

Communicative practices and political subjectivity of young people in the Colombian social outburst of 2021

Práticas comunicativas e subjetividade política dos jovens na agitação social colombiana de 2021

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ABSTRACT | This paper analyzes the communicative, sociopolitical, and cultural practices of the young participants in the National Strike of April 28 in Colombia and in the subsequent demonstrations of 2021, added to the youth action of other social outbursts that have arisen in Latin America since 2019. We resort to documentary analysis and virtual ethnography. In these practices they denounce and propose possibilities for change in face of the capitalist system, colonial heritage, racism and patriarchy. The results show that these emerging practices are based on five main axes: (1) online and offline communication; (2) trust and intergenerational and multi-class alliance to fight for the same objectives; (3) collaboration to break space-temporal boundaries and extend the discourse of resistance between different social movements; (4) construction of the common in terms of minimum rights needs with anti-capitalist proposals reinforcing a collective identity, and (5) leading role of women. All this shapes a new coordinated, visible, and connected youth political subjectivity, enunciated through narratives and forms of organization alternative to the hegemonic model and the State apparatus, and where social networks are elements that contribute to the rest of the online and offline actions observed.

KEY WORDS: communication practices; youth; social networks; communication; Colombia; social outburst.

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RESUMEN | *En este artículo analizamos las prácticas comunicativas, sociopolíticas y culturales protagonizadas por los jóvenes participantes en el Paro Nacional del 28 de abril en Colombia y en las subsecuentes manifestaciones de 2021, las que se suman al accionar juvenil de otros estallidos sociales surgidos a partir de 2019 en Latinoamérica. Recurrimos al análisis documental y a la etnografía virtual. En estas prácticas, los jóvenes denuncian y proponen posibilidades de cambio frente al sistema capitalista, la herencia colonial, el racismo y el patriarcado. Los resultados muestran que estas prácticas emergentes se asientan en cinco grandes ejes: (1) comunicación online y offline; (2) confianza y alianza intergeneracional y pluriclasista para luchar por los mismos objetivos; (3) colaboración para romper los límites espacio-temporales y extender los discursos de resistencia entre distintos movimientos sociales; (4) construcción de lo común en cuanto a necesidades de derechos mínimos con propuestas anticapitalistas reforzando una identidad colectiva, y (5) rol protagónico de las mujeres. Todo ello configura una nueva subjetividad política juvenil coordinada, visibilizada y conectada, enunciada mediante narrativas y formas de organización alternativas al modelo hegemónico y al aparato estatal, y en donde las redes sociales son elementos que coadyuvan el resto de acciones online y offline observadas.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *prácticas de comunicación; jóvenes; redes sociales; comunicación; Colombia; estallido social.*

RESUMO | Neste artigo analisamos as práticas comunicativas, sociopolíticas e culturais realizadas pelos jovens participantes da Greve Nacional de 28 de abril na Colômbia e nas manifestações subseqüentes durante 2021, que se somam às ações juvenis de outras agitações sociais que surgiram desde 2019 na América Latina. Recorremos à análise documental e à etnografia virtual. Nessas práticas os jovens denunciam e propõem possibilidades de mudança diante do sistema capitalista, da herança social, do racismo e do patriarcado. Os resultados mostram que essas práticas emergentes estão baseadas em cinco eixos principais: (1) comunicação online e offline; (2) confiança e aliança intergeracional e pluriclassista para lutar pelos mesmos objetivos; (3) colaboração para romper os limites espaço-temporais e ampliar os discursos de resistência entre diferentes movimentos sociais; (4) construção do comum em termos de necessidades mínimas de direitos com propostas anticapitalistas que reforcem uma identidade coletiva; e (5) o protagonismo da mulher. Tudo isso configura uma nova subjetividade política juvenil coordenada, visível e conectada, enunciada por meio de narrativas e formas de organização alternativas ao modelo hegemônico e ao aparelho estatal, e onde as redes sociais são elementos que contribuem para o restante das ações online e offline observadas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *práticas de comunicação; jovens; redes sociais; comunicação; Colômbia; agitação social.*

INTRODUCTION

Over the last 12 years, multiple social uprisings have erupted globally in response to the accumulation model of the world-capitalist economy, responsible for economic and social problems (Wallerstein, 2012). As this author has previously argued, these demonstrations are part of a multidimensional crisis (economic, environmental, food, social, labor, and ethical) resulting from the exhaustion of a model of economic, productive and social organization caused by the globalization of the capitalist world-economy, both in the global North and South, which calls for a reconsideration of this unsustainable development model (Wallerstein, 2005).

