

Speech in the riots as a type of communication

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### **Resumen**

El discurso está formado por valores, palabras y acuerdos comunes, esto se refuerza porque es una verdad colectiva con la aceptación del grupo social. Los pensamientos y revoluciones han creado el papel político del estudiante universitario y su deseo al reconocimiento de la verdad que no debe ser respondida por el uso de la fuerza física, sino por el uso de las palabras. Además, incluye qué elementos discursivos utilizan los estudiantes en la función comunicativa para transmitir sus ideologías y definir su identidad discursiva. El tema principal son las prácticas comunicativas utilizadas por los estudiantes y el gobierno, incluyendo conceptos sobre un movimiento social, conflicto político, prácticas comunicativas y violencia simbólica. Concluyendo que hay una tendencia a que los estudiantes estén interesados en apoyar las causas de los líderes y las organizaciones mencionadas en las entrevistas.

**Palabras clave:** *discurso, movimientos sociales, estudiantes.*

**Abstract**

The speech is comprised of values, words and common agreements. It is strengthened by a collective truth with the acceptance of a social group. Within a student movement in public university, the use of verbal communication is a reality and it is also identified as the engine of ideologies. Thoughts and revolutions that have created the political role of the university student and its wish to the recognition of the truth that should not be responded by the use of physical force, but the use of words.

Additionally, it reveals the study of discursive elements students use in the communication features to transmit their ideologies and define their discursive identity.

The main subject is the communicative practices used by the students and the government, including concepts about a social movement, political conflict, communicative practices, and symbolic violence. Concluding that exists a tendency for students to be interested in supporting the causes of the leaders and organizations mentioned in the interviews.

**Keywords:** discourse, movements social, students, protest, mobilization

## Table of Contents

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Acknowledgements  | 2  |
| Resumen   | 3  |
| Abstract  | 4  |
| Introduction  | 7  |
| Chapter I: statement of the problem                       | 10 |
| Justification   | 10 |
| Research question and objectives                          | 13 |
| General objective   | 13 |
| Specific objective  | 13 |
| Chapter 2: Reference framework                            | 14 |
| Theoretical Framework                                     | 14 |
| Definition of power relation according to Michel Foucault | 14 |
| Definition of politics according to Hannah Arendt         | 16 |
| Definition of violence                                    | 18 |
| Symbolic violence   | 19 |
| Definition of protest                                     | 23 |
| Definition of discourse                                   | 25 |
| Definition of social movement                             | 26 |
| Definition of discursive strategies                       | 26 |
| Definition of discursive identity                         | 29 |
| State of the art  | 32 |
| Chapter 3: Methodology framework                          | 38 |
| Data collection instruments                               | 40 |
| Interview   | 40 |
| Survey  | 42 |
| Description and justification                             | 42 |
| Chapter 4: Data analysis                                  | 45 |
| Interview   | 45 |

# SPEECH IN THE RIOTS AS A TYPE OF COMMUNICATION

|  |    |
|--|----|
|  | 6  |
| First interview: Guillermo Olarte- University Nacional student | 45 |
| Interview 2 Woman U. Nacional                                  | 48 |
| Third Interview: Víctor Hugo - University Nacional student     | 50 |
| Fourth interview: Anonymous man                                | 53 |
| Fifth Interview: Juan Diego Ortega                             | 53 |
| Sixth interview: Anonymous man II                              | 53 |
| Survey- Results:   | 54 |
| Results' Discussion  | 55 |
| Chapter 5: Conclusions   | 58 |
| Limitations of the present study                               | 58 |
| References   | 63 |
| Appendix A   | 73 |
| Appendix B   | 75 |

## INTRODUCTION

The discourse is molded by values, words, common agreements, diversity and connection which are strengthened to the extent that it is a collective truth agreed by a social group. Within the reality of student movements of public universities are identified the use of words as a driving force of ideologies, thoughts, and revolutions which have created the political role of the university student who wants the recognition of a truth which must not be answered by the use of physical force but the used of the word.

Vargas (2018) affirms: I am going to give the discussion of why the facts of criminal repression against us were not clarified, especially with the case of the companion of Cauca who lost his eye. We are going to give the discussion and to fight with the maturity that the moment demands of us. This fight is not easy and we do not always go straight ahead. We can not lose.

Both the prior speech and the one that takes place in protests have built and allowed the evolution of the definition of the student movement. Nowadays, this meaning is divided into stages in which the speech flourishes. In this manner, this research is focused on the use of speech as a logical and common driving force which motivate protests.

Consequently, the convictions and ideas which are the source of protests are taken from different perspectives and influence to a greater or lesser degree each individual leading the launch of diverse discursive strategies and their extra elements so the reality reveals that in order to drawing the attention each person discovers its form of expression however inside that wealth of great variety, the coexistence of many actions cause clashes of expressions taking into account that the speech motivates the start-up of what people want parallel that, there are actions like the

use of violence or human and material damage that provokes a displacement of the speech. For example, according to the news:

Agents and demonstrators piled up and hit each other in the middle of the road. Around seven policemen attacked a group of people who, in the disorder, no longer distinguished between passers-by and dealers trying to take refuge in a cafe. A man became the target of the blows that lasted for about a minute. In the back of the cafe, people cried and begged the uniformed people to stop while some students threw stones at them from a bridge. (Semana Magazine, 2018)

On the other hand, in the student's community is identified the convergence of ideas lead another critical point when the expression of ideas put ahead of others, some people recognize there are actions and speeches which today are obsolete in order to have success in the correct use of the word is necessary to solidify it from the simplest which leads to a harmonious conclusion in which there is an agreement on what people want and they expect to get.

