The construction of youth political culture Social representations of high school students from the “Eastern” region of CDMX

La construcción de la cultura política juvenil Representaciones sociales de estudiantes de bachillerato de la región "Oriente" de la CDMX

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ABSTRACT
The social representations that high school students in the "eastern" region of Mexico City construct of civic culture, political culture, and power relations in daily coexistence, are limited and restricted to legal citizenship, because the principles and values of democracy have not been founded on the basis of a democratic political culture, to build full citizenship from childhood, generating spaces for reflection and listening back and forth, but above all, living a democratic life that enhances power -do, over power-over others.

Keywords: Political culture, Civic culture, Social representation, Youth, Representations of power.

RESUMEN
Las representaciones sociales que los estudiantes de bachillerato de la región "oriente" de la Ciudad de México construyen sobre la cultura cívica, la cultura política y las relaciones de poder en la convivencia cotidiana, son limitadas y restringidas a la ciudadanía legal, porque no se han fundamentado los principios y valores de la democracia a partir de una cultura política democrática, para construir una ciudadanía plena desde la infancia, generando espacios de reflexión y escucha de ida y vuelta, pero sobre todo, viviendo una vida democrática que potencie el poder-hacer, sobre el poder-sobre los demás.

Palabras clave: Cultura política, Cultura cívica, Representación social, Juventud, Representaciones del poder.

1 INTRODUCTION
The purpose of this work is to know the social representations of civil and political culture as well as the representations of power acquired by students who are in the third year of high school at different
institutions in the eastern region of Mexico City. The objective of this paper is to discuss the results obtained, in relation to the theoretical-methodological and technical support, the research problem, the interpretive assumption and the objectives of the study. At the end of the paper, some preliminary conclusions are presented.

High school students who have become adults and who voted for the first time in the 2018 elections are a more informed and better-communicated sector of the population. However, they have a limited level of political participation due to the influence of a vertical political structure, which antecedents are still present because of the conquest and the colonial ideas imposed by the Spanish monarchy which is allied Catholicism as a cultural legacy for domination. In addition, they inherited a high level of intolerance towards other ideologies and beliefs.

The domination and indoctrination of the population during the conquest and the colony impacted on the behavior and attitudes of the population to authority. They affect the construction of the current political culture, in such a way that this antecedent has forged the "political behavior patterns of apathy or little interest in political affairs” (Heras, 2004: 31).

Latin American political culture is heir to the presence of a central power exercised through intermediaries, as it was the case of the viceroys, who exercised a central patrimonial power with weak legislative and judicial bodies. In the case of Mexico, the 1824 and 1857 Constitution legitimized the presidential figure as the supreme power, which is why there is a lack of antecedents of a representative democracy and a participatory political culture.

“Despite the fact that most of the Latin American nations emerged in the 20th century with a democratic order constitution, the law that was put into practice was very similar to the colonial formula which objective was to obey and not to comply. All of these events developed a very limited sense of political participation, becoming a general aspect of political culture in the twentieth century both in the rulers and in the population itself” (Heras, 2004: 31).

This form of vertical and authoritarian domination of governing presented for more than seven decades in the twentieth century and part of the twenty-first, in which a political party became a corporate body of the State, which conducted people to apathy or little interest in political affairs. This Mexican political culture has traditionally been occupied by the figure of the caudillo, which is blindly followed by the crowd, but it does not mean that there is citizen participation in politics.

In this context, the research question is, what are the social representations that students from the "eastern" region of Mexico City have about civic culture, political culture and how it is expressed in daily coexistence in relationships of power, in a pre-electoral environment of 2018 through their participation in State institutions, electronic media and social networks?
The current knowledge with regards to political culture has a long history, beginning with G. Almond and S. Verba’s most influential classic work, Civic Culture (1963). The central idea of this research was to investigate to what extent the civic-political culture enables the development of democracy in a country. The study is situated in a perspective of quantitative comparative politics, in five countries in which a sample of 1000 inhabitants were chosen. A questionnaire was also applied and covered three main aspects knowledge about the political subject, about the identification of the individual with his political system and about the evaluation, so the research includes the following cognitive, affective, and evaluative dimensions.