In this scenario, there have been emblematic movements such as the Arab Spring in 2011, which saw a series of massive protests in North Africa and the Middle East. In them, the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) by young people, with tools such as smartphones for streaming, and social networks, especially Facebook and Twitter, played a major role in the mobilizations' dissemination and organization (Pérez, 2016). In the same period emerged the *indignados* of 15 M in Spain, the Occupy Wall Street in the United States, and the student movements in Latin America, mainly in Chile and Colombia, which implemented collective actions through new communicative practices that express an intention of breaking with the established, of escape, reaction, invention, and proposition (Muñoz & Linares, 2017).

These mobilizations were the beginning of another series of social outbursts (Castro Riaño, 2020) that continued in 2019 and were characterized by being massive. In the Bolivian case, to denounce the electoral fraud linked to the reelection of Evo Morales; in Haiti, against poverty and corruption, demanding the resignation of President Jovenel Moïse; in Puerto Rico, calling for labor improvements and the resignation of Governor Ricardo Roselló; in Ecuador, against austerity policies and territorial dispossession; in Chile, against the increase in transportation prices and tariff policies, and in Colombia, the first national strike due to the non-compliance with the 2016 Peace Accords, the rejection of labor, pension, and tax reforms, and the demand for respect for life (Linares Sánchez, 2020).

In some of these demonstrations, the main actors were young people from middle- and lower-income sectors, especially in Chile (Rivera-Aguilera et al., 2021) and Colombia, who have been deeply affected by the neoliberal policies that make their ways of being, existing, and inhabiting the world more precarious. These structures of inequality are where their youth living space and their biographical experiences are constituted, which condition their citizenship practices and the possible ways of constituting fair, safe, and dignified life alternatives (Palacios Gámaz et al., 2016). They adopt a position in the face of traditional political practices

by proposing other forms of political subjectivity that subvert the hegemonic model, as stated by Bermúdez Grajales (2017), who mentions that

There is a crisis and a political emptiness caused by the governments themselves, due to globalization processes, neoliberal policies, and therefore youth political practices mediated by the use of digital technologies are tied to intentions of expression and communication through activities that resist economic hegemony (p.171).

On April 28, 2021, a social outburst resurfaced in Colombia with large-scale demonstrations, where young people led the social protest, but with specific characteristics that are added to the trends and demands of youth groups in Latin America. Within the different forms of mobilization, the link through digital technologies is the mechanism of interconnection, visibility and cooperation that transcends borders and prioritizes horizontality and collectivity (Cortés, 2012; Subirats Humet, 2015).

This paper examines the causes underlying the Colombian context that triggered the outbreak and the emerging communicative, socio-political and cultural practices developed by young people as a result of the April 28, 2021 National Strike and the subsequent demonstrations. These communicative practices are understood as those that “include the dynamics related to the media and its mediations and go beyond, to include everyday actions and expressions of extraordinary richness and diversity, linked to cultural networks and complex meanings” (Valencia & Magallanes, 2015, p.16).

THEORETICAL BASIS

Based on research regarding the relationship between young people, socio-political participation and communicative practices and social networks, we deem it necessary to focus on studies that address the ways of making another, non-representative, alternative politics in the face of the prevailing neoliberal hegemony (Alvarado et al., 2012b; Vommaro, 2015; Amador- Baquiro & Muñoz- González, 2021), without neglecting the situated context that influences the construction of these antagonistic youth subjectivities in the face of the established order.

In this regard, we find the findings of García Acelas and Arias Perales (2021) to be relevant, for whom Colombian youth have built new narratives and disputes in the cycle of protests in Colombia by claiming the enhancement of democracy, using symbolic components such as chants accompanied by *cacerolazos*¹, the incorporation

1. Banging pots to protest (translator’s note).

of symbols and images of films that represent struggle and social justice. Likewise, the findings of Mora and colleagues (2021), who argue that during the health crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, the implications on labor dynamics, at the national and local level (Cali), mainly affected young people, are important.