The external force: the government and social media have taken charge of indicate what people get as student movement within a concept that benefits a minority and affects negatively others, in one hand, the government guarantee that an image of violent students and the labor of external agents (the public force) is mandatory to moderate the behavior of protests, so the answer of government is presented as an accurate action moreover, the social media is aimed to show a minimal part of the reality instead of showing a general and neutral vision of the world.

For the accomplishment of this investigation the first stage of the discourse will be analyzed, where there is an exchange of ideas in order to initiate a riot, later it will find the analysis of the second stage where the students carry out the proposed strategies in the first stage. Finally, it will be determined if the discourse and strategies implemented were effective and it managed to arrive the purpose sought.



Our research seeks to solve a practical problem which is based on analyzing the shortcomings that arise in the discourse proposed by the students of public universities in the riots, that is to say, to go beyond that general thought that the society has of the riots in order to obtain results that lead us to new discursive investigations of the importance of the student movement, since this movement began to really articulate as a social movement from the sense and needs of the students' guild and the social sector of the students for to assume in the development of the mobilization of the student struggle, an agenda of own demands and likewise to propose strategies for a successful speech in the riots.

For students of modern languages, each of the components that is going to be studied in this research have the purpose to offer support from two perspectives: so much for the next research related with the education since the theoretical contribution until the understanding the discourse as an impeller of changes to social problems, and even have a scope that generates a student's participation of modern languages and motivate him/her to express a critical opinion with regard to the role of the speech, to impact on student life.

## CHAPTER I: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

To identify concrete solutions to situations like the lack of money needed to improve the buildings or the education's quality. Discontent people use protests to call the attention of the Government, these protests are made by students of public universities who suggest various ideas to achieve a new height inside them that is to say, the accurate speech assures an effective protest, therefore the intention and objective of them will not distract and confrontations between the public force and students will not cause the loss of purpose.

### **Justification**

This research aims to analyze the discourse in the riots that public universities' students develop to be heard at the moment of going out to protest and the shortcomings that is generated before, during and after the riot, since it recognizes that the discourse is linked to a social phenomenon in which there exists a need for social construction.

The use of communicative practices within student mobility reflects the appropriate creation of discourse so that there is coherence in the exchange of the different opinions that exist in the university and that create a global understanding in the answer.

Knowing that the discourse is in charge of materializing the way in which one sees the reality in which one lives, in the book *The Interdisciplinary Approaches to the State of the studies of discourse*. Three values that characterize the nucleus of social representations are evidenced in the discourse, since the expressions, in the first place, recognize realities or forms of conceiving the environment; Second, they are presented in a hierarchical and valued in a particular way, and thirdly, they keep a set of relations between them. In this perspective, it is plausible to affirm the existence of a phenomenon of representational relevance in the description and construction of social reality. (Ruiz, 2011, p.178).

In this way, it was identified that in the construction of reality by the students of public universities in a universal setting that is not only classrooms - as a tangible element - but also social groups, it is necessary to find effective strategies to hold in the same plane of interpretation the set of elements and meanings of a discourse, it means that in the richness of communicative diversity, there are no clashes because, in the reality of public universities, the various forms of expression confront each other, causing a classification of power and effectiveness of strategies to begin existing. Misas (2004) affirms:

It is obvious that the university can not be outside of civil society, but it is also evident that the objectives of a different person; What is relevant in one can not be in the other.

Only from the complexity of this relationship can we learn about the type of actions that the university can carry out to improve ties with civil society, and avoid the pitfalls that arise from reductionist visions.

This research is vital because it identifies through the discourse the historically traced problem of education in Colombia and the current concern of how the adaptation of the discourse to the social life of the university becomes a weapon to defend a legitimate right, as it is in the education, starting from two approaches: the first in which the student appropriates its truth and it is responsible through discursive strategies to accommodate it in such a way that it achieves the expected effect, and on the other hand, the implementation of that discourse that converges with a different reality.

However, as far as the theoretical contribution of this work is intended to update the existing theory regarding the discourse and the legitimacy of the riots. In this sense, the social contribution agrees with what Archila proposes in his article: The student movement in Colombia, a historical look, that we assume as continuators of the historical struggle of Colombian students, the academic community and the social sectors for a new education (2012).

By means of this article, we want inform that there is not enough information based on the use of the speech and its effect on the riots, given that public universities have been the main promoters of this type of movement where it reflects the lack of communication between what is meant and what is shown

For the accomplishment of this investigation the first stage of the discourse will be analyzed, where there is an exchange of ideas in order to initiate a riot, later it will find the analysis of the second stage where the students carry out the proposed strategies in the first stage. Finally, it will be determined if the discourse and strategies implemented were effective and it managed to arrive the purpose sought.

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For students of modern languages, each of the components that it is going to be studied in this research have the purpose to offer support from two perspectives: so much for the next research related to education since the theoretical contribution until the understanding of the discourse as an impeller of changes to social problems, and even have a scope that generates a student's participation in modern languages and motivates him/her to express a critical opinion with regard to the role of the speech to impact on student life.

Defined within a qualitative and descriptive investigation to explain not only the facts from the beginning of a riot but also the consequences that Michael Halliday, Teun Van Dijk, Foucault or taking other disciplines such as psychology or sociology applied to the university field to allow a broad vision that is based on the theoretical implication in the discourse.

### **Research question and objectives**

What strategies have not been used at the discursive level so that the purpose of protests be effective?

### **General objective**

To analyze riots as a discursive strategy through which students express themselves in diverse ways.

### **Specific objective**

To explain what discursive elements use the riots in communicative function to convey their ideologies.

To conclude, this first chapter show us, the introduction to an research based on the communication in different ways in the part of the discourse that is a general term for a number of approaches to analyze written, vocal, or sign language use, or any significant semiotic event, therefore the research will be based to analyze this type of approach in the protest and riot topics in a student environment like the public universities.

