

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n34.2021.10

The youth protest in October 2019: context, motives and repertoires

La protesta juvenil en las Jornadas de octubre-2019 en Ecuador: contexto, motivos y repertorios

Francisco Puente-Izurieta

FLACSO-Ecuador frandapui@hotmail.com https://orcid.org/000-0001-9929-6072

Abstract

In this work, the dynamics of the protest carried out by young people from October 3 to 5, 2019 in Quito-Ecuador is explored in an exploratory way. To meet this objective, the contextual factors that allow understanding the influence of the structure of political opportunities, the perceptions and emotions that drove the contentious activation, and relational aspects that allow understanding the configuration and articulation of the repertoires used by the protesters during the first days of this cycle of protest. In collecting the information, an ethnographic approach has been used that triangulates field observation, semi-structured interviews and digital documents, from which the mechanisms involved in the protests developed during the days prior to the arrival of the indigenous movement to the capital city and to the mobilization called by representatives of workers', indigenous and student organizations. Thus, the contributions of the theory of collective action and the sociology of emotions are briefly exposed and discussed to explore a way to combine them in an understanding of contentious youth activation.

Keywords

Context, perceptions, emotions, spaces of belonging, repertoires of conflict.

Suggested citation: Puente-Izurieta, F. (2021). The youth protest in October 2019: context, motives and repertoires. *Universitas*, 34, pp. 205-224.

Resumen

En este trabajo se analiza de forma exploratoria la dinámica de la protesta protagonizada por las y los jóvenes del 3 al 5 de octubre de 2019 en Quito-Ecuador. Para cumplir con este objetivo se examinan los factores contextuales que permiten comprender la influencia de la estructura de oportunidades políticas, las percepciones y emociones que impulsaron la activación contenciosa, y aspectos relacionales que permiten comprender la configuración y articulación de los repertorios empleados por los manifestantes durante los primeros días de este ciclo de protesta. En el levantamiento de la información se ha empleado un enfoque de corte etnográfico que triangula observación de campo, entrevistas semi-estructuradas y documentos digitales, a partir de los cuales se examinan los mecanismos involucrados en las protestas desarrolladas durante los días que antecedieron al arribo del movimiento indígena a la ciudad capital y a la movilización convocada por representantes de organizaciones de trabajadores, indígenas y estudiantes. Así, se exponen y discuten brevemente los aportes de la teoría de la acción colectiva y de la sociología de las emociones para explorar una forma de conjugarlas en una comprensión de la activación contenciosa juvenil.

Palabras clave

Jóvenes, contexto político, percepciones, emociones, espacios de pertenencia, repertorios de contienda.

Introduction

This work examines the confluence of structural, agency, and relational factors to analyze the dynamics of youth protest during the days of October 3, 4, and 5, 2019 in Quito-Ecuador. This proposal locates the analysis in the actions, perceptions, and emotions of various protesters based on the contributions of the sociology of collective action and the sociology of emotions, to present a situational and dynamic understanding of the mechanisms with which the youth protest.

These mechanisms consist of a "delimited class of events that alter, in an identical or very similar way, the relationships between a specific set of elements" (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 24). These are of three types: a) contextual (i.e., an unfavorable economic decision by the authorities), b) cognitive-evaluative (i.e., the modification in the representations and emotions of

the protesters that define a conflictive situation) and c) relational (i.e., roles of individuals, groups or networks).

In this sense, the category "youth" refers to "experiences and forms of action, defined by a greater degree of independence from other instances and social actors and, therefore, it is specified as a general, open, plural and multidimensional" (Urbina-Cortés, 2014, p. 822).

To analyze this process, we propose to integrate structural and agency levels that allow us to understand the strategic disposition of young people in the geographical spaces and temporal continuities in which the protest was concentrated.

Although the sample of informants is not large enough to make generalizations, this work has the virtue of obtaining the information in situ and in the heat of the facts, exposing what the actors do and say in the middle of their participation in the protest. In this sense, the data from field records, interviews, and documentary material acquire relevance and meaning, insofar as they allow representing the configuration of a chain of factors that exposes an approximate idea of the dynamics of youth protest.