In that vein, Guerrero Bernal and Veloza (2021) argue that the youth population is not homogeneous and that there has been an incapacity on the part of the government to attend to the social demands aggravated during the pandemic in the most vulnerable populations, proposing that these conflicts be confronted in a different way than has been done historically in the country: the violent way and the disregard for the demands of the protesters. Therefore, this activist and heterogeneous youth (Soler-i-Martí et al., 2020), and crossed by common problems of inequality, exclusion, criminalization and violence, activates a large number of repertoires of participation and different ways of mobilization, including the use of the Internet and ICTs (La Rosa, 2016).

It is noteworthy that these collectivities are self-organized, both in public space and in the virtual sphere (online and offline spaces), without leaders or hierarchies, and unmediated by political institutions and traditional agents (Pleyers, 2018), and we concur with Alvarado and collaborators (2012b) on the existence of three aspects to understand the relationship between youth and politics: (1) the body as a power actor, (2) the no to war as the main tool of capital, and (3) the life politics as opposed to biopolitical ones.

In this regard, political subjectivity of youth can be considered as an advance towards the notion of autonomy, “not as individual freedom of thought, but as the opportunity to criticize, transform and, indeed, produce such transformations in the reality shared with others” (Muñoz-López & Alvarado 2011, p. 123).

Likewise, the mobilization spaces become scenarios of self-training, educational-other processes, defined by reflection, creation, and popular co-creation, which articulate pluriculturality, and intergenerationality, in addition to the communicative appropriation that

are characterized by providing counter-information in specific dissident spaces; confronting the power of distorted and manipulated communication; expanding information and gathering plural opinions in the construction of a country; exposing injustices, and shaping sensitive opinion by sharing political issues with other perspectives and languages that resort to aesthetics: with bodies, images and symbols (Muñoz-López & Alvarado, 2011).

Similarly, authors such as Velasco Arboleda (2022) state that in these spaces actions are produced from the categories of urban activism in two ways. Firstly,

art actions: cultural sound diversity, hoodies, shield, and flag; secondly, links and encounters: convocation, counter-communication and resignification of space. These are part of the disruptive resources implemented by young people to mediate meeting scenarios and build aesthetic experiences to link, share, negotiate, and redefine social protest.

In these contemporary youth subjectivities, young women have played key roles and cyberactivism has achieved great relevance (Cerva Cerna, 2020).

In this relationship between social and communication movements (López Pacheco, 2022) we have reviewed research in which we found the link between disinformation in times of crisis and algorithmic filters in social networks and their impact on forms of social mobilization (Brossi et al., 2021).

Some authors analyze the media representation of mobilized youth. Pancani (2021) describes the treatment of adolescents by the traditional media as *violentization*, a process that matches the governmental harassment. In the case of Ortega (2021), we consider what he calls the street's voice in the communicational dispute. Likewise, we take as essential Olivares' (2021) contributions on the resistance to the political media discourse after the experience of October 18 in Chile.

Thus, and following Valencia and Magallanes (2015), we consider communicative practices as "those that include the dynamics around the media and its mediations and go beyond, to include everyday actions and expressions of extraordinary richness and diversity, linked to cultural networks and complex meanings" (p.16). These aim at social change, beyond the instrumental, building creative alternatives for the transformation of the unequal and excluding social order.

METHODOLOGY

Our purpose is to analyze young people's communicative practices in Colombia during the April 28th National Strike and the subsequent demonstrations that resulted in an emerging political subjectivity, which are part of a synergy of youth protests on a global scale.

We established the following objectives for the research:

- H1. O1. Identify issues affecting youth that mark a breaking point.
- H2. O2. Analyze the main transformations occurring in communicative, socio-political, and cultural practices.
- H3. O3. Identify the changes that young people advocate and the social model they propose based on this new political subjectivity.

To accomplish this, we considered the following categories from the analytical framework: (1) communicative practices, (2) socio-political, and (3) cultural. Based on this, we used a qualitative methodology (Creswell, 2007), of an exploratory nature, applying documentary analysis and virtual ethnography as an integrative method of different techniques that allows us to link social practices and the production of meanings through technological mediation, and to be able to identify the outstanding elements of the manifestations (Bárceñas & Preza, 2019). The peculiarity of this approach is that it does not dissociate the online processes from the offline ones, i.e., it understands the virtual dynamics as a space of interaction configured by the social processes and the relationships of the practices that the actors carry out in the midst of the mobilization.