## CHAPTER 2: REFERENCE FRAMEWORK

A theoretical framework consists of concepts and, together with their definitions and reference to relevant scholarly literature, an existing theory that is used for your particular study. The theoretical framework must demonstrate an understanding of theories and concepts that are relevant to the topic of your research paper and that relate to the broader areas of knowledge being considered.

The theoretical framework is most often not something readily found within the literature. You must review course readings and pertinent research studies for theories and analytic models that are relevant to the research problem you are investigating. The selection of a theory should depend on its appropriateness, ease of application, and explanatory power.

Therefore, in this chapter will show the theoretical background which support the investigation, in a similar manner, the theoretical framework will present the concepts and theories which constitute the essence of the work.

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **Definition of power relation according to Michel Foucault**

The approach to understand the language as a basis to the construction of reality taking into account the influence of each participant about the communicative act and the discursive strategies and mechanisms as a tool to the social actors, put in evidence the power relationships and the domination in the social structure, the object of the interaction between the government and public institutions as the police, ESMAD which are declared as the institutional actors - accepted as necessary in the restoration of order and preservation of harmony in the public space- and the students known as the resistance who act with violence and rebellion against the

imposition of a law or regulation, so the discursive strategies reproduce the domination and recognize the existence of a social discriminatory structure.

The power relations lead a conflict between two different opponents who employ power mechanisms in order to influence others and the concept of domination throughout the student struggle is evidenced in the relation of dominant groups -who are accepted as lawful action- and the domino effect which is the resistance and rebellions of the groups under dominance.

Foucault tackles the definition of power not in the way of asking why or what really means power but he highlights under the question of how is it exercised? And makes a clear distinction when he says ' what characterizes the power we are analyzing is that brings into play relations between individuals (or between groups).

If we speak the power of the law, institutions, and ideologies, if we speak of structures or mechanism of power, it is only insofar as we suppose that certain person exercise power over others (Foucault, 2000) where he affirms the concept of "power" doesn't involve the action over others but in the action that the individual decided to take, as he says "action upon an action" means that "power" plays over the behavior of the individual against whom power is exercised, analyzing all the possibilities in order to get a reaction and the second one says that there must be several response actions, in order words, he encloses this meaning in "conduct' which specify lead the action of other through our own actions and plan how the behavior is going to be.

In the struggles of public university students against the coercive instruments or the forms of subjection are the actions against the strategies either painting the walls, damage to the public and private property or the debates, public appearances and protests, the power relations are characterized by the standard of the majority of society who weigh the values of each power.

Foucault thinks that the start point to analyzing better the fight of relations power is enclosed in the resistance against different powers, this kind of power isn't focused on the

rationality but what is the point of practice and the strategies that each part decide to use in order to influence the mindset of others, characterizing relations power is taking into account that the demands of students are about in the "power effects" and how the nearest and most influential power that is the government provoke certain answers under the individual that they control.(2000)

On the other hand, when Foucault defines that struggle is "immediate" means in the educational reality that students question the role of the ministry of education and each official, institution and they are not willing to wait for the effect power-government- gives a late answer, for example in the manifestation against the 30 law reform when the fast answer of students was the creation of assemblies, manifestations and students stoppage.

This kind of struggles fights in favor of idiosyncrasy and fight against the power forms that categorize the individual based on a context where the educational commodification, economical and ideological violence flow.

Power wouldn't be evidenced if the educational union had been so obedient to the different forms of power. "Resistance" is the main focal point that redefines the dominance of power so this concept isn't just the negation of an ideology, imposition or government, is a practice that creates, modify the reality of the dominant power, the relations power is defined how the discourse, the strategies, and practices of the powers could affect the actions of others, consisting in provoke an answer to the connection of each movement is linked to the power relations.

### **Definition of politics according to Hannah Arendt**

The political individual has been present in the history as a subject who not only define an institution led by a few people but also the social groups who organize to discuss their common interests so regarding to Weber's thought the legitimate power is the State when he says: "The State, like all historically previous political groupings, is a relationship of domination of some



men over other men, a relationship maintained by legitimate violence". (2000) so that the legitimate subject is the dominance and the political organization who controls through coercive strategies.

They take action through the legitimate violence against the students who claim their rights, this kind of political organization prepare the resources to use the force, for example, in the student manifestations they employ the police force, tear gas and water tanks.

Regarding with Hannah in the human conditions, the human life is conditioned by the mere inherent necessity and requirements based on the production which preserves the life, for that reason, she determines the inherent need in the human being of governing and be governed, also because of the humankind.

Humanity always is going to be conditioned as she affirms " the political way of life escaped this verdict is due to the Greek understanding of polis life, which to them denoted a very special and freely chosen form of political organization and by no means just any form of action necessary to keep men together in an orderly fashion'. (2000)

She compares Plato and Aristotle's thought binding together the political dimension with the inherent need of human being as a social subject, that is to say, the definition of politic implicates the presence of others to making possible what means politic, on the other hand, according to the Greek thought, she affirms that intervention of humans in a distinct and incompatible human capacity- politic- is a limitation because political organization is the adhesion of another kind of life, speech in the political field had become in the strongest element of persuasion but in the modern era physical force has been employed as a strategy of dominance hence the currents manifestations are defined based on the political individual from people control and people who are controlled speech, use the violence and legitimation.(1998)

Through this thought we could infer that students as a citizenships as social individual assume the role of politic when they become aware that a political subject is not the legitimate State but all kind of social group who share common interests, problems and necessities from what they organize in a strategic organization which could be legitimate role to the population whom they are defend.

As Weber says politic defend and preserve the interest of a group and they have the resources and approval of others to carry out the activities in order to dominate others. Supported by the importance of these convictions that political subject is both keep control and influence in others through persuasion and imposition. (2000)

### **Definition of violence**

A concept in the research is going to be mentioned because to be a cause of violence in the place when making the students movements. In general, is defined by the World Health Organization as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, bad development, or deprivation", although the group acknowledges that the inclusion of "the use of power" in its definition expands on the conventional understanding of the word.

