

# Mobilized Youth: Regional Political Agendas?

## *Juventudes movilizadas, ¿agendas políticas regionales?*

Gustavo A. Urbina Cortés

Centro de Estudios Sociológicos, El Colegio de México  
*gaurbina@colmex.mx*



### **Abstract:**

This article analyses some of the patterns in four of the main stages of youth protest in Latin America. Through data collected from survey questionnaires applied to a sample of participants in different episodes of social protest in Mexico City, Santiago de Chile, Bogotá, Colombia, and Recife in Brazil, three convergences are traced that allow us to think about the transversal character of the claims and vindications of the young population in Latin America. Specifically, it is interesting to highlight how it is that, despite the diversity of contexts explored, a set of claims tends to prevail where the horizons of quality of life, justice, and the dispute for social recognition in a broad sense play a transversal role.



### **Resumen:**

Con el propósito de resaltar la importancia de los procesos de movilización social en el subcontinente, en este artículo se analizan algunas de las pautas presentes en cuatro de los principales escenarios de la protesta juvenil latinoamericana. Mediante datos recopilados a partir de cuestionarios de encuesta aplicados a una muestra de participantes en distintos episodios de protesta social en la Ciudad de México, Santiago de Chile, Bogotá, Colombia, y Recife en Brasil, se rastrean tres convergencias que permiten pensar en el carácter transversal de las demandas y reivindicaciones de la población joven en América Latina. De manera específica, interesa destacar como es que, pese a la diversidad de contextos explorados, tiende a prevalecer un conjunto de reivindicaciones donde los horizontes de calidad de vida, la justicia y la disputa por el reconocimiento social en sentido amplio juegan un papel transversal.



### **Key Words:**

Youth, protest, mobilisation, claims, elections.



### **Palabras clave:**

Juventudes, protesta, movilización, demandas, elecciones.

# Mobilized Youth: Regional Political Agendas?

*Gustavo A. Urbina Cortés*

In the field of social movement and protest research, the notion of *contentious politics* is often used to refer to interactions in which different actors make claims related to the interests of others. Often, these claims involve the deployment of coordinated efforts based on shared agendas or grievances, in which governments are involved as targets, inciters or third parties.<sup>1</sup> While recognising that not every collective action presents demands and that not every grievance is always directed at government actors, the relationship between some of the flows of social mobilisation and the way in which they permeate the political-electoral agenda is a central issue.<sup>2</sup> Whether to influence the design and implementation of public policies, to overturn a government programme or simply to express social discontent, the presence of actors in the public sphere implies the thematisation of needs and disconformities that, on occasion, reflect the latency of problems of a structural nature.<sup>3</sup>

In a particularly striking way, the contentious scenes tend to be characterised by youth protagonism. Especially when in most Latin American

---

<sup>1</sup> Charles Tilly & Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> On the non-restrictive nature of collective action in the governmental arena, see C. Tilly, *Contentious Performances*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

<sup>3</sup> For more information, see Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam & C. Tilly (eds.), *How Social Movements Matter*, Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

and Caribbean countries, around a third of the population is concentrated in the 15-34 age group (33.6%).<sup>4</sup> As a strategic block of the economically active population, as a demander of public services of various kinds, or even as a key proportion of a potential electorate, different contingents act as spokespersons for a multiplicity of people under 35 years of age who face very different challenges in the region.

With the aim of highlighting the importance of social mobilisation processes in the subcontinent, this article analyses some of the patterns that emerged in four scenarios of youth protest in Latin America. Using data collected from questionnaires applied to a sample of participants in different instances of social protest in Mexico City, Santiago de Chile, Bogotá and Recife, three convergences are identified that allow us to think about the cross-cutting nature of the demands and claims of the young population in the region. Specifically, it is interesting to highlight how, despite the diversity of contexts explored, a set of claims tends to prevail in which the demands for quality of life, justice and the struggle for social recognition in a broad sense play a cross-cutting role. Access to greater material improvements and opportunities, the elimination of impunity in the face of growing social violence and the demand for extended rights for historically excluded groups form part of this socio-political universe of reference.