Thus, ethnographic immersions were applied to the protesters' concentration points, which allowed us to record the way in which these spaces were occupied and the role that various protesters played within them. Within these spaces, semi-structured interviews were applied to twelve protesters (six men and six women), selected for their presence in: a) the confrontations against police officers, b) in the parks of El Ejido and El Arbolito, and c) in the vicinity between the House of Culture and the Guambra Bridge. Additionally, the analysis of news published in digital media allows supporting the chronology of events, referring to the expressions of the President of the Republic, highlighting the events that characterized each day, and verifying the veracity of the descriptions and stories.

The first part analyzes the influence of the "structure of political opportunities" (Gamson & Meyer, 1999) and "the conflicting use of space" (Sewell, 2001). While we examine *the structure of political opportunities* based on the subjective perceptions of protesters (Tilly, 2003) and those signals issued by political actors "that encourage them to use the resources they have to mobilize" (Tarrow, 1999, p. 89), the conflicting use of space responds to the articulation of different activities aimed at sustaining the conflict within a defined geographical area (Sewell, 2001).

The second part analyzes the emotions that drove the contentious activity and their articulation during the protests (Eyerman, 2005), highlighting those sources of commitment with which they issue their demands and justify the activities in which the protesters participate (Hopkins et al., 2005).

Finally, in the third part, the analysis of the *repertoires of conflict* does not refer to a stable and closed list of repeated and identical forms of action, but to "constantly reinvented and redefined performances under the double effect of improvisation and the exchange of blows between opponents" (Mathieu, 2012, p. 570), that is, to the differentiated and articulated forms of collective action, redefined by the protesters during those days (McCarthy, 1999; McAdam, 2010).

In order to overcome the oppositions between the macro and micro-sociological levels, as well as between the objectivist and subjectivist perspectives, which consider contentious behaviors as essentially rational or emotionally determined by the space and time in which they are situated (Mathieu, 2012), this work analytically integrates the structure of political opportunities, the emotions inscribed in the activation of the protesters, and the action formats that allow formulating a situational and dynamic understanding of the protest (Aminzade & McAdam, 2001).

Structure of political *threats:* authoritarianism, police violence and media silence

In this part, we will analyze the statements with which the President of the Republic reacted to the demonstrations, the role of the executive function and the legislative function in the face of events, and the way in which the public forces repressed the demonstrations. In the second part, we will examine the role of public space as a structuring factor of the repertoires used by protesters.

According to the model proposed by Ch. Tilly in his famous book *From mobilization to revolution* (1978), protest operates as an effect of the political exclusion of groups that, being unable to defend their interests through routine institutional channels, they find no alternative but to impose themselves through disruption.

Thus, starting at 09:00 on October 3, 2019, thousands of students and young members of various leftist militant organizations gathered near the

Guambra bridge and the House of Culture to reject the unilateral issuance of the Executive Decree N° 883 with which the President of the Republic made the decision to free the price of fuel¹. Despite the emphasis of the first president that there would not be a drastic increase in the price of basic goods and services, popularly known as "paquetazo", the young people marched towards the National Assembly, organ of the legislature function, and the Government Palace, headquarters of the executive function: "The president lied and now we want the authorities to face us, we are demanding an explanation, that they listen to us and that that decree be repealed" (Pedro, 26 years old). Thus, with their presence in the streets, squares, and parks, the young people resisted the loss of their parents' jobs, the cut in the education budget, the increase in bus fares, and "everything they are doing to us" (Daniel, 24 years).

However, at 12h00 on that same day, the President of the Republic moved the headquarters of the national government to the city of Guayaquil and, while the legislative function remained closed, armored bodies of the army and the police reinforced the government buildings to prevent the advance of the marches that came through the surrounding streets.

The clashes broke out when the uniformed officers began to dislodge the protesters, using permanent shots of various types of projectiles that emitted tear gas, expanding splinters and rubber bullets: "these explosives seem homemade, they just wounded my arm with fragments of rusty iron wrapped in cardboard" (Luis, 24 years old).