From the documentary analysis, we operationalized the main categories. The observation sources were as follows: (1) regarding the digital observation of communicative practices, we analyzed the content of the Instagram accounts of La Primera Línea Colombia² (@primeralinea.col and @primeralinea bogota), inquiring about the nature of their mobilizing actions and their dissemination mechanisms. These were the official communication accounts of the organization that had more public visibility during the social outburst. (2) Regarding the observation of socio-political and cultural practices, we added the networks of free online media accounts that covered the strike, specifically those with national coverage: @Canal2co @ladirekta, @laorejarjaroja, @temblores, @ contagioradio, @cerostenta, @revista_hekatombe, @colombia_informa, @ manifestamedia; of local coverage in Cali: @medioslibrescali, @caliwebco, @ casafractacali, and in Bogotá: @aulaypalabra, @elrebelde. cl @debarriodentro.

(3) To verify the results obtained after performing the two previous steps, we analyzed 15 news items and articles published in relation to Paro #28A in the mass media, using a content analysis technique, specifically in the magazine *Semana*, the newspapers *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*, and the television networks *Canal RCN* and *Canal Caracol* between April 28 and November 25.

The online observation in Bogota of the mobilization dynamics of the collective actors facilitated our co-presence and interaction in the process of mobilization during the period from April 28 to November 25, 2021. An observation technique was applied to the networks of the mobilization actors, which was compared with the press coverage of the social outburst, since both areas shaped the

2. The First Line is made up of people from peripheral sectors who led the manifestations to defend the demonstrators, constituting itself as a social movement replicating the strategy of the 2019 Chilean case.

communicative processes of the mobilizations and allowed us to identify more clearly the effects on the communicative, socio-political, and cultural practices of the youth actions (table 1).

Sources were selected under a criterion of visibility of networks and media, since given the extent and complexity of the communication forms, we chose to follow the sources that condensed many of the dynamics that gave meaning to the demonstration and the social outburst.

In the virtual observation process, new categories of analysis appropriate for determining the factors that influence the construction of the new youth political subjectivity mobilized by the National Strike of #28 arose. Following Alvarado and colleagues' (2012a) proposal, the observation integrated four perspectives in a transversal way (table 2), which were observed in the analysis of the different youth practices studied for this research.

Category	Characteristic	Source
Communicative actions	Actions and strategies of the movements to socialize and disseminate messages in an alternative way than traditional communication	Social networks of the groups participating in the social outburst: @primeralineacol and @primeralineabogota
Socio-political actions	Actions of interrelation, bonding, and dissemination of the participants' demands concerning the objectives that link them.	Media that portrayed the actions undertaken by the collectives: @Canal2co @ladirekta, @laorejaroja, @temblores, @contagioradio, @cerostenta, @revista_hekatombe, @colombia_informa, @manifestamedia. @medioslibrescali, @caliwebco, @casafractacali and in Bogotá: @aulaypalabra, @elrebelde.cl @debarriodentro.
Cultural actions	Communication pieces for collective meaning construction in the development of collective action.	Media that portrayed the actions undertaken by the collectives: @Canal2co @ladirekta, @laorejaroja, @temblores, @contagioradio, @cerostenta, @revista_hekatombe, @colombia_informa, @manifestamedia. @medioslibrescali, @caliwebco, @casafractacali and in Bogotá: @aulaypalabra, @elrebelde.cl @debarriodentro

Table 1. Operationalization of the analytical categories

Source: Own elaboration.

Perspectives

Generational exchange	Mothers and adults accompanied, supported and protected the young people, making it difficult for them to be arrested by the police. Exchange of knowledge that resulted in the emergence of autonomous pedagogical spaces within the mobilizations.
Historical	Making the struggles that preceded them visible as well as the need to recover a history that questions the official one.
Gender-based	Women’s bodies as victims of structural violence. The feminization of poverty and the reaction in the streets or in the networks not only to complain, but also to propose other inclusive policies that appeal to a real system of care.
Latin American criticism	Denouncement of the persistence by States of policies that threaten to deepen the inequality gaps that make up structural violence and the planet’s ecological destruction.