In order to understand the scope and limitations of this exercise, the first section is devoted to a discussion of the purposes and a description of the information used throughout this article. The second section analyses the convergences identified through the research conducted in the four Latin American cities in question. The last section sets out some pointers on the implications of the results for the prefiguration of a dialogue agenda in the region.

---

<sup>4</sup> Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Anuario Estadístico de América Latina y el Caribe*, Santiago, ECLAC, 2021, p. 14, at <https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/46739-anuario-estadistico-america-latina-caribe-2020-statistical-yearbook-latin> (date of access: March 20, 2020). For a better breakdown of the statistics by country, gender and age group it is recommended that you consult the section *Estructura de la Población por Sexo y Grupo de Edad* de CEPALSTAT, available at [https://statistics.cepal.org/portal/databank/index.html?lang=es&indicador\\_id=390&area\\_id=1](https://statistics.cepal.org/portal/databank/index.html?lang=es&indicador_id=390&area_id=1)

## Protests, protesters and demands: searching for common performativity at the regional level

In 2018, the pilot project “Paths of life, social changes and contentious performances” was launched, focusing on youth participation in different mobilisation contingents in the subcontinental sphere. The initial objective was to explore the relationship between five dimensions of analysis of social protest: the biographical outline of the protesters; the socio-historical context of location; the shaping of demands, claims and grievances expressed in the protest; the capacity for organisation; and the possible transversality of different approaches in various contexts across the region.<sup>5</sup>

Without dwelling unnecessarily on the analytical and methodological details of the pilot project, this exercise provided a valuable excuse to test whether the protests taking place in various arenas constituted isolated and self-contained performative expressions, or whether, on the contrary, sufficiently consistent lines of communication could be identified to discuss the configuration of a plural social movement with an agenda that could be considered transnational.<sup>6</sup>

With the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the application of pilot questionnaires was extended, and between 2018 and 2021 data were collected from at least one protest in any of the four chosen settings. Originally volunteers from more than a dozen countries in the region had planned

<sup>5</sup> Given that the last information survey took place at the end of 2021, a working document with a comprehensive report of information, instruments and technical annexes is still in the process of being published. This will soon be available on the website of the Centre for Sociological Studies of El Colegio de México <https://ces.colmex.mx/otros-sitios>. For the time being, it should be noted that the project was self-financed with the intention of seeking institutional sources of support in a subsequent phase. It is also important to mention that this is not the first relevant precedent in protest data collection efforts, so it is recommended that interested parties review the precedent of the Caught in the Act of Contention project in <https://www.protestsurvey.eu/>.

<sup>6</sup> On the discussion of the notion of social movement as a historically situated category and not as a universal and decontextualised concept, see C. Tilly and S. Tarrow, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Marco Estrada, *Sistemas de Protesta. Esbozo de un modelo no accionista para el estudio de los movimientos sociales*, Mexico, El Colegio de México, 2015.

to participate, but by November 2021, sufficiently robust data were only available for Mexico City, Santiago de Chile, Bogotá and Recife.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 1. Dates for questionnaires at protests *in situ***

Year/month-day	2018	2019	2020	2021
Mexico City (15 protests)	apr-26	feb-01	mar-08	may-24
	sep-05	jun-28	jun-08	oct-02
	sep-13	aug-16	sep-02	oct-03
		nov-14	sep-20	dec-04
Bogotá (14 protests)	sep-11	mar-15	mar-07	apr-15
	nov-01	oct-30	aug-20	apr-29
	nov-28	nov-21	oct-01	may-12
			oct-15	may-27
Santiago (10 protests)	apr-19	mar-15	ene-19	sep-11
	may-17	jul-26	mar-08	nov-26
		oct-25	oct-20	
Recife (8 protests)	apr-06	may-14	mar-08	may-29
	sep-23	sep-21	jul-02	jul-03

In each scenario, information is available for at least a couple of contentious incidents per year, from 2018 to 2021 (see Table 1). However, it is important to note that the data can be interpreted with three methodological caveats. First, this is a pilot exercise to collect information through questionnaires, which implies that, despite the search for greater variability in the contexts and protests convened therein, there is not enough

<sup>7</sup> We would like to take this opportunity to thank the team of volunteers. In Mexico we thank Paula Soto, Javier Gómez and Álvaro Cruz; in Chile, Mauricio Cobre and Jaime Olvera; in Bogotá, Fernando Carrillo and Maura Limón; and in Recife, the Juventude Digna collective, especially Ana Moscoso and Milton Silva.