The second aspect in the study of political culture is the perspective of interpretive sociology that is based on the social phenomenology of Schütz (1972) to understand the meanings that agents construct with specific meanings, depending on the context, directed towards other agents, which constitutes intersubjectivity as the origin of social action, presumably the political practices of individuals are situated on the intersubjective plane.

Both comparative politics and interpretive sociology have become the two dominant approaches in the field of political culture, the latter being the one with the most recent literature, because it includes the change of values in contemporary society and the attitudes of society actors in power relations. Furthermore, it is related to a “Latin American perspective in which the authoritarian political culture and power relations allied with external interests give rise to military coups” (Lechner, 2014: 22. Therefore the research problem mentioned above directs towards the interpretive perspective because it is a study that is located in the perspective of the subjectivity of the actors.

However, this sector of the student population that has reached the age of majority, studies high school and will vote for the first time has been little studied, so there is a lack of knowledge regarding political culture and power relations. Therefore, there are no studies or publications, which reveal the originality of this research.

The interpretive assumption that accompanies this study is that the civic culture, the political culture, and the representations of power possessed by high school students in the eastern region of Mexico City are limited and restricted. It is because the principles and values of Democracy have not rooted enough in their formation to be incorporated due to a culture of the imposition that the Mexican hybrid state has reproduced because building citizenship among young people represents a threat to the status quo for the construction of a long-lasting participatory democracy. Besides, the social constructions that have been instilled in them can be modified by the representatives of the public institutions of the Mexican State in their daily coexistence with others, from childhood and youth.
The objective is to identify the social representations, that students from various high school institutions in the eastern region of Mexico City related to civic culture, political culture, and power relations to understand the meanings that they construct during their daily interaction with state institutions, electronic media, and social networks.

2 RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT

The interpretive approach of political culture is directed towards the intentional action of the actors, their projects, the motives to do or for doing something (Schütz, 1972: 115-120) which act in a certain way and not in another. it leads to give sense to their political actions because as Heras says: The individuals political action is not always oriented and responds from external power structures, and it is an objectification of the set of ideas about authority and power that are contained in the social heritage and that were historically sedimented (Heras, 2002: 88).

This perspective establishes the analysis of political culture on the side of the subjects in their daily life, that is, it places them in the field of living experience and the specificity of the forms of relationship, so it escapes from the comparative vision of the political culture. In addition, it appeals to the historical sedimentation of lived experiences and to the social and cultural heritage of the political (Heras, 2002). Therefore, this perspective focuses its attention on the subjectivity of social agents and in the intersubjective dimension in intentional action which makes provides the possibility of emerging and objectivating “intersubjective codes”, logically structured that are shared socially.

Decoding the meanings of the mentioned codes is a complex task to interpret their meanings, so a superficial analysis is not enough, because it does not provide clues to integrate the signs, signals and traces that make possible to relate them and integrate them into a larger picture in such a way that it is possible to make “deep interpretations” (Geertz, 2000).

The methodology of this research flows through several moments. The first research problem was built to understand what political culture is, what relationship it has with citizenship and with civil society and how the relationship between them and civil society is established.

The second moment consisted of “deconstructing” the concept of “citizenship” to distinguish it from “political culture” and “civic culture”. It was concluded that this concept integrates both. The first
refers to the set of beliefs, attitudes and values about politics that people use to make evaluations, regulate their behavior, and participate in different channels of state institutions. It is about the subjective aspect of the sense of the political that attributes a meaning to it.

It also refers to the psychological orientation of individuals about their knowledge, feelings, and evaluations (Almond and Verba, 1963). The second comprises civic culture because it fuses traditional and modern elements that guide the attitudes of individuals, in relation to established norms and laws, to promote better social coexistence. However, they have something in common that links them, they both integrate the democratic political culture which is conceived as an ideal of modern democracies.

The third moment was determined to outline the research from the approach of the "interpretive sociology" of political culture because it refers to the beliefs, attitudes, and values of the actors regarding the political knowledge, that is, the subjective factor and different from the political structures of the State. This approach is related to the perspective of the subjectivity of the actors because it appeals to the perceptions and valuations of civic culture, politics, and power relations, so these are the product of their experiences and their stock of knowledge at hand, that are built from common sense thinking.