This definition involves intentionality with the committing of the act itself, irrespective of the outcome it produces. However, generally, anything that is excited in an injurious or damaging way may be described as violent even if not meant to be violence (by a person and against a person).

Steven Pinker's book, *The Better Angels of Our Nature*, roused both acclaim and controversy by asserting that modern society is less violent than in periods of the past, whether on the short scale of decades or long scale of centuries or millennia. Steven Pinker argues that by

every possible measure, every type of violence has drastically decreased since ancient and medieval times. (2011)

A few centuries ago, for example, genocide was standard practice in all kinds of warfare and was so common that historians did not even bother to mention it. According to Pinker, rape, murder, warfare, and animal cruelty have all seen drastic declines in the 20th century. However, Pinker's analyses have met with much criticism; for example, Pinker himself, on his FAQ page, states that he does not include catastrophic ecological violence (including violence against wild or domesticated non-human animals or plants, or against ecosystems) or the violence of economic inequality and of coercive working conditions in his definition; he controversially regards these forms of violence as metaphorical. Some critics have therefore argued that Pinker suffers from "a reductive vision of what it means to be violent."(Pinker, 2011)

According to Gandhi, he saw violence as an unpardonable sin; to advocate violence, even as a proportional response, would be to participate in that sin. It is better to be violent if there is violence in our hearts than to put on the cloak of nonviolence to cover impotence. (1930)

### **Symbolic violence**

"Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e, every power which manages to imposes meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, add its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations" (Bourdieu. P.1990).

The notion of symbolic violence and the discursive strategies of government have a main focus in domination of social structures which have been shaped through an acceptance of powers which are identified in this investigation are: the government, as a controlling entity over citizens, and students as a minority which has the social, cultural and political representation of student community.

Then, the nature of system of hierarchies and legitimacy of power is identified in the social network's highlight that exist two approaches in critical analysis of discourse inside protests in which the interaction subject-context arises from a standpoint which makes relevance both the way of human being reacts to reality according to linguistic mechanisms and the power of language as a basis to the construction of reality taking into account each one of social actors which get together over the communicative act.

As Halliday assets from a psychosocial and socio-communicative approach that the criterion of language as knowledge, which is essentially an individual orientation, can be used to direct attention to the outside, through concepts such as verbal act, towards language in society, and also the essentially social interpretation of language as behavior can be used to direct attention to the individual, placing oneself in the human environment, as we have expressed previously, and explaining their linguistic potential, as a speaker-listener and as a writer-reader, in those terms . (1982. p. 26)

According to this, Halliday affirms in analysis of the language and its power exists two phenomena: inter organisms which are about the practice and sense develop the language when it makes contact with a social group, hence, the meaning of human being as a "social being" is confirmed, in the student protest when students reveal their opinion in a common context.

The second phenomenon is focused on the way the brain captures reality through language. Confirming by Patrick Charaudeau in the agreement of communication in a linguistic perspective: psychosocial conventions and discursive conventions, he stands outs that the discourse- either the government or students- search an understanding of participants which depends on the identity that shapes the purpose and circumstances as the physical space.

So the connection which takes place in protests or communicative acts are enclosed by an ideology which is defined in a conventional way the student reality that says the understanding

and connection revolve around the common agreement according to the identity and discourse are accepted as premises to as correct for the type of activity that is developing, that is to say, participants are recognized better within an accepted act.

With the contribution of Halliday and Charaudeau which reinforce the need for social condition and the importance of perception of reality, the Bourdieu's perspective about symbolic violence is defined as own; the representative elements of each culture, ideology, institution or social group appropriate, creates and build based on symbols and meanings which acquire authority to apply control over others. (1990)

In a general sense, symbolic violence is a power of invisible legitimation which becomes in a social agreement in which each participant identify with these forms of power which lead to the existence of a representation of groups through a famous leader. It is about a powers game in which the society is the judge who consents greater legitimacy to power and its use.

In this process of legitimation, the Habitus concept highlights that the individual experiences an appraisal which is conscious when each agent accept the control and unconscious when the individual is the product of the influence of relationship with the environment.

Bourdieu asserts that within the legitimation of concepts and the practices of dominant classes are found a mental process which points out the objectivity of notions taking into account that a notion is objective to the extent that people perceive it as a logical and usual element, that is to say, habitus is the essence which is identified in power relations which impose and monopolize a collective participation inside of a social construction based on authority of dominants.

Inside student protests, the symbolic violence is demonstrates when in the relationship communication happens a speech exhorts to a practice of domination which has success when, according to Habitus, there are the social, cultural and political conditions to the implementation

of a legitimate domination, it must acquire a perfect understanding and exchange of ideas so it's imperative that participants share a same opinion so that the representation of protests carries out the adjustments which according to Bourdieu these ones are the main points to reach a communicative act that is suppose each part shape its thoughts, opinions, and arguments around the conditions of the environment given that everybody is the result of contact with the context, consequently, symbolic violence gets a fracture line when subjected people believe it and dominant class attributes itself that power.

In conclusion, the dimension of symbolic violence is an agreement that begins with the monopolization then it ends up as a natural power relation, in the struggle of power is the product of habitus which Bourdieu sets as the essence of flow about subjectivism and objectivism, past and present and the meeting of power, that is to say, the game between dominant and subjected in which the legal power is the result with the contact of institutions.