One of the places of clashes was the popularly known Plaza del Teatro, near the executive headquarters, where young people covered their mouths and noses with their sweaters and masks, set tires on fire, and erected improvised barricades with the material they found in their path, such as tree branches, pipes, and stones. The protesters testify that during the confrontations "the police attacked us without reason and used their weapons without measure" (Anthony, 25 years old), while they set up ambushes to arrest the young people who were seeking refuge.³

Since his inauguration, President Lenín Moreno had repeatedly affirmed that there would be no "paquetazo". An excerpt of these statements can be accessed at: https://bit.ly/2YHNmKZ; https://bit.ly/3cKjh5w

² For more details on the increase in goods and services after the approval of Executive Decree No. 883, see: https://bit.ly/2O2VUK9

³ October 3, 2019: "Young suffocated and streets covered with stones leave the protests in the Historic Center of Quito." For more details on the results of the first day of protests see: https://bit.ly/36IoiaU

At 8:00 p.m. that night, the President justified the action of the police, presenting the protests "under the criminal sign of looting and uprising" (Ramírez-Gallegos, 2020, p. 24). On a mandatory televised national address, he announced the issuance of Executive Decree No. 884, which decreed a state of exception throughout the national territory, obeying the need to: "eliminate that custom that borders on the miserable of trying to impose criteria with vandalism (...), I am referring to thieves and criminals who have dedicated themselves to destabilizing" (L. Moreno, 2019).

These expressions and "the violent way in which our colleagues were treated" (María José, 21 years old), generated feelings of indignation, anger, and pain that the informants identified with their distress (Annex 1). For the following day, Friday, October 4, the number of protesters and the violence of the clashes with the police revealed the incipient strategic configuration of various repertoires of action, arranged in a spatial range of 2.6 km, in which the building of The National Assembly connects with the House of Culture and the Guambra Bridge, through the parks popularly known as the Ejido and the Arbolito, to the Presidential Palace located in the historic center of the city.

The repertoires with which the young people occupied this space allowed the dissemination of information in real time, organizing logistical support and returning to the offensive, making this space "a challenge to authority" (Sewell, 2001), both because of the strategic significance it acquired for the actors, as well as the role it played in the deployment of the mobilization (Annex 2).

During October 5, within this same space, the police procedure to confront the riots began with the diffusion of a deafening sound through loudspeakers that prevented the protesters from hearing each other. They were then allowed to advance to meet them with shots from various projectiles, tear gas, and immediately attack with their armored bodies, motorcycles, and horses. They were chased and dispersed until they were cornered and detained, leaving hundreds of young people wounded, trampled by police cavalry and one of them lost an eye in the clashes (Annex 3).

Thus, the youth mobilization operated as a reaction to the "opportunity structures created by others" (Tarrow, 1999, p. 89), such as the declarations of the President and the blocking of political prosecution by the institutions.

^{4 &}quot;President Lenín Moreno decrees a state of exception and ratifies the economic measures." The full statement can be accessed at: https://bit.ly/3cBjYOC

Additionally, in the responses of the informants, we can see the importance of police repression as the "threat" (Chazel, 2003) before which its levels and formats of containment were diversified, amplified, and deepened (Della Porta, 1999; Goldstone & Tilly, 2001).

Meanings of the contest: defense of rights and solidarity

In this section, we analyze the meanings of youth protest based on the emotions that prompted the activation and deployment of their mobilization. In this examination, the modification of emotions that go from distress to the claiming rights, from fear to solidarity, gave way to the repertoires of conflict that sustained the conflict, is highlighted.

During the day of conflict held on Thursday, October 3, young people attended the protests, according to María José (21 years old), "to demand their own rights and those of all." In the same way, Pedro (26 years old), justified his presence in the march to the "historic center" "because his father lost his job, so he and his siblings could no longer continue studying." From these versions, we can highlight a current and imminent dissatisfaction perceived on a personal level, but which also fell on their "social mutes" (Vommaro, 2017).

For those who protested in the streets surrounding the government palace, this was the only form of resistance to the imposition, restriction of rights, and precarious living conditions. This is how Luis (24 years old) explains it as he walks from El Ejido park to the Plaza del Teatro around 10:00 am: "With this decree they raise the fares and then they raise everything, so we have no choice but to go out into the streets". Thus, it allows realizing that their contentious disposition responded to the defense of their personal rights and the well-being of their community, of which they are more or less aware as long as "they share the same sufferings and the same dreams of transformation of the oppression" (Bonvillani, 2010, p. 38).