The construction of the subjectivity of the actors is closely related to social representations because the subject from birth learns to develop thinking skills through language and representations and their meanings. In addition, they participate in a process of “appropriation” of knowledge, skills, and instruments of the group to which they belong in the society.

Society exists because of culture and because it integrates beliefs, myths, traditions, values, representations, which give meaning to your life. Also, he learns to incorporate the historical memory of the events that have taken place, which remain sedimented in his stock of cultural knowledge, regulate his behavior and assign meanings, meanings, symbols, and codes of action, including political action, because most of them knowledge of the world is of social origin (Schütz, 1995).

Therefore, the subject performs an intentional action according to a purpose and interacts with other actors building codes. To know the meaning of political action, it is necessary to interpret the codes that are built in common and as Moscovici says: “… there is no cut given between the external universe and the universe of the individual (or of the group) that, basically, subject and object are not heterogeneous in their common field. The object is enrolled in an active, mobile context as it was conceived by the person or the community as an extension of their behavior and only exists for them, depending on their means and methods that allow knowing them” (Moscovici, 1979: 31-32).

SRs are a form of informed knowledge that the members of a group build about something or someone, so it is a complex, coherent and logically structured elaboration, with specific meanings that they share to re-present reality, through images and notions of science (Moscovici, 1979).
In the fourth moment, the criteria to select the key informants were defined as follows: a) turning 18 before July 1, 2018, b) having a voting credential, c) being part of a group and d) being registered in some of the high school campuses in the eastern region of Mexico City. Likewise, the study universe was built, which comprised 114 students integrated into 41 groups, interviewed, and surveyed in the baccalaureate of the UNAM, the SEP and the IEMS of the UACM. It was determined to use the semi-structured interview technique, the questionnaire of relation of ideas and the narrative of an experience of political action. It was discussed that, although the problem to be investigated is the political culture of young people, they would have to be in voting age for the presidential elections on July 1, 2018. Three years after the triumph of the self-called “4th Transformation” and due to confinement due to the Covid-19 pandemic, young people who acquired citizenship status will again vote at the polls on June 6, 2021, so the political culture will again be at stake.

In the fifth moment, the interview script and the idea association questionnaire were designed in three dimensions: a) civic and citizen culture b) political culture c) representations of power. The team agreed that in the first one the civic and civic culture should be based on the school coexistence and that this, in turn, integrates aggression and indifference. Likewise, it is possible to capture the notion of citizenship through the meaning of the question, what does it mean for you to vote for the first time?

The sixth moment consisted of the transcription of interviews, triangulation of empirical information and systematization, which was carried out with the help of the program "Atlas.ti" to identify intersubjective codes and subsequently identify the social representations built by each group of students, to carry out their interpretation.

The first dimension Civic and Citizen Culture, they were asked: what does it mean to you that people show civility to others? And what does it mean to you to vote for the first time? For ENP groups, the social representation they build is: "It shows that you have culture and education. Voting for the first time is an opportunity to show my opinion to the world of politics to generate change." (GAENP/TM). "Civility is expressed in the attitudes and actions that people do with each other, to lead a good coexistence. Voting for the first time represents a great responsibility, it is a right that we get with the age of majority and we have to exercise it" (GBENP/TM). "Civility is the rights and obligations that citizens have, respecting laws and people. Voting for the first time is a right and must be exercised" (GAENP/TV).

The social representation built by the six groups of CCH students "East" regarding the first question is: "Having civility is what they call values and respect for people." "Voting for the first time is a big responsibility, we want a change in the country" (GACCHO/TV). "Civility is the way society expresses themselves, through people, through their rights and fulfilling their obligations"
(GBCCHO/TV). "Civility is the relationship we have with other people; it is the way they express their values and education" (GCCCHO/TV).

The social representation that students build and share integrated into groups regarding civility and voting for the first time: civility is respect for other people and laws, because they have instilled values in them, for a good coexistence.

Voting for the first time is a responsibility to society, it is the rights and obligations of citizens that are acquired with the age of majority, because we want a change in the country.