Table 2. Insights derived from the analysis

Source: Own elaboration.

RESULTS: NEW EMERGING COMMUNICATIVE, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES AMONG THE YOUTH

The Colombian context: systemic violence as part of the origin and youth as the target group of a stigmatizing discourse

Reference to structural violence is a trigger for the 2021 mobilizations cycle. Colombia has been a country immersed in social conflict (Fajardo, 2015; Botero, 2020) and political violence (Pino Uribe, 2017) for more than 60 years. After several unsuccessful pacification attempts (Turriago Rojas, 2016), the Peace Accords were signed in 2016, but hope is overshadowed by the continuation of violence, non-compliance with the agreements, and the worsening inequality gap.

With President Duque’s neoliberal economic adjustment measures (2018-2022) and the crisis exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, poverty increased to 42.5% in 2020, and 15.1% of the population was found to be in a state of extreme poverty ((Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2021). Women and youth are the most affected.

In this scenario, on April 28, 2021, the Colombian population, especially young people, marched in the streets against the tax reform that charged 19% VAT on basic foodstuffs, and public services. This dissatisfaction was compounded by the pension, health and labor reforms.

The above was added to the demand for compliance with the Peace Agreements, since more than a thousand human rights defenders and social leaders and 276 former FARC combatants have been killed since the signing in 2016 (Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz, 2022).

The stigmatizing discourse towards young people has been historically recurrent. During the two presidential terms of former President Álvaro Uribe Vélez, we observed how, through his Twitter account and in the mass media, he labeled young people as vandals. It is important to mention that in the exercise of his functions 6402 people were killed, most of them young people, in what became known as false positives (Cárdenas & Villa, 2013).

Besides state repression, the young population of popular sectors has been stigmatized (di Napoli, 2016; Gómez Contreras, 2018), singling them out as violent and causing fear, and they have been excluded from the minimum social and participation guarantees. Youth, in territories marked by violence, has three characteristics: “precarization, radical disenchantment, and uncertainty” (Reguillo, 2013, p. 141). In addition, there has been an increase in violence perpetrated by conservative sectors, which exercise force with weapons, racist, classist and stigmatizing discourses (Cannon & Rangel, 2020). This repression, exclusion from spaces for participation, and precariousness have caused Colombian youth to face moral juvenicide, a concept defined as the relationship with exclusion from social rights and linked to the phenomenon of social marginalization (Feixa et al., 2015). According to Valenzuela (2015), the concept of juvenicide is characterized by elements such as (a) precarization, (b) poverty, (c) inequality, (d) stigmatization, and (e) stereotyping.

After monitoring the 15 news items analyzed in the contents of the five media conglomerates in Colombia from April 28 to November 25, 2021, we found that young people were identified as perpetrators of the violence produced in the National Strike: described as vandals and their actions as vandalism (Aguilar Forero & Muñoz González, 2015), linking them to delinquency and violence.

In this context, young people began to build new socio-political and cultural practices (Aguilera, 2010) that in turn configure new identities (Aguilera, 2014), made visible through the use of social networks and actions in the public space, challenging the veracity of the media conglomerates and the political class’ actions.

As a result, on #28A of 2021 the youth protested in massive demonstrations, road blockades and a general strike turned into a massive popular insurrection, born of the indignation and social unrest increased with COVID-19 pandemic and a consequence of a historical accumulation of social nonconformity that had already become visible with the strike of #21N in 2019, encouraged by the social outbreak in Chile that same year.



Image 1. Screenshot of *El Tiempo*

Source: "Paro nacional..." (2021).



Image 2. Screenshot of *Semana*

Source: "Paro: los vándalos..." (2021).

Cyberactivism to subvert hegemonic media and coordinate resistance

We observed three approaches to network cyberactivism aimed at generating a counter-hegemonic discourse:

1. Debunking traditional media falsehoods: faced with the information siege, they used social networks and the hashtags #28A, #soscolombia, among others, which had an amplifying effect, helping the counter-campaign's organization and dissemination. Mass media reports were denounced as false and confronted with true information showing that undercover police officers were shooting at young people. Especially relevant is the one that, under the slogan “until dignity becomes the norm”, the First Line launched on its Instagram (322,000 followers) and Twitter (57,000 followers) accounts.
2. Encourage resistance through speeches by artists from different disciplines, especially illustrators, who created content supporting the strike and the protests' legitimacy, creating narratives with arguments about their justification and emphasizing resistance as a key element.
3. Building identification with the movement and activist generation: to create an increasingly broad community that identifies with the proposals and, subsequently, moves from the individual to cyberactivism. The use of profile pictures with the inverted flag, profile frames related to the strike, and messages with the hashtag #soscolombia in the chats of United Nations transmissions stand out. Also, Anonymous Colombia hacked the pages of the Senate, the Presidency, the Army, and the Police.