However, by 3:00 p.m., after the confrontations with the police, some demonstrators who retreated exhausted, dirty, and angry, reveal the sense not only of discomfort, but of "anger to see that they treat us like criminals, when we, the young people, protest they do take out all their arsenal" (Pablo, 26 years old). In other words, the level of violence generated by the law enforcement procedure triggered feelings that prompted the young people

to resume their actions the following day, not only with the aim of claiming their rights, but also to defend themselves and attack the public force.

Indeed, for Friday, October 4, in addition to blaming the government, the protesters denounced the police aggression and the lack of dissemination of the clashes by the media: "Look how the police attack us, but Teleamazonas (channel of television allied to the ruling party) there they don't say anything, that is what makes us angry" (Dayana, 26 years old). What stands out from this fact is that, despite this silence from the public and private media, the protesters were aware of the risks to which they were exposing themselves: "I am afraid, many colleagues have been injured, but being here is the only thing that we have left. I mean, if we do not fight, we will not have anything to eat and we will still die" (Laura, 24 years old). This awareness of risk makes it possible to realize the importance of alternative media that managed to position a message, allowing protesters to know what they were facing and its consequences.

After almost twelve hours of protests, around 8:00 p.m. on that second day, it was possible to follow the trail of small groups and solitary protesters who were retreating to their respective homes. While walking with four friends along Av. 6 de Diciembre towards Av. Colón, until reaching the first stop of the Ecovía enabled to the north (mass collective transport system), Pauli (23 years old) agrees to tell us about her impressions of that second day of protests: "I felt anger, indignation, and pain when I saw how the police treated us for claiming our rights, but we have to be here again tomorrow." Thus, it shows that the increase in anger and pain of the protesters (as well as that of their family and friends) operated by strengthening the commitment to the fight (Yang, 2005).

For Saturday, October 5, the meeting between "people who deep down want the same thing" (Esteban, 24 years old), in addition to being justified by emotions of anger and fear, was also configured as the effect of feelings of solidarity. "It is true that we are afraid, but supporting the people of the neighborhood and the colleagues of the University is the only way to face what is happening" (Esteban, 24 years old). Thus, it is possible to verify that, although the political context generated shared subjective reactions, the community encounter in the public space also produced the concurrence of common perceptions and emotions, translated into actions of solidarity (Maffesoli, 1997).

This solidarity was expressed in the articulation of specialized activities, with which the protesters covered the most urgent needs of the protest:

When someone fell, people would help him and shout: doctor! While carrying him. When we saw that they could no longer because of the gas, we gave them gauze and vinegar water to relieve the irritation of the eyes, and that was what allowed us to resist. (Emilia, 24 years old)

Thus, by the third day, it was no longer a question of defending their rights and living conditions, but of solidarity to face the threat of the public force (Mathieu, 2012). This understanding of the configuration of solidarity as a form of struggle can be conceived as a reaction and result of interaction with political threats, that is, in the exchange of blows between the protesters and the authorities. In this sense, unease, fear, and solidarity gradually played a decisive role in the configuration and diversification of collective action (Annex 4).

Thus, we can understand the spatio-temporal articulation of the repertoires with which the young people claimed their rights, supplied the silence of the mass media, and survived the police violence, based on the configuration of a sustained "us" in feelings of unease and fear, which found in solidarity the platform on which specialized networks of action were built that, as we will see below, defined the dynamics of this cycle of protest.

Contest repertoires: stonethrowers, first aid, and digital communication

In this section we will analyze the factors that allow us to understand the activation, diversification and articulation of the repertoires with which the young people sustained this cycle of protests, projecting themselves as a collective actor in the heat of the contest (Eyerman, 2005).

On Thursday, October 3 at 09:00 a large group of students marched from the Guambra bridge towards the headquarters of the executive function, revealing the importance of social networks, but above all "of the chat groups of student associations and the groups that we have among colleagues to disseminate the calls" (María José, 21 years old).