Both representations can be understood by the influence of the family and school, as institutions of the State that not only transmits values, principles and ideologies, but also dictates the laws, rules and mandates, established in the constitution, codes and regulations, for citizens to observe, respect and normed their behavior, to establish a "rule of law", so that they learn to live together and participate to establish a "culture of legality", that is, that citizens exercise their rights and fulfill their obligations. It is an "educating state" in the sense "political society + civil society, that is, hegemony covered with coercion" (Gramsci, 1975: 165). However, the traditional state evolved into a "hybrid state" consisting of "the conjunction of the conventional legal-political state plus the strength of advanced media power in Mexico" (Esteinou, 2012: 241). For this author, the factual media powers not only influence and pressure the state, but now, have become a central element of it, to the extent that it is considered the "fourth power". It is a hegemonic state that legitimizes the social order but has not helped to build a strong citizenship that becomes a fundamental element of civil society, that generates counterweights and builds citizenship.

As far as the PMI high school is concerned, students from the six campuses share in their representations that civility begins with the educational work that families do at home. In addition, they emphasize that to show civility: "We need to develop social skills", some of these learn to live with difference, practice equal rights. As Peschard (2016) would propose, a democratic system would have to push through its institutions: "The goodness of civic culture (interpersonal trust, recognition of the other's right to think and live differently, the virtues of participation, etc.)". (p. 1). He also shares that civility has to do with the implementation of values such as: respect, friendship, equality, help. So, civility is a fundamental part of coexistence because "civility means that they know how to live together". Moreover, it has to do with attitudes such as: "a simple please, thank you".

Another representation of civility, shared only by Colbach Campus 7, is to look at civility as the use of dialogue to solve the problems that arise: "Civility is shown when problems are solved through dialogue or by agreeing with the law." Dialogue has to do with the encounter "face to face" with the other, it has to do with sociality and therefore, it is more related to an ethical issue than to an epistemological.
Because dialogue is part of a heteronomy ethic, because: "The ethical question that gives in the encounter with the other becomes necessary, and in this sense of immediacy the commandment occurs." (Levinas 2000:35).

Most groups share in their social representations the importance of exercising the vote for the first time. Undoubtedly these young people are aware of their citizen responsibilities, they know the power of their vote, and the implications it will have on the country. "Because it is not just going to vote, as a mechanical action," is voting for change, for the common good, this way of representing the first time is: "A symptom of the younger generation taking very seriously what is happening in their country and they are concerned about the future of Mexico" (Barragán, 2018:1).

But on campus 153 of the Cetis, a representation linked to the "Vote of Punishment" does not represent them anything "I will not vote". The vote of punishment can be analyzed in two ways, first, that young people did not wish to abstain from their citizen right to exercise the vote, but show their abstention or "null vote", would express their citizen rejection of the partisan offer and traditional politicians; second, days before the election they had sufficient reasons not to want to vote for any party, as they put it , "they are corrupt. According to the 2017 Yearbook of Corruption: "Mexico dropped 28 positions between the year and year in the International Transparency Corruption Perception Index, moving from 95th to 123rd out of 176 countries." (Alvarado and Ramirez, 2017:1). This increase in corruption, young people knew him, lived him and suffered.

For their part, the students of IEMS I Iztapalapa, represent civility and citizen culture as knowledge to relate fully and respectfully, together solve problems, according to the values that have instilled in them and respecting laws, rules, and regulations.

Voting for the first time means for them the acquiring of rights and obligations granted to them by law, which makes citizen participation possible, through voting to contribute to democracy, to elect their representatives.

Civility understood as how to relate to others in a respectful manner, read politely, based on established principles and values, it is associated with "citizenship", which is the status that people have achieved according to established rules, by which they acquire rights and obligations in their relationship with the State, to define their behavior and make social coexistence possible, respecting the laws and fulfilling their obligations, but also implies political participation in different areas of public life and society, so the city is a social construct in which the State participates and citizenship.

On the one hand, the State not only enforces laws and mandates, but is responsible for providing security, well-being, and a dignified life for citizens, through greater opportunities for study and
employment, meeting citizen demands in terms of providing public services and accountability to the citizens who chose them to fulfill their responsibilities as public servants.