That has the attribution of legal concepts, so their practices becomes of objective character when the strategies are enclosed within a legal and normal frame so the way of domination has changed from the use of open mechanisms of coercion to an influence and easy manipulation of meanings as Bourdieu declares in the logic of practice "In so far - and only insofar as habitus is the incorporation of the same history, or more concretely, of the same history objectified in habitus and structures, the practices they generate are mutually intelligible and immediately adjusted to the structures, and also objectively concerted and endowed with an objective meaning that is at once unitary and systematic, transcending subjective intentions and conscious projects, whether individual or collective.(1980)

One of the fundamental effects of the harmony between practical sense and objectified meaning (sense) is the production of a common-sense world, whose immediate self-evidence is

accompanied by the objectivity provided by consensus on the meaning of practices and the world" (p.58)

### **Definition of protest**

The general definition of this concept means an occasion when people show that they disagree with something by standing somewhere, shouting, carrying signs, etc. According to Gandhi, it's no surprise that people look him for guidance on how protest movements should work. Gandhi's actions were critical in freeing India from British rule, making his efforts the standard for nonviolent protests.

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. famously used Gandhi's lessons for the U.S. civil rights movement. In Gandhi's voluminous writing, we find that the guiding principles of his movement were ahimsa and satyagraha: words meaning nonviolent civil disobedience and the search for truth, respectively.

For Gandhi, resisting the British and arguing for Indian independence was not just a political action; it was part of a larger struggle to find truth in everyday life. It was in search of this truth that Gandhi undertook his most famous protests, the hunger strikes, in which he would fast for up to 21 days to protest unjust laws and to stop riots, as well as the acts of civil disobedience in which he willfully broke laws, including the salt tax, to protest their unjustness. Gandhi recognized that violence might work more quickly than peaceful protest. He rejected it anyway, not because it was ineffectual but because it tainted the movement.

To succumb to violence was to cede the moral high ground. In the *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi's Socratic dialogue advocating for Indian independence and his movement, he wrote that "to arm, India on a large scale is to Europeanize it." In other words, if India took up the tools of the colonizer in resistance, Indians would themselves become colonizers. He wrote that violence was unpardonable because the protester shouldn't be looking merely for political success. Rather, the

satyagrahi, or protester, should aim not just to win political victories but to seek truth and convert opponents to the cause, this means that the protester has additional responsibilities and chief among these is preventing all violence. Gandhi's writings exhort readers not just to avoid physical violence but also mental violence, even ill will. In his view, it is not enough for a protester simply to refrain from violence herself; she must strive to prevent all violence, even putting herself in harm's way to do so.

In a number of letters describing his movement, Gandhi writes that resisting (satyagraha) is "really a state of mind." Because it "burns the flame of love," the act of protesting involves "no ill will whatever." However, a protest based on love and not violence is anything but passive or weak. Gandhi claims that it is "more active than physical resistance or violence" and represents a "soul-force" that is stronger and more courageous than physical force. Gandhi does not expect protesters to sit idly by as injustices are committed, but to directly confront those who cause problems and to cheerfully step into harm's way to do so. Also according to Washington Post Gandhi does not take the act of protest lightly.

The bar is very high for resisting, duties are placed upon the protesters to be civil, polite and well-mannered, and to accept no violence, be it in word, action or even thought. The protester must be prepared to suffer and undergo hardship because the path is, as Gandhi says, "as narrow as the edge of a sword." Seeking truth is a continual process, and he does not expect everyone to follow his exact path, but his work asks protesters not just to look for political victories but to reflect on what message they are sending out into the world. Political victories are important, but just as important are the types of communities these political victories will create, it means Gandhi's guidance has lessons for today's protest movements, but for Gandhi, political success is a side benefit, not the main point of protest.



**Definition of discourse**

Another of the topics to be discussed here is discourse; French authors such as Benveniste and Charaudeau focus on this in similar ways. On the one hand, Benveniste says that the discourse is a social practice in which an enunciation intervenes, which is the way in which the message reaches its recipient. On the other hand, Charaudeau says that: "The discourse comes from the relation that the subject-announcer establishes with what is stated in a communicative situation. It says that the description of the communicative phenomenon is triad:

Interpretation  $\longleftrightarrow$  Production  $\longleftrightarrow$  Construction"

Likewise, this article is centered in agreement with the fact that the discourse is composed by an emitter, a receiver and a message whose purpose is to make arguments that convince those who are willing to listen.

The issue is a fundamental part of the discourse since without him there would be no one to spread the message, besides it is who by means of facts or circumstances argues and motivates the masses who are focused on sharing their ideologies and thoughts.

When talking of discourse, one of the most important topics to be covered is that of the Critical Discourse Analysis, because it involves the study and research of discourse at the social level where factors such as social power, dominance, and inequality are practiced in society today, reproduced, and occasionally combated by those who do not agree with the imprudence of performing such activities. Their opinions are mainly found in texts and speech in the social and political context that is in force in the different countries. (Benveniste 1966, Charaudeau, 1983)

To know more about the Critical Discourse Analysis there are authors like Norman Fairclough and Beaugrande who agree that the language used in this analysis is focused on the use of the same social level depending on the environment in which it is used. Moreover, these

discursive practices are involved in the construction of society. (Fairclough, 1995, Beaugrande, 2004).

### **Definition of social movement**

A social movement is an event that mainly seeks to be heard in order to make a change in the circumstances with which the masses do not agree. This movement causes people to unite and defend their interests both group and personal in this way feel committed to the cause for which they are mobilizing and therefore engage in group interaction and solidarity. For Della Porta and Diani social movements are informal networks that have shared beliefs and are represented as a form of protest in disagreement with conflicting situations.

This article shows that these movements begin and are usually motivated by a leader who with his speech gives a point of view with which his companions of the riot are totally in agreement and for which they follow him. However, sometimes not all people agree with what their leader says, but it is thanks to all the mechanisms they use such as banners, speeches they use in riots, etc., that come to share the same ideals.

