CGH committee than those related to hindering the educational development of students. He wanted to carry out cultural activities beyond activism and politics.

In my high school, a classroom was occupied by the CGH committee. I felt excluded because it was ideologically biased and had no space for cultural discussions linked to literature and philosophy. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)²⁷

For José Luis, the committee was only a claim for a movement that had appeared ten years ago and did not have too much to do with the new student generation.

One of my objections was that we continued to claim the 1999 UNAM strike but did not have anything positive to raise for the UNAM student community. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)²⁸

For José Luis, the need to break with CGH and build a new kind of student movement was imperative. The purpose was to reach a new collective dedicated to promoting, through culture, a new *spirit* between students committed to the country through intellectual activities, as the *Ateneo of 1909* had done. José Luis, like his classmates, was very influenced by the *1909 Ateneo* because, inside UNAM, it is a kind of founding myth that each *universitario* (widespread noun to refer to a UNAM student) learns during their stage at high school. As mentioned, the nationalist project is part of the UNAM mission, and each faculty and school develop *discursive practices* that reproduce the discursive structure that came from the *1909 Ateneo*. For example, lectures, debate competitions, and other activities are designed to make the history of *Ateneo* known.

²⁷ En mi escuela secundaria había un salón de clases ocupado por el comité del CGH. Me sentí excluido porque estaba ideológicamente sesgado y no tenía espacio para discusiones culturales vinculadas a la filosofía de la literatura.

²⁸ Una de mis objeciones fue que seguíamos reivindicando el paro de la UNAM de 1999 pero no teníamos nada positivo que plantear para la comunidad estudiantil de la UNAM.

When I was at *Preparatoria*, I attended a conference by some classmates who spoke about the importance of the *Ateneo of 1909*. (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)²⁹

They were young, just like me, like my high school classmates and at the same time, I felt like one of them because now it was my turn to enter high school and know that the identity of this entire group was captured in the University. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)³⁰

When he was in high school and started reading about Vasconcelos, he found it so fascinating that he got into it, but entirely...He enrolled in competitions about *Ateneo*, and he won and won. (José Luis' Mother, 2023) (Translation)³¹

He [José Luis] is a passionate fan of José Vasconcelos and his *cosmic race*. (Alejandro, 2023) (Translation)³²

The *1909 Ateneo's* story significantly impacted José Luis to the extent that he started to participate in essayistic competitions on themes related to *1909 Ateneistas*, especially on José Vasconcelos' literature. He and his fellow students⁰³ felt very identified with the *Ateneistas*. This is most likely due to the fact that the *1909 Ateneo's* myth, is part of the symbolic construction that sustains the collective identity of those who study at UNAM. Each *universitario*, for example, is committed to fighting to solve the problems of Mexico. This is the *university subjectivity*. The myth of the *1909 Ateneo* is present in each element of university life. For example, the official names of some of

²⁹ Escuché una conferencia, cuando estaba en la preparatoria, de unos compañeros que hablaban de la importancia del Ateneo de 1909.

³⁰ Eran jóvenes, como yo, como mis compañeros de preparatoria y al mismo tiempo me sentía uno de ellos porque ahora me tocaba entrar a la preparatoria y saber que la identidad de todo este grupo estaba plasmada en la Universidad.

³¹ Cuando está en la preparatoria y comienza a leer sobre Vasconcelos, le resulta tan fascinante que se mete, pero de lleno... Se inscribió en concursos sobre el Ateneo, y ganó y ganó.

³² Él [José Luis] es un apasionado de José Vasconcelos y su raza cósmica.

UNAM's high schools are the name of *1909 Ateneistas*. *Preparatoria 5* "José Vasconcelos", *Preparatoria 6* "Antonio Caso". The school name in which *Ateneo* appeared is *Preparatoria 2* "Erasmus Castellanos". Most of all, *1909 Ateneo's* myth shapes the life of each *universitario*. Once José Luis was convinced that the work of the *1909 Ateneo* had to continue to be realized, he proposed to some classmates to build a new collective based on the history, ideas, and commitments around it.

I knew José Luis at *preparatoria* and he invited me to work in the collective. (Carol, 2023)
(Translation)³³

Another effect of the *1909 Ateneo's* myth on the emergence of the new collective could be explained by the thesis held by Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham (2006), Diemer & Li (2011), and Diemer & Rapa (2016) about how organizations transmit frames of reference (see 2.2.2.3) that affect their members' self-awareness and perception of social life and their agency capacity. In this case, UNAM, through *discursive practices* on *1909 Ateneo*, shaped the way to understand and guide collective action among the new *Ateneistas*. In the following photo, it is possible to see those who, over time, joined *Ateneo* at *Preparatoria 2*.

³³ Conocí a José Luis en la preparatoria y me invitó a trabajar en el colectivo.



Figure 3. *Ateneo's meeting in 2010 at Preparatoria 2*³⁴

When José Luis got to join some classmates to revive the *1909 Ateneo*, the first *articulatory practices* started to appear, which consisted of imitating those practices that built the *1909 Ateneo*: reading clubs. The clubs attracted people interested in culture; it can be said that the *demands* of accessing and sharing culture began to form the *chain of equivalences* that would allow *Ateneo* to become a subject later. Carol remembered that each week, they met in front of *Preparatoria*. The objective was to start promoting the reading habit through a book club. At that time, the collective was not focused on a specific public; it was open to everybody.

It was just like very informal reading circles. (Carol, 2023) (Translation)³⁵

³⁴ Photo from the *Ateneo's* archive.

³⁵ Eran como círculos de lectura muy informales.

José Luis's father told me that the book club was held in a park because they had no place to meet until, after some weeks, they were invited to meet in *Casa del Adulto Mayor*³⁶ (Old People's House), in front of the park.

He met in the park with other friends to do their activities... so a man who led an old people group watched them. He told José Luis: Why don't you meet at *Casa del Adulto Mayor*? That cultural center did not admit young people. (José Luis' father, 2023) (Translation)³⁷

5.3.2 *Casa del Adulto Mayor*

The manager of *Casa del Adulto Mayor* gave the first *Ateneistas* access to carry out different cultural activities. This fact enabled the development of new activities that allowed more individual demands to be articulated. They started to develop health campaigns to prevent teenage pregnancy and first aid. Over time, people from different ages and backgrounds came to join these courses after having had a successful time in their activities. *Ateneistas* decided to apply for a grant to finance more ambitious projects. In 2009, the local government had been financing collectives to promote cultural activities in popular areas.

³⁶ *Casa del Adulto Mayor* was a cultural center of the federal government, at that time, for people over 60 years of age. There, arts and humanities courses were taught free of charge. Today they are called *Centros Culturales del Instituto Nacional de las Personas Adultas Mayores* (Cultural Centers of the National Institute for the Elderly). See: <https://www.gob.mx/inapam/acciones-y-programas/centros-culturales-inapam>.

³⁷ Se reunía en el parque con otros amigos para realizar sus actividades... entonces un señor que lideraba un grupo de ancianos los observaba. Le dijo a José Luis: ¿por qué no se reúnen en la Casa del Adulto Mayor? Ese centro cultural no admitía jóvenes.

A call from the Ministry of Culture said that the collectives will be given money to start doing their projects. (José Luis' father, 2023) (Translation)³⁸

The local Ministry of Culture gave that money so the collectives could carry out their activities. So, you submitted your project to the Ministry, and they assessed its social impact. (José Luis' mother, 2003) (Translation)³⁹

This fact represented the first steps towards institutionalization because to get the grant, collectives had to fill out an application with a name, address, description, etc. So, they had to choose a name and define their activities. Until that moment, the collective still did not have a formal name.

It was not until the project of the Ministry of Culture that the *Ateneo* was already beginning to take shape because they had to outline, I suppose, the name of what the collective is called and then that is when, for the first time, they formally discovered themselves as a group. (José Luis' mother, 2003) (Translation)⁴⁰

They chose the name Ateneo de Mexico (Athenaeum of Mexico) for the collective. It was the first *political moment* (Denis, 2015) in which activities like the book club and the workshops at *Casa* consolidated in a collective inspired by the 1909 *Ateneo* to be a formal subject with a name and a more specific *subjectivity*.

³⁸ Un llamado del Ministerio de Cultura dijo que a los colectivos que se formen se les entregará dinero para que puedan empezar a hacer sus proyectos.

³⁹ La Secretaría de Cultura local entregó ese dinero para que los colectivos pudieran realizar sus actividades. Entonces presentabas tu proyecto a la secretaría y ellos evaluaban su impacto social.

⁴⁰ No fue hasta el proyecto de la Secretaría de Cultura, donde el Ateneo ya empezaba a tomar forma porque había que perfilar, supongo, el nombre de cómo se llamaría el colectivo y fue cuando se descubrió por primera vez como grupo formalmente.

The new *Ateneo* faced problems going forward. The first is that its members were not old enough to apply for the grant.

The first problem was that we were very young; that is, we were, I insist, 15 or 16 years old. (Carol, 2023) (Translation)⁴¹

To solve this, *Ateneistas* convinced the *Casa del Adulto Mayor*'s manager to sign the application and include the *Casa* members in their activities.

They also committed to providing us with facilities in the *Casa*, such as storage where we keep things from the toy library. We had a small library that was a book box where we kept our reading circle books. A screen where we projected when we wanted, for example, first aid courses. (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)⁴²

This process encouraged mature and older adults to start to work on the project and, in some sense, become part of the organization. New ways of articulating the *demands* emerged due to the arrival of the new allies, who were different and far in interest to *Ateneistas*. The *demands* from the older adults were universalized through the *Ateneista* project of promoting cultural activities positioned by *Ateneo*'s framing (Benford & Snow, 2000). This *framing* introduced *Ateneo* as a collective project in which everybody fits, young and old people. The primary demand was that everybody

⁴¹ El primer problema fue que éramos muy jóvenes; o sea, teníamos, insisto, 15 o 16 años.

⁴² También se comprometieron a darnos unas instalaciones en la Casa, un almacén donde guardamos las cosas de la ludoteca. Teníamos una pequeña biblioteca que era una caja de libros donde guardábamos los libros del círculo de lectura. Una pantalla donde proyectábamos cuando queríamos hacer, por ejemplo, cursos de primeros auxilios.

could reach culture and the humanities, a claim present in different student movements in the 20th century, even if they were not young.

So, the first version of the *Ateneo* was an intergenerational version that had to include older adults in some way because I sold them the project as if we were going to develop activities for people of all ages...So, the first aid course, for example, was attended by adults a lot. Young people sometimes came to the reading circle, and the one at the play center was full of children, which they liked. (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)⁴³

After some months, they got the money and started to work. They developed the first course on humanities, in which the *Casa del Adulto Mayor* members participated. As José Luis' mother told me, it was the first experience as a formal social organization in which many people were involved because they felt they belonged to a community and were doing things for the greater good.

In a document from the *Ateneo's* archives dated 2009, I could see that during their stay at Casa, they planned regular courses under *Escuela de Formación Humana* (Human Formation School) that lasted around two months, in which they taught philosophy, literature and other subjects. By the end of these activities, *Ateneo* had its first rupture and a break in the *chain of equivalence*, in the sense that it stopped including the *demands* of the *Casa del Adulto Mayor* members. *Ateneistas* had a problem with the *Casa del Adulto Mayor's* manager because of the budget administration.

⁴³ Entonces la primera versión del Ateneo era una versión que también tenía que ser intergeneracional, que tenía que incluir de alguna manera a los adultos mayores porque les vendí el proyecto como si íbamos a desarrollar actividades para personas de todas las edades... Entonces los primeros auxilios El curso, por ejemplo, contó con una gran asistencia de adultos. A veces venían jóvenes al círculo de lectura, y el de la ludoteca estaba lleno de niños, lo que les gustaba.

On the one hand, *Ateneistas* assumed they were the project's author; on the other, the manager argued that he had signed and had the right over the budget.

We had a severe problem with the manager of the *Casa* because he wanted to manage the resources, and I told him that I did not want to give him the money... [He] told me he could accuse me with to authorities, something like that. (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)⁴⁴

To solve the problem, José Luis' parents came to talk with the manager in an intense discussion. Finally, *Ateneo* kept the money. This issue occasioned a rupture that modified *Ateneo* as a *political subject*. They lost a significant number of allied members of the *Casa*. These people represented the members *Ateneo* needed for resource mobilization (Almeida, 2019). To solve this, *Ateneo*'s members—four at that moment—asked José Luis's mother to apply for the grant. This decision meant a new alliance with people of age and a more comfortable use of the budget.

The following year, we applied again, and we won, but in this second edition, I made my mother sign up for the group, and we avoided that. (José Luis, 2003) (Translation)⁴⁵

Ateneo left *Casa del Adulto Mayor* and started to look for new places and support to follow with the project. One of the new activities was *Campamento de Verano* (summer camp). To make this project possible, *Ateneo* chose a new ally: a private school, *Colegio Salesiano* (Salesian College). The summer camp linked *Ateneo* to new institutions and people; they moved from a popular

⁴⁴ Tuvimos un problema serio con el director de la Casa porque quería administrar los recursos, y le dije que no quería darle el... me dijo que me podía acusar con las autoridades, algo así.

⁴⁵ Al año siguiente, de hecho, volvimos a postularnos y ganamos, pero en esta segunda edición hice que mi mamá se apuntara al grupo y lo evitamos.

neighborhood to a middle-class one. The family members of the attendants wanted to participate actively in the activities of *Ateneo*, which represented the arrival of new *demands*. The *universal demand* still remains the cultural mission.

The experience was so pleasant that many returned and said: hey, I want to participate. Hey, how can I help you? Moreover, even the invited speakers said: What else will we do? Today we already gave this course and tomorrow what do we do? (Carol, 2023) (Translation)⁴⁶

After conducting the summer camp, *Ateneo* launched a second version of *Escuela de Formación Humana*. For José Luis, *Escuela* was thought to be an answer to the governmental reform of primary and high school education, in which specific courses, such as philosophy, ethics, civism, and history, were eliminated. The *Escuela's* mission was to teach various courses related to the humanities, such as history, civism, philosophy, and international affairs. The public for this project was high school students directly affected by the reform.

It was a summer course that sought to assimilate Plato's Academy and tried to have several disciplines with which we could train young people in the humanities. (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)⁴⁷

Escuela was an effort to bring humanities to young people by exposing them to different arts, similar to what happened in ancient Greece. By doing this, *Ateneistas* imitated the practices of

⁴⁶ La experiencia fue tan placentera que muchos regresaron y dijeron: oye, quiero participar. Oye, ¿en qué puedo ayudarte? Y hasta los ponentes invitados dijeron: ¿qué más vamos a hacer? Hoy ya dimos este curso y mañana ¿qué hacemos?

⁴⁷ Fue un curso de verano que buscaba asimilar la Academia de Platón y trataba de tener varias disciplinas con las que pudiéramos formar a los jóvenes en humanidades.

1909 *Ateneistas* and reinforced their subjectivity. In *Ateneo*'s archives, I found a document dated 2011 that seems to be the planner for this version of the *Escuela*. In the document, *Ateneo* described the project as:

Escuela de Formación Humana is a project focused on young people between 12 and 19 years old. Escuela seeks to foster young leaders who become agents of change with a critical, constructive and social consciousness through offering courses in the area of humanities, such as artistic appreciation, ethics, poetry, public speaking, environmental education, politics and philosophy. (Ateneo 2011, EFH) (Translation)⁴⁸

As Carol confirmed me, the effect on the formation of critical consciousness in *Escuela*'s attendants is similar to what was pointed out by Christens, Winn & Duke (2016), Diemer & Li (2011), Diemer & Rapa (2016), and Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham (2006) in the sense that social organizations help generate critical awareness in individuals about social problems. The document reveals the philosophy behind *Ateneistas*, which was to build a country with a new Mexican soul, the same nationalist objective José Vasconcelos had. *Ateneistas* explicitly stated in the document the intention of creating a new young identity with specific values by mixing European philosophy and Mesoamerican art. At this moment, this demand got the representation of the original chain of equivalence on bringing progress through humanism and philosophy, through spread culture. The *Ateneo* emerged formally as *the people*, as a *political subject* (Laclau, 2005).

⁴⁸ Escuela de Formación Humana es un proyecto enfocado a jóvenes entre 12 y 19 años. La Escuela busca formar jóvenes líderes que se conviertan en agentes de cambio con conciencia crítica, constructiva y social a través de la oferta de cursos en el área de humanidades, como apreciación artística, ética, poesía, oratoria, educación ambiental, política y filosofía.

Escuela de Formación Humana aspires to become the new manna of humanism for new Mexican generations. At the heart of our project is the interest in strengthening young people's identity with their country's values, customs and history. Thus, the philosophy of this project forms eclectic humanism without losing the spirit of its contemporaneity. It is rooted in the peripatetic tradition of Socrates, as in the lyric metaphysics of Netzahualcóyotl. (Ateneo 2011, EFH) (Translation)⁴⁹

For this project, *Ateneo* established new alliances. They asked for help from external organizations. They sent invitations to many organizations, including unions. They received exceptional support from *Asociación Nacional de Actores* (Actors' National Union) and *Sindicato de la Red de Transporte de Pasajeros* (Passenger Transportation Union). Most of the students who came to *Escuela* were the children of actors and truck drivers.

Consequently, adults came again to work with *Ateneo* by assuming a commitment to the *Ateneo's* mission: Mexican progress. This alliance allowed *Ateneo* to go beyond the limits of the *preparatoria 2*, *Casa del Adulto Mayor*, and *Colegio Salesiano*. They started to be a social organization with a capacity for framing and mobilizing sources (Della Porta & Dani, 2020). The next photo shows some of the attendants to *Escuela's* courses. They were people from different backgrounds and problematic environments.

⁴⁹ Escuela de Formación Humana aspira a convertirse en el nuevo maná del humanismo para las nuevas generaciones mexicanas, por eso en el corazón de nuestro proyecto está el interés de fortalecer la identidad de los jóvenes con los valores, costumbres e historia de su país. Así, la filosofía de este proyecto conforma un humanismo ecléctico sin perder el espíritu de su contemporaneidad. Tiene sus raíces en la tradición peripatética de Sócrates, como en la metafísica lírica de Netzahualcóyotl.



Figure 4. *Escuela de Formación Humana*⁵⁰

For Carol, *Escuela* represented the means to bring culture and humanities to young individuals in the popular class.

[They] were kids who were lost, lost in nothingness, that is, they had no idea what they were going to do with their lives, who had drug problems or who lived in highly dysfunctional families, and kids who had no direction. (Carol, 2023) (Translation)⁵¹

⁵⁰ Photo from the *Ateneo*'s archive.

⁵¹ Eran niños que estaban perdidos, perdidos en la nada, es decir, que no tenían idea de qué iban a hacer con sus vidas, que tenían problemas de drogas o que vivían en familias extremadamente disfuncionales, niños que no tenían rumbo.

5.3.3 *Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud*

By 2010, once *Escuela de Formación Humana* and *Campamento de Verano* had ended successfully, *Ateneo* came into a stage of consolidation and institutionalization. Institutionalized practices started, through internal regulations, to manage the life of *Ateneistas* and consolidate the organization under the new name of *Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud* (Mexican Atheneum of Youth). It was the first moment the word “youth” appeared formally in the organization to drive it towards the work for Mexican youth.

That is how it started; it was called *Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud*. There was a previous name, but *Ateneo* was always a constant. (Carol, 2023) (Translation)⁵²

At this stage, it is possible to observe three types of *articulatory practices* that will consolidate the first *Ateneo*. The first is the creation of regulations and rituals, such as the *Ateneista* oath, through which an institutional identity and principles are stated. The second is creating the *Ágora* magazine, in which the principles inherited from the 1909 *Ateneo* are advocated. The third consists of creating the project *Filosofía a las Calles* (Philosophy in the Streets), with which they sought to carry out the *Ateneista* mission into practice by bringing the philosophical discussion to ordinary young people. This last *articulatory practice* also allowed *Ateneo* to link up with intellectuals and politicians of the moment, establishing alliances with them and gaining public notoriety.

⁵² Así empezó todo; se llamó Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud. Hubo un nombre anterior, pero Ateneo siempre fue una constante.

5.3.3.1 Institutionalization

A document from *Ateneo's* archive from 2010 named *Fundamentos Ateneo* (*Ateneo's* fundamentals) can be interpreted as a foundational act. On the first page, it is stated that the 1909 *Ateneo* inspired the organization. Still, after reading the information gathered for the first time, I realized that the origin of the *Ateneo* word is relevant to them.

The name of this organization comes from the Latin Athenaeum, which comes from the Temple of Pallas in Athens, where poets, philosophers, and speakers met during the classical era to read and share their thoughts. From this fact, the term “Ateneo” obtains its meaning as a place where scientific or literary associations meet. (Ateneo, 2010, Fundamentos) (Translation)⁵³

This foundational document defined the origin of *Ateneo*, strengthening the *discourse* about the mission of a cultural and literary organization. All the new *Ateneistas* who read it became aware of the organization's origin beyond its link to the 1909 *Ateneo*. In the same sense, the document refers to the mission of *Ateneistas* as a group of intellectuals who sought social change, to be a light to guide *the people* who would transform Mexico.

We, who created this project, who included ourselves in it and who support and promote it because beyond viewing it as a mere service to the community, we are all deeply convinced, committed and encouraged to continue forging the new generation of men who revolutionize the meaning of this country. Who rethink the reconstruction of the country more internally than externally, who

⁵³ El nombre de esta organización proviene del latín Ateneo, que proviene del Templo de Palas en Atenas, donde poetas, filósofos y oradores se reunían durante la época clásica para leer y compartir sus pensamientos. De este hecho, el término “Ateneo” recoge su significado como lugar de reunión de asociaciones científicas o literarias.

will value the great importance of the cohesion of our Latin American race and are the procreators of a cosmic race, those who are the guarantors of a majestic, enlightened nation, the forgers of a new destiny. (Ateneo 2010, Fundamentos) (Translation) ⁵⁴

It seems to me that this is the most crucial institutional regulation that will shape the behaviour and *subjectivity* of all *Ateneistas*. The section of the document talks about a kind of assembly that is writing the will of a collective. As they started with the pronoun “we” (Butler, 2016), they created themselves as an overdetermined discursive construction; they assumed themselves as a collective with a political identity that represented its members with an agreement about *who they are* and *what they do*. That is to say, with a *political subjectivity* (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021). It is the next *political moment* (Denis, 2015) in which *Ateneo* emerges formally as a political actor.

Another document from 2010, *Protocolo para Nuevos Miembros* (regulation for new members), describes the requirements for joining *Ateneo*. *Protocolo* shows *Ateneo*’s efforts to filter its members and choose those with a specific profile. The first requirement was to be between 18 and 35 years old and express interest in following the organization's principles. The following requirement was to deliver a lecture on a topic related to culture and literature. After meeting the admission requirements, the new members had to swear an oath. The first lines of the oath referred to “assert the ideals of the *Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud* at all times and in any circumstance”

⁵⁴ Nosotros, que creamos este proyecto, que nos incluimos en él y que lo apoyamos e impulsamos es porque más allá de verlo como un mero servicio a la comunidad, todos estamos profundamente convencidos, comprometidos y animados a seguir forjando la nueva generación de hombres que revolucionarán el significado de este país. Quienes repensan la reconstrucción del país más internamente que externamente, quienes valorarán la gran importancia de la cohesión de nuestra raza latinoamericana y son los procreadores de una raza cósmica, quienes son los garantes de una majestuosa nación iluminada, los forjadores de un nuevo destino.

(Translation).⁵⁵ By bringing the ideals of the *Ateneo* to all aspects of their lives, these practices shaped the *subjectivity* of the *Ateneistas*.

The following lines refer to conducting oneself with a social conscience⁵⁶ and in favour of the national interest and to “fighting for the social, political, cultural and economic aspects of our country, in search of progress and development, with an ethical and moral base, towards the aspiration of a new Mexico and the advent of the *raza cósmica*” (Ateneo, 2010, Protocolo) (Translation).⁵⁷ Another essential element that drove the *discourse* was the creation of a logo to identify it. The identity of *Ateneo* was captured in a logo designed by one of the *Ateneistas* of that time. The myths of the 1909 *Ateneo* significantly influenced the logo. On the one hand, it is possible to observe the reference to Ancient Greece and, on the other, the Mexican eagle and Andean condor, which also can be found in the UNAM’s logo due to José Vasconcelos’s decision to include them to represent the brotherhood of Latin America led by the university.

⁵⁵ Hacer valer los ideales del Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud en todo momento y en cualquier circunstancia.

⁵⁶ I have used here the term conscience instead of that of consciousness, because in this case it is referred to a moral position face to social problems, and not as awareness or self-recognizing. The same explanation applies for the following parts of the research in which I use this concept.

⁵⁷ Luchar por lo social, político, cultural y económico de nuestro país, en busca del progreso y desarrollo, con bases éticas y morales, hacia la aspiración de un nuevo México y el advenimiento de la raza cósmica.



Figure 5. *First slogan*⁵⁸

As part of the new organization's activities, *Ateneistas* developed two new projects: *Revista Ágora* (Ágora magazine) and *Filosofía a las Calles* (Philosophy on the Streets). With these projects, they sought to jump to the public sphere and carry out their mission to bring culture to the population to change the country by changing the spirit of each Mexican.

In the next photo, the first members of the *Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud* and some of the individuals who attended their activities can be observed.

⁵⁸ Photo from the *Ateneo*'s archive.



Figure 6. First members of Ateneo Mexicano de la Juventud⁵⁹

5.3.3.2 Revista Agora

Revista Ágora (Agora magazine) was an exciting project in which *Ateneistas* wanted to show a strong connection to the 1909 *Ateneistas*. In the magazine dated January 2009, it is possible to identify an intention to directly link the works of the 1909 *Ateneistas* to those made by the new ones. On the first page, a José Vasconcelos photo was placed with the statement “José Vasconcelos Teacher of the American Youth” (Translation).⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Photo from the *Ateneo*’s archive.

⁶⁰ José Vasconcelos, maestro de las juventudes de América.

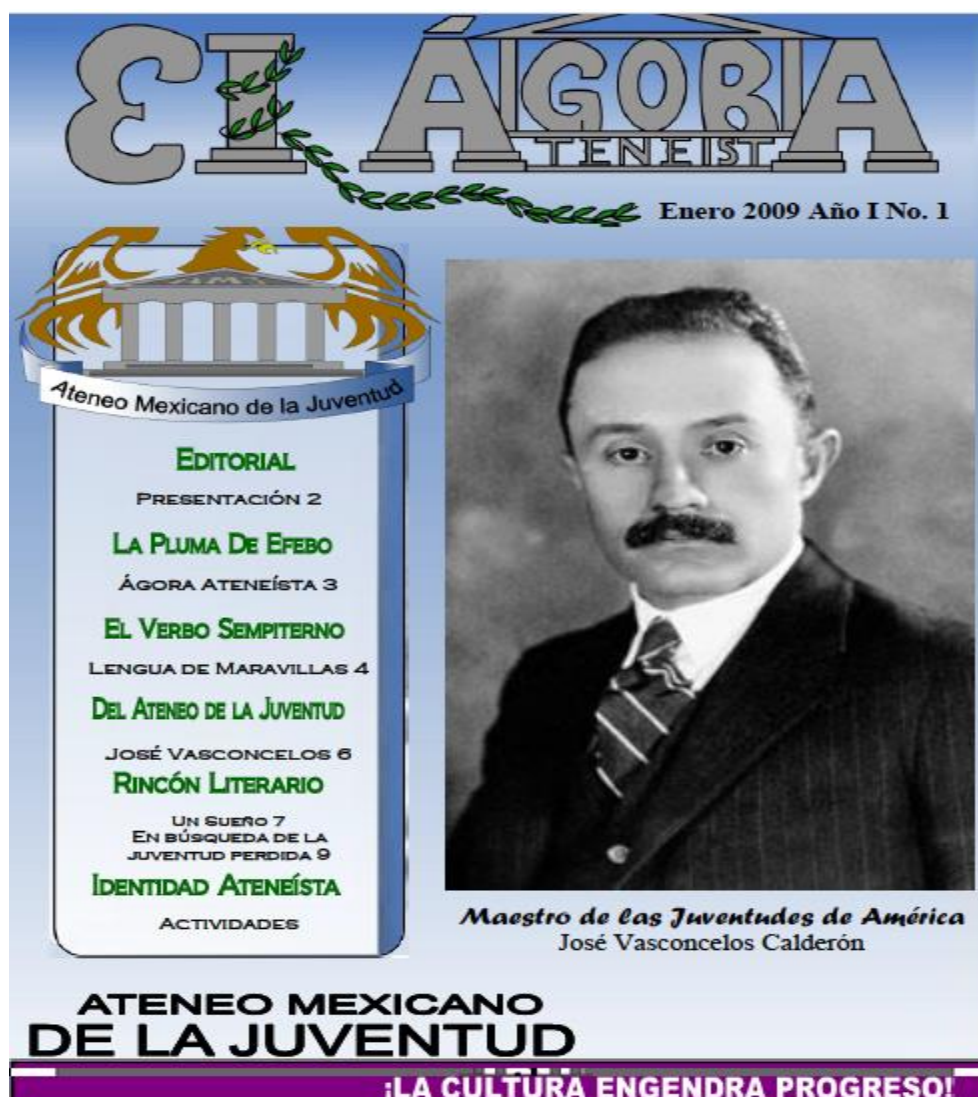


Figure 7. *El Ágora* magazine⁶¹

In the same sense, on the last page, one can read: “to the memory of the magazine *Savia Moderna* and the centenary of the Athenaeum of Youth” (Translation).⁶² As mentioned, *Savia Moderna* was a magazine edited by the *Ateneistas* of 1909. José Vasconcelos’ biography and some of their works can be read on some pages. It is interesting to mention that almost all the documents are dedicated to him.

⁶¹ Document from the *Ateneo*’s archive.

⁶² A la memoria de la revista *Savia Moderna* y al centenario del Ateneo de la Juventud.

Also, José Luis wrote an article claiming for connecting with the ideals of ancient *Ateneo* as their inheritances.

Let us wake up from the lethargy of more than four decades and once again be the guiding axis of society because each generation has left its legacy, and today, in our hands, we have the baton of history to write our pages and leave our names recorded for posterity. Because we are heirs of the same educational mission of the *Ateneo de la Juventud*, of the fight for university autonomy of the young people of 1909, of the intellectual and ideological legacy of those great seven wise men. (Ateneo, 2009, *Ágora*) (Translation)⁶³

Ágora was only printed once but represented another way through the *foundational techniques* carried out to build *Ateneo* as a *political subject* with a *subjectivity* linked to the *1909 Ateneo's* mission, especially on the thought of José Vasconcelos.

5.3.3.3 *Filosofía a las calles* (Philosophy in the Street)

In 2010, *Ateneo* founded *Filosofía a las Calles* (Philosophy in the Street). This program sought to bring philosophical discussion from the university rooms to ordinary people. The way to do it was

⁶³ Despertemos del letargo de más de cuatro décadas y somos nuevamente el eje rector de la sociedad porque cada generación ha dejado su legado, y hoy en nuestras manos tenemos el bastón de la historia para escribir nuestras propias páginas y dejar nuestros nombres grabados para la posteridad. Porque somos herederos de la misma misión educativa del Ateneo de la Juventud, de la lucha por la autonomía universitaria de los jóvenes de 1909, del legado intelectual e ideológico de aquellos siete sabios hombres.

to go to the streets. After some talks in parks, they started to give talks and lectures in metro stations.

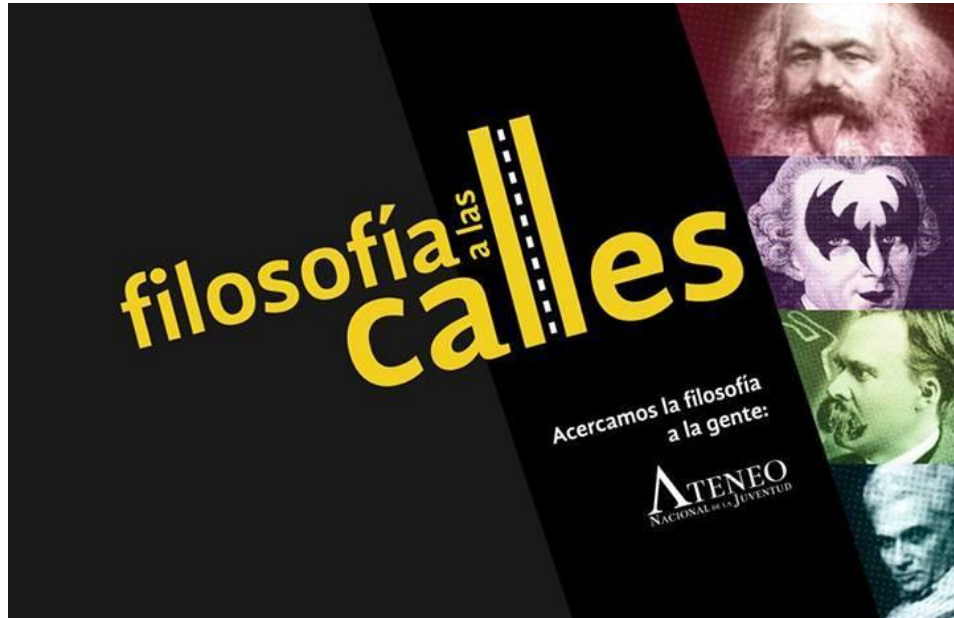


Figure 8. *Filosofía a las Calles*’ flyer⁶⁴

We started with a group of talks in the subway. We chose it strategically because, for me, the idea was to resume what Socrates did, going to the heart of the polis and questioning the citizens and dialoguing with them, and what bothered me was that philosophy had been left only in the classrooms. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)⁶⁵

Ateneo invited students from the UNAM’s Faculty of Philosophy, Political Science, and Economics to give lectures every two weeks. The audience was made up of merchants,

⁶⁴ Photo from the *Ateneo*’s archive.