On the other hand, citizens have a responsibility to abide by laws and respect the rule of law, pay their taxes, respect established rules of healthy coexistence and free transit, actively participate in the political life of their community, municipality to vote and be voted on, demand accountability of their rulers, among others. Therefore, students express: "I have rights and obligations to society. The right to exercise my vote to elect my rulers with responsibility" (EGD, TM, IEMS).

In the second dimension Social Representations of Political Culture, they were asked what does it mean to you to be a citizen? The social representations that high school or university students build are: "A citizen is the one who stops thinking about him and starts thinking about others. It is the one that does contribute to society. This year I am going to contribute my vote. There are many young people who are going to vote, because we have new ideas and maybe we can change something" (GAENP/TM).

"Exercise the freedom to elect a candidate. With the vote I will show my right to elect a candidate. It is the first step to be part of society, because you notice that your country requires change, for improvement" (GAENP/TV).

"The citizen has great responsibility, rights and obligations (paying taxes, becoming independent to start a family, finishing a career, practicing the profession). The citizen vote "be part of democracy. Opportunity and confidence to contribute to the improvement of the country. Make the vote valid for the change, take letters in the matter" (GACCHO/TM).

"The citizen is the legal thing to do. Fulfill duties, for the age of majority (legality). Great responsibility, represents information and knowledge." "It is a right and an obligation that we have as citizens, to choose who governs us. In addition, it is a way to give us to listen" (Narrative (GBCCHO/TM). Young people's votes are a mistake when voting at 18, experienced people seek change. Voting for change is for the fed-up" (GBCCHO/TM).

It is therefore plausible to identify a social representation regarding what it means to be a citizen, great responsibility, you acquire rights and obligations with society, to choose whoever governs.

Citizen voting represents being part of democracy, youth voting is a way of being heard. Experienced people seek change. Voting for change is about the fed-up. The majority vote does not guarantee change, because the status quo will not allow it.

The social representation that has been instilled in young people through their parents and teachers is that of a legal citizenship acquired by decree, by the age of majority in which rights and obligations are acquired, which does not mean that the idea of political culture to participate in democracy is instilled, because neither the school is lived in the home nor the school, because as Eras states, "the habit of
demanding rights or claiming their non-compliance was not created" (Heras, 2004:31) and this habit creates a culture that is transmitted from one generation to another, is sedimented in the social acquis and reproduces as a typified action of subjugation and inhibiting political participation.

For their part, students in the PMI high school, and all campuses existed groups that were inclined to represent the political culture, as an administrative, utilitarian part, only to obtain the voter's credential, to have the rights and obligations that are acquired at 18 years of age, such as: "vote, comply with laws, rules, morals". These social representations have to do with the modern vision of citizenship that emerged from the French Revolution and was part of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, adopted in 1789, which recognized that the rights of men were natural, inalienable, and sacred and that all men were born free and equal.

Similarly, in all groups of all campuses, being a citizen was represented as the "search for the common good", this representation was overwhelming, because of the immensity of reiterations that were expressed, with shared expressions such as: "para el bien common", "para help others", "it is an aid for your country", "itis another pillar for the community", "Participating in public affairs of the community", etc. This way of representing citizenship is anchored in the Latin American culture of the "community", of the search for the common good. "Unlike an individualistic community, such as the American one, where collective order results from the association between individuals (social contract), Latin society highlights the previous (historical and logical) of the community." (Lechner, 2014:140).