systematicity, not just because of the prevalence of a criterion of opportunity to conduct surveys *in situ*, but also due to the disruptions caused by the influence of the pandemic on the occupation of public space. Second, despite collecting 3994 completed records (on average, 999 observations per country and 250 completed questionnaires per year in each scenario), the sample would require greater robustness, given the lack of more equipment in the field and the inability to cover more episodes of protest and more countries in the region. Third and finally, it is worth remembering that, during this stage that was subject to so many multiple contingencies, the possibility of refining the project's scope was given priority, so any findings presented are of a preliminary order, subordinated to the task of generating hypotheses rather than conclusions.

Obtained through random selection strategies during walk-throughs at different protests in the four cities, 78.3% of the observations were provided by people under 29 years of age. The average age of the respondents was 22.6 years, which captures the prevalence of youth in contentious occupations of urban space. The percentage of female and male respondents was 52.1% and 47.9%, respectively (see Table 2).

In total, 47 protest days were covered across the four cities. To get an idea of how broadly youth, demands or study categories might have been captured by the type of demonstration called for, each day was classified by the type of convenor and by the primary cause of the call to protest. A quarter of the demonstrations corresponded to commemorative marches; only a fifth were explicitly called by feminist collectives or grassroots youth groups (student, labour or otherwise), while just over half of the days revolved around issues of a political-occupational nature. The latter refers to contentious expressions in response to upcoming reform projects, recent acts of repression or abuse of force, disappearances of people in previous days and celebrations of international meetings, among other reasons.

Finally, it is worth noting that, as this is a project with a broad scope in terms of regional coverage and a low intensity in the specificity of each group, protest or episode *in situ*, the questionnaires applied are relatively brief, collecting basic information grouped into six main dimensions: the respondents' history of participation; socio-demographic data of the person interviewed; motives for participating in the protest; expectations about the mobilisation; main demands, needs or claims of the respondent;

and the intention to mobilise again in the future. With fewer than 40 items, the instrument gathers valuable information to compare several occurrences of mobilisation from a range of contexts.<sup>8</sup>

In light of the above, some of the patterns observed during the project are presented below.

### Contentious convergences among the youth in the region

The *Contentious Politics of Unemployment in Europe*, edited by Marco Giugni, shows how in six countries, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, different expressions of mobilisation converge, characterised by the same phenomenon. The onslaught of rising unemployment and the institutional alternatives for dealing with the risks of unemployment combined to give rise to plural expressions of discontent and demand in the face of a structural phenomenon of broad significance, such as the withdrawal of the welfare state apparatus in most European contexts.<sup>9</sup> With political and social implications at very different levels and scales of apprehension and institutional treatment, the effort led by Giugni serves to highlight the way in which protest measures can be articulated as a reflection of a problem of supranational governance, where neither the needs nor the possible solutions point to local responses.

In a similar vein to the hypotheses of Giugni and his collaborators, in the framework of the pilot project “Paths of life, social changes and contentious performances”, it was important to identify the extent to which similarities exist between instances of protest that take place in very different contexts

<sup>8</sup> Some of these dimensions were elaborated based on the review of previous materials and exercises. For more information, see the following: Paul Almeida, “Reclutamiento y participación de los individuos”, in *Movimientos Sociales*, Buenos Aires, Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), 2020, pp. 175-206. See also Gustavo Urbina, “Percepciones de la protesta: una aproximación parcial a quienes no se movilizan”, *Estudios Sociológicos*, vol. 36, no. 107, May-August 2018, pp. 417-437.

<sup>9</sup> Marco Giugni (ed.), *The Contentious Politics of Unemployment in Europe: Welfare States and Political Opportunities*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

throughout Latin America. By this logic, the aim was to relate the coincidences and contrasts with the structural changes that have taken place in the region and the political conjunctures in which demonstrations have taken place. Biographical trajectories, socio-historical contours and probable coincidences of a generational order could well be thought of as plots in which different logics of socio-political change and transformation are expressed in contentious expressions.<sup>10</sup> In short, it was important to try to answer whether, behind the very diverse episodes of mobilisation, there were sufficient coincidences between the profile of the demonstrators, the core of the concerns raised by the protest, the demands expressed, and the way in which expectations and discourses are constructed around contentious participation.