### **Definition of discursive strategies**

In the geographical space of our country, the first researcher who referred to the notion of the strategy was the Cordovan Iberian Verdugo in his 1996 work entitled precisely, Strategies of discourse. There, it can be read those discourse strategies are locutionary and paraverbal procedures -spontaneous or calculated- by means of which the announciator organizes and mobilizes enunciation and statements, with the aim of generating or enhancing the illocutionary force, tending to produce a certain perlocutionary effect (Verdugo, 1996). For his part, Daniel Prieto Castillo, professor at the National University of Cuyo and

specialist in education and communication, in the game of discourse. Manual of analysis of discursive strategies (1999) explains:

Each type of discourse has more or less crystallized ways of selecting and combining the resources of the language. When we are born, when we grow up we do not learn a language, but more. We learn expressive resources, forms of which we will never leave. Every growing in a social space (the family, the most immediate groups) that has a limited repertoire of expressive resources; limited but rich enough to allow the communication of joys and sorrows, of one's life. The entrance to the school means the encounter with other repertoires of expressive resources. What interests us here is to emphasize the fact that human communications do not occur only thanks to the fact that there is language, but to the diverse inflections of languages, that is, to different discourses. Such inflections are, in the first place, the expressive resources. Every discursive act means a selection and use of certain expressive resources, as well as a selection and presentation of certain topics. (Prieto, C, 1999).

Subsequently, Salvio Martín Menéndez, Conicet researcher and professor at the National Universities of Buenos Aires and Mar del Plata, will offer us an integral characterization by stating that: A discursive strategy is a plan that a speaker carries out with a determined purpose according to the interactive situation in which he finds. Its conformation depends on the combination of grammatical and pragmatic resources. The study of grammatical resources depends on textual analysis. That of the pragmatists, of how the subject is inscribed in a particular situation, that is, of discourse analysis. To describe this combination of resources is to account for particular discursive planning. (Menéndez, 2000)

From the line of research represented by the ACD, Ruth Wodak (2000) judges that all 'discursive strategy' is a plan of action, more or less intentional, that is adopted with a purpose. So, list a repertoire that includes:

| STRATEGY   | OBJECTIVES  | INSTRUMENTS   |
|--|---|---|
| Reference, or ways to name                           | construction of internal and external groups  | Categorization of membership. Biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing methodologies or metonyms. Sinécdoques |
| Predication  | more or less positive or negative labelling of social actors, more or less disapproving or appreciative | stereotypical and valued attributes of negative or positive traits. implicit or explicit predicates               |
| Argumentation  | justification of positive or negative allocations   | Topoi used to explain inclusion or political exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment                  |
| Perspective, framing or representation of the speech | expression of implication. Location of the speaker's point of view                                      | Communicating, describing, narrating or quoting events and statements (discriminatory)                            |
| Intensification, mitigation                          | modification of the epistical position of a Proposition   | Intensification or attenuation of the unlawful force of claims (discriminatory)                                   |

Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) were, perhaps, the first to systematize the concept of strategy. They understand them as a type of procedures through which we execute the process of discursive comprehension. From this perspective, we always carry out global plans that allow us to establish (inter-) actions.

A plan can be defined as a cognitive macrostructure of intentions or purposes. It is a hierarchical structure dominated by a macro action that concretizes result and final objectives in a global way. These basic appraisals of action theory, which involve actions, purposes, and purposes, allow us to account for the notion of strategy that, intuitively, we consider as the idea that an agent has about the most appropriate way to act in order to obtain achievement.

From the same critical approach, T. Van Dijk (2003) stipulates that the basic strategy of all ideological discourse always consists of:

- talk about our positive aspects;

- talk about its negative aspects.

This type of strategy-positive self-presentation and negative presentation of the other is consummated with the opposite meanings in the following way:

- not to mention our negative aspects;
- not to mention its positive aspects.

From this general strategy he postulates his 'ideological square' applicable to the analysis of all the structures of a discourse:

- Emphasize our positive aspects;
- Emphasize its negative aspects;
- Remove emphasis from our negative aspects;
- Remove emphasis from its positive aspects.

Finally, from the same line of thought, the Chilean researcher Mauricio Pilleux affirms that the discursive strategies are different means used by a speaker to acquire, understand, produce and reproduce speech, to evaluate efficiently the meaning, the linguistic, interactional, social, pragmatic and psychological functions of the statements in the discourse. The comprehension and production of the statements are closely related to the discursive strategies (Pilleux, 2001).

To conclude, discursive strategies are cognitive strategies, that is, inventions that are used according to particular problems. A strategy refers to situations and sequences of procedures that are strictly determined by an end or an objective and susceptible to be submitted to reflection, to be transferred, and constitute for people, means to achieve certain objectives. About the discourse, they constitute rhetorical means destined to achieve the sought persuasion.

### **Definition of discursive identity**

Let us take as a starting point what AJ Greimas and J. Courtès say about identity ... it designates "the principle of permanence that allows the individual to remain he himself" to "persist in his being" throughout his narrative existence, in spite of the changes it causes or suffers "(1990). This definition is interesting because it allows us to highlight several aspects, also highlighted by authors such as Ricoeur. In the first place, Identity is a narrative construct that allows the individual to define and construct himself. She acquires a practical category through narration, since narrating becomes an action performed by someone who relates or represents their own life, which is always imbricated by the lives of others.

Each story narrated builds the identity of each character (Ricoeur, 1996). The story of one's own life implies, in some way, getting out of one's own interiority in order to enter into relationships with others and build a personal and cultural identity that affirms and relates the subjects through an unfinished process that is permanently enriched. Each life described is configured in a unit framed within the limits of the narration itself, that is why the identity is located there and it is in that space where it is enriched when the others enter to participate in it.