The six campuses also agree through the social representations that built that citizenship has to do with exercising an "informed or reasoned vote, as young people have put it. This is consistent with its generation, which is in the two-way paradigm of communication, as in JUVE has raised in its "Journal of Youth Studies", number 108. That to the letter says that the mono directional paradigm:

Lose ground (or best, share it) with a new model represented by the Internet, bidirectional, that allows multitasking: receive, but in equal measure, send, influence. The concepts of individualism, participation, transparency, and privacy are redefined. It is hoped that the public will be more visible and allow the development of participation (culture-co: co-creating, cooperation, collaboration...) experienced by those who use the digital environment on a daily basis. (2015:147)

The six campuses also share representations of citizenship represented as: "the responsibility you assume towards the Other":

The other,” the human alterity that surrounds us and conditions us, takes a central place in ethical formation. The “neighbor”, the other human beings, are incorporated into the constitution of the moral order in three ways: as claimants of our conduct, as representatives of a value or as references of oneself”. (Latapi, 1999:2)
Interestingly, these young people who are criminalized by the state, are the ones who, in their representations of political culture, incorporate that acquiring it implies that they care about the common good "as a whole". Because social justice is subordinated to the common good, as Forment would pose (2008):

>The common good, as the subject of justice, constitutes a right to be respected by all members of society. Which means that there is a justice (precisely social justice) that forces us to subordinate itself to the common good." (p.801)

The 153rd campus of the Cetis, is the only one that shares the social representation that acquiring citizenship for young people in Mexico is a risk, because they are exposed to the corruption and personal interests of the judicial authorities and because they are of legal age, they are applied the law under the perspective of punishment, they when obtaining citizenship with the age of majority, no longer belong to the class of juvenile offenders. A company:

>That it chooses to criminalize its young people, before guaranteeing conditions of equity in social development, to open real opportunities for education, health, and decent employment, puts at risk its future, but also that of an entire generation, because today in Mexico being young implies the risk of being arrested, killed or disappeared. (Natares, 2012:1)

About political culture, in all campuses its social representations coincide in the image where the youth vote can make the "Change in the country". "Change that is a dream of hope." What needs to be done first is to end corruption, crime, and the illegal sale of drugs. These young people do not lose hope, that they, with their participation in the ballot box, will bring to the presidency those who have new proposals so that they can bring down the countless problems in which the country is immersed.

Also on the six campuses, another social representation of political culture emerges, which takes the form of: "no credibility and uncertainty", "it is like a game of chance, both in respect of the vote and in which campaign proposals are fulfilled; feeling that they have perceived in their close, those who voted for change, giving their vote to Peña Nieto and time consider that he failed them. Bourdieu stated that contemporary society is based on the "eternization of the arbitrary"(Bourdieu, 2000:7-9). This atmosphere of disappointment in the most exclusive population, in the past six years, where "6 out of 10 people think who was elected was a bad president"(Aristegui, 2018:1) in the survey conducted by De las Heras Demotecnia in 2018, corroborates the sense of uncertainty in young people who will vote in the 2018 elections, making them question who to vote for? and whether or not you will keep your campaign promises?

On the other hand, IEMS Iztapalapa I high school students, being a citizen means: the person who has rights and obligations, because they go from being simple people, to citizens responsible with ethics
and morals. It represents specifying and obeying federal, state and local laws. To achieve this, it is important to know the rights we have, as well as the obligations to improve the country. A good citizen speaks and acts in the way of opinion in a civilized way.

The youth vote represents for them the possibility of choosing who governs them: "choose change, because voting can make a difference, because it shows a trend and expresses an opinion. It is the power of the people through their representatives" (EGB, IEMS, TV). "By following our own rulers, investigating them, and hold them accountable, we are free and independent in bringing someone or dismissing someone from power. Changes have to be made known to society for me to evaluate them" (EGD, IEMS, TM).

The RS that builds the five groups of students interviewed in both shifts of the meaning of citizenship is blunt, it is a legal status, culturally learned by the fact of being of the age of majority, which has instilled in children and young people, through their training is the vote by consignment, that is, "exercise power-over others" which reveals the influence of the "multiplicity of power relations" (Holloway, 2005) that they are woven within the institutions of the Mexican State, which has been transformed into a hybrid state, by the intervention of the "media factual" power, not only because of the influence they exert, but because of technological advancement, they have become a fundamental part of "mestiza hegemony and hybrid governance"(Esteinou , 2012: 242).

However, members of one of the partner groups agree that it is not enough to vote to elect the rulers, but that they must be "investigated and held accountable," the achievements have to be "made known for society to evaluate them." This meaning of citizen voting is the exception that confirms the rule, young people have a political culture of legality, because their actions are carried out within the framework of a "rule of law" "power-over others", what it is about is "emancipating power-making" that citizens are built without imposition to act. "The struggle to free power-making is not the struggle to build a counter-power, but rather an anti-power, something completely different from power-over" (Holloway, 2005:41).