⁶⁵ Empezamos con un grupo de charlas en el metro. Lo elegimos estratégicamente porque, para mí, la idea era retomar lo que hizo Sócrates, ir al corazón de las polis e interrogar a los ciudadanos y dialogar con ellos, y lo que me molestaba era que la filosofía se hubiera quedado sólo en las aulas.

bureaucrats, retired and interested people. *The people* listened with attention and participated with comments and questions.

Curiosity made people come, sit, listen, participate, speak about life, and criticize the government. Still, they made a profound comment about what they considered to be the meaning of life. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)⁶⁶

In *Ateneo*'s archives, a 2010 document, *Filosofía al Pueblo* (Philosophy to the People), describes the project.

This project aims to spread the philosophy in an accessible way for everyone through spaces outside the academy and universities, in which universal knowledge permeates all social strata, to awaken people's critical thinking about society and their daily lives. (Ateneo, 2010, *Filosofía*) (Translation)⁶⁷

One of the first conferences featured speaker Susana Quintanilla, who wrote a book on the *Ateneo of 1909*. Again, these activities were an effort to link *Ateneo* with the past and attract more people to the organization by imitating with accuracy the same strategies of the *1909 Ateneo*. In this case, they imitated the conferences given in 1910.

⁶⁶ La curiosidad hizo que la gente viniera, se sentara y escuchara, luego participara y hablara sobre la vida y criticara al gobierno. Aun así, hicieron un profundo comentario sobre lo que consideraban el sentido de la vida.

⁶⁷ Este proyecto pretende difundir la filosofía de manera accesible para todos a través de espacios fuera de la academia y las universidades, en los que el conocimiento universal impregne todos los estratos sociales, con el propósito de despertar el pensamiento crítico de las personas sobre la sociedad y su vida cotidiana.



Figure 9. Susana Quintanilla at Filosofía a las Calles⁶⁸

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the first *Ateneo* as a *political subject* between 2009 and 2011. In this period, a series of *articulatory practices* were identified. These practices allowed the different *demands* to access and disseminate the culture and humanities of those who joined the *Ateneo*, to be represented by the *universal demand* of potentiate youth through the assimilationist project. The unity achieved through these *articulatory practices* was particularly evident in the activities carried out in *Casa del Adulto Mayor* and *Escuela de Formación Humana*. These practices, which I have named *foundational techniques*, sought to shape the *Ateneo* as a consolidated social group with an identity linked to the myth of the *Ateneo of 1909*.

⁶⁸ Photo from the *Ateneo*'s archive.

In the case of the 2009 *Ateneo*, its consolidation as a *political subject* comes from the mission of being a youth organization for young people, to provide them with a better future through the *Ateneista's* project. This *universalization* gave rise to *Ateneo* as a people: a *political subject* that began to develop its mission in the public and political spheres. This can be confirmed by the alliances the *Ateneo* established with public institutions such as *Casa del Adulto Mayor*, *Colegio Saleciano*, and the truck drivers' and actors' union. However, the *Ateneo's* role as a platform for intellectual and political connections highlights its influence. The founding of *Filosofía a las Calles* marked a significant moment in the deepening of the politicization of the general demand, as it *brought* together young people from diverse backgrounds and connected *Ateneistas* to the intellectual and political leaders of the moment.

Regarding *Ateneo's* *subjectivity*, the documents and interviews showed that the members of *Ateneo* began to assume the 1909 *Ateneo's* mission, which would profoundly influence their daily lives. This is evident in the regulation for new members, which emphasizes that every *Ateneista* should defend the identity and ideology of the organization under any circumstance. This underscores that the first *Ateneo* was a *political subject* with a unique *subjectivity* among its members. They were committed to bringing culture and the humanities to young Mexicans to build cosmic youth (Vasconcelos, 2019), as evidenced by the foundational documents.

It is essential to highlight the influence of the discursive structure of Mexican nationalism in the formation and mission of the 1909 *Ateneo*, and how it reached the 2009 *Ateneo* through two paths: The first, through the imitation and reproduction of *discursive practices*, which were expressed in the reading of the classics in the reading clubs held at *Preparatoria 2*, the cultural activities at

Casa del Adulto Mayor and the design of the *Escuela de Formación Humana* as a way of bringing knowledge to the masses. The second was the establishment of the *Ateneo's* mandate to carry out the mission of the 1909 *Ateneo* of contributing to the progress of Mexico by constructing the *subjectivity* of the individual of the cosmic race. As has been pointed out, it must be taken into account that the first *Ateneistas* studied in schools and faculties that belonged to the UNAM, a pivotal institution whose historical mission has been the massification of education and the delivery of the nationalist *discourse*. UNAM was the *dispositif* (Deleuze, 1986, 1990) through which the nationalist *discourse* of Mexico was delivered until the beginning of the 20th century, when studies and claims about the decolonization of Latin American thought, led by Dussel (2011, 2015) in the Faculty of Philosophy. The criticism of nationalism as a discourse based on assimilationism and rejection of Indigenous culture, led by Gutiérrez (2011, 2015) at the Institute for Social Research, became relevant.

As we will see in the next *Ateneo*, these *foundational techniques* will be replaced by other types of practices linked to other new *demands*, establishing *Ateneo* as a *public action subject*. Its mission will no longer be to bring culture and the humanities to the youth population but to find spaces and train them to affect youth public policies.

It is also essential to highlight José Luis's leadership in constructing *Ateneo* as a subject. As Laclau (2005) points out, the populist project is expressed by the leadership representing the *universal demand*. That is to say, José Luis enacts such *populist leadership* because he assumed the task of linking new members to *articulatory practices* and convincing them of the possibility of finding a *representation* of their *demands* through the *Ateneista* framing. That is to say, it is done by

identifying threats to the Mexican youth and providing an agenda for the solution (Snow & Benford, 1988). This can be observed in the idea of providing young people the possibility of fighting to carry out the ideal of the cosmic race, the new Mexican generation of youths.

Chapter 6. The Second *Ateneo*: becoming a *public action subject*

6.1 Introduction

In the first *Ateneo*, a series of *articulatory practices* that generated a collective identity based on an *Ateneista* subjectivity inspired by the 1909 *Ateneo* were observed. The emerging *political subject* came from a demand to bring humanities and culture to Mexican society that was represented by a *Ateneo* itself, as a *people*. The mission was to fulfill the José Vasconcelos's nationalist mandate: to boost Mexican youth through the idea of progress.

In the second *Ateneo*, new *articulatory practices*, such as participation in politics to affect the public sphere, allowed the emergence of a new *universal demand* that represented it: the participation of young people in *public action* processes. This new *universal demand* sought to bring the youth perspective to the policies that affected young people. The second *Ateneo* started with a series of practices around its incorporation as a legal entity in 2011. These practices sought to involve *Ateneistas* in the public sphere. Also, a *dispositif* (Deleuze, 1986; 1990) appeared to coordinate the different practices around public action. The *dispositif* was the *Observatorio de Derechos Juveniles* (Observatory of Youth Rights). Through it, *Ateneistas* organized different and systematic activities related to *public action* in which young people who were not necessarily *Ateneistas* participated in analyzing youth policies.

The second *Ateneo* declined around 2019 when *Observatorio* disappeared, and other practices and *dispositifs* appeared in the context of the pandemic to give rise to the third *Ateneo*, which will return to collective action to seek recognition of cultural differences in society instead of the public

sphere. In this chapter, I will present the different typologies around the *articulatory practices* that allowed *Ateneo* to emerge as a *public action subject*.

6.2 The National *Ateneo*

When the first *Ateneistas* reached the age of 18, they were allowed to constitute a formal organization. As mentioned, as underaged, *Ateneistas* depended on adults to take risks and make decisions. This fact meant that the alliances with actors and individuals prevented going forward to an organization by and for young people. As Carol told me, they wanted and were waiting to reach the legal age for total independence.

We really wanted to be adults who would give formality and seriousness to the project. Finally, that happened. (Carol, 2023) (Translation)⁶⁹

Once the legal age was reached, they passed on to the university level. They started to bring students from different schools, build a network with different people, and realized the need to create a legal institution. This change also meant transforming the social environment constituted by adults (The seniors of *Casa*, professors from *Colegio Salesiano* and the actors and truck drivers from unions) for a new one constituted by young people (students at the university level).

⁶⁹ Teníamos muchas ganas de ser adultos que le dieran formalidad y seriedad al proyecto. Finalmente, eso pasó.



Figure 9. UNAM's Faculty of Political and Social Science Committee, 2015.⁷⁰

Ten individuals worked on writing statutes and regulations. At that moment, they discussed the official name for replacing the collective into a legal entity. José Luis told me they had heated discussions about the new organization's name. For some, *Ateneo* as a singular name was good; for others, the name had to refer to Mexico, so *Ateneo de Mexico* (*Ateneo* of Mexico) was an option. Some pointed out the need to state that the organization was for young people, so the name had to be adapted to that. Finally, they decided on *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud* (National Atheneum of Youth). By adding the “national” character, they tried to project an extended organization in the country.

⁷⁰ Photo from *Ateneo*'s archive.

A way to build and reinforce the identity of the new organization was to try to establish a formal link to the *1909 Ateneo*. *Ateneistas* tried to meet with the sons of the members of the *1909 Ateneo* while deciding the organization's name. They were asking for approval to use the original name because it was a right for 100 years for the legal use of *Ateneo de Mexico*. In the end, the meetings were unsuccessful because more of these people were not interested in the activities of their parents or grandparents. For example, "José Vasconcelos' son told them he did not want to know anything about his father's activities" (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)⁷¹. In the case of Alfonso Reyes' daughter, she listened to them but did not offer any interest in the activities of the new *Ateneo*.

Despite the fruitless efforts, this campaign served *Ateneo* in building the most powerful tool of *political subjectivity*: creating a foundational myth on a kind of transition and heritage from the *Ateneo* of 1909 to that of 2011.

We did not make all this public, and we only said that we had the support of the founders of *1909 Ateneo*. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)⁷²

This myth made it possible to articulate and conserve the practices and *foundational techniques* that gave cohesion to the organization. From that moment until today, the narrative about the inheritance of 1909 *Ateneo*'s mission is a founding myth. This legend can be read on the organization's website consulted in 2022:

⁷¹ El hijo de José Vasconcelos me dijo que quería saber nada relacionado con su padre.

⁷² Todo esto no lo hicimos público, y sólo dijimos que teníamos el apoyo de los fundadores del *Ateneo* 1909.

Ateneo was born on August 11, 2011, as a civil association formed by and for young people. It takes up the historical legacy of the *Ateneo of 1909*. We claim to be heirs of its cultural mission: to bring philosophy and the humanities to the masses and build an inclusive democracy that starts from actively exercising our citizenship. (Ateneo, 2022) (Translation)⁷³

In some sense, this fact linked the organization with the *1909 Ateneo*, *UNAM*, and its students. This meant to be heirs of the *Ateneista* and university mission to promote progress through culture.

6.3 The Legal Constitution

Ateneo was legally constituted in 2011, and the Mexican state recognized *Ateneo's* identity, norms, and regulations for the first time. They got autonomy and the capacity to mobilize resources. Every *Ateneista* signing the foundational act was obligated to the mission and would have to account for their actions. The *Acta Constitutiva* (Constitutive Act) is the legal document by which the Mexican State recognized *Ateneo* as *Organización de la Sociedad Civil* (Civil Society Organization). The document dates from August 12th of 2011. Interestingly, *Ateneistas* chose August 12th, the International Youth Day. The Public Notary No. 35 of Mexico City and nine *Ateneistas* signed the Act.

⁷³ El Ateneo nació el 11 de agosto de 2011, como una asociación civil formada por y para jóvenes. Recoge el legado histórico del Ateneo de 1909. Nos reivindicamos herederos de su misión cultural: acercar la filosofía y las humanidades a lo popular y construir una democracia inclusiva que parta del ejercicio activo de nuestra ciudadanía.

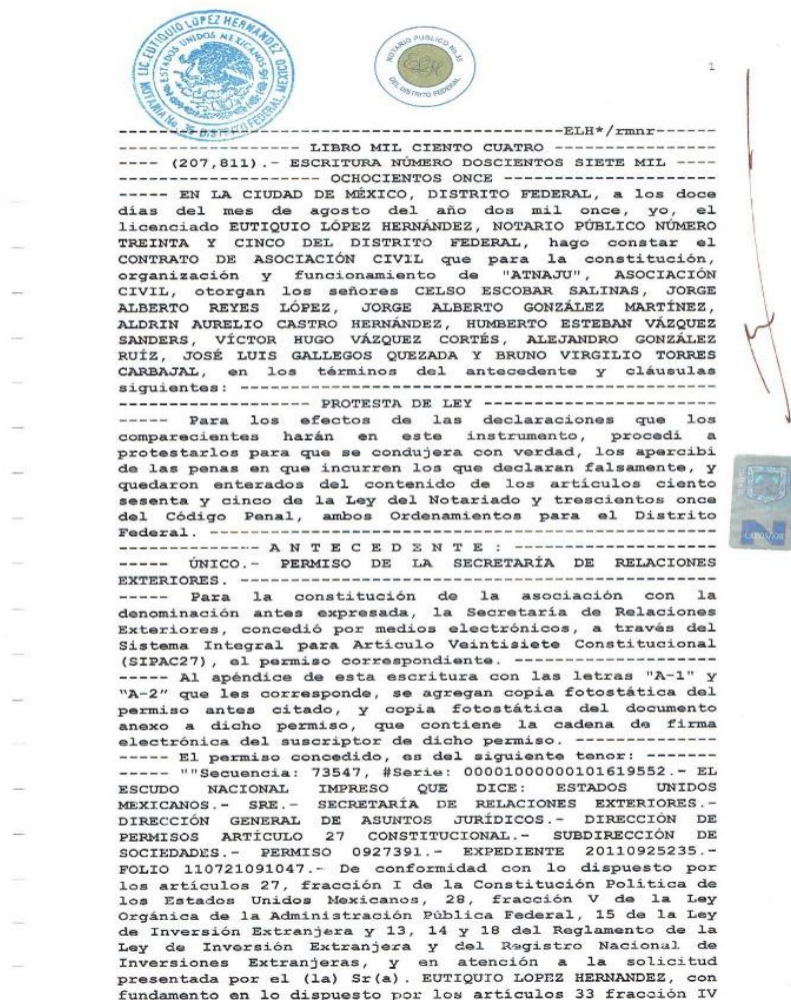


Figure 10. *Acta Constitutiva 1*.⁷⁴

The document established the objective of the association:

The civil association is organized on a non-profit basis. Its primary objective is to promote the proactive participation of Mexican youth, mainly within the areas of social action, education, and culture. The association will guide its youth development activities, promoting the love of fine arts, philosophy, and care for the environment while exalting citizen, patriotic, and democratic

⁷⁴ Document from *Ateneo*'s archive.

values. Likewise, the association will promote activities in which young people develop projects that benefit society, intending to train young leaders with initiative and capacity for action. (Ateneo, 2011, Acta I) (Translation)⁷⁵

None of the first *Ateneistas* from *preparatoria* signed the legal document. Only José Luis was part of the legal constitution, and he was in a position below the president and secretary. In a conversation, José Luis told me that he was trying to help Ateneo to survive, and the only way to do it was by inviting new members and offering the principal positions. Reviewing the archives, I found that the legal act was reformed one year later, and a new one was issued. In *Acta II*, eight founders resigned as president, secretary, and members with a voice.

A new member, Carol, signed *Acta II* as the association's president. José Luis took the secretary and administrator position. Only two persons signed the new act. I again contacted José Luis for an explanation about this. He told me that it was a problem with money. When he returned from his stage in the U.S. in the final part of 2011, he found that *Ateneo* had gained a grant from the Ministry of Education, and the budget was badly administrated. This situation occasioned a severe discussion between members who accused each other.

⁷⁵ La asociación civil está organizada sin fines de lucro. Su objetivo principal es promover la participación proactiva de la juventud mexicana, principalmente en las áreas de acción social, educación y cultura. La asociación orientará sus actividades de desarrollo juvenil, promoviendo el amor por las bellas artes, la filosofía y el cuidado del medio ambiente, al tiempo que exalta los valores ciudadanos, patrióticos y democráticos. Asimismo, la asociación promoverá actividades en las que los jóvenes desarrollen proyectos que beneficien a la sociedad, con el objetivo de formar jóvenes líderes con iniciativa y capacidad de acción.

Additionally, some founders were no longer interested in participating in the association. Carol played a crucial role in figuring out this crisis. She negotiated to keep the control, with José Luis, of *Ateneo*. That action made Carol the first woman *Ateneo*'s president.

Everyone wanted to decide what to do with the money, and my position was that it be reinvested in the association... Alejandro was already about to find a new organization, Bruno was no longer so interested, and Celso no longer had a personal relationship. That was the reason why we transitioned to a two-person partnership. There, Carol managed to get them to give us the association. (José Luis, 2024) (José Luis)⁷⁶

These problems show *Ateneo*'s problematic transition from a collective to a social organization, from the fight for political control and resources within the association. Finally, José Luis maintained and reinforced his leadership for the following years, becoming a populist leader that represented *Ateneo* through his person (Laclau, 2005). More about this will be discussed in the next two chapters.

⁷⁶ Todos querían decidir qué hacer con el dinero, y mi posición era que se reinvirtiera en la asociación... Alejandro ya estaba por fundar una nueva organización, Bruno ya no estaba tan interesado y Celso ya no tenía una relación personal.. Esa fue la razón por la que hicimos la transición a una asociación de dos personas. Allí quien logró que nos dieran la asociación fue Carol.

6.4 The Alliance with *Acatlán*⁷⁷

*Oratoria*⁷⁸ was a practice that allowed *Ateneo* to get recognition among civil society and recruit new members. One of the reasons was that from the beginning, as mentioned before, José Luis participated in this type of contest at *Preparatoria 2*, and it was a way to meet more people. By this time, in the same way, *oratoria* made José Luis come into contact with students from other UNAM schools and make the first alliances as happened with students from the faculty of *Acatlán* (UNAM's campus outside Mexico City).

I spoke with them and told them I saw this association as an important group at the University. It has always been a comparison, not of what the *Ateneo of 1909* was and what we could do now. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)⁷⁹

They proposed starting with activities on literature and *oratoria* and creating a network of UNAM's university students to democratize it.

I envisioned having a branch of *Ateneo* in each faculty and controlling the University Council⁸⁰ to achieve a council reform. Furthermore, part of my speech [to them] was that since it was an

⁷⁷ Hablé con ellos y les dije que veía a esta asociación como un grupo importante en la Universidad. Siempre ha sido una comparación, no de lo que era el Ateneo de 1909 y lo que podíamos hacer ahora.

⁷⁸ *Oratoria* (in English oratory) is an activity mostly carried out in schools and some institutions. In oratory contests, participants speak about a topic using rhetoric. The most convincing and eloquent person on a particular topic wins.

⁷⁹ Hablé con ellos y les dije que veía a esta asociación como un grupo importante en la Universidad. Siempre ha sido una comparación, no de lo que era el Ateneo de 1909 y lo que podíamos hacer ahora.

⁸⁰ Consejo Universitario (University Council) is the highest organ for deliberate decisions at UNAM. Students, professors, and workers have representatives in it.

ossified institution that was extremely hierarchical, the University was not democratic, so that was like the great horizon. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)⁸¹

Part of the job was guaranteeing the inclusion of young students in the University Council. José Luis felt that the organization would take off by unfolding *Ateneo* inside the University and orienting it to students. He tried to be more attractive to more people by differentiating from *Consejo General de Huelga* (General Strike Council).

The first way to convince our allies at that time was to invite them to participate in activities that would differentiate them from what CGH had been doing and that would have more of an influence on the cultural development of university students. Cultural but political, or if there has been a political component since then, that is important. And that was also the duality that the *Ateneo* speech always allowed me, right? Because they were a cultural and political group. (José Luis, 2022) (Translation)⁸²

The group of *Acatlán* accepted the invitation, changed their name, and accepted to be named *Ateneo-Acatlán*. The first alliance to get new members from another organization was successful, and *Ateneo* grew big. This fact also opened new paths of *articulation* with political parties. The leader of *Ateneo-Acatlán*, Carlos L. and his peers had links with PRI, and *Ateneo* also emerged as a means to link university activities with politics.

⁸¹ Mi visión era tener una filial del Ateneo en cada facultad y, de alguna manera, controlar al Consejo Universitario para lograr esa reformulación. Además, parte de mi discurso fue que, al ser una institución anquilosada, extremadamente jerárquica, la Universidad no era democrática, entonces ese era como el gran horizonte.

⁸² La primera forma de convencer a nuestros aliados en ese momento fue invitarlos a participar en actividades que los diferenciaron de lo que venía haciendo el CGH y que tuvieran más influencia en el desarrollo cultural de los estudiantes universitarios. Cultural pero político, o si ha habido un componente político desde entonces, eso es importante. Y esa fue también la dualidad que siempre me permitió el discurso del Ateneo, ¿no? Porque eran un grupo cultural y político.

6.5 The *Oratoria* Contests

As mentioned, *oratoria* was one of the most important activities that connected Ateneistas. *Oratory* first appeared in *Ateneo* in 2009 when José Luis met Alejandro and invited him to be part of the first *Ateneo* when they had the project in *Casa del Adulto Mayor*.

He [Alejandro] was from another high school. In fact, he had just entered the Faculty of Engineering, but he was dedicated to training in oratory. He was the one who introduced me to the world of oratory. (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)⁸³

I asked him [José Luis] if he wanted to participate in the oratory courses, and he said yes, that he was interested. Then we met to talk about it, and he told me they would do some workshops and invited me to speak. I told him yes, of course, with great pleasure. (Alejandro, 2023) (Translation)⁸⁴

After this, *oratoria* became one of *Ateneo*'s principal activities. After the alliance with *Acatlán*, *Ateneo* started to participate in oratory competitions at the local and national levels, as many of the members of *Acatlan* practiced it.

⁸³ Él [Alejandro] era de otra escuela secundaria. De hecho, acababa de ingresar a la Facultad de Ingeniería, pero se dedicaba a impartir cursos de oratoria. De hecho, fue él quien me introdujo en el mundo de la oratoria.

⁸⁴ Me acerqué a él y le pregunté si quería participar en los cursos de oratoria y me dijo que sí, que estaba interesado. Luego nos reunimos para hablar del tema y me dijo que iban a hacer unos talleres y me invitó a hablar. Le dije que sí, claro, con mucho gusto.



Figure 11. *Oratoria and debate workshop flyer*⁸⁵

After reviewing the *Ateneo*'s archives, I realized that the *oratoria* reached their highest moment by the second *Ateneo*. *Ateneistas* started to participate in local and national competitions. That was the case when José Luis, in 2013, won the national competition organized by the recognized newspaper *El Universal*⁸⁶. This event brought José Luis and *Ateneo* to the media. The governor of the Queretaro state and the president of *El Universal* gave him the award.

⁸⁵ Document from *Ateneo*'s archive.

⁸⁶ See: <https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/>

El Universal
Secciones
Sociedad

Gana capitalino Concurso Nacional de Oratoria 2013

Natalia Gómez, enviada | El Universal

20:56 Querétaro | Martes 24 de septiembre de 2013

Tweet

José Luis Gallegos Quesada obtuvo un premio de 100 mil pesos y un diploma como campeón del certamen que organiza EL UNIVERSAL

José Luis Gallegos Quesada, del Distrito Federal, fue el ganador del primer lugar del Concurso Nacional de Oratoria y Debate Público **EL UNIVERSAL** Querétaro-2013, "Los Jóvenes Tenemos Mucho que Decir", donde participaron 30 mexicanos de entre 18 y 25 años procedentes de todo el país.

Desde el Teatro de la República el Licenciado **Juan Francisco Ealy Ortiz**, Presidente Ejecutivo y del Consejo de Administración de **EL UNIVERSAL**, entregó el premio al concursante quien se enfrentó en la etapa final, de debate público, con otros cuatro de sus compañeros.



GANADORES El Licenciado Juan Francisco Ealy Ortiz, Presidente Ejecutivo y del Consejo de Administración de EL UNIVERSAL y el gobernador de Querétaro, José Calzada Roviroa, durante la premiación del certamen. (Foto: Yadin Xolalpa EL UNIVERSAL)

Notas Relacionadas:

Concurso Nacional de Oratoria entra en etapa semifinal 12:48

Figure 12. José Luis won the national oratory competition

In the news article from *El Universal* (Gómez, 2013), one can read: “*Capitalino* (person from Mexico City) won the 2013 national oratory competition”. In the photo, José Luis appears with another *Ateneista*, Mar-Grecia, who won second. From that moment, *Ateneo* started to be recognized as an organization of young leaders trained in rhetoric and public speaking. The association participated in different competitions related to public and historical issues. Even, as José Luis told me, by 2015, they had started to be members of the jury to rate competitors.

The participation of *Ateneo* in oratory contests allowed the organization to connect with actors from public and political life in Mexico, as well as recruit new members, who initially approached *Ateneo* precisely because of their interest in oratory and the ability it had to link them to other spheres such as politics. For example, in a contest, José Luis met Oscar Moguel, a local congress representative who helped him carry out *Observatorio* in 2014. By 2017, *Ateneo* attention to oratory declined because it had started to concentrate more on politics and the public sphere.

In 2014, *Ateneo* started an important and ambitious project to affect public policies: the *Observatorio de Derechos Juveniles* (Observatory of Youth Rights). The *Observatorio* was a big step toward consolidating its participation in public action, and I have considered it a *dispositif* (Deleuze, 1990; 1986) that coordinated the different practices that allowed *Ateneo* to become a *public action subject*.

Until then, *Ateneo* was dedicated to promoting the *oratoria* activities to spread its influence in civil society and recruit new members. *Public action* practices left their foundational practices aside. In this period, there was a boom in public policy analysis in Mexico, especially in Mexico City. Government and institutions called people to discuss policies, and academic institutions promoted programs, courses, and training on public policies. In that context, *Ateneistas* were attracted to the trend of participating in public policy analysis.

For me, the question was how to achieve a space where our actions are not just about youth collective action but where we can develop an agenda and say what we want. (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)⁸⁷

For the *Observatorio*, *Ateneo* established a strong alliance with two leading organizations: *Red de Analistas y Evaluadores de Políticas Públicas* (Network of Public Policy Analysts and Evaluators) and *Vanguardia Política Consultores* (Vanguardia Political Consultants). *Red de Analistas* was an organization of UNAM's graduate students interested in public policy analysis. *Vanguardia Política* was a political consulting company offering political marketing and public policy analysis services.

Red de Analistas participated in the *Observatorio* by providing a team of academic coordinators from UNAM's Graduate School of Government and Public Affairs. They managed the different themes and teams prepared for policy analysis.

They invite us [*Red de Analistas*] to work as advisors to analyze public policies for young people. (Andrea, 2023) (Translation)⁸⁸

A colleague with a master's degree invited me to participate in the observatory as an academic coordinator of sustainability and environment. (Mario, 2023) (Translation)⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Para mí, la pregunta era cómo lograr un espacio donde nuestras acciones no se centren solo en la acción juvenil sino donde podamos desarrollar una agenda y decir lo que queremos.

⁸⁸ Nos invitan a trabajar [Red de Analistas] como asesores para analizar políticas públicas para jóvenes.

⁸⁹ Un colega con maestría me invitó a participar en el Observatorio como coordinador académico de sostenibilidad y medio ambiente.

Vanguardia Política's mission was to provide the *Observatorio* with the methodological tools for participants to conduct interviews. Rodrigo, the company's chief, wanted to train *Ateneo* in assessing and analyzing public policy. They did not participate directly with participants.

We conducted the methodological part of developing polls and interviews for the participants.

Ateneo was responsible for the logistics and making the call to young people. (Rodrigo, 2023)

(Translation)⁹⁰

Both organizations participated in the activities in the first, second, and third editions of the *Observatorio*. In 2018, both organizations left *Ateneo* and the *Observatorio* project, which started a new stage.

6.6.1 The First and Second *Observatorio*

The first *Observatorio* was held in 2014. This was possible because *Ateneo* obtained the financial and political support of the local congress of Mexico City. José Luis, as mentioned, especially got the support of Oscar Moguel, a representative from the *Movimiento Ciudadano* (Citizen Movement) party, to whom he met during an oratory contest in 2013.

⁹⁰ Realizamos la parte metodológica de elaboración de encuestas y entrevistas a los participantes. El Ateneo se encargó de la parte logística y de realizar la convocatoria con los jóvenes.

He liked the project and greatly supported us in opening facilities. They supported us in holding 14 sessions on Saturdays in one of the main buildings of the local congress. (José Luis, 2023) (Translation)⁹¹



Figure 13. *The First Observatorio*⁹²

The *Observatorio* started with an extensive process for recruiting participants. They published a call for participants in which they explained the objective and dynamics of the project. In a document found in *Ateneo*'s archive named *Planeación del Observatorio* (Observatory planning), dated in 2014, it is possible to read that the objective was to build a bridge between the association and the stakeholders through youth empowerment.

⁹¹ Le gustó el proyecto y nos apoyó mucho para abrimos los espacios. Nos apoyaron para realizar 14 sesiones los sábados en uno de los edificios principales del congreso local.

⁹² Photo from *Ateneo*'s archive.

The creation of the *Observatorio* seeks to empower the young citizens of Mexico City through tools that allow them to evaluate the effectiveness of the programs and government legislation. In this way, the young people will communicate their diagnoses, concerns, and proposals to the officials and legislators, pressing for them to be taken into account and thus directly influencing the decision-making of the different levels of government. (Ateneo, 2014, Planeación del Observatorio) (Translation)⁹³



Figure 14. *Participants of the first Observatorio*⁹⁴

The results of the analysis were published in a report edited by *Ateneo* and the local congress.

⁹³ La creación del Observatorio busca que los jóvenes ciudadanos de la Ciudad de México se empoderen a través de herramientas que les permitan evaluar la efectividad de los programas y la legislación gubernamental. De esta manera, los jóvenes comunicarán a los funcionarios y legisladores sus diagnósticos, inquietudes y propuestas, presionando para que sean tomados en cuenta y así incidir directamente en la toma de decisiones de los diferentes niveles de gobierno.

⁹⁴ Photo from *Ateneo*'s archive.



Figure 15. *Presentation of the first Observatorio's report*⁹⁵

The report *Informe Ejecutivo del Observatorio de Derechos Juveniles* (Executive Report of the Youth Rights Observatory) was divided into seven themes: sexual rights, political participation, environment, public security, cultural identity, labour rights, and education. A group of individuals supervised by the members of the *Red de Analistas* analyzed each theme. The objective was to analyze the policies that affect young people from the perspective of those affected by them.

⁹⁵ Photo from *Ateneo's* archive.



Figure 16. *Environmental team*⁹⁶

The main objective of the work was to analyze and evaluate the youth policies that affect young people in Mexico City to create a space for strategic reflection that promotes an agenda made by and for young people. To this end, seven working groups were established that analyzed a particular problem, the institutional framework that encompassed it, the policies that have been implemented in this regard and a series of recommendations that asked for substantial changes to be made. (Ateneo, 2014, Informe 1)⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Photo from *Ateneo*'s archive

⁹⁷ El principal objetivo del trabajo fue analizar y evaluar las políticas de juventud que afectan a los jóvenes de la Ciudad de México para crear un espacio de reflexión estratégica que impulse una agenda hecha por y para los jóvenes. Para ello se establecieron siete grupos de trabajo que analizaron un problema en particular, el marco institucional que lo engloba, las políticas que se han implementado al respecto y una serie de recomendaciones que permiten realizar cambios sustanciales.

The second Observatory was held the following year, in 2015. Unfortunately, no information was found in the archives and interviews. There are no traces neither of the report submitted that year, nor about photographs.

6.6.2 The Third *Observatorio*



Figure 17. The third *Observatorio* in the Senate⁹⁸

For first time, in 2016, *Ateneo* contacted local representatives and senators like Luis Sánchez from *Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)* (Democratic Revolution Party), the second most important at that moment. This alliance with the Senate allowed *Ateneo* to get all the expenses paid

⁹⁸ Photo from *Ateneo*'s archive

by the Senate. This mobilization of resources was possible thanks to the connection that *Vanguardia Política*'s members had with politicians (Almeida, 2009; Della Porta & Diani, 2020).

For professor Fernando Aguilar, who was among the academics who trained participants in some editions of the *Observatorio*, this alliance with PRD allowed *Ateneo* to access important political support and financial resources.

They had a permanent link with the left-wing party, the PRD. I think it is important to say that in PRD, before the breakup with López Obrador, the entire left was represented, so it seems to me that this also gives *Ateneo* a specific character—the fact of his closeness to that leftist party. It seems to me that it provided specific resources that other groups could only sometimes have. I remember things as simple as the possibility of occupying physical space, such as local congresses or the Senate. In addition to that, there were bonds, relationships and social networks. (Fernando, 2023) (Translation)⁹⁹

For this edition of the *Observatorio*, *Ateneo* changed the dynamic of public policy analysis. Instead of only analyzing the policies in a room, participants were supported by *Vanguardia Política* to conduct polls and interviews with young people of Mexico City. These activities gave them a better appreciation of young Mexicans' thoughts about the policies that affected them. The results of this edition *had* a better and more powerful scope. At the final stage of the *Observatorio*, joined to support *Ateneo* Karen Hurtado, representative at the national congress and María Fernanda Olvera,

⁹⁹ Tenían un vínculo permanente con el partido de izquierda, el PRD. Creo que es importante decir que, en el PRD, antes de la ruptura con López Obrador, toda la izquierda estaba representada, entonces me parece que eso también le da al *Ateneo* un carácter específico: el hecho de su cercanía a ese partido de izquierda. Me parece que proporcionó recursos específicos que otros grupos sólo podían tener a veces. Recuerdo cosas tan simples como la posibilidad de ocupar espacios físicos, como los congresos locales o el Senado. Además de eso, había vínculos, relaciones y redes sociales.

chief of *Instituto de la Juventud de la Ciudad de México* (Mexico City Youth Institute). With the support of a senator, a national representative and the Institute, *Ateneo* reached its best moment as an association involved in the policy process. In the photo below, it is possible to see from left to right María Fernanda Olvera, Senator Luis Sánchez and Deputy Karen Hurtado in the closure of the third *Observatorio*.