Verifying the existence of these groups allows us to account for the relevance of friendship and militancy relations, later exposed in the exercise of specific roles: From here you can see that some are up fighting with the *chapas*, others carry buckets of water to turn off the pumps and others help to carry the stones. Everyone does something, even shouting and clapping (María José, 21 years old).⁵

Thus, by October 4, it was no longer only students who were demonstrating, it was also possible to identify militants from left organizations such as the Guevarista Youth and the Antifascist Youth, as well as residents of the neighborhoods surrounding the historic center, who faced the police with sticks, stones, and Molotov cocktails. Some protesters were equipped with helmets, masks, and gloves, others took photos and broadcast events in real time, while others were distributing water to inhibit the effects of tear gas and providing first aid. That day some of them overcame their fear, they did it supporting what they could, defending their lives and that of their colleagues: "I was very afraid and I thought I was going to faint, but I said to myself, I have to help them!" (Emilia, 24 years old).

In the clashes on this day, professional communicators and volunteer amateurs received strong attacks, a photojournalist lost an eye due to the impact of a rubber bullet, and several cameramen were arrested. Thanks to these intrepid communicators, it was possible to know first-hand what was really happening at various points and moments of the protest, "increasing popular outrage by unmasking the alignment with the official discourse by the traditional media" (García & Soria, 2020, p. 402).

On Saturday, October 5, the confrontations against the police began around 9 a.m. and were carried out by young people who no longer wore uniforms from their educational institutes and also maintained clearly identifiable roles: "we were in various spaces, some colleagues were in the front line, others, like me, trying to record everything I can with my camera" (Sofi, 23 years old).

The first line was integrated and was constantly renewed by young people who threw stones and armed themselves with sticks to face the police

^{5 &}quot;Chapa" is a word of Quichua origin that means security or surveillance. Colloquially, in Ecuador it is the appellation used to pejoratively name the police.

⁶ The stories of the repression in Quito during the strike, on the details of the injured and detained see: https://bit.ly/3pSGjeo. On October 5, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador-CONAIE, reported injuries in the central Highlands and a university student lost an eye in the clashes against the police in the center of Quito. You can see the full news on these events at: https://bit.ly/3jnEkML

onslaught, followed by protesters who supported and pressed them, providing them with arsenal, lighting bonfires with tires and branches, and shouting slogans against the government. Among these groups were digital communicators who came and went strategically to cover the events. Finally, in the third line, which reached the El Ejido and El Arbolito parks, students and health professionals who were willing to help suffocated and injured could be identified. Thus, woven by stories of discomfort, fear, and solidarity, these forms of action were redrawn in occupied spaces "between integration and disintegration, between what is established and what is questioned" (King, 2005, p. 152), generating processes of collective self-management, among which the young people held the protest.

In this sense, this deployment of specialized groups that threw stones to confront the police, disseminated digital content, and provided first aid to their colleagues, can only be understood from the "micro-mobilization" of information networks and action groups, in which the protesters interacted. Thus, they were able to direct their personal skills in the form of lines of action that broke with the routine and the usual rules deployed in the spacetime in which the protest was configured (McAdam, 2010).

Conclusion

In this work, we have analyzed the convergence of contextual, personal, and relational factors to account for the dynamics between agency and structure during the first days of this protest cycle. In this sense, focusing on the perceptions, emotions, and repertoires articulated by young people during these days has allowed us to approach an understanding about the configuration of mechanisms with which youth protest unfolds.

From the field records obtained during those days in the demonstrators' concentration spaces, interviews with men and women who acted in these spaces, and the review of documentary material published in various digital media, the way in which the mechanisms that allow understanding the contentious dynamics were configured: first, the perception of the structure of opportunities and threats of the political system (Tilly, 2003), the emotions that drove the contentious activation (Aminzade & McAdam, 2001) and the repertoires that expressed the redefinition of the meaning of the protest during those days (McAdam, 2010).

In this sense, it has been shown that the decisions and declarations of the President and the ineffectiveness of the institutions for the political processing of the demands, aroused feelings of unrest, while the violence of the police procedure and the silence of the traditional media generated fear and anger, from which the protesters justified their mobilization during the second. For the third day, the consolidation of solidarity in the face of known facts and generated feelings allowed a coordinated deployment of various repertoires of action in the middle of the fight.

The presence of the protesters in spaces that allowed their protection and their wide distribution in the moments of retreat gave way to the configuration of lines of action with which the young people held the fight during the first three days of this cycle of protest. Thus, from the sociology of collective action and the sociology of emotions, we have been able to verify a connection between feelings in the face of threats from the political system, with the diversification and deepening of the contention repertoires, that is, to account for the mechanisms registered in the repertoires with which the juvenile contentious activity operated.