Following Ricoeur, other authors such as Leonor Arfuch, assume that: "There is no identity outside representation, that is, narrativization" (2002), because to narrate is to speak of a life where each subject, using the resources of language, culture and history, represents, is represented or can always be represented (Arfuch, 2002).

Through the narration, the identity acquires a symbolic dimension that is manifested in the discourse, because as Bruner says "narrations are discourses" that express the experience and experience of a community. (Bruner 2000)

Now, the identity as well as being a resultant narrative is moves in a dialectic between permanence or conservation and change or transformation. Thanks to the first, the identity is reflected in the features that demonstrate the discursive singularity of each subject, despite the

changes that may occur. And through the second, it manifests itself in those traits that demonstrate its transformation.

Permanency is needed to be constituted individually and culturally. Without it, it would be impossible to speak of specific and particular subjects or cultures. If one wants to identify someone, one would have to examine the features that characterize him or as Villoro would say, examine the notes that distinguish him from others and that remain as long as he is himself (1991). If the subject wants to identify himself, he would have to do the same, because identity is, as Taylor says, "something equivalent to a person's interpretation of who he is and of his defining characteristics as a human being" (1993). Permanence leads to accept the fact that in the individual there must be processes of sedimentation of certain attitudes and identifications that allow him to persist in his being and be recognized as a singularity without comparisons (Villavicencio, 2002).

Likewise, the principle of change or transformation in identity is fundamental because it allows the individual to transform himself; to be in some other way when it is defined or defined. When a subject is transformed not only does he, but in some way his social environment is also transformed. This is because each one is a product of the social and discursive relationships that it establishes and its interactions with others. In this regard, León Olivé, picking up Harré and Mülhäusler, says that identity:

"It is conditioned by the conceptual resources that someone uses when he identifies himself, or by the conceptual resources used by others who identify him" (1999). For this reason, Olivé continues, "people cannot understand themselves outside the communicative contexts in which their beliefs and evaluations take form, are expressed, maintained, criticized and, in some cases, modified" (1999).

The identity of each one needs the others to be formed and consolidated, that is why it is relational. This is also expressed by Leonor Arfuch: she, "as a relational, supposes a self but also an 'other', from which it can affirm its difference" (2002). Therefore, although the individual has a principle of permanence - with himself - is crossed by others, which is a relational dynamism in which the communicative processes play a significant role. Taylor also emphasizes this aspect when affirming the fact that the subject discovers his own identity does not mean that he has already elaborated it in isolation "but he has negotiated it through dialogue, partly open, partly internal, with others ... own identity depends crucially on dialogical relations with others (1993).

To conclude, the discursive modes are part of the identity construction of the subject, that is, the subject is configured, is constructed and defines himself through the narrated discourse, but is also configured, represented, constructed and defined by others with which it relates.

### **State of the art**

Primarily in this section, we will discuss the theoretical background that has to do with the research and the authors whose contributions will help us during the research process.

The first investigation about the reconstruct the history of the Javeriana student movement between the years 1968-1972, the season in which a spontaneous movement was developed, something politicized, partly naive, cultural and juvenile, that finished by touching certain fibers inside Javeriana University. (p.5).

The document begins with an introduction about an investigation idea by a student of the Javeriana who wants to emphasize the student movement that emerged in the Javeriana University many years ago. As an objective, the author wants to show that a university with this status was part of the historical moment that Colombian education attended in the 1970s, also emphasized that the students of the Javeriana to be part of the change as a movement, the repercussions by the directives (1968- 1972) towards students were severe and had many



consequences in order to get to the bottom of these events and because they occurred, dividing this investigation into 4 chapters.

A project which includes concepts that support our investigation as a qualitative investigation, student movement, document, project, education, students and analysis of a movement. (Gòmez, 2012)

In the thesis “Prácticas comunicativas en el contexto a la reforma a la ley 30, 2011-2013” the main topic of this project is the communicative practices used by the students and the government, including concepts about social movement, political conflict, communicative practices, and symbolic violence.

The concept of social movement inside, the comparison among the theory of resource mobilization which is carried out by the government and New social movements regarding to the society by María A. Sanchez, through her Theories which are divided in 3: the first one is how the government takes the politic sources of the redemption, the second one is regarding to the analysis the reason of the collective participation and the last is examination of the political, cultural and social background of the identity of the students.

Also, highlighting the relationship between the violence symbolic defining as the legitime force which has the purpose to maintain the public order and is the communicative practice of the government which changes the force relations, the relation of domination and the use of direct force reinforced by psychological warfare.

On the other hand, the civil society as the source of the social movements means the interaction which involves the perception of the information that civilians decided to transform through different reactions depending on the interpretation of each participant also the degree of significance is linked with the context of the claim.

The communicative strategies found in the theoretical framework are Pressure, legitimation and repression which are used by the government and the strategies of the students are defining as a creative and non- traditional way of expression.

The methodology is based on exploratory research given since are used some practices are used by the participant and how to influence the symbolic violence in the movements to hold by the number of participants involved in the movement so it is called non-probabilistic method founded by interviews and the experience.

This project contributes to this investigation a solid theoretical basis which brings up the power relations in the social movement and the strategies as a tool of legitimation and social convention, that is mean, a framework about the student movement in Bogota.

The result showed the evolution of the strategies of vindications and the adoption of a new one and the creation of the identity from the interaction during and outside the protests and the adoption of the identity "enemies" to the government while students were perceived as government demonstrators. (Ortega, 2012)

The main purpose is recognizing these actions and the position of the most outstanding students in the MANE. The project tackles the meaning of subjectivity based on Foucault, the psychology with Gonzalo Rey and the sociology with Touraine reinforced with the approaches of Self-care concepts and relations of power of Foucault is defined as a modification of the individual from the interaction with other social actors, the culture and the strategies of political parties.