Figure 18. *The opening of the third Observatorio*¹⁰⁰

6.6.3 The Last *Observatorio*

By 2018, *Ateneo*'s principal activities were around *public action* through the *Observatorio*; most of the principal social actors recognized the organization as a bridge between young people and

¹⁰⁰ Photo from *Ateneo*'s archives

governmental institutions for policy analysis. In the strictest sense, Ateneo was consolidated as a *public action subject*.

In the last edition, in 2019, *Ateneo* faced a rupture with *Red de Analistas Vanguardia Política* and the Senate. Political conflicts inside *Ateneo* affected the relationship with the Senator, and they had to return to the local congress. The *Observatorio* was organized only by *Ateneistas*. More information about this edition was not possible to obtain.

6.7 *La Ley de Juventudes* (The Law for Youths)

In 2014, *Ateneo* started its first *public action practice*. As mentioned, thanks to the oratory activities, they were recognized by the different youth organizations in Mexico City. For this reason, they were invited to participate in the different public debates around changes to local youth policy. This activity was held between 2015 and 2017 at the federal congress. This was the moment in which *Ateneistas* realized that they needed to have a proposal about what it meant to be a young person and the different rights to be exercised. It was then that they needed to define an *Ateneo* project.

We met several associations, some of which had a long history and some of which had worked extensively on the issue of youth rights. As part of *Ateneo*, we represented the youth sector. I was

Ateneo's representative then because I was working as *Ateneo's* National Coordinator of Public Issues. (Soledad, 2023B) (Translation)¹⁰¹

In those jobs, we worked on a bill with sections on rights that had to align with the United Nations' already-existing categorization of human rights: political, social, cultural, environmental, etc. (Soledad, 2023B) (Translation).¹⁰²

The general agreement [between the different organizations] was to remove adult-centrism, give youth agency, and strengthen their participatory rights, which was like opening up and demanding the expansion of the rights agenda. (Soledad, 2023B) Translation)¹⁰³

Ateneo was trying to connect the themes they were working on in the *Observatorio* (Observatory of Youth Rights) to the new bill, specifically in relation to political participation and education. After reviewing different documents from Soledad's personal archive, two important documents show how *Ateneistas* were focused on promoting education issues because, for them, it was through education that culture and humanities came to youth. This fact makes clear that even in this second *Ateneo*, apparently far from the first *Ateneo* that was ground in the 1909 *Ateneo*, it was still education the means to spread knowledge for progress. The nationalist project was still part of the organization.

¹⁰¹ Nos reunimos con varias asociaciones, algunas de las cuales tenían una larga historia y otras habían trabajado extensamente en la cuestión de los derechos de los jóvenes. Como parte del *Ateneo* representamos al sector juvenil. Era representante de *Ateneo* en ese momento porque estaba trabajando como coordinadora nacional de asuntos públicos de *Ateneo*.

¹⁰² En esos trabajos, trabajamos en un proyecto de ley con secciones sobre derechos que debían alinearse con la categorización de derechos humanos ya existente en las Naciones Unidas: políticos, sociales, culturales, ambientales, etc.

¹⁰³ El acuerdo general [entre las diferentes organizaciones] fue eliminar el adulto centrismo, darles agencia a los jóvenes y fortalecer sus derechos de participación, lo que era como abrirse y exigir la ampliación de la agenda de derechos.

The document *Reforma Educativa* (Educational Reform), written by Soledad and dated May 15th, 2015, expresses worry about the mechanization of education. For *Ateneistas*, in the last decades, educational reform affected the humanities and turned education into a producing of a qualified labour force for markets. In some sense, they were reproducing the 1909 critique of the educational model. They were emphatic in saying that education is related to the mode of production and based their critique on that.

Today, a shift has been announced; the ultimate objective of education is no longer to reproduce and strengthen democratic culture, build social development, give meaning to life and provide the necessary tools to lead a dignified life. Today, we are committed to forming human capital, to which the adjective “quality” has also been attached. That's right, we are preparing ourselves as a commodity for a world of skills, specialization, and market. We must not lose sight of the fact that education also responds to the form of production of each regime. (Soledad, 2015, *Reforma Educativa*) (Translation)¹⁰⁴

Additionally, the document shows great confidence in education’s ability to build democracy and give meaning to individuals’ lives.

Education, friends, gives us freedom, certainty, and beauty; the fascination it provokes in us lies in its transformative power and its antidote to disappointment. A quality education makes us prone

¹⁰⁴ Hoy se ha anunciado un cambio; El objetivo último de la educación ya no es reproducir y fortalecer la cultura democrática, construir el desarrollo social, dar sentido a la vida y proporcionar las herramientas necesarias para llevar una vida digna. Hoy apostamos por la formación de capital humano, al que también se le ha asociado el adjetivo “calidad”. Así es, nos estamos preparando como una mercancía para un mundo de habilidades, especialización y mercado. No hay que perder de vista que la educación también responde a la forma de producción de cada régimen.

to develop our capabilities more efficiently, gives us better employment opportunities, allows us to travel, recreate, and support our family, and can function as the only genuinely effective guarantor of the consolidation of citizenship in its substance. Through it, we can learn about our rights and demand them. Thus, we must hold on to it tightly, demand it, understand it and build it. (Soledad, 2015, Reforma Educativa) (Translation)¹⁰⁵

In another document by José Luis, *Hacia una Ley Nacional de Juventud* (Towards a National Law of Youth), dated April 2017, *Ateneo* expressed the need for a framework to understand the necessity of legislating on youth issues.

First, this essay presents a theoretical approach to the need to formulate laws and specify rights in favour of specific sectors that can be considered vulnerable. Subsequently, the legal framework of the rights of young people at the regional level and the advances in legislation and public policy made by various Latin American countries are analyzed. Subsequently, the Mexican context is presented, both a general diagnosis of the situation of young people and the institutional framework in which their problems are addressed, as well as the legislative efforts made in the matter. Finally, as part of the conclusions, we outline elements that would be essential to take into account for any initiative that is undertaken in the future on the matter. (José Luis, 2017, *Hacia una Ley*) (Translation)¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ La educación, amigos, la educación nos da libertad, nos da certeza, su belleza y la fascinación que nos provoca reside en su poder transformador y su antídoto contra la decepción. Una educación de calidad nos hace proclives a desarrollar nuestras capacidades de manera más eficiente, nos brinda mejores oportunidades laborales, nos permite viajar, recrearnos y sustentar a nuestra familia, y puede funcionar como el único garante genuinamente efectivo de la consolidación de la ciudadanía en su sustancia. A través de él podemos conocer nuestros derechos y exigirlos. Por eso, debemos aferrarnos a ella, exigirla, comprenderla y construirla.

¹⁰⁶ En primer lugar, este ensayo presenta una aproximación teórica a la necesidad de formular leyes y concretar derechos en favor de sectores específicos que pueden considerarse vulnerables. Posteriormente, se analiza el marco jurídico de los derechos de los jóvenes a nivel regional y los avances en legislación y políticas públicas realizados por diversos países latinoamericanos. Posteriormente, se presenta el contexto mexicano, tanto un diagnóstico general de la situación de los jóvenes y el marco institucional en el que se abordan sus problemáticas, así como los esfuerzos

HACIA UNA LEY GENERAL DE JUVENTUD EN MÉXICO

Reflexiones sobre la importancia de legislar en materia de juventud

1. PREÁMBULO

En los últimos meses se ha posicionado en la agenda legislativa a nivel federal, la integración de una Ley General de Juventud en nuestro país¹. Si bien, aún no existe una propuesta unificada en torno al tema, los posicionamientos y las iniciativas presentadas hasta ahora, dirigen sus miradas a la conformación de un marco jurídico que vaya más allá de definir la estructura orgánica del Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud (IMJUVE). Al respecto, algunos temas que se han incorporado a la discusión son: el reconocimiento de una cartilla de derechos específicos para las personas jóvenes; mecanismos que aseguren la integralidad y transversalidad de la política de juventud; así como el involucramiento de los jóvenes dentro del proceso y evaluación de la política pública.

Ante la instauración próxima de la LXIII Legislatura y la conformación de una nueva agenda para la Comisión de Juventud, el tema de una Ley General que atienda los derechos de las personas jóvenes puede tomar relevancia. Vale la pena, no obstante, preguntar con escepticismo si una ley más, en esta ocasión en materia de juventud, representaría realmente una diferencia en el desarrollo integral de este grupo etario, o si, como muchas otras leyes, ésta también podría correr el riesgo de ser inoperable, presupuestalmente inviable o jurídicamente improcedente.

Así mismo, es pertinente cuestionar si la racionalidad de las posibles coaliciones promotoras de la iniciativa, tanto en el Congreso como en la academia y la sociedad civil, priorizarán la atención de las demandas sociales de los jóvenes, o emplearán la iniciativa como una estrategia de posicionamiento político. Sobre todo en un contexto, donde cada vez hay mayor competencia por atraer las simpatías del

¹ El ejemplo más ilustrativo al respecto, suscitó hace pocas semanas, cuando antes de terminar el periodo extraordinario de sesiones de la LXII Legislatura, la Cámara de Diputados realizó un foro denominado "Alcances y Retos de la Juventud Mexicana desde la Perspectiva Legislativa". En dicho espacio, el diputado José Luis Oliveros Usabiaga, presidente de la Comisión de Juventud, destacaba que el gran pendiente y reto para la legislatura entrante será el de elevar a rango constitucional los derechos de dicho sector poblacional, y aprobar una ley General de Juventud capaz de "garantizar los derechos de aproximadamente 40 millones de jóvenes en el país" (Notimex, 2015).

Figure 19. *Hacia una Ley General de Juventud en México*¹⁰⁷

In that document, *Ateneo* calls for breaking with liberal egalitarianism, which claims that every individual must have the same political and civil rights to a recognition of the cultural differences that make having different rights for specific population groups necessary. In this way, *Ateneo*

legislativos realizados en la materia. Finalmente, como parte de las conclusiones, esbozamos elementos que serían fundamentales a tener en cuenta para cualquier iniciativa que se emprenda en el futuro en la materia.

¹⁰⁷ Document from Soledad's archive

asks to recognize young people as subjects of special rights. They were emphatic in stating that even if youth is recognized in general laws, the need exists to do it in a specific way.

Most of the time, the fundamental rights of young people (rights to political participation, non-discrimination, education, health, employment, etc.) are already recognized in the constitution, regulatory laws, or international treaties ratified by each State. These rights provide general protection for all individuals. However, young people's living conditions and vulnerability make it necessary to specify human rights. (José Luis, 2017, *Hacia una Ley*) (Translation)¹⁰⁸

Finally, *Ateneo* proposed building mechanisms to enhance young people's participation in the policy-making process.

It is necessary to consider mechanisms for coordination with civil society, which allows the involvement of young people in the development, implementation, evaluation, and continuity of public policies, mainly at the state level, where public policy has a more direct impact on people's lives and where, sometimes, there are fewer effective mechanisms for accountability and oversight of governmental work. (José Luis, 2017, *Hacia una Ley*) (Translation)¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ La mayoría de las veces, los derechos fundamentales de los jóvenes (derechos a la participación política, a la no discriminación, a la educación, a la salud, al empleo, etc.) ya están reconocidos en la constitución, leyes reglamentarias o tratados internacionales ratificados por cada Estado. Estos derechos brindan protección general a todas las personas. Sin embargo, las condiciones de vida y la vulnerabilidad de los jóvenes hacen necesario especificar los derechos humanos.

¹⁰⁹ Es necesario considerar mecanismos de coordinación con la sociedad civil, que permitan el involucramiento de los jóvenes en el desarrollo, implementación, evaluación y continuidad de las políticas públicas, principalmente a nivel estatal, donde la política pública tiene un impacto más directo en la vida de las personas. y donde, a veces, hay menos mecanismos efectivos para la rendición de cuentas y la supervisión del trabajo gubernamental.

Professor Fernando Aguilar advised *Ateneo* on this task. Fernando remembers that *Ateneistas* critiqued the existing youth laws by saying they were a kind of good wishes instead of a real set of youth rights.

I remember very well that the topic of modifying the youth law was discussed, the modification because the law already existed. I remember that the first discussions I heard there with the guys, with the young people of *Ateneo*, were about the idea that the existing law was more like a rosy good intention. (Fernando, 2023) (Translation)¹¹⁰

The *Ateneo's* participation in the youth bill reform allowed the association to influence public policy process directly. When the *Ateneo's* participation was linked to the activities from the *Observatorio*, a virtuous circle was consolidated in which the policy proposals analyzed were brought to the decision-making sphere. Such is the case of Soledad and José Luis, who brought the youth perspective to specific educational issues. These actions allowed the establishment of an *articulatory practice* that affected the policy process by bringing the different *Ateneistas' demands* represented in the issue of education (Laclau, 2015b; 2005).

6.8 The Declining of a *Populist Leadership*

José Luis started to distance himself from *Ateneo* due to different personal events. First, he was accepted for a master's degree at Harvard University. So, he left Mexico from 2018 to 2020. During

¹¹⁰ Recuerdo muy bien que se habló del tema de modificar la ley de juventud, la modificación porque la ley ya existía. Recuerdo que las primeras discusiones que escuché allí con los muchachos, con los jóvenes del *Ateneo*, fueron sobre la idea de que la ley existente era más bien una buena intención color de rosa.

his absence, he still had some degree of control over *Ateneo*. At that moment, José Luis was highly recognized among *Ateneistas* as a founder and moral leader. After returning from Harvard, he tried to regain total control over *Ateneo*. In opposition to what happened in 2011, when he came back for first time from the U.S., by 2020, things changed, and the association became more institutionalized and autonomous from his leadership. The decline of *populist leadership* (Laclau, 2008; 2015) also represented a decline in *public action* practices. José Luis had led the activities of *Ateneo* from the beginning of high school until his departure. In some way, he influenced the emergence of *foundational techniques* and *public action practices*. He managed to articulate a *discourse* on the need for young people from different backgrounds and with different *demands* to unite around the fight for the rights of young people.

With Jose Luis' departure, a new *populist leadership* emerged from the state committees to gain strength and promote new practices that excluded political interests and public action. The new leadership came from Noel, an *Ateneista* from the state of Oaxaca, who started pushing more local issues of interest to groups. Noel is a young man who identifies as part of the indigenous population. He came from one of the country's most complex and poor places. When he arrived in 2017, he began to work to open a local committee in Huatulco, a municipality in the state of Oaxaca. From there, he began to promote a series of changes to the *Ateneo*'s mission.

Noel started to promote the participation of young people in public decisions but based on recognizing their cultural diversity and the differences between people who live in the center of the country and the peripheries. This vision of recognition was a demand that started to represent the different *demands* coming from different people that were not visible or unrepresented in the

previous two *Ateneos* and that lived outside the center of the country. In this way, Noel's leadership became populist (Laclau 2015b; 2005) when he was elected the new president of the *Ateneo* in 2019. This fact represented a rupture with the nationalist discourse and will change the *chain of equivalence* by bringing new *demands* that had nothing to do with the assimilationist idea of progress.

It is important to highlight that Noel's *populist leadership* was very different from that of José Luis, embedded in the center of the country and whose personal and academic background were linked to the privileges of the youth of Mexico City. In the case of Noel, it was forged in the opposite pole. Noel came from circumstances that many Mexicans live, poverty. Noel represented underprivileged young people, which allowed him to gain a lot of sympathy and affection (Mouffe, 2023).

The above can be explained by the fact that, in recent years, *Ateneo* has been growing and expanding to states with high levels of marginalization and poverty. For the year 2022, the census that I could access shows that of the 349 registered members, the states of Oaxaca, Veracruz, and Quintana Roo contributed the most members, and these states housed the most indigenous and poor populations.

6.9 Conclusion

The second *Ateneo* emerged from three events: its legal Constitution, its alliance with the *Acatlán* group and the oratory practices, and the creation of the *Observatorio* and participation in the Youth

Law reform process. Each of these events was characterized by *articulatory practices* that allowed different individuals to find a way to connect with the public and political sphere. In the case of the legal constitution, the foundations were laid on what should be understood by the *Ateneo* as a *political subject*. That is to say, the borders that closed the *antagonism* towards the institutional system were drawn. *Ateneo* was defined as a group of young individuals who sought to work in favour of Mexican youth by training them to be agents of change.

In the case of the alliance with the *Acatlán* group and the *oratoria*, the *Ateneo* managed to link with strategic actors to enter the political sphere. *Oratoria* allowed them to gain relevance in the public sphere and meet key political actors, such as when José Luis met the representative Oscar Moguel, who was a great ally for the foundation of the *Observatorio*. During this stage, the new members of the *Ateneo* found not only a place for competition in oratory but an organization that allowed them greater projection in the political sphere.

Finally, in the case of the *Observatorio*, this was a *dispositif* that allowed the recruitment of around 50 participants for each of its editions. *Ateneo* became a *subject of public action* thanks to the *articulatory practices* of public action, which were intended to link the *demands* of the *Observatorio* participants to the *universal demand*: to include the youth perspective in the policies observed. In this way, the practices were hegemonic for building *Ateneo* as a *people* in relation to *public action* activities. As a *public action subject*, *Ateneo* was still linked to the nationalist idea of progress based on the development of the civic citizen. In this case, the young individual, as happened in ancient Greece, discussing public affairs.

It is possible to say that formally, *Ateneo* was a *subject of public action* between 2014 and 2019, that is, between the first and last *Observatorios*. Therefore, regarding the research question, *Ateneo* was a *public action subject* only at one point in its life as a social organization, not permanently, as I had initially thought.

Once *Ateneo* stopped carrying out the *Observatorio* and José Luis' *populist leadership* declined, Noel's leadership emerged, and new *articulatory practices* appeared to focus more on promoting the recognition of the cultural diversity of young Mexicans. These new practices would take a new form in the context of the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic because many of these practices began to be carried out through digital devices. That is, *digital articulatory practices* appeared.

Chapter 7. The Third *Ateneo*: Digital Action

7.1 Introduction

The third *Ateneo* is characterized by *discursive practices* that no longer focus on public action. Starting in 2019, the *Observatorio* ceased, and the organization stopped *public action* practices. Beginning in 2020, in the context of the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, *Ateneo* started to carry out most of its activities through social networks, which will now be focused on addressing the problems of youth diversity. The activities of the *Ateneistas* became digitalized, a dynamic that continued until 2023 when this research started. New *articulatory practices* occurred around topics such as feminism, sexual diversity, disabilities and mental health. These practices made *Ateneo* return from *public action* to collective action through digital social networks and a digital *dispositif* (Deleuze, 1986; 1990). These *articulatory practices* aimed to highlight and make visible young people who belonged to unrecognized minorities, such as women, people with disabilities and racialized populations. In this way, these are considered *techniques of recognition* (Foucault, 2012; 2013).

At the time of writing this research, *recognition techniques* continue to make *Ateneo* a *political subject* focused on influencing how youth diversity is understood and lived. It is an organization whose *subjectivity* is shared by its members and is based on making visible the differences and disadvantages of most young people in Mexico. In this sense, *the people* (Laclau, 2015b; 2005) will not be the same as in the first and second *Ateneo*, although they share stories and myths expressed in some *foundational techniques* and practices of public action, the later are no longer hegemonic.

7.2 From the Outside to the Center

José Luis's absence opened a power vacuum, allowing a better power distribution among *Ateneistas*. The country's center lost control in favour of the states, and the states started to have more weight in decisions. For example, the Oaxaca committee started to gain visibility thanks to the leadership of Noel, who became president of *Ateneo* in 2019 and began pushing new *demands* for the recognition of youth diversity. In this way, *Ateneo* started to focus on youth diversity and recognition through collective action.

We have discovered that young people in Mexico face many problematic realities, depending on the context. Because of this diversity, we have expanded our portfolio of projects and activities. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹¹¹

Then, the *discourse* changed; *articulatory practices* started to come from the states instead of from the country's center, like Mexico City. Noel and his circle, *Ateneistas* from the state of Oaxaca, brought to the *Ateneista* debate the problems of ethnicity, poverty, and sexual diversity, which were absent in the second *Ateneo*, which was focused on the necessities of Mexico City youth. In some sense, the second *Ateneo* was focused on themes from the privileged youth of the center, for whom themes like poverty, ethnicity and disabilities were not visible due to the influence of the assimilationist project that influenced *Ateneistas* coming from UNAM. In the third one, there is an interest in the unprivileged youth, in part thanks to the arrival in later years of members that were

¹¹¹ Hemos descubierto que los jóvenes en México enfrentan muchas realidades problemáticas, dependiendo del contexto. Debido a esta diversidad, hemos ampliado nuestra cartera de actividades y proyectos.

not under the influence of the nationalist *discourse*, and that became very influential in the *Ateneo* and its practices.

So, we know that, for example, Mexico City is the country's political center, and many things are decided from here... But it is also essential to look at other realities; there are Indigenous youth, Afro-Mexican youth, LGBTQ+ youth, and disabled youth. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹¹²

The new practices are based on focusing on the forgotten youth—those individuals from the poor areas of Mexico, where living as a young person is more difficult than in the city. Noel defines the circumstances of this kind of youth:

Youth in poverty, rural youth, and obviously, their situation, their reality, and their context. All is different from a young person here in Mexico City. The problems of a young person from a family with privileges are not similar to those of someone from outside [Mexico City]. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹¹³

The new project was to decentralize *Ateneo* and reach the most remote communities to improve the lives of young people and empower them. One of the things that facilitated this change is that in 2020, social networks started to play an important role in *Ateneo's* activities, and new members from the most rural and remote communities began to join.

¹¹² Entonces, sabemos que, por ejemplo, la Ciudad de México es el centro político del país, y de aquí se mueven muchas cosas... Pero también es fundamental mirar otras realidades; hay jóvenes indígenas, jóvenes afromexicanos, jóvenes LGBTQ y jóvenes discapacitados.

¹¹³ Jóvenes en pobreza, jóvenes rurales y obviamente su situación, su realidad y su contexto es diferente al de un joven aquí en la Ciudad de México. Los problemas de un joven que proviene de una familia con privilegios no son similares a los de una joven que viene a estudiar desde afuera.

This year, I have also tried to promote the decentralization of activities. At first, the challenge was to leave Mexico City, and then the challenge was to leave the cities of the states where we have a presence because young people, well, not only live in those big cities but also in peripheral or areas further from the capital of a federal entity. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹¹⁴

For Noel, the organizational changes had to do with making visible the disadvantages of the groups that had increasingly been gaining relevance and participation in the *Ateneo* functions but still remained unseen. In this way, new *demands* that came from people who were not so interested in politics were modifying the *chain of equivalence* based on the idea of progress through culture and humanities towards a new one based on a *universal demand* of the recognition of youth diversity, based in building critical awareness in society and the organization.

New people come to join the membership, but in addition to politics, they often also bring interest in other topics. There are, for example, colleagues who are interested in politics, but at the same time, they are interested in another topic. Then, they take advantage of this space from *Ateneo*, a judge of organized civil society, to begin encouraging and promoting these issues within the association. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Este año también he tratado de promover la descentralización de actividades. Al principio el reto era salir de la Ciudad de México, y ahora el reto era salir de las ciudades de los estados donde tenemos presencia porque los jóvenes, bueno, no sólo viven en esas grandes ciudades sino también en zonas periféricas o en áreas alejadas de la capital de una entidad federativa.

¹¹⁵ Nuevas personas se unen a la membresía, pero además de la política, a menudo también se interesan por otros temas. Hay, por ejemplo, compañeros a los que les interesa la política, pero al mismo tiempo les interesa otro tema. Luego, aprovechan este espacio del Ateneo, juez de la sociedad civil organizada, para comenzar a incentivar y promover estos temas dentro de la asociación.

When they also start to promote it within the association, they begin to execute projects and activities around those axis, and other people who may not be interested in politics but are interested in those topics—well, they will become interested. *Ateneo* draws attention, brings people together, asks questions and integrates. So, we can say that *Ateneo* is adapting according to the new realities of each period. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹¹⁶

There is a return to collective action based on these changes and focusing on new *demands* that no longer affect public policies. That is to say, *Ateneo* stopped being a *subject of public action*. This has meant that *articulatory practices* began to link new individuals interested in promoting feminism and sexual diversity and combating racism, as well as promoting the inclusion of young people with physical or mental disabilities without the need to participate in the policy process.

I realized that a considerable journey was needed. So, I started to talk and inform people about the importance of women, the LGBTI+ community, and the discriminated against and racialized people who had different conditions than us in the process of their social construction. (Leilany, 2023) (Translation)¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Cuando también empiezan a impulsarlo dentro de la asociación, empiezan a ejecutar proyectos y actividades en torno a esos ejes, y otras personas que tal vez no estén precisamente interesadas en política, pero sí en esos temas, bueno, también lo están. El Ateneo llama la atención, acerca, pregunta e integra. Entonces, podemos decir que el Ateneo se va adaptando a las nuevas realidades de cada época.

¹¹⁷ Me di cuenta de que hacía falta un viaje considerable. Entonces comencé a hablar e informar a la gente sobre la importancia de las mujeres, de la comunidad LGBTI y de las personas discriminadas y racializadas que tenían condiciones diferentes a nosotras en el proceso de su construcción social.

7.3 COVID-19

In December 2019, COVID-19 was reported for the first time. In China, the Wuhan Municipal Health Commission notified the World Health Organization (WHO) of the emergence of a series of cases classified as unknown pneumonia. Almost three months later, on March 11, 2020, the WHO declared that COVID-19 had become a pandemic.¹¹⁸ In Mexico, the first case of COVID-19 that was detected was on February 27, 2020.¹¹⁹ From there, the government's response began through a series of measures that ended in confinement and lasted around two years. *Ateneo* transitioned from in-person to digital activities, affecting public and internal activities. Technology began to modify how *discursive practices* were carried out through digital social networks. This *dispositif* allowed *Ateneo* to begin to have greater visibility and more people joined.

There was a boom in the number of followers on social networks during the COVID era. We in Puebla had approximately 500 followers before COVID-19. In those two years of the pandemic, we increased the number of followers to approximately 2,000 and 3,000. (Guadalupe, 2003) (Translation)¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ See: *World Health Organization*, April 27th, 2020. "Archived: WHO Time-line COVID-19". <https://www.who.int/news/item/27-04-2020-who-timeline---covid-19>.

¹¹⁹ See: *El Economista*, March 1st, 2021. "Cronología de la pandemia en México". <https://www.eleconomista.com.mx/politica/Cronologia-de-la-pandemia-en-Mexico-20210301-0045.html>.

¹²⁰ Hubo un auge en el número de seguidores en las redes sociales durante la era COVID. Nosotros en Puebla teníamos aproximadamente 5,000 seguidores antes del COVID-19. En esos dos años de pandemia aumentamos el número de seguidores a aproximadamente 2000 y 3000.

The COVID-19 pandemic boosted the digitalization of *discursive practices*. Even after social isolation restrictions were lifted in 2022, activities continued digitally through social networks such as Facebook, X and Instagram.

However, at the *Ateneo*, we have also tried to move back to face-to-face encounters. Still, without neglecting the virtual, because we understand precisely that it is a great tool, we have to reach more young people, so we have tried to do activities in a hybrid... Sometimes, we get comments on social networks that if there is going to be a live broadcast, then that gives us an understanding that there is interest from young people to connect to watch a live on Facebook or Instagram where it is broadcast or connect in a Twitter space. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹²¹

7.4 *Techniques of Recognition on Youth Diversity*

7.4.1 Feminism

Although women had an important representation in *Ateneo*, there was no feminist policy. In fact, until 2019, there was no committee on women's issues. It was a branch of gender and sexual diversity. Under this name, the area in charge of these issues carried out activities to address the needs of women and members of the LGBTQ+ population. The current area coordinator points out

¹²¹ Sin embargo, en el Ateneo también hemos intentado volver a la presencialidad. Aun así, sin descuidar lo virtual, porque entendemos precisamente que es una gran herramienta, tenemos que llegar a más jóvenes, por eso hemos intentado hacer actividades de forma híbrida... A veces, nos llegan comentarios en redes sociales de que, si hay ser una transmisión en vivo, entonces eso nos da a entender que hay interés de los jóvenes de conectarse para ver un vivo en Facebook o Instagram donde se transmite o conectarse en un espacio de Twitter.

that when she arrived in *Ateneo* in 2018, women already had an important presence and began to demand an exclusive area for women's issues.

When I arrived in *Ateneo*, I realized that women already had great force. Then, these same women began to demand the creation of gender areas for women's empowerment issues. (Leylani, 2023)
(Translation)¹²²

Women began to feel the responsibility of uniting the *demands* of feminism, which had already gained significant strength in Mexico, with the search for youth to face the challenges of the 21st century.



Figure 10. *Gender and Diversity*¹²³

¹²² Cuando llegué al Ateneo me di cuenta de que las mujeres ya tenían mucha fuerza. Luego, estas mismas mujeres comenzaron a exigir la creación de áreas de género para temas de empoderamiento femenino.

¹²³ Photo from Leilany's archive.

I also had that debt with society that women supporters had empowerment and held workshops and seminars. I promoted a seminar for Indigenous and Afro-Mexican women. (Leilany, 2023) (Translation)¹²⁴

Whether it's the most taboo topics, for example, in gender, in August, it was a few weeks ago, I invited a psychologist and sexologist, and we talked about the female orgasm... So, we are already breaking down many barriers in Mexican society. Before, it was not talked but in the last four or five years ago since these topics are a little more natural. (Leilany, 2023) (Translation)¹²⁵

Activities focused on *discursive practices* about feminism became relevant through the digital *dispositif*. This allowed the new members of the *Ateneo*, for the most part, to be feminists who decided to join the organization after the appearance of *articulatory practices* that allowed them to unite their feminist *demands* with those of the *Ateneo*.

Girls, activists, and anti-racist feminists were empowered within *Ateneo* precisely because of information from previous committees; they had seen videos on Facebook, social networks, activities, and everything else. (Leilany, 2023) (Translation)¹²⁶

¹²⁴ También había esa deuda con la sociedad de que las mujeres simpatizantes tuvieran empoderamiento y realizaran talleres y seminarios. Impulsé seminario para mujeres indígenas y afromexicanas.

¹²⁵ Ya se trate de los temas más tabú, como por ejemplo el género, en agosto lo fue hace unas semanas. Invité a una psicóloga y a una sexóloga y hablamos del orgasmo femenino... Entonces, ya estamos derribando muchas barreras en la sociedad mexicana. Antes no se hablaba de eso hace cuatro o cinco años ya que estos temas son un poco más naturales.

¹²⁶ Niñas, activistas y feministas antirracistas se empoderaron dentro del Ateneo precisamente gracias a la información de comités anteriores; habían visto videos en Facebook, redes sociales, actividades y todo lo demás.

One of the most important *articulatory practices* that allowed more feminist women to join *Ateneo* was the recognition of women by establishing the *Atenea* (Athena) award to honor young women carrying out female empowerment activities in society. In this way, in 2021, an event was held in which various awards were given to women who were mostly not *Ateneistas*.



Figure 21. *Atenea* award, 2021¹²⁷

Perhaps one of the most significant effects of these practices was the award to Olimpia C. Melo, a renowned activist in Mexico against digital violence. Olimpia started a social movement in 2017 to prevent the criminalization of cyberbullying. The movement began in the state of *Puebla*, where they convinced the local congress to make changes in the penal code to punish people who make cyber sexual harassment. After that success, they began negotiating in different states, achieving

¹²⁷ Photo from Leilany's archive.

changes in the criminal codes. After some time, this movement achieved the criminalization of these behaviours throughout the whole country. By granting recognition to Olimpia, *Ateneo* achieved an alliance that made it possible to strengthen the presence of feminism in the organization's practices. Therefore, *Ateneo* became, to some degree, a feminist organization. In the following photo, it is possible to see Olimpia receiving the *Atenea* award in 2021.



Figure 22. *Olimpia C. Melo*¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Photo from Leinaly's archive

Among the different digital practices around feminism, many activities related to exalting those feminists of the past can be noted. For example, Simone de Beauvoir's text is shown in the following photo, published on January 9 on Facebook. The text refers to how men generate their perspectives on the world and the role that literature has in shaping women's perspectives.