When examining the reasons with which the protesters justify their presence in the protests, we can realize that "the contexts do not subject the subjects outside of their own perceptions and decisions" (Dobry, 1986, p. 79), nor are the ideological factors "the ultimate key to its intelligibility" (Chazel, 2003 p. 140), but these dynamics are, above all, the product of the interdependent action of people situated socially and historically, trapped in specific logics, reacting to their perceptions about the threats of the political system and inspired by defensive and offensive emotions that lead them to act.

This process makes it possible to account for the way in which the dynamics of the protest is configured, through repertoires activated by the exchange of mutual support, driven by the solidarity inscribed in the reaction to the threats of the political system, through which it aims to defend the rights and lives of both the protesters themselves and their social worlds of belonging.

It should be recognized that, although the used information is not sufficient to demonstrate in-depth the dynamics of each mechanism with which the protest unfolds, it is expected to have exposed data that exemplify and connections that show the convergence of factors between different analytical levels, in a multidimensional understanding of the activation and contentious deployment of young people.

In this sense, the performance of the structure of political opportunities was first examined, exposing the authoritarian nature of government decisions and the blocking of political institutions challenged by the protesters, the violence of the police procedure, and the concupiscence of the traditional media. Thus, the configuration of a structure of political threats against which perceptions forms of action is manifested.

Second, the emotions inscribed in the involvement of young people in the spaces and repertoires that held the protest during those three days were analyzed. In this sense, solidarity stands out as a response to fear and unrest, generated during the second and first day. Thus, the protest acquired *última ratio* the character to survive, condensing the meaning of the juvenile contentious disposition.

Finally, the convergence of threats and solidarity in the perceptions and emotions of the protesters has been evidenced, not only regarding their mere presence in public space but also in the activation and articulation of micronetworks, with which the diversification of repertoires used by protesters was operated.

In this way, an analytical approach has been presented that combines the sociology of collective action and the sociology of emotions in a brief understanding of the dynamics of protest, highlighting the conditions of tension and adjustment, under which young people acted to express their unrest and confront the fear generated by the configuration of a structure of political threats.

In this sense, the repertoires revealed the diversification of micro-networks that mobilized personal and collective resources, which young people were able to articulate insofar as they strategically occupied the public space to resist. Within this context, collective action was modulated by emotions generated and fostered through interaction networks that allowed their massive mobilization and sustained leadership in the contest.

A brief analysis has been presented that integrates the examination of the influence generated by the structure of political opportunities in the contentious activation, the role of the emotions with which the protest was activated and sustained, and the diversification of the repertoires used during those three days. Thus, the dynamics of an indomitable youth politicization operated between mobilization and movement, between crowd and organization, with the potential to act in an irruptive way and as a community at the same time, has been exposed.

Based on these reflections, it is expected to have contributed with at least three objectives to the field of studies on youth political participation. First, by analyzing the influence of the structure of political opportunities on the dynamics of the protest. Second, offering an understanding of the modification of the emotions inscribed in the activation and dynamics of youth mobilization. And, third, reflecting on the articulation of mechanisms that allow understanding the diversification of the repertoires implemented to sustain the contest.

Annexes

Annex 1. Table of perceptions and emotions exposed by informants located at different points during the three days of protests

| Informant | Day | Place | Perceptions | Emotions |
|------------|-----|------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Pedro | 03 | El Ejido Park | Lies of the President | Outrage and helplessness |
| Daniel | 03 | Plaza del Teatro | Lack of response from authorities | Outrage, anger and helplessness |
| Anthony | 03 | Plaza del Teatro | Police agression | Pain, anger and solidarity |
| María José | 03 | House of Culture | Bad treatment by the authorities and police aggression | Pain, outrage and solidarity |
| Pablo | 04 | El Ejido Park | Police abuse, solidarity | Outrage and anger |
| Luis | 04 | El Arbolito Park | Dissatisfaction with measures | Anger and solidarity |
| Dayana | 04 | Guambra Bridge | Media silence | Outrage |
| Pauli | 04 | House of Culture | Dissatisfaction with measures and police abuse | Frustration, fear and solidarity |
| Esteban | 05 | El Ejido Park | Lack of responses from authorities | Anger, fear and solidarity |
| Emilia | 05 | El Arbolito Park | Lack of response from the authorities and police violence | Pain and solidarity |
| Sofi | 05 | El Arbolito Park | Lack of responses from authorities | Solidarity |

Annex 2. Students, youth and their families occupying public space in a strategic way for the struggle





In the photo (1), we can see the protesters present in El Arbolito Park. In the photo (2) a line of young people is organized to pass stones and build a barricade on Av. 6 de Diciembre between the parks of El Ejido and El Arbolito. Personal archive photos.