In the third dimension Social Representations of Power, the questions posed were: What does the INE represent for you? What does your school principal represent for you? What does a teacher who teaches you a subject represent for you?

The representation that UNAM high school students build of the political actions of the power representatives are as follows: the image of the NSO is negative, because while they organize the elections and issue the credential to vote, they seek their personal benefit, and it is a small group, it does the country great evil, because they serve power groups. The image they have of the political class agrees that it is negative, "it does not represent us, it does not help us, it does not make us proud."
Instead, the image of the presidential figure is totally negative, because it's a "corrupt and false" person who hasn’t complied. "One puppet, and two faces, for every stupidity he does."

The image of the school principal is positive because he is an authority, “someone who has power within the school. The person responsible for the school functioning well.”

While the image of the teachers is quite positive, because it is the one that “teaches me and helps my future”. "They bring their knowledge and have great influence on us."

In the PMI high school, the following social representations of power was built on campuses 6 and 7 of colbachs, and in Conalep I and II, some groups share in their social representations a favorable attitude, towards the INE, school managers, teachers, when they do their duty, are responsible and depart from corruption. Only Conalep Iztpalapa I, in one of their groups, shares a favorable attitude towards the political class who for them "represents pride”.

In Conalep Iztapalapa II, one of the groups built a social representation of indifference to the figures of power, such as the school principal, teacher, and transit agent, considering that working is their obligation. They look from duty to be, “it is their role and obligation”.

The negative attitude towards institutions, political class and power figures is overwhelming in the social representations of the six institutions investigated. They represent the INE, as an institution that has been corrupted and that is manipulated by the government. They express their distrust of the political class because: "They are like a distortion of reality, they presume their costumes and live off the taxes of citizens, they are liars, thieves and corrupt" They are much shame!

Like "Peña Nieto," for "expending as a political distractor." liar, who did not fulfill what he promised and who bribed the people to vote for him," "who failed them!" crook, corrupt and irresponsible, who did not know how to govern," "with fraud," "is associated with drug trafficking," "with forms he is making has only created instability in the country." The unfavorable attitude towards the school principal for absentees continues, "A nobody, he does nothing either," without leadership, who does not understand that he represents authority and does not advocate for the benefit of students, "there are good and bad teachers, the bad ones approve for money."

These young people show an unfavorable attitude towards the figures of power, however corrupt and not surprising, corruption spreads everywhere, just to see the brazenness with which the political class moved in the campaign to the presidency of 2012, in which the party members themselves: "They warned of the risks of electing the worst of the candidates, the one with a 'pretty face' and 'few ideas', the one who, without being the 'brain' of their political group, would create an opportunity for those who supported him in his dizzying political career to enrich themselves under political power" (Acuña, 2018:1).

These young people do not feel represented by institutions, nor the figures of power, so they
manifest mostly a pejorative and unfavorable attitude. As Foa and Mounk (2016) would raise: "Even though democracy has become the only form of government widely regarded as legitimate, it has lost the trust of many citizens who have ceased to believe that democracy can respond to their most pressing needs and preferences." (p.16). So, they warn that among younger generations, adherence to democracy is diminishing and is accompanied by the indifference that it is important to live in one democratic system or another.

As new laws have been implemented corruption grows, as Zavala has put it (2013):"In Latin America and especially in Mexico, since 1980 it seems that as democracy progresses, with it grows corruption, impunity. The greater transparency and accountability, the less law enforcement." (p. 84). Down the corruption requires global strategies and social participation, because as Cardenas (2000) would say to reduce corruption: "one-size-all solutions must be escaped" (p. 1). Desisting it is important, because for citizens to consider the exercise of power as legitimate, this scourge of corruption that outrages youth must be ended.

As far as representations of power built by IEMS I students, Iztapalapa of the political actions of the authorities exercising power are the INE has a neutral image, because it does its job, "and it is the autonomous public body responsible for organizing federal elections." "It's the one that registers us as citizens and organizes the elections."