Each man is made of all men and is only understood through them; he does not understand them except through what they give of them through himself, clarified by them. And I think that is what literature should give. It should make us transparent about what is most opaque to us. (Translation)

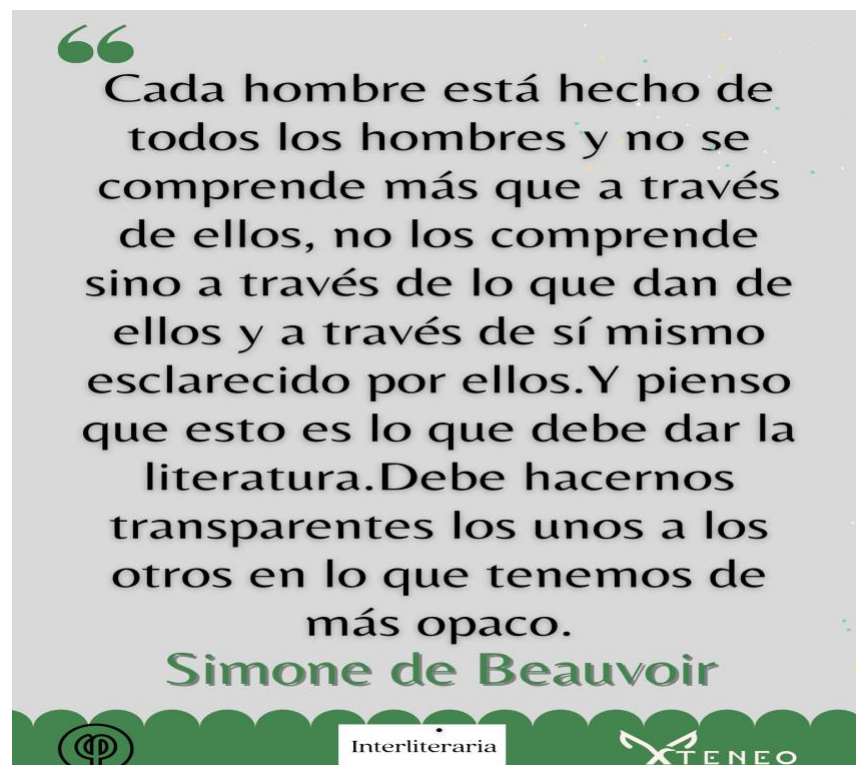


Figure 23. *Simone de Beauvoir*¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Facebook, January 9th, 2022.

Likewise, on March 8, 2022, a post was published on Facebook that highlights a phrase by Mary Wollstonecraft that refers to the need for women's decision-making power rather than confrontation with men: “I do not wish for women to have more power than men, but that they have more power over themselves” (Translation).



Figure 24. *Mary Wollstonecraft*¹³⁰

In the same sense, practices have been established that make women who influence young people visible. In the following photo, published on Instagram on March 8, 2022, the faces of *Ateneistas*

¹³⁰ Facebook, March 8th, 2022.

and non-*Ateneistas* women who participated in a Facebook Live event where they talked about their lives and professional activities can be observed. In the photo, one can read: “Women that inspire and empower other women” (Translation).



Figure 25. *Women who inspire*¹³¹

¹³¹ Instagram March 8th, 2022.

Other digital practices that can be observed in the third *Ateneo* around feminist practices are those that seek to highlight the patriarchal culture that has defined the relationships between men and women, especially in relation to practices of sexual harassment and violence. On April 25, 2022, the following flyer was published on Facebook, inviting women to participate in the virtual workshop on street harassment. The Oaxaca state committee promoted this activity in the context of #OrangeWeek, which refers to the eradication of violence against women. This publication was accompanied by the slogan "Orange Day for the Eradication of Violence against Women" (Translation).



Figure 26. *Workshop on street harassment*¹³²

¹³² Facebook, April 22nd, 2022.

In the same sense, on June 10, 2022, a statement was published on Instagram in conjunction with other social organizations about the prevailing violence against women in the state of Oaxaca. The text refers to the feminicide of Soledad N., who was murdered by her partner. They asked for justice and protection for women. The statement was shared and republished several times by followers of the Ateneo page.



Figure 27. *Statement on Soledad N.'s feminicide*¹³³

¹³³ Instagram, June 10th, 2022.

In another activity, *Ateneo* coordinated an event in the state of Yucatán called “Challenges and Achievements of Being a Woman” (Translation). The objective of this Facebook Live event was to reflect on the fight of certain women against child marriage and gender violence. This event was posted on April 29, 2022.



Figure 28. *Challenges and achievements of being a woman*¹³⁴

In addition to issues related to patriarchy, *Ateneo* has promoted the empowerment of its women members. On April 2, a conversation was carried out on Facebook Live to unite young women

¹³⁴ Facebook, November 22nd, 2022.

who were successful in science. The Yucatan's committee organized this event. The event was carried out by a collective called "Coven of Science" (Translation). During the event, the participants shared their problems connecting and developing in scientific spaces, especially the competition against men. At the event, the participants sought to encourage other women not to be afraid of entering scientific spheres. The post was accompanied by the phrase: "Making visible women who do science is vital; for years, we have been invisible in the eyes of the world" (Translation).



Figure 29. *Making visible women who do science is vital*¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Facebook, April 2nd, 2022.

7.4.2 Sexual Diversity

In the same sense as feminism, practices related to the issue of sexual diversity has gained significant strength within the *Ateneo* and attracted members of the LGBTIQ+ movement. This area was created by separating itself from the gender area and began to have greater specialization on the topic. The current coordinator of this area came to the organization after having led a movement on sexual diversity that he had created with other friends.

We created a collective, and the LGBTIQ+ community is already three years old; that is, before *Ateneo*... we were coming out of the pandemic again, so we didn't have many tools to create a community. It was from there that we started doing a lot of activities within the LGBTIQ+ community. Among them, well, the first demonstration of my municipality. And yes, I am for the environment, but the LGBTIQ+ community is something has been important to me for a long time. (Dionei, 2023) (Translation)¹³⁶

The *demands* for greater inclusion in society and spaces to spread the activities of the LGBTIQ+ population were well received in the organization.

There are many young people behind us who, honestly, were missing a safe space. They needed someone to talk to; they needed to know other people in the community. And it was thanks to that that I got involved in this area. When he proposed himself as president of the *Ateneo*, Noel invited

¹³⁶ Creamos un colectivo, y la comunidad LGBTIQ+ ya tiene tres años, o sea, era antes del *Ateneo*... Estábamos saliendo nuevamente de la pandemia, entonces no teníamos muchas herramientas para poder crear una comunidad... Fue a partir de ahí que empezamos a realizar muchas actividades dentro de la comunidad LGBTIQ+. Entre ellas, bueno, la primera manifestación de mi municipio. Y sí, estoy a favor del medio ambiente, pero la comunidad LGBTIQ+ sigue siendo algo que llevo trayendo desde hace mucho tiempo.

me to be part of the National Committee and to coordinate the diversity committee. (Dionei, 2023) (Translation)¹³⁷

The change in *articulatory practices* in the *Ateneo* due to *recognition techniques* allowed, in the sexual diversity demand, as in the case of feminism, that young individuals who were not interested in the second *Ateneo* wanted to join the association because they felt their *demands* represented in the universal *Ateneista* demand of recognition of youth diversity. In this way, the *recognition techniques* have made it possible to establish alliances with other collectives and associations.

Collectives or activists of sexual diversity feel more attracted to participate in the *Ateneo*, get closer, or establish alliances when they see this area. (Dionei, 2023) (Translation)¹³⁸

Among the different practices established through the digital *dispositif* of social networks, we can find activities to make the diversity of sexual orientations visible. For example, on February 19, 2022, the *Ateneo* committee in Yucatán held a Facebook Live event in which one of the *Ateneo* members organized a meeting with drag queens.

¹³⁷ Hay muchos jóvenes detrás de nosotros a los que, sinceramente, les faltaba algún espacio seguro. Necesitaban alguien con quien hablar; necesitaban conocer a otras personas de la comunidad. Y fue gracias a eso que me involucré en ese tema. Noel, cuando se propuso como presidente del Ateneo, me invitó a ser parte del Comité Nacional y a coordinar el comité de diversidad.

¹³⁸ Colectivos o activistas de la diversidad sexual se sienten más atraídos a participar en el Ateneo, acercarse o establecer alianzas cuando ven este ámbito.



Figure 30. *Drag Queen's meeting*¹³⁹

Similarly, on March 31, 2022, they made a post to commemorate the International Day of Transgender Visibility. The photo shows a trans man covering himself with the transgender pride flag. The following title accompanied this publication, “You are not a monster for wanting to be how you feel. Instead, their hatred turns them into monsters” (Translation)¹⁴⁰, with an explanation that seeks to make visible the different violence suffered by people who transitioned from one sex to another.

The lack of knowledge of many hidden realities imposed by the system results in the replication of LGBTIQ+ phobic attitudes and narratives that limit these people and prevent them from

¹³⁹ Facebook, February 19th, 2022.

¹⁴⁰ No eres un monstruo por querer ser como te sientes. En cambio, su odio los convierte en monstruos.

developing freely. For this reason, this Day seeks to raise awareness and reflect on the living conditions of trans people, who daily face situations of violation of their rights, stigmatization, discrimination, violence and hate crimes due to their gender identity.



Figure 31. *International Day of Transgender Visibility*¹⁴¹

These practices have not only made visible those people with the traditional orientations of sexual diversity but have brought other types of orientations into the debate, such as that of asexuality. For this reason, on April 6, *Ateneo* published a post on Facebook that refers to this orientation, explaining that it is about those people who do not bond with others based on sexual attraction.

¹⁴¹ Facebook, March 31st, 2022.

An asexual person is one who experiences little or no sexual attraction to other people and is considered to have a sexual orientation regardless of gender. Likewise, asexuals can experience attraction towards other people but without the need to represent it sexually. (Translation)



Figure 32. *International Day of Asexuality*¹⁴²

¹⁴² Facebook. April 6th, 2022.

7.4.3 Physical and Mental Disabilities

The *demands* to address the issue of physical and mental disabilities among young people have been widely present in *Ateneo* practices. The *Recognition techniques* have allowed young people with disabilities to join the universalizing demand of recognizing youth diversity. The Committee on Disabilities is recent; it appeared after those gender and sexual diversity committees. As in previous cases, this has allowed new people outside the organization to join.

Youths with disability problems and new members interested in that field join. Is it correct to think that the *Ateneo* is growing as it includes more young people identifying with certain themes (Noel,2023) (Translation).¹⁴³

Sofía, the coordinator of this area, is a woman with cerebral palsy. Despite her disability, she has been able to direct the area and even given awareness talks about recognizing and including people with different disabilities. It is important to highlight that for the first time, a person with a severe disability became the head of an area inside *Ateneo*. As in the previous cases, when she arrived at *Ateneo*, she had already participated in other groups and organizations specifically focused on people with disabilities. *Ateneo* did not yet have a committee to make visible different youth, such as those who suffered from disabilities; however, Noel's openness to creating the area allowed these *demands* to join the *universal demand*.

¹⁴³ Se suman jóvenes con problemas de discapacidad y nuevos miembros interesados en ese campo. Es correcto pensar que el *Ateneo* está creciendo al incluir a más jóvenes que se identifican con determinadas temáticas.

A friend invited me and told me about the structure of the *Ateneo*, and I realized that it had an area for each youth aspect, which was well structured. I felt that it was something serious and that I could really have an impact as an activist and as a person with a disability who fights for the rights of those who have a disability. That convinced me of the seriousness with which they took the topic. (Sofía, 2023) (Translation)¹⁴⁴

The previous version of this committee was about inclusion, but it was focused on issues of general discrimination. With the creation of the disability area, it was possible to focus on a specific and fundamental issue for these young people.

Seek job opportunities and improve economic life. We must seek awareness among young people who do not have disabilities... greater awareness is needed among politicians who want to support this issue... We represent those who have no voice. I use my disability-distorted voice to speak for those who cannot. Those who have disabilities suffer violence. (Sofía, 2023) (Translation)¹⁴⁵

The activities that have been promoted include, for example, those focused on creating awareness about learning the Mexican sign language system. In a post dated February 8, 2022, they invited young people to participate in a workshop on the uses of this sign language. The publication shows a person using this language says: “Reasons to learn Mexican sign language” (Translation).

¹⁴⁴ Una amiga me invitó y me habló de la estructura del Ateneo, me di cuenta de que tenía un área para cada aspecto juvenil, que estaba bien estructurada. Sentí que era algo serio y que realmente podía tener un impacto como activista y como persona con discapacidad que lucha por los derechos de quienes tienen discapacidad. Eso me convenció, de la seriedad con la que tomaron el tema.

¹⁴⁵ Buscar oportunidades laborales y mejorar la vida económica. Hay que buscar conciencia entre los jóvenes que no tienen discapacidad... hace falta mayor conciencia entre los políticos que quieren apoyar... Representamos a los que no tienen voz. Utilizo mi voz distorsionada por la discapacidad para hablar por los que no pueden: los que tienen discapacidad sufren violencia.

Likewise, it highlights that people with hearing disabilities have serious problems with social communication, thereby generating exclusion:

The difficulty people with hearing disabilities have communicating with others hinders their educational, professional, and human development. Consequently, their opportunities for inclusion are limited. (Translation)¹⁴⁶



Figure 33. *Reasons to learn Mexican sign language*¹⁴⁷

On March 21, 2022, a post was made to celebrate World Down Syndrome Day. The publication shows a girl with this condition and with the phrase, “What is special about me are parents and an environment that have fought to make me as independent as possible.”

¹⁴⁶ La dificultad de las personas con discapacidad auditiva para comunicarse con los demás dificulta su desarrollo educativo, profesional y humano. En consecuencia, sus oportunidades de inclusión son limitadas.

¹⁴⁷ Facebook. February 8th, 2022.



Figure 34. World Down Syndrome Day¹⁴⁸

Regarding mental disabilities, *Ateneo* has tried to make visible young people who face problems such as depression and conditions such as autism. Regarding depression, for example, on January 23, 2022, a poster was published referring to World Depression Day. The publication refers to the mental health problems unleashed by the COVID-19 pandemic:

¹⁴⁸ Facebook. March 22nd, 2022.

The World Health Organization (WHO) has described it as another “silent pandemic”. While the world focuses on controlling Covid-19, the prevalence of anxiety and depression advances in the population. Every year, around 700,000 people die because suicide in the world. According to the global health body, suicide is the fourth cause of death in the age group of 15 to 29 years. (Translation)¹⁴⁹



Figure 35. *World Depression Day*¹⁵⁰

Regarding neurodivergent conditions, on April 2, 2022, a post was made in relation to World Autism Awareness Day. The post refers to the colored ribbon of autism, which, as noted, represents

¹⁴⁹ La Organización Mundial de la Salud (OMS) la ha calificado de otra “pandemia silenciosa”. Mientras el mundo se concentra en controlar el Covid-19, la prevalencia de la ansiedad y la depresión avanza en la población. Cada año se suicidan en el mundo unas 700.000 personas. Según el organismo sanitario mundial, el suicidio es la cuarta causa de muerte en el grupo de edad de 15 a 29 años.

¹⁵⁰ Facebook. January 23rd, 2022.

the diversity of symptoms that occur in people with this condition. The publication also explains what autism is, how it manifests, and forms of support:

Autism is a permanent neurological condition that manifests in early childhood, regardless of gender, race, or social and economic status. Appropriate support environment and acceptance of this neurological variation allow those with autism spectrum disorders to enjoy the same opportunities and participate fully and effectively in society. (Translation)¹⁵¹



Figure 36. *World Autism Awareness Day*¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ El autismo es una condición neurológica permanente que se manifiesta en la primera infancia, independientemente del género, raza o estatus social y económico. Un entorno de apoyo adecuado y la aceptación de esta variación neurológica permiten que las personas con trastornos del espectro autista disfruten de las mismas oportunidades y participen plena y eficazmente en la sociedad.

¹⁵² Facebook, April 2nd, 2022.

On August 12, a Facebook Live event was held called "The mental health of youth" (Translation). In this meeting, experts were invited and spoke about the mental health problems left by the COVID-19 pandemic and the need to pay attention to young people.



Figure 37. *The mental health of youth*¹⁵³

In relation to the same topic of depression, in the month of September 2022, two posts were made, one on Instagram and another on X, about suicide prevention in a series of activities that were carried out on social networks and that were called “National Mental Health Day” (Translation). In the first post, you can see an invitation to participate in these activities from September 27 to 29. The publication points out that these activities are organized by the Ateneo committees in Mexico City, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Morelos and Veracruz.

¹⁵³ Facebook. August 12th, 2022.



Figure 38. *National Mental Health Day*¹⁵⁴

In the second post on the X platform, an invitation is made to observe the activities of the second day of the Conference, on the 28th. The topics of those panels were “Grief and Society” (Translation) and “Prevention and Understanding of Suicide” (Translation). Young people were invited to each panel and gave a presentation on their topic or shared experiences.

¹⁵⁴ Instagram. September 21st, 2022.



Figure 39. *Grief and Society*¹⁵⁵

7.4.4 Ethnic Diversity

In the same sense as the issues of feminism, sexual diversity, and disability, ethnic diversity has led *Ateneo* to bring the demand of recognition of indigenous youth to the *universal demand* of youth diversity recognition.

We did not have a coordination of indigenous and Afro-Mexican youth; today, we have them because we consider it important to work on these issues, not just with those young people. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Instagram, September 28th, 2022.

¹⁵⁶ No teníamos una coordinación de jóvenes indígenas y afromexicanos; hoy los tenemos porque consideramos importante trabajar en estos temas, no solo con esos jóvenes.

The activities related to ethnic diversity sought to make Indigenous youth visible. These *recognition techniques* were based on virtual events and allusions to Mexico's ethnic diversity. At the beginning of 2022, *Ateneo* held a youth meeting for Indigenous people and other organizations. The event was called *Primer Encuentro Juvenil en la Mixteca* (First Meeting of Youth in the *Mixteca*). With this event, *Ateneo* sought to initiate a dialogue between young people and organizations to recognize ethnic diversity.



Figure 40. *First Meeting of Youth in the Mixteca*¹⁵⁷

On January 21, 2023, a Facebook Live event was held to discuss the need to preserve the 15 indigenous languages that still exist in Oaxaca. Participants pointed out the need for young people to keep the Indigenous languages of their communities alive.

¹⁵⁷ Instagram. January 28th, 2022.



Figure 41. Facebook Live on the preservation of 15 Indigenous languages¹⁵⁸

Part of the activities carried out in the context of *recognition techniques* has been to denounce and make visible discrimination and domination towards indigenous populations. On October 2, 2022, a call to participate in conferences held by *Ateneo* and other organizations was posted. The objective was to involve young people in *Oaxaca* in training to identify and solve problems such as gentrification, exploitation and cultural appropriation, discrimination, and violence towards indigenous peoples.

¹⁵⁸ Facebook. January 21st, 2023.

La Rebelión del Silencio Indígena.

Nuestro programa tiene como objetivo visibilizar todas las problemáticas, fenómenos sociales, que perjudican y vulneran los derechos de la población indígena, a través de un ciclo de 5 conferencias y un foro, dirigido a las juventudes oaxaqueñas.

REQUISITOS

- Tener entre 18 a 29 años.
- Residir en el estado Oaxaca.
- Elaborar carta motivos.
- Firmar Reglamento del programa
- Disponibilidad de tiempo para asistir a las sesiones
- Registrarse escaneando el QR o en el sig. link:
<https://forms.gle/ny1Q7Bh7H2FC7SGMA>

Postulate del 25 de septiembre al 02 de octubre.

✓ EVENTO GRATUITO.
 ✓ CUPO LIMITADO A 80 PARTICIPANTES ELEGIDOS BAJO EL PRINCIPIO DE PARIDAD DE GÉNERO.
 ✓ SE ENTREGARÁ CONSTANCIA DE VALOR CURRICULAR CON EL 80% DE ASISTENCIAS.

PROGRAMA

TEMA	FECHA	HORA
COMUNIDADES Y PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS	08 de octubre del 2022	10:00 am - 12:30 pm.
GENÉRIFICACIÓN	15 de octubre del 2022	10:00 am - 12:30 pm.
EXPLOTACIÓN Y APROPIACIÓN CULTURAL	22 de octubre del 2022	10:00 am - 12:30 pm.
DISCRIMINACIÓN Y XENOFOBIA	29 de octubre del 2022	10:00 am - 12:30 pm.
VIOLENCIA HACIA LOS PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS	05 de noviembre del 2022	10:00 am - 12:30 pm.
FORO: ¿GUELAGUETZA TRADICIÓN O EXPLOTACIÓN?	12 de noviembre del 2022	10:00 am - 12:30 pm.

AULA DE VIDEOARTE DEL EDIFICIO DE DIRECCIÓN ARTE Y CULTURA DE LA UABJO

Figure 42. *The rebellion of the Indigenous silent*¹⁵⁹

Our program aims to make visible all the social problems and phenomena that harm and violate the rights of the indigenous population through a cycle of five conferences and a forum for youths from *Oaxaca*. (Translation)

In February 2022, *Ateneo* issued a call for the publication of stories, legends, and poems in indigenous languages. This activity promoted the use of Indigenous languages.

¹⁵⁹ Facebook. October 2nd, 2022.

VOCES DE MI TIERRA

¿HABLAS ALGUNA LENGUA INDÍGENA?

En el marco de día
internacional de la lengua
materna.

EL ATENEO-COSTA, TE INVITA
A COMPARTIR CUENTOS, MITOS,
LEYENDAS, POEMAS,
ANÉCDOTAS, POESÍA, ETC., DESDE
NUESTRA PLATAFORMA.



Figure 43. *Voices of my land*¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Facebook, February 13th, 2022.

7.5 Conclusion

The third *Ateneo* emerged after the end of the *Observatorios* and José Luis departure. These two events led to a change in the *articulatory practices* around public action, causing the organization to no longer be a *public action subject*. The arrival of a new *populist leadership* was a catalyst for significant changes in the organization's activities, leading to the establishment of a discursive structure that focuses on recognizing youth diversity. These practices were centered on acknowledging the differences among young people, primarily based on gender, sexual preference, physical abilities, and ethnicity. The new *articulatory practices* attracted new *demands* from individuals who identified with the populist project promoted by Noel. This identification can be attributed to the fact that in recent years, most of the *Ateneo's* members have come from states where disadvantaged populations are predominant, such as Oaxaca, Chiapas, Yucatan, and Quintana Roo, where indigenous populations are concentrated.

It is of great importance to underscore the profound significance of the change in the *chain of equivalences* regarding the recognition of youth diversity. This fact marks a decisive break with the assimilationist project of the first two *Ateneos*, which was inspired by the 1909 *Ateneo*. In contrast to the previous focus on progress through the humanities and European philosophy, which sought to unify a *cosmic race*, the third *Ateneo* embraced and celebrated the differences of gender, sexual orientation, disabilities, and ethnicity in the Mexican youth. This departure from the assimilationist project is likely due to two key factors. First, as mentioned, most of the third

Ateneo's members came from disadvantaged populations. Second, they did not study at UNAM and were not as exposed to the nationalist *discourse*.

The members of the third *Ateneo* were closely involved in various emancipatory movements before joining (Fraser, 1995), and their *demands* aimed to highlight the differences between marginalized groups. For instance, many new female members were associated with the feminist movement, while some male members were involved in the LGBTQ+ movement.

The emergence of the third *Ateneo* brought a new *subjectivity* that focused on acknowledging the diversity of youth. *Ateneistas* viewed themselves as part of a diverse youth spectrum and as drivers of change in promoting a more inclusive society. One of the defining features of the third *Ateneo* was the introduction of the digital *dispositif*, which significantly augmented digital communication practices. These practices were evident through events and meetings held on platforms such as Zoom and Facebook Live and in the publication of diversity-related content on social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and other apps, thus amplifying the message of diversity.

It is crucial to note that the *Ateneo* transitioned into a digitally engaged *political subject* or better said *digital political subject*, especially since most interactions that shaped the *discourse* on youth diversity occurred through the digital *dispositif*, particularly during the pandemic. This transition underscores the significant role of digitalization in shaping and propagating social movements/organizations.

Chapter 8. The *Ateneista* Subjectivity

8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on studying how the members of *Ateneo* experienced the *Ateneista* *subjectivity*. It is about understanding, from the experience of the individuals involved in building *Ateneo* as a *political subject*, how the discursive structure impacted their way of life and how they see themselves. The chapter addresses how the *Ateneo* members came into contact with the association and how their life stories impacted in some way their decision to remain in *Ateneo*. In most cases, *Ateneistas* had previously participated in some other organization or had been involved in social work, which meant that when the new members arrived, they did so with a series of *demands*, such as encouraging youth participation and collective action.

Each *Ateneo* had a specific *subjectivity*. Thus, in the first *Ateneo*, *subjectivity* was very influenced by the assimilationist legacy of 1909 *Ateneo*. That *subjectivity* motivated *Ateneistas* to promote culture and the humanities. In the second *Ateneo*, *subjectivity* was lived as a commitment to promoting public action. Finally, for the last *Ateneo*, *subjectivity* concerns a consciousness of diversity and social justice.

The chapter also focuses on the subjective experience of each interviewee, with respect to the awareness of being an *Ateneista*. This has been identified as *Ateneista* consciousness (see section 3.3.5), which has impacted the daily lives of the *Ateneistas*. The chapter ends by reflecting on how *Ateneistas* left the organization.

8.2 Reaching *Ateneo*

8.2.1 The Faculty

The first *Ateneistas* started contacting each other while studying at *Preparatoria 2*. This occurred through the first group that founded the reading book club and the *Casa del Adulto Mayor* activities. Carol met José Luis in 2009 at *preparatoria*, and he invited her to be part of the first *Ateneo*. The same thing happened with Alejandro, who met José Luis in an *oratoria* contest and invited him to participate in the activities at *Casa del Adulto Mayor*. Alan joined *Ateneo* through *Escuela de Formación Humana*. They were mainly minors.

Nevertheless, most *Ateneistas* joined the organization between the age of 18 and 21, especially when they started university studies. They were contacted by an *Ateneo* member who linked them to the organization's activities. This way of reaching the organization through university ties occurred significantly during the first and second *Ateneo*. Many of the *Ateneistas* studied disciplines related to the social sciences and Law. Berenice, for example, was greatly interested in political issues from a very young age. Her interest led her to study political science and public administration at the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of the UNAM. There, she met different people who invited her to participate in *Ateneo*. That faculty was one of the principal recruitment places for new *Ateneo* members.

Soledad's case is similar to Berenice's. At the University, she heard about the *Ateneo* for the first time. Soledad's first direct contact with the organization occurred in the last months of 2014 when she applied and was accepted to participate in the *Observatorio*. Another example is Christian,

who came to *Ateneo* as a student at the UNAM Law School. There, he met various colleagues who were already *Ateneistas*.

8.2.2 Digital social networks (DSN)

Especially for the third *Ateneo*, *Ateneistas* came from links with other organizations and/or because of the information they found on digital social networks. Such is the case of Ariel, whose first contact with *Ateneo* occurred in 2019 when he was 17 years old and was the host of a local radio program. Around that time, he heard about some youth organizations; he investigated them briefly and found a series of qualities in the *Ateneo* that encouraged him to contact them. He received a response from Noel, president of the Oaxaca committee at that moment and president of *Ateneo* today.

Dioney is among those who came from social networks. His first contact with the organization happened in 2021, through Facebook. Eduardo arrived similarly. He contacted *Ateneo* through a Facebook fan page, but some friends invited him to join. After reviewing the association's work, he realized the opportunity to work and make more networks with other young individuals.

Noel, the current president of *Ateneo*, also arrived thanks to social networks. In February 2017, when he was in the last days of the third semester of his undergraduate studies, he had his first contact through Facebook. He first was interested in what the association did and if it had a presence in Huatulco, Oaxaca, where he was studying. He connected with them, and months passed until Oaxaca City's committee president, Blanca, answered him. Noel began to get closer

to *Ateneistas*, who talked to him about the objectives of the association and the intention of opening more committees in other regions of Oaxaca.

8.3 Before being *Ateneista*

It was common for *Ateneo*'s members that before arriving in the organization, they had already begun their work as activists or members of some social organization. These experiences provided them with specific *demands* that they later sought to articulate to those from *Ateneo*. For example, Gina, one of the oldest members of *Ateneo*, began her activism at 11, doing reforestation campaigns, giving talks on addictions and, later, at 14, promoting citizen participation as an ambassador for *Instituto Nacional Electoral* (National Electoral Institute)¹⁶¹. Her social commitment, however, was born much earlier.

It was when I was ten years old, or rather, from the age of seven, I felt the need to change society...

I saw other children in vulnerable conditions and said, I don't want them to go through the same thing. (Gina, 2023) (Translation)¹⁶²

The need to change her environment has its origins in her parents. And it is in the figure of her mother that she found her greatest inspiration.

¹⁶¹ In Mexico, *Instituto Nacional Electoral* (National Electoral Institute) is an autonomous organism which organize elections, popular queries and promotes citizen participation.

¹⁶² Fue a los 10 años, o más bien, desde los siete años sentí como esa necesidad de cambiar la sociedad..., yo veía a otros niños en condición de vulnerabilidad y decía: 'no quiero que pasen por lo mismo

It is because of my parents' self-confidence and, above all, because of my mother, who fought for children against human trafficking; she was an activist, a feminist... She was always involved in causes like health and education. She was a teacher and a health worker; she would give free consultations to people who needed them. (Gina, 2023) (Translation)¹⁶³

Thus, while still a child, she knew clearly what her life's goal would be.

Since I was ten, I said that one of my main goals in life, or perhaps my main purpose, is not to leave [this world] without doing something [for this society]. (Gina, 2023) (Translation)¹⁶⁴

Another case is that of María Fernanda, who grew up in one of the poorest areas of Acapulco in the state of Guerrero. There, she began her professional career as a high school teacher, realizing the different types of violence that the students experienced.

In general, girls and boys experienced a lot of violence, structural violence, violence in their homes, violence at school, and violence among their peers. And since I was so young and in front of the group, I inspired confidence in them. So, they always ended up telling me about their problems, like sexual assaults, both men and women. (María Fernanda, 2023) (Translation)¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Es por el aplomo de mis padres, y sobre todo por lo de mi madre, que fue una persona que luchó por la niñez, en contra de la trata de personas, fue activista, feminista... Siempre fue una persona que se involucró en causas de salud, [de] educación; fue profesora y fue también personal de la salud, ella iba a dar consultas gratis a personas que lo necesitaban.

¹⁶⁴ Desde los 10 años yo dije: 'una de mis principales causas en la vida, o tal vez mi propósito principal, es no irme [de este mundo] sin haber hecho algo [por la sociedad].

¹⁶⁵ En general, con chicas y chicos vivían muchas violencias, violencias estructurales, violencia en sus hogares, violencia en la escuela, violencia entre sus pares. Y al ser yo tan joven y estar frente al grupo les inspiraba mucha confianza. Entonces siempre me terminan contando sus problemas, eh, no sé, agresiones sexuales, tanto hombres como mujeres.

Fernanda became aware of the problems of violence that young people were experiencing, and she began to be interested in ways to help them.

Many of them are no longer in this world; many of them were unfortunately murdered by organized crime. (María Fernanda, 2023) (Translation)¹⁶⁶

This experience inspired her to become involved in the cause of young people. María Fernanda promoted a public policy program that sought to provide young people with employment. The Youth Institute in the state of Guerrero hired her to evaluate this type of program. She wanted the programs to consider the youth perspective, but she encountered much resistance among the government's public policy evaluators. In the case of Berenice, before arriving at the *Ateneo*, she became an activist on democracy issues at her university. She promoted a program called *Voto Informado* (Informed Vote), which consisted of preparing the biographies and stories of the candidates running for the first Congress of Mexico City.

Another example is Dionei, who, since high school, has been participating in a group that promotes actions in favour of the LGBTIQ+ movement. Although Dionei joined *Ateneo* on the issue of the environment, over time, he promoted the creation of a committee on sexual diversity within the organization.

An additional case is that of Eduardo, who, before joining *Ateneo*, had participated in groups promoting indigenous rights in Oaxaca. Specifically, he had been a member of a network of

¹⁶⁶ Muchos de ellos ya no están en este mundo, muchos de ellos desafortunadamente fueron asesinados por el crimen organizado.

Indigenous Translators whose purpose was to support indigenous people who do not speak Spanish and are in prison. Finally, Noel, the current president of Ateneo, grew up in an indigenous community in Oaxaca. Since he was a child, he has been involved in his community's activities. He participated in reforestation work during his primary, secondary, and high school years. He helped create community cinemas and other cultural activities that did not exist in his municipality.

It was about promoting community participation among young people. (Noel, 2023)
(Translation)¹⁶⁷

At 18, he left his town to study an undergraduate program. His first year was dedicated entirely to his studies. However, he felt that his life was missing something, involving himself in activities like the ones he was used to. This is how, in 2016, because of the invitation of a friend, he joined a civil association called *Club Organizado de Esperanza (Organized Club for Hope)*, whose objective was to promote the sustainable development goals of the 2030 United Nations Agenda, where in the end he did not feel comfortable and left.

We did everything, but at the same time, we did nothing. (Noel, 2018) (Translation)¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Se trataba de promover la participación comunitaria de las personas jóvenes.

¹⁶⁸ Hacíamos de todo y al mismo tiempo nada.

8.4 Personal *Demands* and *Universalization*

8.4.1 First *Ateneistas*

As mentioned in the last chapters, the *demands* of the first generation of *Ateneistas* were closely related to accessing and promoting culture, especially for young people. Alejandro, for example, who felt very identified with the 1909 *Ateneo*, promoted a wide variety of cultural events, such as debate workshops, public speaking courses, literary talks, painting exhibitions, or readings aloud in public spaces such as the Metro in Mexico City.

We had José Vasconcelos' idea of *culture engenders progress*. We felt like the *Ateneistas of 1909*... We went to the events, and all those contests and events allowed us to create this culture of progress, that is, the culture that engenders that progress; that is what we were looking for at the end of everything. (Alejandro, 2023) (Translation)¹⁶⁹

Alan was in the same situation, and his *demands* were based on cultural issues. He saw in *Ateneo* the means to promote the humanities and dedicated himself to promoting culture. Carol sought to develop different cultural projects.

¹⁶⁹ Teníamos la idea de José Vasconcelos de 'la cultura engendra progreso'. (...) Nos sentíamos como los ateneístas de 1909... Íbamos a los eventos, y todos esos concursos y eventos nos permitían poder crear esta cultura de progreso, o sea, la cultura que engendra ese progreso, eso es lo que buscábamos al final de todo.

I said: don't wait for me to tell you what you will do; you tell me what you can do. I study philosophy. Perfect, *Filosofía a las calles* (Philosophy in the streets). And that was done. (Carol. 2023) (Translation) ¹⁷⁰

The same happens in José Luis' case. As mentioned, from the beginning, he wanted to promote the access of his peers to literature, philosophy, and humanities.