Annex 3





In the photo (3), young protesters flee the police attack on Guayaquil and Manabí streets, a few blocks from the presidential palace in the "Historic Center of Quito." Personal file.

Annex 4. Table of repertoires and roles exposed by the informants located in different points during the three days of protests

| Informant | Day | Place | Repertoire | Role |
|------------|-----|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Pedro | 03 | El Ejido Park | stonethrowers | Provide stones |
| Daniel | 03 | Plaza del Teatro | Stonethrowers | Quell tear gas |
| Anthony | 03 | Plaza del Teatro | Communication | Take photos |
| María José | 03 | House of Culture | Communication | Broadcast live |
| Pablo | 04 | El Ejido Park | Stonethrowers | Build barricades |
| Luis | 04 | El Arbolito Park | Stonethrowers | Throw stones |
| Pauli | 04 | House of Culture | Health | Support provisioning |
| Dayana | 04 | Guambra Bridge | Communication | Broadcast live |
| Esteban | 05 | El Ejido Park | Health | help injured |
| Emilia | 05 | El Arbolito Park | Health | help injured and suffocated |
| Sofi | 05 | El Arbolito Park | Communication | Take photos |

Interviews

- Pedro, 26 years old, student at the Central University of Ecuador. Interview conducted on the Guambra bridge during the students' march to the historic center of Quito on 10/03/2019 at 10:00 a.m.
- Daniel, 24 years old, resident of the San Roque neighborhood. Interview carried out at the concentration of the protesters in the Plaza del Teatro on 10/03/2019, at 3:00 p.m.

- Anthony, photographer for the digital medium Laberinto. Interview conducted at the corner of Esmeraldas and Guayaquil streets, on 10/03/2019 at 2:00 p.m.
- María José, 21 years old, a member of the Coordinadora Alternativa de Jóvenes y Estudiantes (CORAJE) and a student at the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador. Interview conducted in the vicinity of El Arbolito Park on 10/03/2019 at 11:00 a.m.
- Luis, 24 years old, student at the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador. Interview conducted on the corner of the vicinity of El Ejido Park on 10/03/2019 at 12:25 p.m.
- Pablo, 26 years old, resident of the La Marín neighborhood. Interview conducted in the vicinity of the Ejido park, on 10/04/2019 at 12:30 p.m.
- Laura, 24 years old, resident of the La Tola neighborhood. Interview conducted in the vicinity of the House of Culture, on 10/04/2019 at 3:15 p.m.
- Pauli, 23 years old, a student at the Salesian Polytechnic University. Interview conducted at Av. 6 de Diciembre and Av. Colón (north center of the city) on 10/04/2019 at 7:00 p.m.
- Dayana, 26 years old, resident of the El Dorado neighborhood. Interview conducted in the vicinity of the El Arbolito park, on 10/04/2019 at 2:30 p.m.
- Esteban, 24 years old, student at the Central University. Interview conducted in the vicinity of El Ejido Park, on 10/05/2019 at 11:00 a.m.
- Emilia, 24 years old, student at the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador. Interview conducted in the vicinity of the House of Culture on 10/05/2019 at 10:30 am.
- Sofi, 23 years old, student at the Salesian Polytechnic University. Interview conducted in the vicinity of El Arbolito Park on 10/05/2019 at 11:45 am.

Bibliography

Aminzade R., & McAdam D. (2001). Emotions and contentious politics. In R. Aminzade, Jack A. Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth J. Perry, William H. Sewell, Sidney Tarrow & Charles Tilly (Coords.), *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics* (pp. 14-50). Cambridge University Press.