Artistic expressions and cultural resignification

The actions of resistance from art as a specific and proper cultural practice were implemented in the real public space and also in networks, in a dialoguing process between the expressions and their emancipatory possibility.

There was a proliferation of graffiti or painted murals to remember those who lost their lives, created jointly and progressively by young people, appealing to the collective memory, to the denunciation, and to another future.

There were periodic demonstrations called *cacerolazos*, to raise their demands as was done in the 1970s in different countries of the Southern Cone, and which were exported to other parts of the world, as in the case of Spain, to protest against the government for the compulsory confinement by COVID-19. These *cacerolazos* were accompanied by slogans and banners, appealing to resistance and struggle as traditionally done, but also with new cultural practices of communicative guerrilla.

The term communication guerrilla refers to unconventional forms of communication and intervention in conventional communication processes. It includes a set of practices of political subversion that seeks to make visible the social relations of domination of contemporary societies, such as the new and old nationalism, sexism/patriarchy, speciesism, racism, and the forms of capitalist production linked to them. This can be seen in the young people's use of memes, puppets, graphic pieces, choreographies, and music, through the appropriation and reinterpretation of traditional songs (salsa, vallenatos, cumbias) with new lyrics alluding to the country's situation.

Patriotic symbols were redefined. Statues representing the hegemony of power and the Conquest were torn down: in Cauca, by the Misak indigenous people; the monument of the conquistador Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada was replaced in Bogotá by another to the memory of Dylan Cruz, a young man killed by the police during the #21N Paro; in Cali they erected the Monument to Resistance that represents the hand of Kay Kimi Krachi, Mayan god of battle, holding a sign with the legend *resiste* (resist) and painted with names and portraits of people related to the Strike. There was a resignification of public spaces with the objective of materializing desires and wishes: the Transmilenio station Portal de las Américas, renamed Portal de la Resistencia, was one of the points of struggle of the First Line in Bogotá, in a marked anti-colonialist tendency and struggle against internal colonialism and for the vindication of the collective memory.

The use of public spaces was modified: squares and public transportation were used as agoras. Popular theater and itinerant libraries were filled with contents and artistic expressions that favored a response of approval and solidarity with the strike.

Emerging youth political subjectivity

According to Aguilar- Forero (2020), in the 2019 National Strike there were four pillars on which youth collective action was rooted: (1) communication, (2) trust, (3) collaboration, and (4) the construction of commonality. These aspects were repeated in the 2021 strike and subsequent mobilizations.

4. Communication pillar: different forms of communication emerged in the online and offline sphere that fulfilled the objectives of a) denouncing the aggressions of which they were victims in real time, b) enunciating not only the demands but also the need for social transformation, c) to inform about the reasons that prompted the outbreak and the structural problems of the current model, and d) to generate national and international cooperation networks that served as a mechanism for the dissemination and articulation of strategies of resistance to state oppression, which we can define as an ethics of those from below for another world (Zibechi, 2017).

5. Trust pillar: demonstrated by intergenerational, multi-class and diverse support that provides assistance in the face of abuses by the security forces and strategies of fear implemented by the State.
6. Collaboration pillar: patent in the crossing of borders, overflowing spatio-temporal limits through connected action, contributing to the sharing of resistance discourses of similar movements in other contexts, such as those in Chile. Collaboration is also seen in the coordinated practices between different groups and collective actions, including community pots (food made by several people in public spaces where there is political reflection around the sharing of food), camping, mural painting days and solidarity between subaltern sectors, such as the Indigenous Guard of Cauca to defend the protesters, the First Line against police brutality, or the mobilized rural youth.
7. Common construction pillar: indignant young people share needs and demand minimum rights: education, health, access to labor, which have been taken away from them in the State's prioritization of the accumulation by dispossession model (Harvey, 2004). In these new repertoires of action there is a marked anti-capitalist character in the defense of respect for nature and territories, the dignity of native peoples and other subaltern sectors. Decentralized and de-hierarchical political practices that challenge State-centric bureaucracies and pyramidal power structures were encouraged. Thus, on several occasions, they distanced themselves from the Strike Committee³, to which they complained about the unilateral nature of its decisions and the lack of consensus.