8.4.2 Second *Ateneistas*

The *demands* of the majority of the second-generation *Ateneistas* had to do, on the one hand, with the expansion of projects and establishing networks with young people to boost youth participation in the public sphere, especially through the *Observatorio*. On the other hand, and in a more personal demand, the acquisition of social capital. In that sense, the second generation sought to expand the *Ateneo* to a national level and increase its degree of institutionalization while they acquired the contacts and the theoretical and practical tools they needed for public action.

As *Ateneo*'s president (2013-2014), Christian sought to expand the organization by founding more committees, establishing cooperative links with associations, universities, and governmental institutions, and constructing networks with people from other states. His objective, or demand, was to promote youth political participation.

[We sought], above all, to open spaces and opportunities for participation so that we could begin to generate policy advocacy on youth issues. That's how we suddenly started generating synergies

¹⁷⁰ Yo decía: no te esperes a que yo te diga qué vas a hacer, tú dime qué puedes hacer. Es que yo estudio filosofía. Perfecto, Filosofía de las calles. Y ese lo hizo.

and sympathy with other friends and colleagues joining this organization. (Christian, 2023) (Translation)¹⁷¹

Christian's professional training was key in his work within *Ateneo*. He believed the highest degree of institutionalization was required, and his knowledge of the Law allowed him to fight for it directly.

I was a lawyer and began to fight for a more legal, formal, juridical organization that could be reflected in decision-making so that I could make agreements endorsed by the majority in an assembly and in meetings. (Christian, 2023) (Translation)¹⁷²

For *Ateneo* members like María Fernanda, the possibility of influencing public policies through the *Observatorio* led her to be part of the project and, later, to seek membership in the *organization*. María Fernanda's *demands* were rooted in the issue of youth, specifically in evaluating public policies from a youth perspective. Thus, she conceived the *Observatorio* as a place where she could take her proposal to a larger scale and where there was the probability of seeing it materialized on an institutional level was stronger.

I fell in love with the *Observatorio*. I wanted to attend the *Observatorio*, so I came to *Ateneo*. (María Fernanda, 2023) (Translation)¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ [Buscamos], sobre todo, abrir espacios y oportunidades de participación. Sobre todo, para que pudiéramos empezar a generar incidencia política, incidencia pública en temas juveniles... Entonces fue así como de pronto empezamos a generar sinergias, simpatía con demás amigos, compañeros que se fueron integrando a esta organización.

¹⁷² Yo era abogado y comencé a luchar por una organización jurídica más legal, formal, que se reflejara en la toma de decisiones para poder tomar acuerdos avalados por la mayoría en una asamblea y en reuniones.

¹⁷³ Me enamoré del Observatorio. Quería asistir al Observatorio, así que vine al Ateneo.

The same happened with Berenice, who was convinced to participate in the *Observatorio* because of the opportunity to influence public policy and meet people with the same interests and objectives.

I was attracted by the opportunity to meet with people with the same interests and objectives as me first of all, and the other reason is that I saw it as an opportunity to participate in a project to influence public policy. The promise was that the information generated in the analysis would be reported and sent to the head of the local Ministry of Youth. So, I saw it as an opportunity to generate information, but also to express our needs as young people and for our proposals to be considered. (Berenice, 2023) (Translation)¹⁷⁴

For members like Soledad or Patricia, the main demand was the social capital *Ateneo* could provide them. What caught Patricia's attention the most and led her to be an active member where she could meet more young people. However, in a short time, she understood that the organization also offered her skills in affecting public policies. Soledad was attracted by the *Ateneistas*; she thought these people could give her a vision of the social sciences that the academy did not offer.

¹⁷⁴ Me atrajo la oportunidad de convivir con personas que tienen los mismos intereses y objetivos que yo, en primer lugar, y la otra es que lo vi como una oportunidad de participar en un medio tal vez para incidir en la política pública, debido a que la información que nosotros generamos en las mesas de análisis se preparó, se juntó en un informe que se pasó a la titular en ese entonces del Instituto Nacional de la Juventud. Entonces lo vi como una oportunidad de generar información, pero también de plasmar nuestras necesidades como jóvenes y nuestras propuestas, también para ser tomadas en cuenta.

8.4.3 Third *Ateneistas*

For the third generation of *Ateneistas*, the *demands* were focused on issues related to feminism, gender, sexual diversity, disabilities, and ethnicity. At their incorporation, they were aware of the *Ateneo's* capacity for social impact. They conceived the organization as a space where their *demands* could have a greater impact on social change through cultural change.

For *Ateneistas* like Alitzel, Frida and Leilany, the gender issue became one of their greatest *demands* and struggles. Although for Alitzel, the issues of gender was not her principal concern, it became her principal demand. The same thing happened to Frida, who started participating in various association activities until Noel, the president, proposed that she take charge of the gender area, a position that she accepted. It should be noted that one of the reasons for her and more women uniting and concentrating their efforts on promoting a gender agenda was the fact that, as women, they suffered this type of violence in different moments of their lives.

I think that what has most generated women to unite or to be constantly participating in this issue is that gender violence constantly affects us. That is to say, gender violence is not a matter of exaggerating, but it is a matter of you living it from the moment you are born. (Frida, 2023)
(Translation)¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Creo que lo que más ha generado que las mujeres nos unamos o estemos participando constantemente en este tema es que la violencia de género nos afecta constantemente. Es decir, la violencia de género no es cuestión de exagerar, sino que es cuestión de que las vivas desde que nacen.

In this regard, all the work carried out on the gender issues has meant, in Frida's opinion, that more women see the *Ateneo* as a powerful ally, even with the potential to reach more people, mainly men.

I believe that if we do not cover masculinities as well, we are not going to eradicate the problem; we are not going to eradicate those ideologies, those beliefs that contribute to gender violence because we have to work together. (Frida, 2023) (Translation)¹⁷⁶

Recounting all the work that the *Ateneo* has carried out on gender issues, Leilany considers that all this effort has allowed the arrival of more feminist women and activists who saw *Ateneo* as the means to continue with the feminist movement. Dionei has probably dedicated most of his efforts to promoting sexual diversity issues, in which he has much experience and knowledge. He believes that opening an LGBTI+ area has made people from this population more interested in participating in *Ateneo*, directly or through alliances.

The Indigenous issue is also one of the *demands* of the *Ateneistas* of the third generation. Eduardo, a member of an Indigenous community, has worked for over half a decade and is an intercultural promoter. Thanks to his experience in community, cultural, and indigenous issues, Noel offered him the position of head of the Indigenous and Afro-Mexican area. Finally, the issue of disabilities is, also, one of the main demands of the third generation. Sofia, who is currently the coordinator

¹⁷⁶ Yo creo que si no abarcamos también las masculinidades no vamos a erradicar el problema, no vamos a erradicar esas ideologías, esas creencias que contribuyen a la violencia de género, porque tenemos que trabajar juntas.

of the disability area, came to the *Ateneo* because she saw the opportunity to make young people who have disabilities visible. This demand comes from her case; she has cerebral palsy and moves in a special chair due to her limited mobility. For her, *Ateneo* is the means to make visible people who do not have a voice. Thanks to the *populist leadership* of Noel, this demand that was absent from *Ateneo* for years entered the *chain of equivalence* to be represented by the *universal demand* of the recognizing of youth diversity.

8.5 *Ateneista* Consciousness

8.5.1 First *Ateneistas*

For the members of the first generation, the recognition of being an *Ateneo* member was, in most cases, influenced by their identification (Laclau, 1994) with the *Ateneo of 1909* and its cultural mission. Thus, by perceiving themselves as the continuation of that group, they were aware of a personal mission and behaviour, the *Ateneista* consciousness. That feeling came to Alejandro when he began his cultural work. Therefore, belonging to the *Ateneo* meant, above all, inspiring young people and seeking to build bridges of solidarity. For Alan, this recognition of being *Ateneista* came during his time as national president of the association. Being an *Ateneista*, for him, meant a humanistic vocation and the conviction that a social impact from civil organizations was plausible.

In Carol's case, the spirit of being an *Ateneista* meant positively influencing young people's lives. Gina, upon reading more about the history of the *1909 Ateneo*, began to recognize herself as an *Ateneista*. Her identification with that group of people aroused great enthusiasm in her.

Above all, I was struck by the story and the multifaceted characters, like Vasconcelos, politician, writer, philosopher... I am a multifaceted person. I felt identified by the history of the *1909 Ateneo*, by knowing these personalities..., who gave a lot to Mexico and not only developed in one area but in several. (Gina, 2023) (Translation)¹⁷⁷

Therefore, for Gina, being an *Ateneista* meant living as the *1909 Ateneistas* did.

8.5.2 Second *Ateneistas*

As far as the members of the second generation are concerned, their awareness as *Ateneo* members had to do, in part, with the historical reference of the *Ateneo of 1909*, but above all, it was carried out by being aware of the public impact that their work was having, and the fact that their opinions and their work within the organization were taken into account. Christian identified himself as an *Ateneista* when he realized the association was achieving a public impact.

¹⁷⁷ A mí, sobre todo, me llamó la atención como la historia y los personajes que eran multifacéticos, como Vasconcelos: político, escritor, filósofo... Yo soy una persona multifacética. A mí me gusta hacer desde cocinar, hasta cuestiones de política o derechos humanos; me gusta mucho aprender idiomas. Entonces yo me siento identificada por la historia del Ateneo, por conocer a estos personajes..., esos personajes que dieron mucho a México y no solamente se desarrollaron en un área, sino en varias.

At what point did I start to feel like an *Ateneista*? Well, it seems to me that precisely at the moment when we began to work and do more concrete projects, and when we began to see how more people, more young people, wanted to participate, not because they were part of a social club, but because they had the concern to do the same thing that we were doing..., it seems to me that those results are the ones that after having all this ideological identification, begin to make us feel greater pride and [a] stronger sense of belonging. That is to say, I am an *Ateneista*; we are doing something good and positive for Mexican society and the young people of our country. (Christian, 2023) (Translation)¹⁷⁸

According to Christian, being an *Ateneista* means essentially two things: committing to Mexico and promoting culture and progress. In that sense, even ceasing to belong to the organization, for Christian “one does not stop being an *Ateneista*” (Translation). In December 2015, before his departure, Christian published on his Facebook account a farewell letter in which he presented 10 points about what it means to be an *Ateneista*:

1. Ratifying the commitment and principles of the historic *Ateneo de la Juventud* of 1909 and its illustrious members.
2. Having a strong feeling of patriotism, solidarity, unity and inclusion.
3. Being a proactive young person.
4. Developing a critical and purposeful character with a vocation to serve Mexico.

¹⁷⁸ ¿En qué momento me empiezo a sentir ateneísta? Pues me parece que precisamente en el momento en el que empezamos a trabajar y a hacer más concretos los proyectos, y que empezamos a ver cómo más gente, más jóvenes querían participar, no por el hecho de formar parte de un club social, por así llamarlo, sino por el hecho de que tienen la inquietud de hacer lo mismo que estábamos haciendo nosotros..., me parece que esos resultados son los que después de tener toda esta identificación ideológica, nos empiezan a hacer sentir un mayor orgullo y [un] sentido de pertenencia. Es decir: soy ateneísta, estamos haciendo algo bueno, algo positivo por la sociedad mexicana, por los jóvenes de nuestro país.

5. Promoting progress through education and culture.
6. Getting involved in influencing public affairs.
7. Acquiring comprehensive training and constant improvement with a tremendous humanistic spirit.
8. Developing self-leadership and directing causes for the progress of our country.
9. Aspiring to self-transcend through our ideas and our actions.
10. Being a reference and inspiration for the next generations. (Translation)

Decálogo ateneísta.



Christian I. Mariscal Alcauter · Última edición: 1 de diciembre de 2015 · 2 minuto de lectura

1. Ratificar el compromiso y principios del histórico Ateneo de la Juventud de 1909 y de sus ilustres personajes.
2. Contar con un fuerte sentimiento patriótico, solidario, de unidad e inclusión.
3. Ser jóvenes proactivos y con iniciativa.
4. Desarrollar un carácter crítico y propositivo, con vocación de servicio a México.
5. Impulsar el progreso abanderados por la educación y la cultura.
6. Involucrarse e incidir en los asuntos públicos.
7. Adquirir una formación integral, superación constante con un gran sentido humanista.
8. Desarrollar liderazgo propio, incluyente y encaminar causas para el mejoramiento de nuestro país.
9. Aspirar a trascender por medio de nuestras ideas y nuestras acciones.
10. Ser referente e inspiración para próximas generaciones.

"Soy la conciencia, soy la virtud, soy ateneísta de la juventud"

Figure 44. *Ateneísta Decalogue*¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Facebook, Christian's account, December the first, 2015.

The post ends with the Ateneo slogan: “I am the conscience, I am the virtue, I am an *Ateneista* of youth” (Translation). Cristian's case is very representative of how those who studied at UNAM developed a *subjectivity* closely related to the nationalist *discourse* that promotes progress through humanism. Although he does not mention the cosmic race project (Vasconcelos, 2019), its influence is very evident in the decalogue of what it means to be an *Ateneista*.

María Fernanda and Patricia's recognition as *Ateneistas* concerned working in *Ateneo* in favour of youth. During the three years that María Fernanda was a member, she felt *Ateneista* because of the recognition from her peers due to her knowledge and experience in youth issues, she felt *Ateneista*.

When they realized inside the *Ateneo* that I knew what I was talking about, they gave me more room to work, and then the fact that other people like me believed in what I was saying and what I was doing helped me a lot. (María Fernanda, 2023) (Translation)¹⁸⁰

Likewise, Patricia experienced for the first time the feeling of being an *Ateneo* member when she realized that the opinions expressed by its members did have an echo in the *Ateneo*.

[I felt like an *Ateneista*] when I could see that the ideas presented on any social issue have an echo. When I arrived in *Ateneo*, I saw that some young men and women were giving their ideas and had very well-prepared profiles, prepared that their ideas bring proposals for solutions for change. I

¹⁸⁰ Cuando se dieron cuenta dentro del Ateneo que yo sí sabía de lo que hablaba, me dieron más espacio para trabajar, y luego el hecho de que otras personas similares a mí creyeran en lo que yo decía, en lo que hacía, eso me ayudó mucho.

said: here, I can give an idea and see how it is accepted.” And then that generates an identity for me. (Patricia, 2023) (Translation)¹⁸¹

8.5.3 Third *Ateneistas*

For the third generation members, their *Ateneista consciousness* was still related to some echoes of 1909 Ateneo’s myth. Still, most of all, it was based on the collective action that allowed social change and the generation of a social consciousness that comes from teamwork. Additionally, for these *Ateneistas*, *subjectivity* is based on the awareness of their capacity for agency. Alitzel recognized herself as an *Ateneista* when she began to feel the support of her colleagues in achieving social impact. In that sense, for Alitzel, being an *Ateneista* means supporting the change of the world.

Ateneista means support from young people behind a project and support from those who fight for the same cause. (Alitzel, 2023) (Translation)¹⁸²

In the same way, Ariel recognized himself as an *Ateneista* when he felt the patience and support his teammates offered him to develop projects.

¹⁸¹ [Me sentí ateneísta] cuando logro ver que las ideas que se exponen ahí, de cualquier tema social, tienen eco. Cuando llego al Ateneo y veo que son chavos [y] chavas que están dando sus ideas, que son perfiles muy bien preparadas, preparados..., que sus ideas traen propuesta para soluciones de cambio, digo: aquí puedo dar una idea y ver cómo es aceptada. Y entonces eso me genera a mí una identidad.

¹⁸² Ateneísta significa apoyo, apoyo de jóvenes detrás de un proyecto y apoyo de jóvenes que luchan por una misma causa.

I feel that I began to identify with the association when I began to have, I don't know, I was the younger person, the other people who made up the association at that time, who were older, well, they protected me a lot, and taught a lot, they were not people who lost their patience with me. I knew that I was just starting out and that I made a lot of mistakes. I was very immature, and those older than me were patient with me; they never scolded me... Generally, they were very patient with me, and I think that began to influence me to identify myself as *Ateneista*, right? The love they gave me in the association. (Ariel, 2023) (Translation)¹⁸³

Guadalupe recognized herself as an *Ateneista* practically from her arrival at the organization, thanks to the support of her colleagues, which she could feel immediately.

Well, look, the truth is that I think [I felt *Ateneista*] since I arrived at *Ateneo*; the truth is that the fellow founders were very close to us...; you feel supported by them. The truth is that they always give you their support. And I think that's what I always stay with, having the closeness that you have with your new colleagues, that's what makes you feel part of a family. And when you get to know the other chapters in the States... You realize they are very talented young people and start talking with them. They make you feel like part of the *Ateneista* family (Guadalupe, 2023) (Translation).¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Yo siento que me empecé a sentir identificado con la asociación cuando comencé a tener, no sé, como era el pequeño, como que las demás personas que integraban la asociación en este momento, que eran de mayor edad, pues me protegía mucho, y me enseñaba mucho, no eran personas que se desesperan conmigo. Yo sabía que apenas estaba empezando y que cometía muchos errores, era incluso muy inmaduro, y esas personas que eran más grandes que yo me estaban teniendo paciencia, nunca me regañaron..., generalmente sí me tenía muchísima paciencia y creo que eso empezó a influir muchísimo como para empezar a identificarme como Ateneísta, ¿no?, el cariño que me daban en la asociación.

¹⁸⁴ Pues mira, la verdad es que creo que desde que llego al capítulo [me siento ateneísta], los compañeros fundadores la verdad es que fueron muy cercanos a nosotros..., te sientes arropado por ellos. La verdad es que siempre te brindan su apoyo. Y creo que eso es con lo que me quedo siempre, tener la cercanía que tienen con los nuevos compañeros,

Being an *Ateneista* means leadership, culture, and social commitment for Guadalupe. That is, taking up the legacy of the 1909 *Ateneistas* and implementing it today to improve “things”. And always remembering that they sought to engender progress through culture.

I believe that [being an *Ateneista*] is to take up the legacy of the 1909 *Ateneo*. It is to take that legacy and carry it out in the 21st century, in a Mexico where, at least as young people, we must try to leave our seed... Returning to the question of what it means to be an *Ateneista*, I believe that taking back that legacy, trying to change your country a little, trying to change the cosmovision of the young people you have around you. We should not lose focus on what we are looking for, which is culture engendering progress. Being an *Ateneista* means culture, learning, leadership, and social commitment. (Guadalupe, 2023) (Translation)¹⁸⁵

Like Guadalupe, Noel recognized himself as an *Ateneista* from the first moment because he felt protected by several organization members, such as Blanca and Alan, then *Ateneo*'s president.

That's what made me feel at home. (Noel, 2023) (Translation)¹⁸⁶

eso es lo que te hace sentirte parte de una familia. Y ya cuando vas conociendo a los demás capítulos en los estados..., te das cuenta de que son jóvenes talentosísimos y comienzas a platicar con ellos y te hacen sentirte parte de esa familia ateneísta.

¹⁸⁵ Yo creo que [ser ateneísta] es retomar el legado de los ateneístas en 1909... Es tomar ese legado y llevarlo a cabo en el siglo XXI, en un México que, al menos a los jóvenes, nos toca intentar dejar nuestra semilla..., retomando la pregunta, qué significa ser ateneísta, yo creo que retomar ese legado, intentar cambiar un poco tu país, intentar cambiar el chip de los jóvenes a los que tienes a tu alrededor. Y no perder el enfoque de lo que estamos buscando, que es, obviamente, la cultura engendra progreso..., creo que ser ateneísta significa cultura, significa aprendizaje, significa liderazgo y compromiso social.

¹⁸⁶ Es lo que me hizo sentir en casa.

Today, six years after his entry, *Ateneo* is a unique and authentic organization for him because, according to his statements, its presence in various parts of the country makes him feel part of a network of contacts that no other place had provided him. For Noel, being an *Ateneista* means being a young person interested in promoting participation. Thus, *Ateneo* is, for him, “a civil association of young people for young people” (Translation)¹⁸⁷ and inclusive and progressive where youth political participation is its main objective.

Dionei, Eduardo, Leilany, and Sergio found their *Ateneista* consciousness from the social work they did through the organization. Dionei felt like an *Ateneista* when he started to take charge of responsibilities such as coordinating the area of sexual diversity. To the extent that Dionei became involved in the different areas and participated in the different activities of the organization, it provided him with that social awareness that today leads him to say that being an *Ateneista* is, above all, getting involved in society.

Eduardo realized that his work at *Ateneo* could change people's opinions. At that moment, he felt *Ateneista* and understood the responsibility of being a member of *Ateneo*.

When I started working on this first topic, I received comments from friends and colleagues at the University: We saw the broadcast of your first work. That is when I realized that I could at least make a change in this organization. (Eduardo, 2023) (Translation)¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Una asociación civil de jóvenes para jóvenes.

¹⁸⁸ Cuando comencé a trabajar en este primer tema, recibí comentarios de amigos y compañeros de la Universidad: Vimos la transmisión de tu primer trabajo. Fue entonces cuando me di cuenta de que en esta organización al menos podía hacer un cambio.

Maybe Leilany's case summarizes what it means to be an *Ateneista*. When she started to manage the area of gender, she interviewed Eufrosina Cruz, an Indigenous activist. She realized that *Ateneo* boosted her agency capacity by providing an excellent means to influence public opinion on important issues and that she could affect the most critical debates on women's issues.

I started to feel like an *Ateneista* when I became head of the gender area because I understood a lot about the power we had as an association. I interviewed Eufrosina Cruz. It was spectacular. I never imagined that I would get to interview these types of people. Second, the *Ateneo* would open the doors for that and many other things. So that's where my *Ateneista* spirit grows a lot (Leilany, 2023) (Translation).¹⁸⁹

In this way, being an *Ateneista*, for Leilany, is knowing the power of agency that young people have and being aware of their capacity to influence previously inaccessible spaces.

Let's say that being an *Ateneista* means realizing your power of agency, the power to change things, and the power of young people to influence spaces where we were not allowed before. (Leilany, 2023) (Translation)¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Yo me empiezo a sentir ateneísta cuando subo como presidenta de la Coordinación Nacional de Género por primera vez, porque ahí entendí muchísimo el poder que teníamos como asociación. Cuando fui presidenta de la Coordinación Nacional logré entrevistar a Eufrosina Cruz...Y fue espectacular. Nunca imaginé, primero, llegar a entrevistar a ese tipo de personas. Y, segundo, que el Ateneo abriría las puertas no sólo para eso, sino para muchas otras cosas. Entonces ahí es donde mi espíritu ateneísta crece muchísimo.

¹⁹⁰ Digamos que ser ateneísta es darse cuenta del poder de agencia que tienes, el poder de cambiar las cosas, el poder de los jóvenes de incidir en espacios donde antes no se nos permitía estar.

Sergio recognized himself as an *Ateneista* to the extent that he developed a social consciousness. For him, being an *Ateneista* means precisely that: developing a social consciousness, a social consciousness beneath which various conceptions emerge and with which an *Ateneista* identifies.

The natural consequence of the distinction of being *Ateneista* is mainly the social consciousness... The common sense is that a social consciousness distinguishes a person who is an *Ateneista* from another who is not. But underneath, there are parameters through which *Ateneistas* identify themselves, such as a plurality [of visions]. (Sergio, 2023) (Translation)¹⁹¹

To put it more clearly, all *Ateneistas* have a social perspective. For some, that social awareness translates into a vision of social justice; for others, it can be a question of equality. Understood in this way, social justice is the tree's trunk, and the rest of the visions are the branches that derive from it. Being an *Ateneista* means, for Sergio, a fight in favour of society.

Being an *Ateneista* implies that everything is looked at in favour of societies, that is, what complements society and what makes it happier, more participatory, and more fruitful. (Sergio, 2023) (Translation)¹⁹²

For Arturo, being an *Ateneista* means being part of an organization with accumulated knowledge. This knowledge is part of the social analysis that allowed them to influence society.

¹⁹¹ Yo creo que la consecuencia natural de la distinción de un ateneísta es principalmente su conciencia social...El común denominador es que hay una conciencia social que distingue a una persona que es ateneísta y a otra que no lo es. Pero debajo hay parámetros en los cuales existe una pluralidad [de visiones] por medio del cual las y los ateneístas se identifican.

¹⁹² Ser ateneísta implica que se mire todo a favor de las sociedades, es decir, lo que complementa a la sociedad, y lo que la hace más feliz, más participativa y más fructífera.

I am barely feel being an *Ateneista*. I think I can feel historical baggage, of concentrations of people of analysis... So, this analysis, this community among young people in this sector that we have in particular, drives me even more. I feel an *Ateneista* has the desire to influence aspects of public power... So, we have that freedom as *Ateneistas* to say what we think through our prior analysis, which distinguishes us as *Ateneistas*. (Arturo, 2023) (Translation)¹⁹³

Frida points out that being *Ateneista* means being socially awakening, that is, acquiring a social awareness of things.

I think that being an *Ateneista*, from a personal point of view, means waking up... Being an *Ateneista*, I think I could specify it in a social awakening..., is, let's say, acquiring a consciousness, acquiring a social consciousness. For me, that would be being an *Ateneista* (Frida, 2023) (Translation).¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Apenas estoy sintiendo el ser ateneísta. Creo que lo que puedo sentir es un bagaje histórico, de concentraciones de personas del análisis... Entonces este análisis, esta colectividad que hay entre jóvenes de este sector que tenemos en particular, hace que a mí me impulse aún más, y me siento indicado como ateneísta a tener esas ganas, esa inquietud del poder incidir en aspectos públicos, de poder público... Entonces tenemos esa libertad como ateneístas de poder decir lo que pensamos a través de nuestro análisis previo, que es lo que nos distingue como Ateneístas.

¹⁹⁴ Creo que ser ateneísta, desde un punto de vista personal, significa despertar... Ser ateneísta, creo que podría concretarlo en un despertar social..., es, digamos, adquirir conciencia, adquirir conciencia social. Para mí eso sería ser Ateneísta.

8.6 The life as an *Ateneista*

For the members of the first *Ateneo*, their stay in the organization changed their lives by giving them a sense of service for a better society and a new perspective on how to behave in the world.

For me [the reason for bringing culture to other places] was a sense of help, a sense of service... and to show me a path to be able to do so as a leader. That is the part that also motivated me: that we can inspire other young people in a very positive way (Alejandro, 2023) (Translation).¹⁹⁵

For Carol, living as an *Ateneista* means a responsibility to help people realize the importance of social action. Knowing that she influenced the lives of several young people for the better is, for her, the spirit of *Ateneo* and why it was all worth it.

I would not be who I am today if the *Ateneo* had not left an indelible mark on me. And part of that is this part of social action (Carol, 2023) (Translation).¹⁹⁶

In the same sense, Alan felt a life mission to promote social change because although he felt some commitment before joining the organization, it was not clear to him that it was possible until he joined *Ateneo*. As for the members of the second *Ateneo*, the organization changed their lives in

¹⁹⁵ Para mí [el motivo para llevar cultura a otros lados] era un sentido de ayuda, un sentido de servicio... y de mostrarme un camino de poder hacerlo como líder. Esa es la parte que a mí también me motivaba, que de momento podemos inspirar a otros jóvenes de una manera muy positiva.

¹⁹⁶ Hoy en día no sería lo que soy si el *Ateneo* no hubiera dejado una huella imborrable en mí. Y parte de eso es esta parte de la acción social.

three ways. For some members, like María Fernanda, the impact was on a personal and expert level. In others, like Soledad, in the academic-professional field. Others, like Gina and Patricia, have a better understanding of the social, specifically at the level of public action.

Soledad comments that, in retrospect, *Ateneo* was a place of training, a space to put her profession as a political scientist into practice and to learn a lot, and, perhaps, a medium where the mobilization of young people seemed possible, at least at first. For Patricia, it led to a deeper understanding of social problems. This understanding, in turn, brought about the certainty that it was possible to transform people's social reality. That is, she had a greater knowledge of what public advocacy means. And, based on her statements, that is perhaps the greatest contribution that *Ateneo* left her with: conceiving herself as an agent of social change.

For the third generation, the organization changed their lives in more ways than one. For almost all of them, it represented the acquisition of greater individual and social responsibilities and a change in their vision of things, translating into more empathetic, supportive, liberal, and cooperative behaviours and conceptions. For few of them, the impact was focused on obtaining and developing professional labour skills.

As a member of *Ateneo*, Alitzel's life, for example, underwent changes of form and substance. Most of all, the awareness of being an *Ateneista* has developed. Likewise, Ariel considers that, due to feeling like an *Ateneista*, his life changed in a double sense. On the one hand, and somewhat abruptly, it involved the acquisition of greater responsibilities. On the other hand, in the area of values, the organization gave him a conscience to understand the thinking of others and respect

them. In the same way, being an *Ateneista* has given Arturo greater social responsibility, which means making social problems visible. In a way, he has also changed how he sees things because it has given him more sensitivity about what, as young people, they can do. In the same case is Dioneo, whom *Ateneo* taught to get involved socially.

In the case of Noel, *Ateneo* also allowed him to assume more relevant responsibilities, such as managing spaces, preparing documents or contacting people invited to different events. This, in turn, constituted for him a series of valuable tools for the workplace that the University does not provide. The association has also been a practical complement that has taught him that a way to remedy the error must be found when mistakes are made. And, if you don't achieve it, have the peace of mind that it is all right, but with the experience gained of having more than one plan the next time.

Another aspect of Noel's life that *Ateneo* influenced is his conception of rights. Coming, in his words, from a family of conservative values, he was against rights such as abortion or communities such as LGBTIQ+. But for Noel, becoming an *Ateneista* represented a process of reflection in which one either rejects or accepts the *Ateneista* values. In that sense, the organization meant for him “a space to deconstruct yourself” and “get progressive ideas”.

For Sergio, *Ateneo* changed his life and his vision of society. The first was because he developed skills for his professional and political life by assuming the responsibility of leading the state of Veracruz committee. For example, getting used to making important decisions, knowing how to be a cultural manager, efficiently managing resources, adapting to circumstances, and creating

convictions based on a vision of social justice. Second, because he witnessed enough of the needs of his companions and contemplated their commitment, dedication, and, to a certain extent, sacrifice for the causes of the association, he understood the *Ateneo* as a network of virtues.

Finally, the case of Guadalupe. Before joining the association, she was embarrassed about things like requesting rooms for an event, but after holding multiple positions in the organization, she acquired various skills, thanks to which knocking on doors and establishing institutional relationships are no longer a problem.

8.7 Why be an *Ateneista*?

The first *Ateneistas* decided to join the organization because of a combination of particular and shared interests: working for youth and promoting culture. Alan wanted to be an *Ateneista* because he saw the opportunity to dedicate himself to promoting culture through the organization. At the same time, what led Alejandro to join *Ateneo* was working for the benefit of youth. In Carol's case, the reading club initially made her want to be part of the *Ateneo* as a collective. And, in a second moment, the idea of constituting this group into a legal association that would bring culture to society.

During the second *Ateneo*, there were multiple reasons for individuals joining the association. Some of them, like Christian, decided to join the organization due to the opportunity to acquire knowledge and skills in public speaking, debate, and other areas that the classrooms did not provide and for the possibility of creating a committee at the Faculty of Law and, thereby,

contributing to the expansion of the association. Members like Patricia sought to belong to the organization because of the people she could meet and the eventual social relationships she could establish. In other words, because of the network of contacts that she knew *Ateneo* had and could acquire.

For members like María Fernanda, Soledad, and Berenice, the reason lies in their interest in affecting the public sphere. With extensive experience and great knowledge of youth, in mid-2016, María Fernanda saw the call for the *Observatorio* on Facebook and, without hesitation, applied. There, she met people with the same interests and concerns as her, people who understood her and with whom she identified, which made her decide to be part of *Ateneo*.

Similarly, Soledad participated in the *Observatorio* due to her interest in the topic and, according to her words, to correct the deficiencies in her academic training. After she participated in the *Observatorio*, she accepted to be part of the *Ateneo* for two reasons: on the one hand, she was attracted to the social capital that she saw she could acquire and the vision of the social sciences that the academy did not offer her, and she found that there. On the other hand, she would end that feeling of helplessness that her ignorance of the different and multiple spaces of political participation produced. A very similar thing happened with Berenice. In 2017, she received and accepted the invitation to actively participate in one of the *Observatorio* and coordinate a group of young people within the project. What attracted her most and convinced her to be part of the project was meeting and living with people with the same interests and objectives as her and, of course, the opportunity to influence public policy.

In the case of the *Ateneistas* of the third *Ateneo*, the reasons for belonging to the association were varied: 1) its character as a national association and its level of institutionalization, 2) its plurality of well-defined and, in certain cases, consolidated projects, 3) its identification with *1909 Ateneo*, 4) the possibility of establishing a network of contacts, and 6) their social work. Ariel was attracted by the first factor. The legal nature of *Ateneo* as a civil association, which gave it a formality, constant work, and degree of institutionalization, were the elements that convinced him to become a member.

People attracted to the organization because of the second reason include Alitzel, Guadalupe, Dionei, Frida, and Noel. The activities related to *oratoria* convinced Alitzel to join *Ateneo*. For Guadalupe, the structure of the association, the wide variety of topics it addressed, and the well-established causes it had were the factors that caught her attention and prompted her to send a message to the *Ateneo* website to ask to get involved in some of the cultural activities available.

What led Dionei to *Ateneo* was the opportunity to practice the knowledge he acquired in his undergraduate studies. The reason that brought Frida to the association was a program on indigenous issues. Noel wanted to belong to *Ateneo* for two reasons. First, he did not have to start working from scratch since the association already had its own portfolio of activities. The second was his affinity for cultural issues, especially those of youth.