- Bonvillani, A. (2017). Pensar en la intemperie. Tensiones ontológicas-epistemológicas y metodológicas en la producción de la "subjetividad política". *Quaderns de Psicología*, 19(3), 229-240. CiPsi/CIECS-CONICET; Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. https://bit.ly/3tnjL7L
- Chazel F. (2003). Du pouvoir à la contestation. LGDJ.
- Della Porta, D. (1999). Movimientos sociales y Estado: algunas ideas en torno a la represión policial de la protesta. En: D. McAdam, G. McArthy & M. Zald (Coords.), *Movimientos sociales: perspectivas comparadas* (pp. 100-142). Istmo.
- Eyerman, R. (2005). How social movements move: emotions and social movements. In Helena Flam & Debra King (Eds.), *Emotions and Social Movements* (pp. 41-56). Routledge.
- Gamson, A., & Meyer, D. (1999). Marcos interpretativos de la oportunidad política. En D. McAdam, G. McArthy & M. Zald (Coords.), *Movimientos sociales: perspectivas comparadas* (pp. 389-412). Istmo.
- García, J., & Soria, E. (2020). Las fracturas de octubre. En Los signos abiertos de octubre contra nuestra América. Estrategias de la derecha en el siglo XXI (pp. 393-410). CLACSO.
- Goldstone, J., & Tilly, Ch. (2001). Threat (and opportunity): popular action and state response in the dynamics of contentious action. In R. Aminzade, Jack A. Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth J. Perry, William H. Sewell, Sidney Tarrow & Charles Tilly (Coords.), Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics (pp. 179-195). Cambridge University Press.
- Hopkins, D., Mckie, L., Watson, N., & Hughes, B. (2005). The problem of emotion in care: contested meanings from the Disabled People's Movement and the Feminist Movement. In H. Flam & D. King (Eds.), *Emotions and Social Movements* (pp. 119-136). Routledge.
- King, D. (2005). Sustaining activism through emotional reflexivity. In H. Flam & D. King (Eds.), *Emotions and Social Movements* (pp. 150-169). Routledge.
- Maffesoli, M. (1997). Elogio de la razón sensible: una visión intuitiva del mundo contemporáneo. Paidós.
- Mathieu, L. (2012). Des mouvements sociaux à la politique contestataire: les voies tâtonnantes d'un renouvellement de perspective. *Revue française de sociologie*, 3(45), 561-580. https://bit.ly/3aBZbHR
- McAdam, D. (2010). Tactical innovation and the pace of insurgency. *American Sociological Review*, N°48, 735-754. https://bit.ly/3tubcry

McAdam, D., Tarrow S., & Tilly Ch. (2001). *Dynamics of contention*. Cambridge University Press.

- McCarthy, J. (1999). Adoptar, adaptar e inventar límites y oportunidades. En D. McAdam, G. McArthy & M. Zald (Coords.), *Movimientos sociales:* perspectivas comparadas (pp. 205-220). Istmo.
- Ramírez-Gallegos, F. (2020). Paro pluri-nacional, movilización del cuidado y lucha política. En *Octubre y el derecho a la resistencia. Revuelta popular y neoliberalismo autoritario en el Ecuador* (pp.11-44). Buenos Aires.
- Sewell, W. (2001). Space in contentious politics. In R. Aminzade, J. Goldstone, D. McAdam, E. Perry, W. Sewell, S. Tarrow, Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics (pp. 51-88). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815331.003
- Tarrow, S. (1999). Estado y oportunidades. La estructuración política de los movimientos sociales. En D. McAdam, G. McArthy & M. Zald (Coords.), Movimientos sociales: perspectivas comparadas (pp. 71-100). Madrid.
- Tilly, Ch. (1978). From mobilization to revolution. Random House.
- _____ (2003). *The politics of collective violence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vommaro, G. (2017). La vida social del mundo político: investigaciones recientes en sociología política, En Gabriel Vommaro & Mariana Gené (Comps.), *Los polvorines*. Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento. 1ra edición.
- Yang, G. (2005). Emotional events and the transformation of collective action: the Chinese student movement. In Helena Flam and Debra King (Eds.), *Emotions and Social Movements* (pp. 79-98). Routledge.

Submission date: 2020/10/23; Acceptance date: 2021/02/04; Publishing date: 2021/03/01