Instead, political class has a totally deteriorated image because "they are corrupted, do not do their job, have no respect for the people who chose them, just seek their personal benefit."

The image of the presidential figure is of smear, because it is "a corrupt person, without a word, who has no respect for the people." I get a good for nothing, incompetent as I only seek your personal benefit."

The principal of the school has a neutral image, because it represents the authority of the campus is in charge of running the school.

Instead, teachers represent a positive image because "they oversee your training, they teach us their knowledge that will serve you in life. In addition, you are instilled in values and good habits."

Representations of power over the political actions of the authority relate to the performance of the person in public office. If they are confident in their performance, it is because they have demonstrated responsibility and effectiveness in their actions. In addition, they show transparency in resource management in accountability. These qualities of the authorities contribute to earning respect as public servants, because political culture, if any, would be a demand for accountability. However, in the case of the students interviewed, they only come to build an image, leaving much to be desired for their political participation in an alleged participatory democracy.
4 CONCLUSIONS

The RSs that civility students build is respectful of others and the laws that have been instilled in them by the authorities of the institutions of an authoritarian hybrid state, is a legal culture to mediate the participation of a "democratic political culture", because citizenship must be built since birth, according to age, for this must generate spaces of participation and listening, the school is one of them and the figures of authority play an important role, without having to subdue the power-making that enhances autonomy for the construction of political culture, as Holloway says: "Power-do, if it does not immerse itself in power-over, can exist, openly or latently, only as power-against or anti-power (Holloway, 2005: 42).

It is difficult to think that we can live far from power because it is part of our reality and constitutes us as people, because "we are not conceived or born in a vacuum free of power, but in a society crossed by power: we are products of such a society"(Holloway, 2005: 47). Power arises with the institutionalization of society, and it appears whenever there is "a typification of usual actions between two actors" (Berger and Luckman, 1998: 76) in such a way that one exercises power—over the other and does not unleash the power-do of the other, but submits it, because just because it exists, "institutions control human behavior by establishing guidelines defined in advance in a certain direction" (Berger and Luckmann, 1998: 76).

The construction of citizenship involves liberating the action of power-over the other, so that it may be itself, as a person and exercise power-do with autonomy and act freely, under the limits of the rights of others. If it is a question of "changing the world without taking power", as Holloway proposes, let us not think of changing the structures of the political system that underpin it, it is not a struggle to have power, it is not a "counter-power" in a correlation of forces that sustains the status quo, "but something much more radical: it is the dissolution of power-over, the emancipation of power-making"(Holloway, 2005: 42). This is the complexity that hinders citizen participation in policy matters because it limits and restricts citizens' actions to take full responsibility, because the principles and values of democracy have not rooted enough to be incorporated into their formation, due to a culture of the imposition of personalistic orders that has settled in the acquis of social and cultural experiences.

The objectivity of the institutional world is exercised by installing the notion of a legal citizenship of law, so that the rights of others are respected, without fulfilling the responsibilities established in the laws and mandates, so that they learn to live together and participate in a "culture of legality", when in fact, neither laws contribute to respect for the rights of others, nor to the fulfillment of obligations.

Institutional objectivity is strengthened by the idea that obtaining citizenship means voting as a right, as if it were possible to change the functioning of society, without instilled in a democratic political
culture, in the face of a hybrid state, making voting an instrument of political fiction an alleged representative democracy.

Young people have raised as an expression of their political culture because of the lack of credibility towards institutions, the political class, and the figures of power, because they have not resolved regionally or globally the priority demands such as: access to education, safety, work and health, so the present and the future, which is in itself uncertain for all, are perceived with uncertainty.

The construction of citizenship is a fundamental part of the development of a democratic political culture and this is not only a responsibility of the hybrid state, but a task as a whole, so it has great relevance to societies in a process of change, such as those in Latin America and Mexico in particular, for the development of democratic institutions and practices that overcome the culture of personalistic and patrimonialism impositions and orders of power, in such a way that clear rules are established, in accordance with democratic principles and values that promote the construction of citizenship, without this being an imposition of those who exercise power.
REFERENCES