The work carried out through data collection in four scenarios in the region revealed three plausible convergences. The first is related to the socio-demographic profile of the people mobilised. Subject to having a much more robust and systematic sample of observations that is sensitive to the volume of the contingents captured *in situ*, most of the people mobilised are concentrated in the 18-29 age bracket. Even considering a probable bias in the inclusion of respondents in the sample, the percentages obtained tend to show an important imprint of youth prevalence.

Moreover, as can be observed in Table 2, on average 4 out of 10 interviewed identified themselves as sporadic participants in social mobilisations, while on average 15% of respondents defined themselves as constant participants with some degree of militancy.

Without reliable information that accurately estimates the rate of participation in contentious protests, it is difficult to say that young people are particularly active on the streets in the context of the most recent years in Latin America. However, despite this limitation, there is no doubt that

---

<sup>10</sup> For more information, see Florence Passy and M. Giugni, "Life-Spheres, Networks, and Sustained Participation in Social Movements: A Phenomenological Approach to Political Commitment," in *Sociological Forum*, vol. 15, no. 1, March 2000, pp. 117-144; M. Giugni, "Personal and Biographical Consequences," in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Malden, Blackwell, 2004, pp. 489-507; Maria T. Grasso, *Generations, Political Participation and Social Change in Western Europe*, London, Routledge, 2016; Olivier Fillieule, "Propositions pour une analyse processuelle de l'engagement individuel. Post scriptum," in *Revue française de science politique*, vol. 51, no. 1-2, February-April 2001, pp. 199-215.



Table 2. General characteristics of the sample\*

	Mexico City	Bogotá	Santiago	Recife	Total
<b>Sample size</b>					
N	999	1004	1001	990	3994
%	25%	25.1%	25.1%	24.8%	100%
<b>Age</b>					
Under 18	12.3%	12.7%	11.2%	13.0%	12.3%
18-29 years old	64.2%	67.2%	71.2%	61.4%	66.0%
Over 29	23.5%	20.1%	17.6%	25.6%	21.7%
<b>Gender</b>					
Women	52.2%	50.1%	53.4%	52.5%	52.1%
Men	47.8%	49.9%	46.6%	47.5%	47.9%
<b>Participation background</b>					
First time	45.0%	51.0%	37.5%	48.0%	45.4%
Sporadic participant (at least twice a year)	39.5%	38.5%	40.1%	39.7%	39.5%
Constant participant (with collective membership)	15.5%	10.5%	22.4%	12.3%	15.2%
<b>How likely is the government to be sensitive to the demands of social protest?</b>					
Unlikely	17.4%	14.2%	18.9%	24.2%	18.7%
Not very likely	24.3%	22.4%	25.4%	26.5%	24.7%
Somewhat likely	33.4%	34.6%	36.5%	25.4%	32.5%
Very likely	24.9%	28.8%	19.2%	23.9%	24.2%
<b>How likely are you to vote in the upcoming elections?</b>					
Unlikely	11.4%	13.5%	10.9%	12.7%	12.1%
Not very likely	12.7%	11.2%	10.4%	14.3%	12.2%
Somewhat likely	33.5%	28.4%	24.3%	23.7%	27.5%
Very likely	42.4%	46.9%	54.4%	49.3%	48.3%

\*All percentages, except for sample size, refer to the sum of columns.

a considerable proportion of the contingents on the move are characterised by their power to attract younger citizens.

Without resorting to the commonplaces that establish an equivalence between the condition of youth and the assumption of politically proactive or even revolutionary attitudes,<sup>11</sup> this component is largely explained by the particular nature of the demands and needs at stake.