The role of women in emerging youth political subjectivity

To the four pillars mentioned in the previous section, we must add a fifth: the role of women and feminist demands. This new heterogeneous youth subjectivity demands diversity, plurality, and gender equality in the face of structures described as patriarchal and violent.

Women stressed gender violence and the use of their bodies as war weapons (Segato, 2016). They resort to performativity in the streets, through nudity to denounce sexual violence and unequal conditions, shouting slogans such as “the police do not care for me, my friends are looking after me” or “if they touch one of us, we all fight back”. These practices are added to the repertoire of communicative

3. Civil organization made up of heterogeneous groups that took part in the protests in Colombia in 2021, such as labor centers, retirees' confederations and various associations of student representatives.

actions and feminist movements in other countries in recent years (8-M, #metoo, #niunamenos, among others).

Feminist resistance was evidenced in the taking of the streets as a political stage: young women who self-convened mostly not belonging to organizations.

They also spun blankets naming murdered people as an act of memory and resistance, which were disseminated through social networks in that concomitance of the ancestral and the modern, using traditionally female knowledge and trades such as weaving. They were also in charge of the community kitchens and assumed the security function as Moms of the First Line.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results analyzed, it can be stated that a large part of the mobilizations criticized the current economic model in Colombia at that time, which prioritizes neoliberal policies framed in dispossession and exploitation, dismantling the gains achieved by the popular struggles.

In this scenario, the young people began to engage in new communicative, socio-political and cultural practices, which contributed to the emergence of a new youth political subjectivity. As discussed above, these actions denounce and propose change possibilities in the face of the capitalist system, the colonial heritage, racism, and patriarchy.

The emerging youth political subjectivity is based on five main pillars: communication, trust, collaboration, common construction, and women's central role. In the first pillar, communication, they manifest diverse forms of online and offline communication to denounce and inform; in the pillar of trust, intergenerational and multi-class networks were generated to act against violence; in the pillar of collaboration, space-time limits were broken, sharing discourses of resistance from other social movements; in the fourth pillar, constructing the common, inalienable minimum rights were articulated with anti-capitalist proposals that reinforce their group identity; in the last and fifth pillar, women's leading role reached its maximum expression, creating care networks and denouncing gender-based violence.

In this youth political subjectivity there is a discrediting of political action and its traditional discursiveness as we could see in the results: they did not feel represented by the political parties and had clear demands for the transformation of a new model in which they claimed not to be excluded and to be listened to.

Through their disruptive practices, they managed to obtain the resignation of Finance Minister Alberto Carrasquilla and Foreign Minister Claudia Blum, as well as that of the Cali police commander; they were able to overturn the tax and health reforms and achieve free education for the lower strata.

In this new emancipatory political subjectivity, they recognize themselves and work together with other subaltern movements. Their approach to a new societal model is based on community building and on organizational strategies adopted in assembly decisions in neighborhood spaces, which are complemented and transferred to actions through social networks. They are building “community-popular horizons, beyond State-centered policies” (Gutiérrez Aguilar, 2017, p.13), and the idea of leader is rethought by the figure of collective subject, imprinting very distinctive features within which solidarity, cooperation, and self-determination to decide how they want to live should be highlighted.

Summarizing, both the young participants of the 28A National Strike and the youth and alteractivist movements of other latitudes are building a new political subjectivity from proposals for change and transformation in the political underground or from popular movements from the bottom (Zibechi, 2017), doing a deep self-managed grassroots work, which seeks to build alternatives to the hegemonic forms of commercialization and consumption from the community’s self-management, adopting non-hierarchical forms of organization, seeking solutions through direct action and through assembly mechanisms of participation and decision-making, converging with other subaltern sectors in a remarkable activism in the street and in collective action mediated by connectivity, and which announce irruptions and changes in the production of political-communicative practices.

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