Arturo and Sergio are motivated by the third reason. The historical background of the association (*Ateneo* of 1909) was the fundamental piece that helped Arturo make the decision to belong to the association. For Sergio, the recovery of the legacy of the *1909 Ateneo*, that is, the carrying out of

cultural activities that seek citizen participation, his social activism, and his relationship with Olimpia C. Melo, led him to be a member. Eduardo was attracted by the fourth reason. He joined *Ateneo* for the opportunity to work and establish more networks with Oaxacan youth. Vis- á- vis the fifth reason, we have Leilany, for whom the altruistic nature of *Ateneo* and the fact that each chapter's work was independent made her want to join the organization. Social work, the sixth reason, influenced all of them to a greater or lesser extent since, in their own way, each one rescues the character or social commitment that the organization displays.

8.8 Resisting the *Ateneista* Subjectivity

Some members of *Ateneo* resisted the *Ateneista* subjectivity. They did not feel *Ateneistas* in the whole sense or soon got disenchanted. For Soledad, the reason for never being able to identify herself as an *Ateneista* was because she did not “feel that they were pursuing a social objective,” since she warned that the *discourse* of struggle and promotion of the rights and perspective of youth did not correspond with the actions carried out by the association. In this way, there is no identification (Laclau, 1994; Mouffe, 2023), and the *Ateneista* subjectivity was resisted, even though she had significant positions within the organization, such as *Ateneo*’s Vice President.

The truth is that [*Ateneo*] disappointed me quite a bit. Many people were there not so much for social ideals, but rather they took it as a kind of organization for their personal visibility. And it was used in very personal ways. I didn't like that. (Soledad, 2023) (Translation)¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ La verdad es que [el *Ateneo*] me desilusionó bastante. Muchas personas estaban ahí no tanto por ideales sociales, sino que lo tomaban un poco como una especie de organización para la visibilización propia. Y se utilizaba de maneras muy personalistas. Eso a mí no me gustó.

In Berenice's case, despite considering *Ateneo* an extremely interesting association, she never felt part of it. From her point of view, its internal organization was very similar to that of a political party, where people were positioning themselves at the time many others worked for them.

These types of civil associations are very interesting. But I consider that they are very similar to a political party, in which some people are in the center, they manage it in some way, they are the ones who are positioning themselves, and there are other types of people who are in charge of other, more field-like issues. In my case, I was only there for a short time, and I didn't do much active participation. So, no, I did not feel like an *Ateneísta* (Berenice, 2023) (Translation).¹⁹⁸

For Berenice, the feeling of being *Ateneísta* is found in those who have belonged to the association for a long time and in those who are quite active in it. However, she confesses that she would have liked to develop such feelings since, in her opinion, *Ateneo* has done “very cool” things, like political influence, and addresses various topics.

It really wasn't because of the themes. Rather, it was a matter of the type of organization. Maybe I did not relate enough to want to stay there more. And I return to the topic of resources. I did need to focus on other things. And besides, I did not live in Mexico City. I had to travel two or two and a half hours to cover the established activities... Also, in terms of [that], I see it as a party; there

¹⁹⁸ Este tipo de asociaciones civiles son muy interesantes. Pero considero que tienen un tipo de organización muy similar a un partido político, en el cual hay personas que están en el centro, lo administran de alguna forma, son las que están posicionándose y al mismo tiempo dando la cara por la asociación, y hay otro tipo de personas que se encargan de otras cuestiones más como de campo. En mi caso, solamente estuve un tiempo pequeño, y no hice mucha labor de participación activa...Entonces, no hubo un momento en el que me sintiera Ateneísta.

were already factions and groups, among which I did not identify myself. (Berenice, 2023)
(Translation)¹⁹⁹

8.9 Leaving the *Ateneista* Subjectivity

The departure from the *Ateneo* of the first and second generation can be encompassed in one or more of these four situations: 1) an economic-labor circumstance; 2) disagreements within the organization; 3) situations of violence within the association; and 4) an incompatibility with the principles and values of the organization.

Alan, for example, left *Ateneo* due to two reasons. On the one hand, his professional development inevitably caught up with him.

My departure has a lot to do with my professional growth because there is a lot of nobility in volunteering. Still, there were moments when I felt I needed to develop myself a little more at work, in addition to a personal need to support my family. (Alan, 2023) (Translation).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Realmente no fue por las temáticas, más bien fue por una cuestión del tipo de organización. Tal vez no me relaciono lo suficiente como para poder desear más la permanencia ahí. Y regreso al tema de los recursos. Sí necesitaba yo enfocarme en otras cosas. Y aparte, yo no radicaba en la Ciudad de México. Yo tenía que trasladarme dos o dos horas y media para cubrir con las actividades establecidas..., y también en cuanto a [que] lo veo como un partido, ya había facciones, ya había grupos, entre los cuales no me identifiqué.

²⁰⁰ Mi partida tiene mucho que ver con mi crecimiento profesional porque hay mucha nobleza en el voluntariado. Aun así, hay momentos en los que yo, por una necesidad personal de mantener a mi familia, sentí que necesitaba desarrollarme un poco más en el trabajo.

On the other hand, his personal interests and objectives no longer coincided with the *Ateneo's* values and principles.

I left *Ateneo* for some circumstances that didn't seem right to me. That obviously translated into the organizational culture since there is some very important issue where if your personal objectives or interests do not fit with the values or principles of the organization, you have to see what you do, or you push the organization to change a little, or you leave the organization. I preferred to withdraw from the organization. (Alan, 2023) (Translation)²⁰¹

For him, *Ateneo* was moving towards radicalism. He said they wanted to impose a social democratic character on the statutes. In his view, it had to be a plural association. Another example is Alejandro, who stopped being an *Ateneista* due to a difference of opinions about the future of the organization. On the one hand, Alejandro thought that the association had to generate economic capital, become a product that could attract sponsors and be sold, relate to companies and add brands. On the other hand, José Luis, the founder, argued that *Ateneo* was not a company but a social organization. Such a contrast of visions led Alejandro to leave *Ateneo* to concentrate on activities that would help him solve economic needs.

One more case is that of Christian, who decided to leave *Ateneo* at the end of his term as president of the organization due to a matter of "personal evolution" (Translation). In a similar situation was

²⁰¹ Dejé el Ateneo por unas circunstancias que no me parecieron bien. Y eso obviamente se tradujo en la cultura organizacional ya que hay un tema muy importante donde si tus objetivos o intereses personales no encajan con los valores o principios de la organización, tienes que ver qué haces, o empujas a la organización a cambiar un poco, o abandonas la organización. Preferí retirarme de la organización.

Soledad, whose departure from *Ateneo* had to do with the culmination of her university life and her desire to dedicate herself to research—that is, to her professional development. Patricia's testimony is on the same track since a job offer led her to leave the *Ateneo*.

Economic and professional factors were two very specific needs that prevented Berenice from getting more involved in civil society since, at that moment in her life, her priorities were getting a job and completing her degree.

Civil associations are very interesting. However, other types of paid activities are required at the time. The truth is that people in civil associations must already have some needs covered to be able to participate fully. At that specific moment, I needed to cover another type of need: the first was to get a paid job. The second was to complete my pending task, completing my degree. (Berenice, 2023) (Translation)²⁰²

Finally, María Fernanda's departure from the organization responds to four reasons. Firstly, because she learned of multiple situations of gender violence and cases of sexual violence within the association, and when she complained, what she found was complicity in doing nothing about it.

The first thing that created conflict for me was that I found out about many situations of gender violence, bordering on sexual violence. And that everyone knew, or the majority knew, and nothing

²⁰² Las asociaciones civiles son muy interesantes. Sin embargo, en ese momento se requieren otros tipos de actividades remuneradas. La verdad es que realmente las personas en asociaciones civiles ya deben tener algunas necesidades cubiertas para poder participar plenamente. En ese momento concreto necesitaba cubrir otro tipo de necesidad: la primera era conseguir un trabajo remunerado. El segundo fue completar mis tareas pendientes que era completar mi carrera.

happened. It created conflict for me that the positions of those who make decisions never changed.

(María Fernanda, 2023) (Translation)²⁰³

More than inaction, María Fernanda attested to the deliberate decision not to attend to said cases because the possible scandal did not suit the *Ateneo* politically.

This discussion led me to find out about the cases of sexual violence that were not attended to because the decision was not to attend to them. I started looking for more information about these people on the internet, and to my surprise, I found that there was already a history. Regardless of that, politically, it was not convenient for the organization. So, it was clear that there was a very solid decision: we will not see this problem. And, of course, if the decision-makers are always the same, the problem will never be addressed. (María Fernanda, 2023) (Translation)²⁰⁴

Secondly, during her tenure as treasurer of the organization, she was not allowed to perform her duties adequately, and the resources disappeared with stunning opacity.

It bothered me that they didn't let me do my job when I was treasurer. The resources disappeared.

And then I remember seeing the perfect face of my president who said, ok, but it was nothing more,

²⁰³ Lo primero que me causó conflicto fue que me enteré de muchas situaciones de violencia de género, rayando en la violencia sexual. Y que lo sabía todo el mundo, o lo sabía la mayoría, y no pasó nada. Me generó conflicto que las posiciones de quienes toman decisiones nunca cambiaron.

²⁰⁴ Esta discusión me llevó a conocer los casos de violencia sexual que no fueron atendidos porque la decisión fue no atenderlos. Empecé a buscar más información sobre las personas relacionadas en Internet y, para mi sorpresa, descubrí que ya había un historial. Independientemente de eso, políticamente no convenía a la organización. Entonces quedó claro que había una decisión muy sólida: no vamos a ver este problema. Y por supuesto, si quienes toman las decisiones son siempre los mismos, el problema nunca se abordará.

and that made me very uncomfortable; it shocked me a lot because it was evident that any violence could happen here and without a problem. (María Fernanda, 2023) (Translation)²⁰⁵

Thirdly, because she disagreed, like many people, with its members' financial contributions to the association, María knew, from experience, that anything could happen to them at any moment.

I was dissatisfied with the contributions. From my experience, I knew perfectly well that anything could happen with contributions because I had already been treasurer. (María Fernanda, 2023) (Translation)²⁰⁶

Finally, at that time, María Fernanda was already a mother and had to continue her journey in a space where she felt comfortable. The third-generation Ateneo members interviewed (Alitzel, Ariel, Arturo, Dionei, Eduardo, Frida, Georgina, Guadalupe, Leilany, Noel, and Sergio) are all still members.

²⁰⁵ Me molestó que no me dejaran hacer mi trabajo cuando era tesorera. Los recursos desaparecieron. Y luego recuerdo ver la cara perfecta de mi presidente que decía, vale, pero no era más, y eso me incomodó mucho; Me shockeó mucho porque era la constante de que aquí podía pasar cualquier tipo de violencia y no había problema.

²⁰⁶ No estaba satisfecho con las contribuciones. Por experiencia propia sabía perfectamente que con las aportaciones podía pasar cualquier cosa porque ya había sido tesorera.

8.10 Conclusion

The *Ateneista* subjectivity was experienced differently by the members who belonged to the different *Ateneos*. Most members contacted *Ateneo* through interaction with the schools and faculties of UNAM and DSNs. Specifically for the members of the first and second *Ateneo*. This coincides with the transition from the first to the second *Ateneo* because the members from *Preparatoria 2* had gone on to the faculty and began to spread information about the organization there. In most cases, they came from social sciences and law faculties. Consequently, it is evident that the nationalist *discourse* in the *Ateneistas* of the first and second *Ateneo* were willing to carry out, even in their daily life, the assimilationist project of the cosmic race, as can be seen in the case of Christian. However, as was corroborated in talks and the review of the documents, people from other faculties and universities began to join in the second and third *Ateneo*. In this sense, members who arrived for the third *Ateneo* and came from other parts of the country, far from the nationalist *discourse*. Among them, the *discourse* on recognition, inclusiveness and social justice is more visible because they were more exposed to the reproduction of *articulatory practices* around recognizing youth diversity.

Most of the *Ateneistas* interviewed pointed out that before becoming members of the organization, they had already experienced participation in other types of organizations, especially those in the third *Ateneo*, which were linked to organizations that promoted feminism and sexual diversity. This fact may explain that women from the third *Ateneo* were more willing to defend their rights and expose the abuses around sexual harassment. This is the case of Maria Fernanda, who evidenced in the interview not only her experience but how the patriarchal system hid it and

protected her aggressor. Evidently, this case interpellates the *discourse* (Butler, 2006) and starts some practices for women to gain ground against the patriarchal *discourse* in Ateneo. The absence of patriarchal and nationalist *discourse* in the *subjectivity* of the third generation is a testament to the significant impact of women's actions on the patriarchal *discourse*. It is important to remember that one of the most potent new social movements in Mexico is precisely the feminist movement (Álvarez, 2020; Castellanos, 2021).

The three *subjectivities*' impact on the *Ateneo* members was fundamental in how they experienced the *Ateneista subjectivity* in their daily lives. With the category of *Ateneista consciousness*, it has been possible to look at the micro-level at how they realized what it meant to be an *Ateneista* and how they lived it. For the first *Ateneistas*, this *subjectivity* meant identifying and ratifying the postulates and values of the *Ateneo of 1909*. For those of the second *Ateneo*, it meant fighting in the public sphere in some way to affect the lives of young people. In the case of the third *Ateneo*, there is a *subjectivity* that, although it recognizes the mission of the 1909 *Ateneo* and the need to affect the public sphere, focuses more on social work and collective action to identify and make visible the misfortunes of young people who live in less privileged sectors. The third-generation *Ateneistas* have a more defined awareness of what it means to be an *Ateneista* based on a conscience of social justice.

As Laclau (1994) stated, *subjectivity* is determined by identifying individuals to fill out an absence. From the *Ateneista consciousness* section, it is possible to observe that *Ateneistas* identified with their *subjectivity* thanks to the *representation* by the *universal demand* (Laclau, 2015b; 2005) of their interests. That resulted in the fact that being an *Ateneista*, living that *subjectivity*, represented

retribution for the libidinal investment (Mouffe, 2023). For example, *Ateneistas* expressed satisfaction about working for youth. In some cases, there was no identification with the *Ateneista* *subjectivity* due to the lack of an affect (Laclau, 1994, 2005; Mouffe, 2022) linked to the *chain of equivalences* the organization promoted. As it was the case of Soledad and Berenice.

Some *Ateneistas* stopped being so, mostly because, over the course of their lives, they found other projects, such as developing a professional career. In some way, as one of the interviewees said, being an *Ateneista* required a large investment of time and sometimes money, which, in many cases, was complex. However, cases like Cristian's, despite having left the organization, indicate that this *Ateneista* *subjectivity* is not lost, that one is always an *Ateneista*.

In conclusion, this chapter allowed me to observe the exercise of *subjectivities* in the daily life of individuals who are linked to certain *political subjects* such as the *Ateneo*. This was an analysis from a micro sociological perspective on the effect of the discursive structure on the personal identity of the *Ateneistas*. We can see the effect of the *hegemony* of *discursive practices* not only in the building of the *chain of equivalence*, but in the lives of individuals themselves.

The analysis shows that individuals become aware of an imposed *subjectivity*, reaffirm it, resist it, modify it, and reject it. This is a process of interpellation (Butler, 1997, 2006; Hall, 2004). Most likely, in the case of *Ateneo*, this interpellation is linked to identification with an organization capable of including individual *demands* and values.

Chapter 9. Discussion of the Results

9.1 *Ateneo as a political subject*

As presented in the results section, the data collected has allowed me to study *Ateneo* as a *political subject* based on three large groups of *articulatory practices*. The first concerns to *articulatory practices* that aimed to build *Ateneo* as an organization heir of the 1909 *Ateneo*. I have named these practices *foundational techniques* (Foucault, 2012; 2013) in the sense that were practices that aimed to build *Ateneo* as a *political subject*, based on the 1909 *Ateneo*'s mission of reproducing the assimilationist/nationalist *discourse* of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The second group of *articulatory practices*, still influenced by the assimilationist/nationalist discursive structure, turned *Ateneo* into a *public action subject* whose mission was to affect public policies and shape them with the perspective of youth. This new set of practices gave rise to the second *Ateneo*. A *dispositif* (Deleuze, 1986; 1990) that was the *Observatorio* could be identified. This *dispositif* aimed to bring together many young Mexicans who were not necessarily *Ateneistas* for approximately two months to analyze the policies that affected them every year between 2014 and 2018. By carrying out the *Observatorio*, *Ateneo* sought to establish important alliances with other social organizations such as the *Red de Analistas* and *Vanguardia Política*.

Subsequently, a third group of *articulatory practices* gave rise to a third phase, called the third *Ateneo*, in which *public action practices* disappeared, and a new type of *discursive practices* emerged to bring *Ateneo* back to collective action and abandon its condition as a *public action*

subject. These new *discursive practices* focused on recognizing young people's cultural diversity based on local committees' influence, especially from the state of Oaxaca.

These *discursive practices* sought to make visible those young people who did not fall within the hegemonic youth of Mexico, which was predominant during the first and second *Ateneo*. These practices, which I have called *recognition techniques*, sought to form *Ateneo* as an organization that seeks the inclusion of disadvantaged groups such as women, Indigenous populations, young people with physical and mental disabilities, and people who belong to the LGBTI+ community.

It is important to highlight the break in *articulatory practices* and its impact on the *discourse* between the first two *Ateneos* and the third. The discursive structure of the firsts was influenced by Mexican nationalism, while the third exhibits a marked distancing, a rupture. As discussed in the previous chapters, this is primarily because the first *Ateneistas* were educated in UNAM's schools, a connection that the third did not share. Furthermore, the third *Ateneistas* were linked to social movements such as feminists and sexual diversity activities.

The last circumstance led to a significant change of the organization's assimilationist policy to another based on recognizing cultural diversity, giving them a new conception of social justice. As Young (1989, 2001) and Fraser (2010, 2015) have noted, the new conception of social justice has been pushed by social movements and organizations that seek to be recognized as culturally different. For them, social justice is only possible if differences are recognized, and egalitarianism is abandoned. This frame helps to understand that the third *Ateneo* is linked to this type of social justice, which is very far from that promoted by the first two *Ateneos*, based on assimilationism.

In this way, it is possible to affirm that *Ateneo*, between 2009 and 2023, had passed through three major stages with different *discursive practices*, making it a different *political subject*. Answering in part the research question, *Ateneo* was not always a *public action subject*. It became a *public action subject* in specific circumstances during the second *Ateneo* but stopped when the *discursive practices* changed, and collective action came back. That is to say, the *discursive practices* that supported *Ateneo* as a *public action subject* were temporary, which confirms Butler's (1997; 2003) statement that *subjectivities* are temporary and changing, and as Laclau and Mouffe (2001) hold, *political subjects* are not defined once and for all.

It is important to highlight that these changes in *Ateneo* as a *political subject* have given rise to different activities, places, and ways in which the members of this organization are linked. For the first *Ateneo*, there were defined activities related to the cultural education of people, which took place in public and institutional spaces based on alliances with groups linked to culture. In the case of the second *Ateneo*, the activities carried out were related to training young people to affect public policies in political institutions, such as the Legislative Assembly of Mexico City and the Senate of the Republic. This was possible through the alliance with social actors directly linked to *public action* activities. In the same sense, in the case of the third *Ateneo*, the activities were related to training young people to understand the diversity among the country's youth populations. This occurred through a digital *dispositif*.

Ateneo, as a collective organization, has allowed young people to organize and promote a change in how ordinary individuals live youth. This coincides with what was stated by Aguilar (2011),

Brussino, Rabbia & Sorribas (2009), Chávez & Poblete (2006), Fernandez (2015), Restrepo (2010), and Valenzuela (2007) concerning the fact that young people organize to influence their social and political reality. *Ateneo* was conducted not only through collective action during the first and third *Ateneo* but also through public action, something these authors did not consider.

It is also interesting to discuss how *Ateneo* promoted frames of reference. In this case, the youth perspective has been advocated in the second and third *Ateneo*. As Delgado & Arias (2008) and Pabón (2013) point out, social movements promote this type of frame that allows them to guide their members in the political struggle and give meaning to their struggle. Likewise, in the case of *Ateneo*, as indicated by the research of Christens, Winn & Duke (2016), Diemer & Li (2011), Diemer & Rapa (2016), Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham (2006), these frames of references allowed *Ateneistas* to obtain a critical awareness about their social world and the necessary tools to influence social and political issues. It was corroborated when most interviewees said that they acquired a new way of seeing the world from their contact with *Ateneo*.

Regarding the above, as stated by the sociology of public action's authors, frames of reference in *public action* mean that public policies are a way in which collective actors understand and perceive the world. It is important to notice that the youth perspective was based on the idea of a unique youth due to the influence of the assimilationist/nationalist *discourse*, especially for the two first *Ateneos*. This also confirms why the first two *Ateneos* were not, in some sense, sensitive to the need for recognition of the youth outside Mexico City or to those out from the privileged youth, like those coming from environments in which poverty, disability, gender violence, and

sexually diversity was a reality. For the first two *Ateneos*, youth was one and without differences, as the assimilationist project said.

Regarding digital social networks (DSNs), these were fundamental in the third stage of the *Ateneo* to implement *recognition techniques*. As Ávalos (2017) and Portillo (2015) point out, DSNs allow more expeditious communication and coordination of activities. However, it was not fundamental in forming *Ateneo* as a social organization, only in its current stage, as a digital collective action or *digital political subject*. This last term can apply to a *political subject* that builds its identity and *subjectivity* through the DSN. It is possible to say that it is a subject born in the digital environment and whose transformation or disappearance will occur there.

Nevertheless, Klandermans (2017) and Ortiz (2019) state that the participation of young people linked to social movements through digital social networks is more circumstantial and ephemeral. Recruiting new members has been successful in the long term and has not been circumstantial for *Ateneo*. This could be explained by the effect of the hegemonic practices that allowed the *universalization of demands* to remain solid over time, unlike social movements that respond to *discursive practices* that do not achieve *hegemony*.

As established by the resource mobilization theory (RMT) (Almeida, 2019; Della Porta & Diani, 2020), *Ateneo*, as a rational actor, developed alliances with various groups to mobilize resources in its three stages. In the first *Ateneo*, alliances were observed with groups such as adults and unions, which allowed them to have facilities and economic resources to carry out activities such as the summer school, the *Observatorio* and conferences.

In the case of the second Ateneo, the alliance with *Red de Analistas* and *Vanguardia Política* allowed them to access the training necessary for analyzing public policies. Likewise, allying with senators and deputies allowed them to access the facilities of the Mexican Congress and have the recognition and ability to make their proposals and public policy analysis visible. In this sense, thanks to these alliances, the organization could become a *public action subject*.

Finally, regarding the third Ateneo, alliances with social organizations and feminist movements, as well as those that promote sexual diversity and the inclusion of people with disabilities and non-hegemonic ethnicities, made it possible for *Ateneo* to return to collective action and implement *recognition techniques*.

9.2 *Ateneista Subjectivity*

Ateneista subjectivity was based on a new way of conceiving what it means to be young. Close to Du Bois-Reymond's (2009) thesis, young Mexicans are experiencing tension due to growing uncertainty and contingency in the context of globalization (INEGI, 2020). For that reason, I followed the reasoning of Wyn and Albanesse (2011), who point out the need to study young people under the premise that the risks of global society shape the meaning of being young. *Ateneistas*, before reaching *Ateneo*, lived a passive youth *subjectivity*, facing global problems as spectators. Even when they were participating in other activities as volunteers, it was not until they got involved in *Ateneo* that they recognized themselves as protagonists of their lives, as agents of change.

Additionally, Du Bois-Reymond (2009), Furlong (2009), Heinz (2009), and Win & White (1992) hold the need to redefine youth beyond age criteria and more focused in the social context. This is consistent with what was found among *Ateneistas*, formally aged between 12 and 29, but some of them were more than 30 years old. They continued as *Ateneistas* because they still wanted to “change the things”. For example, José Luis left Ateneo at 32, and the same for some others. This can indicate that individuals continue to suffer the effects of the economic model as young people even after their 30s.

After having developed this research, I agree with White, Wyn, and Albanese (2011): There is a need for youth studies to focus more on youth *subjectivities* and identities due to the global social change that has shaped how youth is lived. The *subjectivities* experienced by the *Ateneistas* before becoming members, in some cases, were related to those derived from the effects of neoliberalism in their lives and as passive individuals—a *subjectivity* tending towards individualization and not towards collective action.

In the case of the *Ateneista subjectivity*, which is linked to a *political subject*, it is possible to find a new way of understanding what it means to be young. This *subjectivity* seeks social change and to improve the lives of young people by promoting the perspective of youth. Nevertheless, this *subjectivity* has particularities in each of the three *Ateneos*. In the first *Ateneo*, the goal was to bring culture and the humanities to young people. The second was to affect public policies, and the third was to recognize people from differentiated population groups. In this way, it is possible to speak of different *subjectivities* instead of just one. That is to say, if there are three different

conformations of the *Ateneo* as a *political subject*, each is linked to a particular *subjectivity*. Even more, each *subjectivity* is expressed in different ways in each *Ateneo*.

In the case of the first *Ateneo*, we can find a *subjectivity* that led individuals focused on collective activities to offer workshops and courses related to philosophy and the humanities to young people. This *subjectivity* made *Ateneistas* commit to cultural change for the country's development. An example is *Escuela de Formación Humana*. As mentioned in the previous chapters, these activities were derived from the nationalist/assimilationist *discourse* through the myth of the cosmic race and the mission of the 1909 *Ateneo* to bring European philosophy to the masses.

In the second *Ateneo*, this *subjectivity* led individuals to reproduce *discursive practices* that sought to bring young people to participate in public policy processes, promoting the perspective of youth. In this sense, *Ateneistas* and non-*Ateneistas* were dedicated to *public action*. This *subjectivity* was possible because most *Ateneistas* at that time were at the university level and interested in influencing the public sphere. This *subjectivity* provoked *Ateneo* and *Ateneistas* to put aside the cultural project of the first *Ateneo* and fully dedicate themselves to training in public decision-making.

In the third *Ateneo*, the *subjectivity* emerged demarcated from the *subjectivity* of the second. This new *subjectivity* related to *recognition techniques* led *Ateneistas* to worry and work to make visible the gender, sexual, physical and ethnic differences of youth populations outside Mexico City. This *subjectivity* brought the organization's members together to develop events carried out through the *digital dispositif*. The vision was to uncover the structures of domination that operate in Mexican

society and reproduce inequalities. The *subjectivity* of the third *Ateneo* was focused on advocating an awareness of inequalities through collective action and not public action.

Regarding awareness of the *Ateneista subjectivity*, it is important to highlight that most of the *Ateneistas* recognized a particular behavior that came to them from their contact with the organization. For each of them, being an *Ateneista* has a meaning that generally concerns a social commitment in favour of young people. Especially they recognize that the *Ateneista subjectivity* has to do with an effort and fight to foster youth agency. In the section dedicated to studying the *Ateneista* consciousness, which must be differentiated from an *Ateneista* conscience as a moral code, the organization's members, based on their awareness of this *subjectivity*, have contributed to shaping it over time. For the first *Ateneistas*, the *subjectivity* had to do with the commitment acquired of living the mission of the 1909 *Ateneo*, which can be explained, as said before, because most of them were UNAM students.

However, in the second *Ateneo*, with the arrival of young people not necessarily from the UNAM and with *demands* that had to do with participation in public action, the *Ateneista subjectivity* changed towards influencing public decisions. Perhaps the most paradigmatic change is that of the third *Ateneo*, where the organization's members were very aware of a social consciousness based on recognizing youth diversity. It is because many of them came from universities other than UNAM, other states outside the country's center, and especially from different social strata and ethnicities. This seems to confirm Laclau's thesis that individuals go through a process of identification before adhering to an identity and *subjectivity*. This identification comes from the

interpellation of the discursive structure and the libidinal investment (Mouffe, 2022) in a behaviour that fills out the absence of identity (Laclau, 1994).

Concerning the resistance to *subjectivity*, according to Foucault (1971), where there is power, there is resistance. The *Discourse* and, therefore, the *subjectivity* can be resisted. Butler (1997, 2006) points out that *subjectivities* can be resisted and modified. In many ways, each *subjectivity* described in the previous section corresponds to a series of resistances. As mentioned by Foucault, *discursive practices* are modified by various, often external elements.

Nevertheless, I found an internal element that fostered resistance to *subjectivity* and change. Although the transition to the second *Ateneo* was caused by a series of socio-historical processes, such as reaching the legal age, new alliances and arrival at the university level, one element that deserves reflection is the leadership of José Luis. He promoted the transition to public action. There was a change in the direction of *Ateneo* that modified the *chain of equivalences* by modifying *discursive practices*. This event, in particular, was a resistance to previous *discursive practices*. I am not assuming it was a conscious or rational decision. It was an additional but powerful element in changing *discursive practices*.

The same happened in the third *Ateneo*; the resistance that gave rise to a third stage came from the departure of José Luis and the emergence of new leadership by Noel as president of *Ateneo*. Noel fostered a new *chain of equivalences* that aimed to universalize the *demands* for recognition through the ideal of youth diversity. Therefore, the *discursive practices* and the *Ateneista subjectivity* were modified.

In this sense, it is possible to affirm that leadership plays a vital role in the socio-historical change that generates new social subjects and *subjectivities*. In the case of this research, this is outside of what had been thought, so I had to bring Laclau's theoretical approaches regarding *populism* to understand better how leaders modify the *chain of equivalence* and shape the *political subjects* and *subjectivities*.

Laclau (2008; 2015) states that *populism* is a form of politics, the purpose of which is precisely to build social movements by guiding and directing popular *demands*. In this case, both the leadership of José Luis and Noel can be considered *populist leaderships*, which sought to build new chains of equivalences based on a new *universalization of demands* through their person. In both the first *Ateneo* and the second one, the *populist leadership* of José Luis addressed the *chain of equivalences* to form an enemy, the current youth status and circumstances coming from adult-centrism in public policies. Against that background, *Ateneo* constituted itself as a *political subject*, an *antagonism: the people*, the *Ateneistas* (Laclau, 2005, 2015). In the first *Ateneo*, the enemy was the same as for the 1909 *Ateneo*: the lack of access to cultural activities and humanities.

In that same sense, Noel's *populist leadership* sought to build an enemy that was the centralization of *Ateneo* that had allowed the construction of a social organization for elite youth from Mexico City, linked or interested only in politics. For the third *Ateneo*, the *people* were represented by those *Ateneistas* of the local committees in the country's states, especially from Oaxaca, who needed to see themselves represented or reflected inside the *Ateneista subjectivity*.

The case of the leadership by José Luis and Noel is the result of the *universalization of demands*

in an empty signifier. This could be confirmed by what Howard, D (2015, p.12) affirms: “The construction of a people requires the production of *empty signifiers*- symbols that can unite heterogeneous elements into a singular identity by standing in for a community’s absent fullness, which in populist *discourses* tends to be invested in the name and body of particular political leaders”. It seems to me that although the term *populism* has traditionally been used more to identify regimes, political parties or world leaders in a pejorative way, *populism* is a political logic of *articulation* of interests that is present in every social movement, as Laclau (2005) holds.

Summarizing, there are three *Ateneos* and three *Ateneista subjectivities*. There are also three different *people* and three different enemies. When talking about three different people, we are saying not only that three distinct groups of individuals understood themselves to be members and part of the *Ateneo* but that even those who stayed from the beginning and were part of the three *Ateneos* conceived themselves differently over time.

It's worth noting that post-Marxism and the sociology of *public action* have played a pivotal role in the understanding of how social organizations, such as *Ateneo*, emerge from social practices that perpetuate discursive structures. These structures, such as the national/assimilationist or diversity recognition *discourse*, are not static. They evolve due to factors like *populist leadership* and the reproduction, interpellation, and change of *discursive practices*. The post-structuralist thesis has further deepened our understanding by revealing that organizations are not fixed entities, but rather, they evolve through interactions and over time.

Chapter 10. General Conclusions

This section presents the general conclusions of the research, which essentially focused on the making of collective identities and their role in the policy-making process. I utilized two key theoretical perspectives from sociology. The first was post-Marxism, which argues that new social movements and organizations emerge from articulatory practices that shape subjectivities for social change. The second perspective was the *sociology of public action*, which offers a framework for understanding and analyzing how collective action influences decision-making processes. It is also important to note that this thesis should be seen as a part of the youth studies.

The object of study was the activities linked to *articulatory practices* carried out by *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud* and its emergence as a *political subject* and the formation of the *Ateneista subjectivity*. As in the work of Foucault (1969, 1971), the goal was not about constructing a linear history, but rather a history of patterns of behaviors. *Ateneo* is an civil society organization (CSO) founded in 2009 in Mexico City and led by young people. This organization has sought to ensure that young people have a political and social impact in transforming their social realities. The research question was built on how *Ateneo* emerged as a *political subject*, how its *subjectivity* was perceived as *Ateneista subjectivity*, how *Ateneo* became a *subject of public action*, and the role that digital social networks played in this process.

To guide and support this research, a theoretical and empirical literature review on youth was carried out. The theoretical section showed that the study of young people must be investigated from a new theoretical perspective –one that moves beyond the age-based model, which defines

youth through biological criteria towards an approach rooted in social contexts. In this regard, according to Du Bois-Reymond (2009); Furlong (2009); Heinz (2009); Win & White (1992); White, Wyn & Albanese (2011), today's young people are profoundly influenced by the effects of globalization, job insecurity and the extension of educational trajectories. Consequently, young people tend to define themselves based on the prevailing social and economic model. Furthermore, Lynn and Tanner (2009) hold that contemporary youth differ significantly from those of previous generations, reinforcing the need to redefine the concept of youth in the context of late capitalism. Authors such as White, Wyn, and Albanese (2011), point out that researchers should focus on *subjectivities* and identities as social change shapes how youth should be lived.