For contextual purposes, Mexico, Chile, Colombia and Brazil, as well as other countries in the region, have been characterised by processes of structural adjustment in which the state's capacity to respond to citizens' needs has been seriously compromised.<sup>12</sup> Without the space or pretensions to analyse the large-scale impacts of neoliberal policies and their eventual mitigation under different strategies of conditional cash transfers or other public policy instruments, it is undeniable that their effects have been felt in different areas related both to the quality of life and to the exercise of and access to certain rights.<sup>13</sup>

In this sense, the second convergence is related to the positioning of certain demands, which constitute a cross-cutting component among the slightly less than four thousand voices captured throughout 47 episodes of protest in the four reference scenarios. This finding, which in principle might seem trivial, acquires a singular relevance if one takes into account that the issues identified by the respondents themselves tend to be concentrated in less than a dozen topics established as first-order socio-political needs. Table 3 shows the first most recurrent mentions among respondents out of a list of 25 topics provided by the interviewer.

<sup>11</sup> For more information, see Dina Krauskopf, "Dimensiones críticas en participación social de las juventudes", in Sergio Balardini (comp.), *La participación social y política de los jóvenes en el horizonte del nuevo siglo*, Buenos Aires, (CLACSO)/Agencia Succa de Desarrollo Internacional (ASDI), 2000, pp. 119-134.

<sup>12</sup> For further discussion, it is highly recommended to review the work of Paul D. Almeida and Amalia Perez Martin, "Economic Globalization and Social Movements in Latin America," in Xochitl Bada and Liliana Rivera (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Latin America*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2021, pp. 391-414.

<sup>13</sup> For more information, see Peter Kingston, *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development after Commodity Boom*, New York, Routledge, 2018. A suggestive intersectional analysis is presented in Eduardo Silva and Federico Rossi (eds.), *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018.

**Table 3. Main issues identified by the respondents (first mentions)**

Topics	% First mention	% Through post-coding	Differential
Reducing social inequality	33.20%	27.20%	6.00%
Creation of (educational/labour) opportunities	25.70%	30.10%	-4.40%
Decreasing violence, justice and combating impunity	18.30%	15.30%	3.00%
Gender equality and equal access to opportunities	12.10%	14.70%	-2.60%
Protection of the environment and natural resources	6.10%	2.40%	3.70%
Other	4.60%	10.30%	-5.70%

As a method of triangulation, the first-mentioned thematic question was reformulated in an open-ended way at different stages of the interview, processing the answers through a post-coding system.<sup>14</sup> As noted in the fourth column of Table 3, the prevailing differentials between the first mentions captured by multiple choice and the topics established by respondents through verbalisations tended to be quite narrow. In fact, the largest number of overlaps was between fields related to the reduction of inequality and the creation of opportunities. Expectedly, the residual category “others” reflects a greater degree of dispersion as a natural result of the respondents’ differing forms of enunciation.

From a panoramic analysis of the phrasing of demands, it was found that at least 36.5% of the people interviewed stated demands with a very high level of specificity. This subset includes issues such as the release of certain types of people, police deployment in particular contexts, the resolution of hyper-localised problems at the local level, and the application of justice for specific individuals, among many others. However, in the remaining

<sup>14</sup> The application of questionnaires through the use of technological resources allowed the order of items to be randomised during the execution of interviews. In this way, probable biases induced by the modular structure and hierarchy of the instrument were prevented.

two thirds of the records, a marked hierarchy of demands was found, which is condensed into a limited set of statements (see Table 4).

**Table 4. Main demands/claims stated (post-coding)\***

Topics	% of mentions
Broadening access to education/reducing educational restrictions (scholarships, grants, fees)	36.80%
Expanding access to employment/labour rights	34.70%
Improvement/provision of urban services	31.30%
Ensuring justice and the search for missing persons	29.00%
Eradicating gender-based violence/sexual rights	27.30%
Decriminalisation of abortion/sexual reproductive rights	26.80%
Eradication of repression and abuse of force by authorities	25.70%
Greater security and efficiency in the fight against crime	24.00%
Creation of financial support programmes for education	23.40%
Equal employment and educational opportunities for women and men	20.10%
Better wages and employment protection	19.00%
Promotion of tax reforms/tax rates/tariff demands	18.20%
Combating corruption/impartiality of justice in abuse of power cases	17.10%
Access to housing, credit and consumer goods	15.30%
Broadening access to health care/medicines or health infrastructure	14.70%
Promotion of sustainable development/opposition to public infrastructure projects/environmental protection policies	13.50%

\* Percentages do not add up to 100% because each respondent could report more than one claim.

Although the total number of statements amounts to just over one hundred different topics ranging from highly specific issues to generalised complaints, the subset condensed in Table 4 only includes those demands that account for more than 10% of total mentions.

In particular, it is noticeable how three thematic fields and demands tend to be more concentrated. The struggle for quality of life, expressed by the emphasis on access to and improvement of educational, employment, health and housing opportunities, is the central and cross-cutting theme in the four scenarios under study. Likewise, a second aspect is the search for better conditions for the administration of justice, both for the eradication of impunity and violence. Finally, there is a subset of political and symbolic disputes over inclusion, which have at their epicentre the demand for gender-related rights and freedoms and a broad pro-equality agenda.

Of course, these enunciative and contentious processes do not arise in isolation from the socio-political context of location. As mentioned above, the four locations are situated in Latin American countries which, during the observed period, have gone through important periods of party alternation in executive power. While the relationship between the implementation of new government projects and protest flows requires case studies in each area of interest, the expected relationship between the electoral arena and the protesters' grounds for action should not be overlooked.

With regard to the third convergence, it is clear that expressions of mobilisation are not thought of as avenues of participation entirely dissociated from the exercise of electoral rights. Although the link between contentious politics and suffrage does not always tend to be clear or necessarily significant,<sup>15</sup> at least among the respondents interviewed it was found that six out of ten people expect their governments to be partially responsive to the

<sup>15</sup> Regarding the debate on the relationship between contentious politics and electoral politics, a review the following is recommended Christopher J. Anderson and Silvia M. Mendes, "Learning to Lose: Election Outcomes, Democratic Experience and Political Protest Potential", in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 36, no. 1, January 2006, pp. 91-111; Clive Bean, "Participation and Political Protest: A Causal Model with Australian Evidence", in *Political Behavior*, vol. 13, no. 3, September 1991, pp. 253-283; Pippa Norris, Stefaan Walgrave and Peter Van Aelst, "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?," in *Compara-*

demands made in the streets. Moreover, around three quarters of those mobilised declared relatively clear intentions to go to the polls.

## Conclusions

Given the impossibility of formulating a much more rigorous and densified interpretation of the above convergences in the light of the political-institutional processes of the four locations under study, it is only worth pointing out a couple of additional questions. In each of the countries referred to, the conjunctural tensions in electoral matters have been particularly marked by the possible, expected or consummated shift towards progressive governments.<sup>16</sup> The strength of figures such as Andrés Manuel López Obrador in Mexico, Gustavo Petro in Colombia, Gabriel Boric in Chile and the current disputes over presidential candidacies in Brazil cannot be interpreted without taking into account the weight, the narrative and the social candour of what is happening in the occupation of public space.

As mentioned previously, the evidence suggests that around 70% of the respondents interviewed in protests in situ do not dissociate their contentious activity from their right to vote. Regardless of the charisma of the candidates or the possible polarised nature of the electoral situation, it is clear that there is a critical mass of young people on the streets whose main demands are based on the search for more and better material opportunities, less impunity and greater legality, as well as prerogatives that recognise the growing diversity of the social fabric.

Beyond any romantic appeal to mobilised youth, it is clear that some of the similarities described above are far from mere coincidence. On the contrary, and despite the methodological caveats mentioned in this article, the empirical information points to the need to problematise the competition

---

*tive Politics*, vol. 37, no. 2, January 2005, pp. 189-205; Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*, New York, Longman, 2003.

<sup>16</sup> See Paul Almeida, Eugenio Sosa, Allen Cordero and Ricardo Argueta, "Protest Waves and Social Movement Fields: The Micro Foundations of Campaigning for Subaltern Political Parties", in *Social Problems*, vol. 68, no. 4, November 2021, pp. 831-851.

of social agendas that go beyond the boundaries of national politics. With clear tones of a vindictory discourse of regional significance, the disputes and demands for a better quality of life seem to find particular resonance among people belonging to the younger socio-demographic groups.

Only the passage of time will provide sufficient clarity on the potential for such coincidences to materialise in institutional mechanisms and agendas at the national or sub-continental level. What is clear is that given the extent of the pressures and the magnitude of those who have expressed them, the need to consider the political opportunities that this represents for different actors, including the government authorities themselves, must not be overlooked.