Empirical research on youth shows that young people actively participate in the social and political spheres to improve their living conditions (Aguilar, 2011; Brussino, Rabbia & Sorribas, 2009; Chávez & Poblete, 2006; Fernández, 2015; Restrepo, 2010; Valenzuela, 2007). The collective organization of young individuals can help others to change their perspectives about society. Social organizations provide young people with a frame of reference -a map to navigate the social and political spheres (Delgado & Arias, 2008; Pabón, 2013). That is why, for some authors, these frameworks can foster critical awareness among individuals who engage with these organizations (Christens, Winn & Duke, 2016; Diemer & Li, 2011; Diemer & Rapa, 2016; Fegley, Angelique & Cunningham, 2006).

The literature review also provided information about the role of *digital social networks*. According to authors such as Ávalos (2017) and Portillo (2015), *digital social networks* have allowed more organization and coordination within collective action. However, Van Stekelenburg

& Klandermans (2017) found that people recruited through digital channels tend to respond more circumstantially, and their adherence to the group is more ephemeral. Regarding the issue of social class, Kriger & Dukuen (2012) and Ødegård & Berglund (2008) agree that social class does not influence participation in collective action. In contrast, Gaby (2017) and Santos & Paz (2012) point out that people from higher socioeconomic conditions are more likely to engage in social organizations. This review also revealed a gap in the literature on youth and *public action* from the perspective of *the sociology of public action*. These studies refer to *public action* as the role of the state of promoting youth participation rather than focusing on social actors themselves (Alejandro & Escobar, 2009; Becquet, 2018; Labadie, 2012; Loncle, 2011; Richard & Tabard, 2001; Vázquez & Díaz, 2010).

The theoretical and empirical review in youth studies highlighted the importance of studying young people's political participation as a means to improve their living conditions under late capitalism, as well as the role *digital social networks* play. This review also made evident the need to assume that youth social groups are affected by the referential frameworks that they promote and that influence how they engage in collective action. A point to highlight is that this review also evidenced a gap in the studies of social actors in *public action*. Research such as this provide a new perspective about the formation of collective identities around the public sphere.

Working concepts/categories for this research were developed through the post-Marxist approach and the *sociology of public action*. After being applied and contrasted with empirical evidence, these concepts evolved from an initial construction stage to a justificatory one. The justification stage assesses and contrasts the concepts used with the reviewed literature, guiding them from a

preliminary version to a more mature one (Kauffman, 2016), reaching a mid-range theorization (Merton, 1967). These concepts can be considered theoretically useful for consolidating post-Marxism and the *sociology of public action* (Bourdieu, 2015).

The concept of *public action subject* was initially developed by combining two concepts: *political subject* (Laclau & Mouffe, 2021) and *public action* (Genieys, 2001; Hassenteufel, 2004 & 2017; Lagroye, 1997; Lascoumes & LeGales, 2007; Massardier, 2003; Ribémont, 2018). The aim was to create a category that could describe *political subjects* dedicated to influencing the public sphere. This category facilitated the search for data on *Ateneo* regarding its activities aimed at impacting the public policy processes. It effectively described how the organization emerged as a subject from a chain of equivalence that gathered *demands* related to the needs of many young Mexicans seeking to change the policies that affect them. Furthermore, this category also allowed me to develop an ideal type to catch the socio-historical construction of *Ateneo* as an organization with a specific *public action* agenda. This category, also, allowed me to identify the moment in which *Ateneo* was mainly involved in decision-making processes. This category can contribute to the theoretical development of the *sociology of public action*, as it allows us to understand how political identities emerge and evolve in the public sphere. In the case of post-Marxism, this category could help researchers to pay attention to those movements or organizations that seek to reach the political power to affect public policies as a strategy to overcome social problems derived from the political economy.

Digital articulatory practice is a category derived from the concept of *articulatory practice* developed by Laclau and Mouffe (2021), which describes *discursive practices* that seek to strengthen the *chain of equivalences* to universalize *demands*. During the third *Ateneo*, digital

social networks played a crucial role in shaping the *articulatory practices* of the organization during the COVID-19 pandemic, when most activities were conducted through digital platforms. It is important to note that the practices initiated during this extraordinary event continue today. This study aligns with the proposition that some social movements and organizations use digital media to reproduce *discursive practices*. As such, this category can potentially contribute to post-Marxist theory by analyzing the formation of political subjects and subjectivities through digital social media.

The *subject consciousness* category was a key tool for analyzing the *Ateneista subjectivity* at a micro-level. This category was developed based on the principles of poststructuralism and post-Marxism. It is important to highlight that this concept bears no relation to the notion of *class consciousness* from orthodox Marxism. Rather, it aims to describe individuals' awareness of their subjectivity and their ways of living, resisting, and modifying it. However, it is important to highlight that *Ateneistas* only occasionally adopted a reflexive position on their experience of being an *Ateneista*. Some testimonies showed a lack of comprehensive understanding of the imposed subjectivity. This underscores the urgent need to further develop this category to enhance the post-Marxist analysis of political subjects, gaining a better understanding of individual experiences rather than just collective ones.

The methodological strategy employed in this research was qualitative, which allowed for a deeper understanding of the socio-historical construction of the meaning that gave rise to the *Ateneo* as a *political subject* and the *Ateneista subjectivity*. To achieve this, ethnography and digital ethnography were used, combining the traditional exercise of ethnography with what happens

within digital environments. Much of the information was gathered through digital media, field observation, queries, document analysis and engagement with informants. This allowed me to identify the *discursive practices* present throughout the organization's history and identify their patterns to generate ideal types that would allow me to understand the socio-historical construction of the *Ateneo subjectivity* and *political subject* at different times.

The research findings showed that *Ateneo* was formed differently between 2009 and 2024. The first *Ateneo* emerged based on a series of *articulatory practices* that sought to generate a *subjectivity* based on promoting culture, philosophy and the humanities in Mexican youth. I referred to these practices as *foundational techniques* (Foucault, 2012; 2013). The second *Ateneo* emerged as a *subject of public action* from *discursive practices* oriented to *public action*. This transformation was made possible through a *dispositif* (Deleuze, 1986; 1990) called the *Observatorio*, which allowed recruiting young people who were not *Ateneistas* to train them in analyzing public policies and turn them into a youth that influenced public policy processes. In the third *Ateneo*, *recognition techniques* (Foucault, 2012; 2013) sought to ensure that *discursive practices* brought visibility to those populations of young people who belong to disadvantaged groups, such as women, people with disabilities, and populations from sexual and ethnic diversity.

The three *Ateneos* emerged from *discursive practices* that built a *chain of equivalence* of the different *demands* from the individuals and organizations that joined the organization at different moments. The *universalization of demands* in the first *Ateneo* was possible by linking all the *demands* to the mission of the 1909 *Ateneo*: bringing culture and humanities to Mexican youth. According to the findings, the first *Ateneo* was very influenced by the discursive framework of the

nationalist/assimilationist project of 19th and 20th century. This *discourse* came to the 2009 *Ateneo* through reproducing the *discursive practices* of the 1909 *Ateneo*, which was an organization that spread the ideal of the new Mexican ethnicity: the cosmic race. The nationalist/assimilationist *discourse* also came to the *Ateneo* through the education delivered by UNAM. This institution built its project of the massification of humanities thanks to José Vasconcelos and most of the members of the first and second *Ateneo* studied in its faculties and schools.

In the second *Ateneo*, the influence of the nationalist/assimilationist *discourse* remained present. The *universal demand* was to incorporate the youth perspective into public policies which for the second *Ateneo* meant a unique and assimilated youth, i.e., for them there was no diversity of any kind in their *discursive practices*. As discussed, this is explained by the fact that most *Ateneistas* came from privileged populations around Mexico City, not related to extreme poverty, ethnic diversity, disabilities or sexual diversity, as happened for the third *Ateneo*.

In the third *Ateneo*, the *universalization* occurred through *demands* of the groups that sought the visibility of youth diversity. Conversely to the earlier phases, for the third one *Ateneistas* came from states located far from the country's center, such as Guerrero, Oaxaca, Puebla, Quintana Roo, Veracruz, and Yucatán. This fact made it possible to incorporate the organization's *demands* related to the *otherness* to those young individuals who were not visible in the previous *Ateneos*. As a result, *articulatory practices* associated with the recognition of diversity emerged. The *demands* for the recognition of gender inequality, disabilities and ethnic and sexual diversity, among others, were represented by the *universal demand* for social justice (Fraser, 2010, 2015).

Across the three *Ateneos*, it is possible to confirm the creation of three *political subjects* -three *peoples*-, from the *universalization of demands* based on an *empty signifier* that became embodied by the leaders. In this case, the first two *Ateneos* were led by José Luis and the third one by Noel. Both leaders oriented specific *discursive practices* to give *Ateneo* a particular form (Howarth, 2015). As Foucault, Butler, Laclau, and Mouffe stated, it is possible to conclude that subjects and *political subjectivities* are neither total nor permanent. They evolve over time based on modifying *discursive practices*, whose change responds to certain external factors. These practices are also affected by *populist leaderships* that seek to influence the *chain of equivalences* in creating the *people*, in this case, the *Ateneistas*.

The contributions of this research are significant and diverse. First, the thesis aims to integrate youth studies into *discourse analysis* and *public action* studies. Above all, examining how young people organize to change their social realities by affecting the policy process to promote public policies as discursive structures. As discussed before, youth social organizations, such as *Ateneo*, attempt to impose policy agendas as part of their *discursive practices*.

An important contribution of this study is the assertion that youth organizations evolve as political subjects, which is important to understand why CSOs change over time concerning the type of members, as well as their goals and objectives. Regarding youth activism, the thesis contributes to understanding how it is expressed. Young people do not necessarily reveal their activism through social mobilizations and protests, they often operate through the institutional channels offered by

CSOs with success. Also, in the last few years, the role of digital social networks in these organizations has become prominent in reproducing *discursive practices*.

Second, the thesis aims to contribute to the research program developed by the *Essex School of Discourse Analysis*. This research focused on studying *discursive practices* and showed that CSOs can be studied as *political subjects* and their collective identities as *subjectivities*. These *subjects* change over time through changes in the *chain of equivalences* and the role of *populist leaders*. Similarly, *subjectivities* are experienced by individuals with a certain degree of awareness, which allows them to reflect and, sometimes, resist. In this regard, *subject consciousness* emerges as an important tool to study *political subjectivities* at a micro-level.

Third, this thesis also contributes to advancing *public action* studies within sociology. It is important to emphasize that the concept of *public action subject* enriches the existing literature in this field by providing an opportunity to examine collective actors involved in the public sphere from a poststructuralist perspective. This concept posits that actors are not fixed entities, as is often assumed, but rather are historical, interactive, contingent, and political constructions (Laclau 2001 & Howarth 2000). This new understanding could lead to improved studies on *public action*, particularly regarding the emergence of social actors seeking to influence the policy process. Moreover, it is crucial to highlight that political actors engaged in *public action* strive to implement public policies as part of their *discursive practices*. They aim to establish social meanings and influence societal change. This suggests that the outcome of *public action* is an effort to impact the field of discursiveness.

Finally, there is a contribution to the abundant studies on the *1909 Ateneo*. The thesis contributes to understanding how this organization reproduced the racist and assimilationist project of the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the impact that this organization had on the consolidation of the UNAM's popular project and the emergence of organizations like *Ateneo*, that still in the 21st century reproduce the assimilationist program.

As a final and personal thought, this research started with a series of individual and academic concerns from my professional activity. Throughout my stay in the sociology doctoral program at the University of Ottawa, I had been working on this topic for the last seven years. During this time, I collected information, testimonies, thoughts, and opinions that allowed me to develop the research questions for fieldwork that would enable me to reach the conclusions mentioned earlier.

During the research journey, the questions and the assumptions were modified. This research made me mature as a social scientist. It taught me to think sociologically and to give valid explanations about social phenomena. Continuous communication with my thesis supervisor and the committee members was essential to allowing me to offer this modest work as a doctoral thesis.

Bibliography

Books

Acosta, N. (2020). *La politización de los estudiantes universitarios en México*. Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez.

Almeida, P. (2019). *Social Movements. The Structure of Collective Mobilization*. University of California Press.

Aguayo, S. (2018). *El 68: Los estudiantes, el presidente y la CIA*. Proceso.

Aguilar F (2011). “Jóvenes y ciudadanía: del ejercicio al voto a las formas de organización”. In:

Aguilar, F. y García, R. (Coord.) *Cultura y Jóvenes en México*. México: CONACULTA.

Althusser, L. (2010). *Ideología y Aparatos Ideológicos del Estado*. TM.

Ashworth, P.D. (1979). *Social Interaction and Consciousness*. John Wiley & Sons.

Barker, C. (2013). “Class struggle and social movements”. in: Barker, C. et al. *Marxism and Social Movements*. BRILL.

Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Polity

Beck, U. (1999). *World Risk Society*. Polity.

Becker, H. (1998). *Tricks of the Trade*. The University of Chicago Press.

Belsey, C. (2002). *Poststructuralism, a very short introduction*. Oxford.

Blackmore, S. (2017). *Consciousness*. Oxford.

- Bovero, M. (2021). “En búsqueda del *populismo*. Una guía conceptual”. En: Salmorán, G. (2021). *Populismo. Historia y geografía de un concepto*. UNAM.
- Boronnet, B., Mora, M., Stahter-Sholk, R. (2011). *Luchas “muy otras”: Zapatismo y Autonomías Indígenas de Chiapas*. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
- Bourdieu, P. (2015). *Sociologie Generale Vol. 1*. Paris : Seuil.
- Bourdieu, P., et. Alt. (2002). *El oficio de sociólogo*. México: Siglo XXI.
- Butler, J. (2016). “We the people: Thoughts on Freedom of Assembly”. In: Badiou, A. et al. *What is a People?* Verso.
- Butler, J. (2006). *Gender Trouble*. NY: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1998). “Merely Cultural”, *New Left Review*, 1/227, Jan/Feb.
- Butler, J. (1997). *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories of Subjection*. Stanford University Press.
- Butler, G. & McManus, F. (2014). *Psychology a very short introduction*. Oxford.
- Cadena, J. (2004). “Introducción”. *Las Organizaciones Civiles Mexicanas Hoy*. UNAM.
- Cannon, M.J. & Sunseri, L. (2018). *Racism, Colonialism, and Indigeneity in Canada*. Oxford University Press.
- Canto, M. (2004). La Disputa Teórica sobre las Organizaciones Civiles. En: Cadena, J. (Coor.) *Las Organizaciones Civiles Mexicanas Hoy*. UNAM.

Canto, M. (2018). "Prólogo". En: Fragoso, P. & Bravo, R. *La capacidad de incidencia de las organizaciones de la organizaciones de la sociedad civil en los procesos políticos en México: 2000-2014*. Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas.

Canto, R. (2011) "Políticas públicas más allá del pluralismo y la participación ciudadana". in: Aguilar, L. F. *Política pública*. México: Siglo XXI.

Castells, M. (2012). "Cambiar el mundo en la sociedad en red". In: *Redes de indignación y esperanza*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Castro, T. (2005). "Las transformaciones del Estado, su impacto en la sociedad civil y el problema de las mediaciones". in Castro, T. & Costilla, L. (Coords.). *Poder y política en América Latina*. CDMX: Siglo Veintiuno.

Cejudo, G. (2010). "Discurso y Políticas Públicas." In: Merino, M. y C. Guillermo. (Comp.) *Problemas, decisiones y soluciones. Enfoques de política pública*. México: CIDE.

Chávez, B. & González, P. (2018). *Las organizaciones de la sociedad civil en México*. Instituto Belisario Domínguez.

Cini, L.; Della Porta, D. & Guzman-Concha, C. (2021). *Student Movements in Late Neoliberalism*. Palgrave-MacMillan.

Cohen, J. & Arato, A. (1997). "Preface." *Civil Society and Political Theory*. The MIT Press.

Côté, J. (2009). "Youth-identity studies: history, controversies and future directions". In: Furlong, A. (Ed.). *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*. Routledge.

Coté, J. (2014). *Youth studies. Fundamental issues and debates*. Palgrave-Macmillan.

Coulmas, F (2019). *Identity, a very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.

Crisp, R. (2015). *Social Psychology, a very short introduction*. Oxford.

Dagnino, E. (2011). “Civil Society in Latin America”. In Edwards, M. (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*. Oxford University Press.

Dani, M. *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Oxford University Press.

Davis, D. E. (1997). New Social Movements, Old Party Structures: Discursive and Organizational Transformations in Mexican and Brazilian Party Politics. In: Smith, W. & Korzenewicz, R.P. *Politics, Social Change and Restructuring in Latin America*. North-South Center Press.

Deleuze, G. (1990). “¿Qué es un dispositivo?” In: *Foucault filósofo*. España: Gedisa.

Deleuze, G. (1986). *Foucault*. Paris: Minuit.

Della Porta, D. & Diani, M. (2020). *Social Movements*. WILEY Blackwell.

Della Porta, D. & Diani, Mario (2011). “Social Movements”. In Edwards, M. (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*. Oxford University Press.

Denis, C. (2015). “Qu’est-ce qu’un moment politique?” In: Devette, P., & Cardinal, L. *Autour de Chantal Mouffe : le politique en conflit*. Invenire.

Douglass, F. (1999). *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*.

Documenting The American South. Electronic version:

<https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass/douglass.html>.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (2017). *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of Race Concept*. Routledge.

Du Bois-Reymond, M. (2009). “Models of navigation and life management”. In: Furlong, A. (Ed.). *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*. Routledge.

Dussel, E. (2015). *Filosofías del Sur*. México: Akal.

Dussel, E. (2011). *Politics of liberation*. London: SCM Press.

Earl, J.; Hunt, J.; Garrett, R.K.; Dal, A. (2015). “New Technologies and Social Movements”. In: Della Porta, D. & Dani, M. *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Oxford University Press.

Edwards, M. (Ed.) (2011). “Introduction”. *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*. Oxford University Press.

Elster, J. (1986). *Rational Choice*. Chicago University Press.

Elster, Jon. (1986). *An introduction to Karl Marx*. USA: Cambridge.

Escalante, P. et al. (2008). *Nueva Historia Mínima de México*. COLMEX.

Fernández, L. (2016). *En defensa del populismo*. Catarata.

Finchelstein, F. (2017). *Del racismo al populismo en la Historia*. Taurus.

- Flesher, C. (2019). "Collective Identity in Social Movements: Assessing the Limits of a Theoretical Framework". In: Snow, D.; Soule, S.; Kriesi, H. & McCammon, H.J. *Social Movements*. WILEY BLACKWELL.
- Flower, A. (2011). "Development NGOs". In Edwards, M. (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*. Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (2003). "The subject and the power". in: Rabinow, P. and Rose, N. *The essential Foucault*. The New Press.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *La hermenéutica del sujeto*. FCE.
- Foucault, M. (1980). "Verdad y Poder". *Microfísica del poder*. España: La Piqueta.
- Foucault, M. (1971). *L'ordre du discours*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (1969). *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Fraser, N. (1995). "From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a post-socialist age". *New Left Review*, 1/212, July/August.
- Fraser, N. (2010). *Scales of justice*. Columbia University Press.
- Freire, P. (2007). *Pedagogía del oprimido*. México: Siglo XXI.
- Furlong, A. (Ed.) (2009). "Reconceptualizing Youth and Adulthood." In: *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*. Routledge.
- Garay, A. (2020). "Los jóvenes universitarios mexicanos: ¿Son todos iguales?". En M. Suarez Zozaya & J. Pérez Islas, *Los jóvenes universitarios en Latinoamérica, hoy* (1st ed., pp. 205-222).

- García, V. (2011). “Juventud y política. Apuntes para repensar una relación conflictiva”. En: Aguilar, F. & García, R. *Cultura y Jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.
- Gaudet, S. & Robert, D. (2018). *A journey through qualitative research*. UK: SAGE.
- Geertz, C. (2003). *El estudio de las culturas*. México: Gedisa.
- Genieys, W. (2011). *Sociologie politique des élites*. Paris: Colin.
- Genieys, W. & Hassenteufel, P. (2012). Qui gouverne les politiques publiques : Par-delà la sociologie des élites. *Gouvernement et action publique*, OL1, 89-115.
- Germani, G., Di Tella, T., Ianni, O. (1973). *Populismo y contradicciones de clase en Latinoamérica*. Era.
- Goodwin, J. & O'Connor, H. (2009). “Youth and generation: in the midst of an adult world”. In: Furlong, A. (Ed.). *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*. Routledge.
- Giglia, A. (2019). “Desigualdad en el trabajo”. En: Bayón, M.C. (Coord.). *Las Grietas del Neoliberalismo*. IIS-UNAM.
- Giroux, H. (2015). “Resisting Youth and the Crushing State Violence of Neoliberalism.” In Kelly, P. & Kamp, A. (Ed.). *A Critical Youth Studies for the 21st Century*. Brill.
- Glasser, A. & Strauss, B. (2006). *The discovery of grounded theory*. USA: Aldinetransaction.
- Goodwin, J. & Jasper, J.M. (2015). *The Social Movements Reader*. WILEY BLACKWELL.
- Gómez, H. (2020). *El color del privilegio*. Planeta.
- Gramsci, A. (1978). “Notes on the Southern question.” In *Selections from political writings*, pp. 1921-26.

Grinberg-Zylberbaum, J. (1991). *La teoría sintérgica*. Instituto Nacional para el Estudio de la Conciencia.

Gunvald, N. & Cox, L. (2013). “What would a Marxist theory of social movements look like?” in Barker, C. et al. *Marxism and Social Movements*. BRILL.

Gutiérrez, N. (2021). *Jóvenes e Interseccionalidad: color de piel, etnia y clase*. IIS-UNAM

Gutiérrez, N. (2012). *Mitos nacionalistas e identidades étnicas. Los intelectuales indígenas y el Estado Mexicano*. IISUNAM.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography*. USA and Canada: Routledge.

Harris, A. (2019). *Conscious. A brief guide to the fundamental mystery of the mind*. Harper-Collins.

Hassenteufel, P. (2014). *Sociologie politique : l'action publique*. Armand Colin.

Hassenteufel P. (2017). “Les groupes d'intérêt et les mouvements sociaux dans l'analyse des politiques publiques”, in: Brady, J. and Paquin, S. *Groupes d'intérêt et mouvements sociaux*. Presses de l'Université Laval.

Heinz, W.R. (2009). “Youth transitions in an age of uncertainty”. In: Furlong, A. (Ed.). *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*. Routledge.

Hernández, R. (2011). “Jóvenes y Radios Comunitarias libres en México”. En Aguilar, F. & García, R. *Cultura y Jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.

Hetland, G. & Goodwin, J. (2013). "The strange disappearance of capitalism from social movement studies." In: Barker, C. et al. *Marxism and Social Movements*. BRILL.

Isunza, E. (2006). "Interfaces sociedad civil-Estado en México: hacia una tipología de la direccionalidad de los procesos de democratización". in Figueredo, D. (coord.), *Democratización y tensiones de gobernabilidad en América Latina*. CDMX: Gernika.

Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira, and others (eds) (2017). "Introduction". In: *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford.

Kaufmann, J.C. (2016). *L'entretien Compréhensif*. France: Armand Colin.

Kouvelakis, S. (2021). "Beyond Marxism? The Crisis of Marxism and the post-Marxist Moment". In: Callinicos, A., Kouvelakis, S., & Pradella, L. *Routledge Handbook of Marxism and Post-Marxism*. Routledge.

Kozinets, R.V. (2015). *Netnography*. SAGE.

Kunreuther, F. (2011). "Grassroots Associations". In Edwards, M. (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*. Oxford University Press.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. USA: SAGE.

Laclau, E. (2018). *Los fundamentos retóricos de la sociedad*. FCE: México.

Laclau, E. (2015a). "Discourse". In: *Post-Marxism, populism and critique* (edited by Howarth, D.). Routledge.

Laclau, E. (2015b). "Populism: what's in a name". In: *Post-Marxism, populism and critique* (edited by Howarth, D.). Routledge.

Laclau, E. (2005). *On the populist reason*. Verso.

Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (2001). *Hegemony & socialist strategy*. Verso.

Laclau, E. & Zac. L. (1994). "Minding the Gap: The Subject of Politics." In: Laclau, E. (Ed.) *The Making of Political Identities*. Verso.

Laclau, E. (1994). "Introduction". In: *The Making of Political Identities*. Verso.

Laclau, E. (1990). *New Reflections on the revolution of our time*. Verso.

Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1987). *Hegemonía y estrategia socialista*. Siglo XXI.

Lagroye, J. (1997). *Sociologie politique*. Presses de Sciences Po.

Lascoumes, P., Patrick Le Galès y François De Singly. (2018). *Sociologie de l'action publique*. Malakoff: Armand Colin.

Layder, D. (1998) *Sociological Practice*. London: Sage.

Leca, J. et Muller, p. (2008). "Y a-t-il une approche française des politiques publiques?" Dans: Giraud, O. et Warin, p. (dirs.) *Politiques publiques et démocratie*. Paris: La Découverte.

Luescher, T.L.; Makhubu, N.; Oppelt, T.; Mokhema, S. & Zodwa Radasi, M. (2021). "Tweeting #FeesMustFall: The Online Life and Offline Protests of a Networked Student Movement". In: Cini, L.; Della Porta, D. & Guzman-Concha, C. *Student Movements in late Neoliberalism*. Palgrave-MacMillan.

Luckacs, G. (1968). *History and class consciousness*. The MIT Press.

Macionis, J.J. & Plummer, K. (2011). *Sociology*. Pearson.

- Mansfield, N. (2000). *Subjectivity. Theories of the self from Freud to Haraway*. Allen & Unwin.
- Margulis, M.(2007). “Juventud: Una aproximación conceptual”. En: Donas, S. (Com). *Adolescencia y juventud en América Latina*. LUR.
- Martínez, J. L. (1992). *Guía para la navegación de Alfonso Reyes*. UNAM.
- Marx, K. (2015). *El 18 Brumario*. Alianza Editorial. Marx & Engels (2007). *Manifiesto del Partido Comunista*. FCE.
- Marx (1968) *El Capital, Vol. III*. FCE.
- Massardier, G. (2023). *Politiques et action publique*. Armand Colin.
- Matute, A. (1999). *El Ateneo de México*. FCE.
- Matute, A. (1983). *José Vasconcelos y la Universidad*, México, UNAM.
- Melucci, A. (1996). “The process of collective identity”. In *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mendoza, V. & Audelo, E. (2011). “El asalto al espacio público.” En Aguilar, F. & García, R. *Cultura y Jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.
- Merton, R. K. (1967). *On theoretical Sociology*. The Free Press MacMillan.
- Meyra, C.G. (2001). “Derechos humanos de las juventudes en México: de la experimentación a la participación”. En Aguilar, F. & García, R. *Cultura y Jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.
- Míguel, R. (2014). *Neurosciences et théories de la société*. Legas.
- Moran, A. (2024). “Race, racism and nationalism”. In: *Racism*. Routledge.

Mudde, C & Rovira, C. (2017). *Populism. A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.

Mulder, C. (2009). “Leaving the parental home in young adulthood.” In: Furlong, A. (Ed.). In: Furlong, A. (Ed.). *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*. Routledge.

Nateras, A. (2013). “Performatividad”. En: Reguillo, R. (Coord.). *Los jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.

Newman, W. & Robson, K. (2018). *Basics of social research*. Canada: Pearsons.

Olvera, A. J. (2010). *Las Organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil*. IFE

Olvera, J. (2004). “Representaciones e ideologías de los organismos civiles en México: crítica de la selectividad y rescate del sentido de la idea de sociedad civil”. En: Cadena, J. (Coord.) *Las Organizaciones Civiles Mexicanas Hoy*. UNAM.

Ortiz, G. (2019). “Participación política juvenil en las redes sociales digitales. La investigación en América Latina, España y Portugal”. En: Lemus, M. C. et. al. *Juventudes y tecnologías digitales. Tendencias y discusiones actuales en la investigación científica*. México: Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas México.

Pacheco, L. C. (2013). Los últimos guardianes. Jóvenes rurales e indígenas. In: Reguillo, R. (Coord.). *Los jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.

Palou, P. (2016). “The Ateneo de la Juventud: The Foundations of Mexican Intellectual Culture.” In: Sánchez I.; Nogar, A. & Ruisánchez J. (Eds.), *A History of Mexican Literature*. Cambridge University Press.

Parsons, W. (2007). *Políticas públicas. Una introducción a la teoría y la práctica del análisis de políticas públicas*. FLACSO.

Peretz, H. (2004). *Les méthodes en sociologie: L'observation*. La Découverte.

Pink, S. et. alt. (2016). *Digital Ethnography*. SAGE.

Poniatowska, E. (1991). *Massacre in Mexico*. University of Missouri.

Puga, C., Peshard, J. & Castro, T. (2007). *Hacia la sociología*. Pearson.

Ramírez, J.C. (2013). “Violencias y Jóvenes. Enclaves de la masculinidad”. In: Reguillo, R. (Coord.). *Los jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.

Rancière, J. (2016). “The populism that is not to be found”. En: Badiou, A. et al. *What is a people?* Columbia University Press.

Reguillo, R. (Coord.) (2013). *Los jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.

Revueltas, J. (2013). *México 68: juventud y revolución*. Era

Reyes, A. (1983). “Pasado Inmediato”. En: *Visión de Anáhuac y otros Ensayos*. FCE.

Reyes, A. (1913). *La Universidad Popular Mexicana y sus primeras labores*. Escalante.

Ribemont, T. et al. (2018). *Introduction à la sociologie de l'action publique*. France: De Boeck Supérieur.

Rivero, J. (2017). *México, sus indígenas y su crisis como Estado-nación*. México: Partido de la Revolución Democrática.

Rodríguez, J. M., et al. (2016). *Podemos. ¿Comunismo, populismo o social fascismo?*, Pentalfa Ediciones.

Rovira, C. et al. (2017). *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford University Press.

Roxborough, I. (1997). "Citizens and Social Movements under Neoliberalism". In: Smith, W. & Korzenewicz, R.P. *Politics, Social Change and Restructuring in Latin America*. North-South Center Press.

Sabatier, P. y Jenkins-Smith, H. (1999). "The advocacy coalition framework". In:

Sabatier, P. *Theories of the policy process*. USA: Westview Press.

Salmorán, G. (2021). *Populismo. Historia y geografía de un concepto*. UNAM.

Shams, P. (2020). *Judith Butler and Subjectivity: The Possibilities and Limits of the Human*. Palgrave.

Smith, A. (1986). *The Ethnic Origins of Nation*. Basil Blackwell.

Smith, J. (2015). "The Transnational Network for Democratic Globalization". In: Goodwin, J. & Jasper, J.M. *The Social Movements Reader*. WILEY BLACKWELL.

Smith, S.R. (2011). "The Non-Profit Sector". In Edwards, M. (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*. Oxford University Press.

Snow, D.; Vliegenthart, R. & Ketelaars, P. (2019). "The Framing Perspective on Social Movements: Its Conceptual Roots and Architecture". In: Snow, D.; Tindall, D. (2015) *Social Movements*. WILEY BLACKWELL.

- Storrs, A. (2001). *Freud, a very short introduction*. Oxford.
- Strohm, P. (2011). *Conscience, a very short introduction*. Oxford.
- Soule, S.; Kriesi, H. & McCammon, H.J. (2004). *Social Movements*. Blackwell.
- Thompson, E. P. (1966). *The Making of the Working Class in England*. Vintage Books.
- Urteaga, M. (2013). “Género, Clase y Etnia. Los modos de ser joven”. En: Reguillo, R. (Coord.). *Los jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.
- Torres, N. (2002). “Las Organizaciones No Gubernamentales y su relación con el Estado Mexicano”. En: Solís de Alba, A. A. et al. *El Primer Año del Gobierno Foxista*. Ítaca.
- Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). (2000). *Conferencias del Ateneo de la Juventud*. UNAM.
- Valenzuela, J. M. (2013). “Juventudes demediadas. Desigualdad, violencia y criminalización de los jóvenes de México”. En: Reguillo, R. (Coord.). *Los jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.
- Vargas, M.A. & Fernández, M. (2011). Violencias Juveniles. En Aguilar, F. & García, R. *Cultura y Jóvenes en México*. CONACULTA.
- Vasconcelos, J. (2019). *La Raza Cósmica*. Porrúa.
- Vasconcelos, J. (2017). *Primeros Recuerdos*. FCE.
- Venturi, F. (1975). *El populismo ruso, Tomo I*, Revista de Occidente.
- Vayne, P. (2015). *Foucault: Pensamiento y Vida*. Paidós.

- Walker, E.T. & Martin, A.W. (2019). "Social Movement Organizations". In: Snow, D.; Soule, S.; Kriesi, H. & McCammon, H.J. *Social Movements*. WILEY BLACKWELL.
- Webber, J.R. (2023). "Marxist Theories of Latin America Social Movements". In: Rossi, F.M. (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Social Movements*. Oxford University Press.
- White, R., Wyn, J. & Albanese, P. (2011). *Youth and Society*. Palgrave-MacMillan.
- Woldenberg, J. (2012). *Historia mínima de la transición a la democracia*. COLMEX.
- Wyn, J. & White, R. (1997). *Rethinking Youth*. Allen & Unwin.
- Young, I. M. (2001). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, New Jersey. United State of America: Princeton University Press.

Scientific Articles

- Adam, B. (1993). "Post-Marxism and new social movements". *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*; 30, 3, August, pp. 316-336.
- Alberich, T. y Amezcua, T. (2017). "Desigualdad, clases sociales y sociedad de los tres tercios". *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*. N° 245. España.
- Álvarez, L. (2020). "El movimiento feminista en México en el siglo XXI: juventud, radicalidad y violencia". *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, vol.65 no.240 Ciudad de México sep./dic. 2020.

Aranda, J.M. (2009). “La sociedad civil en México, 1985-2005: de las organizaciones a los movimientos de resistencia y espacios de autonomía social”. *Contribuciones desde Coatepec*, núm. 17, julio-diciembre, pp. 65-93. Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México.

Avalos, J. M. (2016). “El sujeto político juvenil. Prácticas tecnopolíticas y saberes en la experiencia de activismo de jóvenes en México (2012-2016)”. *Argumentos*, núm. 18, octubre 2016, pp. 120-148. Argentina: Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Buenos.

Aires-Becquet, V. (2018). “Comprendre l’instrumentation des questions de citoyenneté dans les politiques d’éducation et de jeunesse : une typologie des dispositifs d’action publique”. *Lien social et politique*, Numéro 80, 2018, p. 15–33.

Benford, R. & Snow, D. (2000). Framing Process and Social Movements. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 26:611–39

Boucher, G. (2021). “Ernesto Laclau (1935-2014) and Chantal Mouffe (1943 -)”. In: Callinicos, A., Kouvelakis, S., & Pradella, L. *Routledge Handbook of Marxism and Post-Marxism*. Routledge.

Chávez, A. & Poblete, L. (2006). “Acción colectiva y prácticas juveniles”. *Última Década*, núm. 25, 2006, pp. 143-161. Chile: Centro de Estudios Sociales, CIDPA.

Brussino, S., Rabbia, H. & Sorribas, P. (2009). “Perfiles sociocognitivos de la participación política de los jóvenes.” *Revista Interamericana de Psicología*, 2009, Vol. 43, Núm. 2 pp. 279-287. Sociedad Interamericana de Psicología.

- Christens, B.D., Winn, L.T. & Duke, A.M. (2016). "Empowerment and Critical Consciousness: A Conceptual Cross-Fertilization". *Adolescent Rev.* 1, 15–27.
- Corduneanu, V. I. (2012). "Jóvenes, "¿un lujo de clase?" Juventud y actitudes políticas hacia el 2012". *Revista Mexicana de Opinión Pública*, núm. 12, enero-junio, pp. 77-95. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Costello, L. et. alt. (2017). "Netnography: Range of Practices, Misperceptions, and Missed Opportunities". *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, December. SAGE publications.
- Cora, A. et al (2009). "Ethnographic Approaches to the Internet and Computer-Mediated Communication". *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 38 (1), 52- 84.
- Della Porta, D. (2020). Building Bridges: Social Movements and Civil Society in Times of Crisis. *Voluntas* (2020) 31:938–948
- Delgado, R. & Arias, J. C. (2008). "La acción colectiva de los jóvenes y la construcción de ciudadanía." *Revista Argentina de Sociología*. Vol. 6, núm. 11, noviembre-diciembre, 2008, pp. 272-296. Argentina: Consejo de Profesionales en Sociología.
- Diemer, M., & Li, C. (2011). "Critical Consciousness Development and Political Participation Among Marginalized Youth". *Child Development*, 82(6), 1815-1833.
- Diemer, M., & Rapa, L. (2016). "Unraveling the Complexity of Critical Consciousness, Political Efficacy, and Political Action Among Marginalized Adolescents". *Child Development*, 87(1), 221–238.
- Fegley, C., Angelique, H., & Cunningham, K. (2006). "Fostering Critical Consciousness in Young People: Encouraging the "Doves" to Find Their Voices". *Sociological Practice*, 8(1), 7-27.

Ferguson, R. (2017). "Offline stranger and online lurker: methods for an ethnography of illicit transactions on the darknet". *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 17 (6). 683-698.

Figueroa, D. P. (2018). "Acción pública y juventud en Nariño: un análisis de la participación de los jóvenes en el proceso de política pública 1997-2015". *Master's thesis*. Ecuador.

Fornet-Betancourt, R. et al. (1984). "Entrevista con Michel Foucault". *Revista Concordia* 6, 96-116.

Gaby, S. (2017). "The Civic Engagement Gap(s): Youth Participation and Inequality From 1976 to 2009". *Youth & Society*, Vol. 49(7) 923-946.

Galego, D. (2021). "Social Movements' Influence on Public Policy: Goals, Actions and Outcomes". *International Conference on Public Policy (ICPP 5)*.

Gall, O. (2004). "Identidad, exclusión y racismo: reflexiones teóricas y sobre México". *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, año 66, núm. 2, abril-junio, pp. 221-259.

Gallegos, C. (1992)-. "Pensamiento y acción política de José Vasconcelos", *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, no. 37. p. 131.

García, L. A. & Bailey, O. (2020). "La protesta feminista #8M 2020 en México a través de la participación de comentarios en YouTube". *Conexión*, Año 9 (n.o 14).

Garcíadiego, J. (1996) *Rudos contra científicos. La Universidad Nacional durante la Revolución Mexicana*. CESU-UNAM-COLMEX.

Gómez, E. & Ardevol, E. (2013). "Ethnography and the field in media(ted) studies: a practice theory approach". *Westminster Papers*, 9 (3), 27-46. Gouvernement et action publique, Dossier, no. 02 Avril-juin 2012.

Grinberg-Zylberbaum, J. (1997). "Ideas About a New Psychophysiology of Consciousness: The Syntergic Theory." *The Journal of Mind and Behavior*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 443-458.

Grinberg-Zylberbaum, J. (1986). "The transformation of neuronal activity into the conscious experience: the synergic theory." *Journal of Social and Biological Structures*, Volume 4, Issue 3, Pages 201-210.

Grinberg-Zylberbaum, J. (1983). "Relationship between information and meaning." *Journal of Social and Biological Structures*, Volume 6, Issue 2, Pages 141-144.

Gutiérrez, N. (2020). "Forging Common Origin in the Making of the Mexican Nation". *Genealogy*, 4, 77.

Hall, D.E. (2004). *Subjectivity*. Routledge.

Koelbe, T.A & Buj, L. (1991). "Nuevos movimientos sociales, postmarxismo y estrategia socialista: ¿son los nuevos movimientos sociales un catalizador para el rejuvenecimiento socialista?" *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, Apr.-Jun. Vol. 53, No. 2.

Kruger, M. y Dukuen, J. P. (2012). "Clases sociales, capital cultural y participación política en jóvenes escolarizados. Una mirada desde Bourdieu". Vol. 1 Núm. 35 (2012): *Invierno (julio-septiembre)*.

Labadie, F. (2012). "L'action publique en faveur de la jeunesse : l'eupéanisation en cours?". *Les Cahiers du Développement Social Urbain*, 2(2), 28-30.

Loncle, P. (2011). “La jeunesse au local: sociologie des systèmes locaux d'action publique”. *Sociologie*, 2(2), 129-147.

López Leyva, M.A. (2012). “Los movimientos sociales y su influencia en el ciclo de las políticas públicas”. *Región y sociedad / año xxiv / no. 55, El Colegio de Sonora*.

Loza, J. (2012). “La clase media, agencia y actor social de políticas públicas: Ciudadanía y derechos sociales”. *Contextualizaciones Latinoamericanas*, año 4, número 7, julio-diciembre.

Marsiske, R. (2006). “La Universidad de México: Historia y desarrollo”, *Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana*, vol. 8, p. 18.

Martín, I. (2007). “La participación política de los estudiantes universitarios dentro y fuera de la universidad”, *Panorama social*, ISSN 1699-6852, N°. 6, 2007 (*Ejemplar dedicado a: La reforma de la Universidad, vectores de cambio*), págs. 119-132.

Meyran, R. (2019). “Edward Sapir et Benjamin L. Whorf. La langue est une vision du monde.” Dans : Nicolas Journet éd., *Les Grands Penseurs du langage* (pp. 55-58). Auxerre: Éditions Sciences Humaines.

Mouffe, C. (2022). *Towards a green democratic revolution. Left populism and the power of the affects*. Verso.

Müller, P. (2000). “L'analyse cognitive des politiques publiques: Vers une sociologie politique de l'action publique”, *Revue Française de science politique* vol. 50, no 2. France.

Murga, A. (2009). “La participación política de los estudiantes universitarios en el primer gobierno de alternancia en México”. *Región y sociedad*, 21(45), 45-63.

Murthy, D. (2008). "Digital Ethnography: An Examination of the Use of New Technologies for Social Research". *Sociology*, OCTOBER 2008, Vol. 42, No. 5, Special Issue on The Future of the Research Relationship, pp. 837-855.

Ødegård, G. & Berglund, F. (2008) "Political participation in late modernity among Norwegian youth: an individual choice or a statement of social class?", *Journal of Youth Studies*, 11:6, 593-610.

Olvera, A. J. (2022). La Sociedad Civil en México. Una Breve Historia Conceptual. *Desacatos* 69 mayo-agosto, pp. 12-27.

Pabón, R. A. (2013). "Colectivos juveniles como formas de construcción de ciudadanía activa." *Encuentros*, vol. 11, núm. 2, julio-diciembre 2013, pp. 169-180. Colombia: Universidad Autónoma del Caribe.

Pappas, S. (2012). "Unraveling the Human Genome: 6 Molecular Milestones". *Live Sciences*, USA.

Pérez-Gay, F (2020). "Un acercamiento neurocientífico a la relatividad lingüística". *FIGURAS Revista Académica de Investigación* 1 (3):48-56. UNAM.

Pérez-Gay Juárez F, Sicotte T, Theriault C, Harnad S (2019) "Category learning can alter perception and its neural correlates". *PLoS ONE* 14(12): e0226000.

Pérez-Gay Juárez, F., Thériault, C., Gregory, M. et al. (2017) "How and Why Does Category Learning Cause Categorical Perception?" *International Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 30(0).

- Richard, M. & Tabard, V. “Quel est le rôle d’un Ministère de la « Jeunesse »?”. *Agora débats/jeunesses*, 25, 2001. *Vers un nouveau pacte intergénérationnel ?* pp. 39-43.
- Santacreu, O. (2008). “Participación social de los jóvenes españoles” *OBETS: Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, ISSN 1989-1385, N° 2, 2008, págs. 25-34.
- Santos, A. y Paz, M. (2012). “La juventud española en tiempos de crisis”. *Sociología del Trabajo, nueva época*, núm. 75, pp. 93-110.
- Smart, J. (2002). “Cultivating Class Consciousness in a New Generation: The Labor Guild of Youth in Melbourne 1926-28”. *Labour History*, (82), 49-63.
- Snow, D. & Benford, A. (1988). “Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization”. *International Social Movement Research*, Vol. 1, Pag. 197-217.
- Thompson, E. P., & Pérez, J. M. (1991). “Algunas Observaciones Sobre Clase y falsa conciencia.” *Historia Social* 10, pp. 27-32.
- Valenzuela, K. (2007). “Colectivos juveniles: ¿Inmadurez política o afirmación de otras políticas posibles?”. *Última Década*, núm. 26, Julio 2007, pp. 31-52. Chile: Centro de Estudios Sociales, CIDPA.
- Touraine, A. (2006). “Los movimientos sociales”, en *Revista colombiana de sociología*, N° 27, 2006.
- Urbanik, M. & Roks, R. (2020). “GansgtLife: Fusing Urban Ethnography with Netnography in Gang Studies”. *Qualitative Sociology* 43:213–233.

Van Stekelenburg, J., & Klandermans, B. (2017). "Protesting youth: Collective and connective action participation compared". *Zeitschrift Für Psychologie/Journal of Psychology*, 225(4), 336-346.

Villanueva, T. y Sugiyama, Ma. E. (2016). "La participación política de jóvenes desde los marcos de significación. Una propuesta metodológica". *Polis: Investigación y Análisis Sociopolítico y Psicosocial*, 12 (2), 111-139.

Young, I.M. (1989). "Polity and group difference: A critique of the ideal of universal citizenship." *Ethics*, no 99, 250-274.

Documents

CONACULTA (2022). "José Vasconcelos y el Ateneo". Documento del Director, Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos sobre la Revolución Mexicana. *Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes*, 20 de junio de 2022.

https://www.inehrm.gob.mx/es/inehrm/JoseVasc_ElAteneo

CONACULTA (2015). "Ateneo de la Juventud: una revolución intelectual en las calles del Centro Histórico". *Boletín no. 1442, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes*, 22 de octubre de 2015. <https://inba.gob.mx/prensa/1052/ateneo-de-la-juventud-una-revolucion-intelectual-en-las-calles-del-centro-historico>

Hopenhayn, M. (2004). “Participación juvenil y política pública.” Trabajo presentado en el I Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Población, ALAP, realizado en Caxambu- MG - Brasil, del 18 al 20 de septiembre de 2004.

Portillo, M. (2005). *Culturas Juveniles y Cultura política. La construcción de la opinión política de los jóvenes de la Ciudad de México*. Tesis de doctorado, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Rivero, J (2015). *El multiculturalismo y las políticas para el desarrollo en Canadá y México. Los problemas de la diferencia cultural, frente a la crisis del Estado-nación*. Master 's thesis. UNAM.

Solís, P., Güémez, P., and Campos, R. (2023). *Skin Tone and Inequality of Economic Outcomes in Mexico: A Comparative Analysis Using Optical Colorimeters and Color Palettes*. COLMEX.

Newspapers Articles

Castellanos, L. (2021). “8M: El feminismo es el principal movimiento opositor en México”. *The Washington Post*, March 7.

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/es/post-opinion/2021/03/07/8m-2021-protestas-feminismo-movimiento-opositor-mexico/>

Lara, A. (2013). “El Ateneo de la Juventud: una episteme barroquizante”. *Eutopía*, 5 (17). link: <https://www.revistas.unam.mx/index.php/eutopia/article/view/42194>

Zanolli, B. (2019) “Ateneo de la Juventud: origen y legado (I)2”. In: *El Sol de México*, october, 20th.

link: <https://www.elsoldemexico.com.mx/analisis/ateneo-de-la-juventud-origen-y-legado-i-4339410.html>.

Websites

Ateneo. (2022a). Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud Website. www.ateneodelajuventud.org

Ateneo. (2022b). Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud Facebook fan Page.

<https://www.facebook.com/atnaju>

Ateneo. (2022c). Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud Twitter account.

[@ateneo_juventud](https://twitter.com/ateneo_juventud)

CONEVAL (2022). Consejo Nacional para la Evaluación de la Política Social (National Council for the Evaluation of Social Policy).

Website: www.coneval.gob.mx

INEGI (2022). Instituto Nacional de Geografía, Estadística e Informática (National Institute of Geography, Statistics and Informatics).

Website: www.inegi.gob.mx

IMJUVE (2022). Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud (Mexican Institute of Youth). Website: www.imjuve.gob.mx

Private Archives

José Luis (2017). (Hacia una Ley de Juventud). Soledad's Archive. Mexico.

Soledad (2015). (Reforma Educativa). Soledad's Archive. Mexico.

Ateneo (2014). (Informe I). Ateneo's Archive. Mexico.

Ateneo (2014). (Planeación del Observatorio). Ateneo's Archive. Mexico.

Ateneo (2011). (Acta Constitutiva I). Ateneo's Archive. Mexico.

Ateneo (2011). (Escuela de Formación Humana). Ateneo's Archive. Mexico.

Ateneo (2010). (Filosofía al Pueblo). Ateneo's Archive. Mexico.

Ateneo (2010). (Fundamentos del Ateneo). Ateneo's Archive. Mexico.

Ateneo (2010). (Protocolo para Nuevos Miembros). Ateneo's Archive. Mexico.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Ethics Certificate

17/08/2023

Université d'Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE | CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL

Numéro du dossier / Ethics File Number

Titre du projet / Project Title

Type de projet / Project Type

Statut du projet / Project Status

Date d'approbation (jj/mm/aaaa) / Approval Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

Date d'expiration (jj/mm/aaaa) / Expiry Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

S-07-23-9468

Becoming a public action
subject: digital articulatory
practices and political subjectivity
in Mexico's Ateneo Nacional de
la Juventud

Thèse de doctorat / Doctoral
thesis

Approuvé / Approved

17/08/2023

16/08/2024

Équipe de recherche / Research Team

Chercheur /
Researcher

Jesus RIVERO
CASAS

Claude DENIS

Affiliation

Département de sociologie et d'anthropologie / Department of
Sociology and Anthropology

Département de sociologie et d'anthropologie / Department of
Sociology and Anthropology

Rôle

Chercheur Principal / Principal
Investigator

Superviseur / Supervisor

Conditions spéciales ou commentaires / Special conditions or comments

550, rue Cumberland, pièce 154 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154
Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada

613-562-5387 • 613-562-5338 • ethique@uOttawa.ca / ethics@uOttawa.ca
www.recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie | www.recherche.uottawa.ca/ethics

Université d'Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche (CÉR) de l'Université d'Ottawa, opérant conformément à l'*Énoncé de politique des Trois conseils* (2014) et toutes autres lois et tous règlements applicables, a examiné et approuvé la demande d'éthique du projet de recherche ci-nommé.

L'approbation est valide pour la durée indiquée plus haut et est sujette aux conditions énumérées dans la section intitulée "Conditions Spéciales ou Commentaires". Le formulaire « Renouvellement ou Fermeture de Projet » doit être complété quatre semaines avant la date d'échéance indiquée ci-haut afin de demander un renouvellement de cette approbation éthique ou afin de fermer le dossier.

Toutes modifications apportées au projet doivent être approuvées par le CÉR avant leur mise en place, sauf si le participant doit être retiré en raison d'un danger immédiat ou s'il s'agit d'un changement ayant trait à des éléments administratifs ou logistiques du projet. Les chercheurs doivent aviser le CÉR dans les plus brefs délais de tout changement pouvant augmenter le niveau de risque aux participants ou pouvant affecter considérablement le déroulement du projet, rapporter tout événement imprévu ou indésirable et soumettre toute nouvelle information pouvant nuire à la conduite du projet ou à la sécurité des participants.

The University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board, which operates in accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* (2014) and other applicable laws and regulations, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above-named research project.

Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and is subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled "Special Conditions or Comments". The "Renewal/Project Closure" form must be completed four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval or closure of the file.

Any changes made to the project must be approved by the REB before being implemented, except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) only pertain to administrative or logistical components of the project. Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes that increase the risk to participant(s), any changes that considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project or the safety of the participant(s).

Kim THOMPSON

Responsable d'éthique en recherche / Protocol Officer

Pour/For **Barbara GRAVES** Président(e) du/ Chair of the Comité d'éthique de la recherche en sciences sociales et humanités / Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board

550, rue Cumberland, pièce 154 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154
Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada

613-562-5387 • 613-562-5338 • ethique@uOttawa.ca / ethics@uOttawa.ca
www.recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie | www.recherche.uottawa.ca/ethics

Appendix 2. Interview Guide

Type	Question	Objective
Introductory questions	-So, you are a person who participates in political activities. Can you tell me how long you have been involved in politics? -Are you still participating? -How did you become interested in participating in the sphere of public decisions?	Openness and generation of trust between the interviewer and the interviewee. The objective is to gather information to confirm the interviewee profile.
Specificity questions	-Why did you decide to participate in institutionalized politics? -Did someone, in specific, invite you to participate in <i>Ateneo</i>, or did you come by yourself? -Whether She/He was invited -How did they contact you? -What did the person who invited you tell you about <i>Ateneo</i>? What was the reason for joining the activities in which he or she was already enrolled? -By which means they contacted you, in person, on Facebook, on Twitter, etc. Whether She/He was not invited? -How did you know about <i>Ateneo</i>, and why did you decide to contact them? (Trying to get information about the role of digital social networks and <i>digital articulatory practices</i>) Continue...	Knowing the process by which She/He enrolled in institutionalized political participation through <i>Ateneo</i> .

	-Before this experience, did you have approaches to politics? -Could you tell me how you convinced yourself to participate in the political sphere through <i>Ateneo</i>? Please go further in detail.	
Interpretative questions	<i>On being Ateneista</i> -Now, can you talk to me please about your experience as a member of <i>Ateneo</i>? For example, what did you find interesting about relationships with other young people? -Did you find interests in common? -How did you get more interaction with the other members? Through physical or digital interaction? -What do you think is the most important thing about youth and politics that you learned since you are part of <i>Ateneo</i>? -Do you consider yourself an <i>Ateneista</i>? And what does it mean in your life? -What do you think being <i>Ateneista</i> means for <i>Ateneo</i> as an institution? -How do you begin to participate in the public policy process as <i>Ateneista</i>?	In this part of the interview, I would like to get most of the information to understand how they become <i>Ateneista</i>.

	-What do you think young people find interesting about being <i>Ateneistas</i> for changing the public sphere?	
Following questions	-Is there something you consider very important in becoming <i>Ateneista</i> that you did not say?	
Indirect questions	-Do you think it is possible to convince other young people to become <i>Ateneista</i>? -How did they convince you? What did the comrades of <i>Ateneo</i> tell you?	Confirming the process of transmission of <i>articulatory practices</i> .
Closing question	-How this interaction with people of the <i>Ateneo</i> has changed your perception of how far you can go in changing your social reality?	Confirming the effects on <i>subjectivity</i> as <i>Ateneista</i> .

Appendix 3. Letter of Invitation to participate in the research

(English version)

Letter of invitation for Ateneo's members to participate in a research study on youth political participation

Title of study: *Becoming a public action subject: digital articulatory practices and political subjectivity in Mexico's Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud.*

Invitation to an Interview: You are invited to participate in an interview conducted by Jesús Rivero Casas as part of his doctoral research on youth political participation. The research aims to understand how young people get involved in “Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud A.C.” to participate in institutional politics and how they experience becoming “Ateneista.”

About the Interview: The interview seeks to understand the experience of becoming an “Ateneista” and how Ateneo became an institutionalized organization participating in public action.

Inclusion and selection criteria: Mexican Individuals between 18 and 40 years old who are, have been members or related to Ateneo. This research intends to follow the gender inclusion criteria of 50% females and 50% males. It will also include 10% of the sample for the indigenous population. Candidates will be accepted for 20 participants. If you arrive after that time, you will be asked to be on the waiting list if a new wave of participants is needed.

Risks: The risks of participating in this interview are minimal, but the information shared may cause undesirable emotions (for example, fear, anger or sadness), and the questions asked will make you remember experiences that may have caused you psychological distress in the past. If you are uncomfortable during the interview, you are free to refuse to answer any questions or stop the interview at any time.

Benefits: Participating in this research contributes to developing research that studies young people as collective actors within the public policy process.

Confidentiality and anonymity: The information you give in this research will be treated anonymously, and your name and personal data will not be disclosed. When

reporting the investigation results, you will be assigned a nickname to ensure that the experiences and emotions recorded cannot be linked to you. It will appear in the investigation report only if you decide that your name is disclosed.

Compensation: No compensation will be offered.

Voluntary Participation: You are under no obligation to participate. If you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer questions you feel uncomfortable with, and you can withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw, you can decide whether the data gathered until the time of withdrawal is kept or discarded.

Contact: If you are interested in participating in this research, please contact the researcher by email, text, or phone.

This study is conducted as part of the requirements of the doctoral program in sociology at the University of Ottawa, Canada. It is supervised by Claude Denis, and you can feel free to contact him if more information is needed.

(Spanish version)

Carta de invitación a los miembros del Ateneo para participar en una Investigación sobre la participación política juvenil

Título del estudio: *Convertirse en sujeto de acción pública: prácticas articuladoras digitales y subjetividad política en el Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud de México.*

Invitación a participar en una Entrevista: Esta es una invitación a participar en una entrevista realizada por Jesús Rivero Casas, como parte de su investigación de tesis doctoral sobre participación política juvenil. La investigación tiene como objetivo comprender cómo los jóvenes se involucran en el “Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud A.C.” viven la experiencia de ser *Ateneistas* y participar en los procesos de política institucional.

Acerca de la entrevista: La entrevista busca comprender la experiencia de convertirse en *Ateneista* y cómo el *Ateneo* se convirtió en una organización institucionalizada que participa en los procesos de acción pública.

Criterios de inclusión y selección: Mexicana/os entre 18 y 40 años que sean, hayan sido miembros o se relacionaron con el Ateneo. En esta investigación se pretende seguir criterios de inclusión de género 50% mujeres y 50% hombres. También incluirá el 10% de la muestra para la población indígena. Se aceptarán candidatos hasta 20 participantes. En caso de que su candidatura llegue después, se te pedirá que estés en la lista de espera en caso de que se necesite una nueva ola de participantes.

Riesgos: Los riesgos de participar en esta entrevista son mínimos, pero la información compartida puede causar emociones indeseables (por ejemplo, miedo, ira o tristeza), y las preguntas que se harán podrían llevar a recordar experiencias pasadas que pueden haber causado angustia psicológica. Si te sientes incómodo durante la entrevista, puede negarse a responder cualquier pregunta o detener la entrevista en cualquier momento.

Beneficios: Participar en esta investigación contribuye a desarrollar investigaciones que se enfoquen en estudiar a los jóvenes como actores colectivos dentro del proceso de políticas públicas.

Confidencialidad y anonimato: La información que brindes en esta investigación será tratada de forma anónima, y tu nombre y datos personales no serán divulgados. Al informar los resultados de la investigación, se te asignará un apodo para garantizar que

las experiencias y emociones registradas no puedan vincularse contigo. Solamente si tu lo autorizas expresamente, tu nombre real aparecerá en el reporte de la investigación.

Compensación: No se ofrecerá ninguna compensación.

Participación voluntaria: La participación no es obligatoria. Si eliges participar, puedes negarte a responder las preguntas que sean incómodas y puedes interrumpir la entrevista y participación en la investigación en cualquier momento. Si eliges retirarte, puedes decidir si los datos recopilados hasta el momento se conservan o descartan.

Contacto: Si tú estás interesada/o en participar, por favor ponte en contacto con el investigador a través del correo electrónico, mensaje de texto o llamada telefónica.

Este estudio es parte de los requerimientos del programa doctoral en Sociología de la Universidad de Ottawa, Canadá. Es supervisado por Claude Denis, y tu puedes contactarlo en cualquier momento si necesitas mayor información al respecto.

Appendix 4. Informed Consent for members of *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud*

(English version)

INFORMED CONSENT

Title of study: *Becoming a public action subject: digital articulatory practices and political subjectivity in Mexico's Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud.*

Student Researcher: *Jesús Rivero Casas*

This study is conducted as part of the requirements of the doctoral program in sociology at the University of Ottawa, Canada.

Supervisor: *Claude Denis*

School of Sociological & Anthropological Studies
University of Ottawa

Invitation to an Interview: You are invited to participate in an interview conducted by Jesús Rivero Casas as part of his thesis research on youth political participation. The research aims to understand how young people get involved in “Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud A.C.” to participate in institutional politics and how they experience becoming “Ateneista.”

About the Interview: The interview seeks to understand the experience of becoming an “Ateneista” and how Ateneo became an institutionalized organization participating in public action. The questions will represent an effort to reflect on different moments of your personal life, such as the reasons that motivated you to participate in “Ateneo” and institutional politics. This reflection may be linked to experiences or social conditions from the past, which could represent the challenge of remembering good and/or bad memories in this respect. The interview will last approximately 45 to 60 minutes. Interviews will be audio-recorded (if in-person) and audio- and video-recorded if via Zoom. The point of contact will be in person in an arranged public place or through the Zoom application.

Risks: The risks of participating in this interview are minimal, but the information shared may cause undesirable emotions (for example, fear, anger or sadness), and the questions asked will make you remember experiences that may have caused you psychological distress in the past. If you are uncomfortable during the interview, you are free to refuse to answer any questions or stop the interview at any time.

Benefits: Participating in this research contributes to developing research that studies young people as collective actors within the public policy process. Specifically, this research aims to provide new knowledge about how social organizations provide information and tools for young people to discover their capacities to change their social environment. With this research, we will learn more about the effects of collective action on the so-called public action, that is, how the youth organization can potentiate social change.

Confidentiality and anonymity: The information you give in this research will be treated anonymously, and your name and personal data will not be disclosed. When reporting the investigation results, you will be assigned a nickname to ensure that the experiences and emotions recorded cannot be linked to you. Only if you decide that your name is disclosed it will appear in the investigation report (thesis) and later publications such as scientific articles and/or books. In this case, quotes will be attributed to you directly.

I prefer to be identified using a nickname: _____ (signature).

I prefer to be identified using my real name: _____ (signature).

Conservation of data: The recording and transcripts from the interview will be safely stored in a cloud file of the academic account of Jesús Rivero Casas at the University of Ottawa, for a period of five years. If the account is cancelled in the next few years, a USB copy will be created to be stored in the researcher's personal archives at home.

Compensation: No compensation will be offered.

Voluntary Participation: You are under no obligation to participate. If you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer questions you feel uncomfortable with, and you can withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw, you can decide whether the data gathered until the time of withdrawal is kept or discarded.

Acceptance: Acceptance: I, _____ (insert name of participant), give verbal and written consent to participate in the above research study conducted by Jesús Rivero Casas as part of his doctoral research. If I have any questions or concerns or require more information about the study, I may contact the supervisor or the authorities of the University of Ottawa. Suppose I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study. In that case, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa.

You may keep this copy of the consent form.

Jesús Rivero Casas
Signature

Name:
Signature

(Spanish version)

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del estudio: Convertirse en *sujeto de acción pública: prácticas articuladoras digitales* y subjetividad política en el *Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud* de México.

Estudiante Investigador: Jesús Rivero Casas

Este estudio se realiza como parte de los requisitos del programa de Doctorado en Sociología de la Universidad de Ottawa, Canadá.

Supervisor: Claude Denis

Escuela de Estudios Sociológicos y Antropológicos
Universidad de Ottawa

Invitación a participar en una Entrevista: Esta es una invitación a participar en una entrevista realizada por Jesús Rivero Casas, como parte de su investigación de tesis doctoral sobre participación política juvenil. La investigación tiene como objetivo comprender cómo los jóvenes se involucran en el “Ateneo Nacional de la Juventud A.C.” viven la experiencia de ser *Ateneistas* y participar en los procesos de política institucional.

Acerca de la entrevista: La entrevista busca comprender la experiencia de convertirse en *Ateneista* y cómo el *Ateneo* se convirtió en una organización institucionalizada que participa en los procesos de acción pública. Las preguntas representarán un esfuerzo por reflexionar sobre diferentes momentos de la vida personal, como las razones que te motivan a participar del Ateneo y la política institucional. Esta reflexión puede estar ligada a experiencias o condiciones sociales del pasado, lo que podría representar el desafío de recordar buenos y/o malos recuerdos en este sentido. La entrevista tendrá una duración aproximada de 45 a 60 minutos. Si la entrevista es en persona, será audio-grabada, en caso de ser a distancia será audio y videograbada. El punto de contacto será en persona en un lugar público acordado o a través de la aplicación de zoom.

Riesgos: Los riesgos de participar en esta entrevista son mínimos, pero la información compartida puede causar emociones indeseables (por ejemplo, miedo, ira o tristeza), y las preguntas que se harán podrían llevar a recordar experiencias pasadas que pueden haber causado angustia psicológica. Si te sientes incómodo durante la entrevista, puede negarse a responder cualquier pregunta o detener la entrevista en cualquier momento.

Beneficios: Participar en esta investigación contribuye a desarrollar investigaciones que se enfoquen en estudiar a los jóvenes como actores colectivos dentro del proceso de políticas públicas. En concreto, esta investigación pretende aportar nuevos conocimientos sobre cómo las organizaciones sociales proporcionan información y herramientas para que los jóvenes descubran sus capacidades para cambiar su entorno social. Con esta investigación conoceremos más sobre los efectos de la acción colectiva en la llamada acción pública, es decir, cómo la organización juvenil puede potencializar el cambio social desde la esfera pública.

Confidencialidad y anonimato: La información que brindes en esta investigación será tratada de forma anónima, y tu nombre y datos personales no serán divulgados. Al informar los resultados de la investigación, se te asignará un apodo para garantizar que las experiencias y emociones registradas no puedan vincularse contigo. Solamente si tu lo autorizas expresamente, tu nombre real aparecerá en el reporte de la investigación (tesis) y en próximas publicaciones, tales como artículos científicos y/o libros. En este caso, las citas utilizadas serán directamente atribuidas a tu autoría.

Yo prefiero ser identificado con un sobrenombre: _____ (firma).

Yo prefiero ser identificado con mi nombre real: _____ (firma).

Conservación de datos: Las transcripciones de la entrevista se almacenarán de forma segura en un archivo en la nube de la cuenta académica de Jesús Rivero Casas en la Universidad de Ottawa, por un periodo de cinco años. Si la cuenta llegara a ser cancelada, una copia en USB será mantenida en el archivo personal.

Participación voluntaria: La participación no es obligatoria. Si eliges participar, puedes negarte a responder las preguntas que sean incómodas y puedes interrumpir la entrevista y participación en la investigación en cualquier momento. Si eliges retirarte, puedes decidir si los datos recopilados hasta el momento se conservan o descartan. No se ofrecerá ninguna compensación.

Aceptación: Yo, _____ (inserte el nombre del participante), doy mi consentimiento verbal y escrito para participar en el estudio anterior realizado por Jesús Rivero Casas como parte de su investigación doctoral. Si tengo alguna pregunta, inquietud o requiero más información sobre el estudio, puedo comunicarme con el supervisor o las autoridades de la Universidad de Ottawa. En caso de tener algún señalamiento con respecto a la conducta ética de este estudio, puedo comunicarme con el Oficial de Protocolo para la Ética en la Investigación, Universidad de Ottawa. Conserva esta copia del formulario de consentimiento.

Jesús Rivero Casas

Nombre:

Appendix 5. 2022 *Ateneo's* Census

State	Members
Baja California	4
Estado de México	27
Guerrero	3
Hidalgo	32
Jalisco	3
Mexico City	81
Morelos	14
Nuevo León	1
Oaxaca	54
Puebla	19
Quintana Roo	18
San Luis Potosí	1
Sonora	9
Tabasco	7
Tlaxcala	8
Veracruz	34
Yucatán	6
Zacatecas	27
Total	348