Also with the contributions of Vygotsky and Alain Touraine emphasize the social and historical value of claims and subjectivity, the concept of self-government is emphasized through Foucault's theory of 'technologies of the self'. On the other hand, it relates the political subjectivity

with the social subjectivity according to the relation with the community learning on Alain Touraine, Hugo Zemelman, Alcira, and Aguilera.

Likewise, it characterizes that subjectivity is not psychic or biological, but social as Zemelman and Touraine consider it framed within the context and interaction with the community.

The research line is political socialization and construction of subjectivities and its standpoint is qualitative based on the critical analysis of discourse of Teun van Dijk also interviews and MANE documents, the concept of public education that exposes the problems of public education highlighting the Neoliberal model and the current context, highlighting the demands of the MANE, arguing that through the forces of capitalist power, people are defined within the economic system and not as social actors so that's why students and other participant claim them. (2000)

On the other hand, MANE search for democracy and social change so they use the movement as political strategies with the strategies such as: *desnudatones*, *abrazatones* and *besatones*, the discourse was the non-traditional way of expression but a new and aware movement. The results of this research include the political identity of the student as a determining factor of democracy and the recognition of rights, and subjectivity is created by reflective construction in the face of the educational problem and reciprocal experiences. Also, a part that stands out is the creation of critical thinking in academic spaces and the movement has transformed the academic reality where different thoughts and ideologies coincide with a purpose: to transform society. (Salazar, A. 2015)

This project aims to explain the influence of social media in the student's movement which has moved the traditional means and symbolic acts supporting by the discourses in social networks (Facebook and Twitter). The main purpose is to understand how to impact social media

which goes against conventional ways of communication. The keywords are educative reform, protest, pacific protest, and social networks.

The introduction initiates with the current change of education with the impact of information with the contribution of Manuel Castells that defines it as an information society where the mercantilization of education is the loss of its educational character to an information consumer, defining it under the concept of cognitive capitalism, then he introduces the crucial point: autonomy and money to the public university. The second part is focused on the reaction of students which led to the makeup of work tables with symbolic actions and social media to increase the call and information about the different symbolic actions and take advantage of the high flow of information to share the contents of the reform.

The explanatory-explicative methodology based on observation explains the fact through the influence of social media and symbolic spaces of participation. The conclusion involves both the political conception of the reform to a concern of the treatment of the university as a commercialization system and the new strategies which introduced the consciousness to eliminate the image of violence with a simple language and pacific protest which included different sectors of the university. (Rojas Londoño, 2012)

There are plenty of words related to the riots and they were treated throughout the previous chapter. The students most of the times react violently and create chaos because the ones that have the power and the endorsement from the government act the same.

Power relations lead a conflict between two different opponents who employ power mechanisms in order to influence others. Politics for students is very important because they use it as a tool to defend their speech against the legitimate forces.

Violence is generated by people who have no other way to have their ideas heard and end up expressing them in the least convivial way is to say attacking another and passing over the

rights that every living thing has, ignoring them to look for other alternatives so that those ideas are heard in the right way. The protest is a manifestation and social organization that pretends to generate a change or to raise awareness to a greater public on a certain problematic.

The discourse is the way in which everyone can express ideas in society to persuade others, in this way the discursive futuristic society is constructed with the interdiscursive and intertextual technique, since it is part of the communicative situations that occur daily in the daily life, generating an identity.

A social movement causes people to unite and defend their interests both group and personal. The source of success to the power relations and domination are the citizens who consent the title of leader to one person or group which reveals that the action and the speech are found in a frame that identifies and build an ideal model of influence that the political power assures in one ruler who controls the political action and reaction. Finally, the approach of this monograph include some explanations from research authors.

### CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, we will specify the methodology that will be used to obtain the information that is needed for this monograph. Also for the development of the methodology was used two types of study, qualitative study and the phenomenological, since this way it was determined which tools would be used for the development of the project and therefore the results.

The necessary elements will be specified to be able to carry out the speech as a type of communication in the riots by students and the objectives in a discourse analysis, the first thing that must be done is to understand that it is an analysis of discourse, which is defined as a discipline and instrument of the social sciences and therefore its fundamental objective is to describe the importance that the text can influence in social life. Second, to know the verbal structure, social cognition, action-interaction.

The verbal structure is when there are social variations of gender or class, there is a tendency to show a direct relationship between social structures and individual discourse structures, action-interaction is groups or elites with power, denominating groups determine who can speak, who can be addressed, in what way and under what circumstances and social cognition is to know the type of ideologies and social representations that use the issue influence the recipients.

The third and last step is to understand with data collection, it is here when ideology or persuasion is interpreted as the effects of discourse and make a comparison with theories of different authors so as not to be biased to a single theory and be able to analyze, relate and contrast.

This is qualitative research and its type is phenomenological. Just like McCracken (1988) describes in his book: In the qualitative tradition, “researchers must use themselves as the instrument, attending to their own cultural assumptions as well as to the data. In seeking to

achieve imaginative insights into the respondents' social worlds the investigator is expected to be flexible and reflexive and yet somehow manufacture distance” (quoted in Brannen, 1992, p. 4-5) In that sense the researcher has a responsibility in order to get the information and clarify by him/herself what the interviewed is talking about, passing one opinion and mixing both thoughts to share and let more people have their own, that is the basis of this monograph.

With phenomenological research since according to Miller and Salkind, “a phenomenological study describes the meaning for several individuals of the lived experiences surrounding a concept or a phenomenon”. (Miller and Salkind, 2002), also, they say about this type, “Researchers search for the essential, invariant structure (or essence) or the central underlying meaning of the experience, they emphasize the intentionality of consciousness based on memory, image, and meaning”. (p. 151).

According to that and with the data collection, topic, are concerned to this research method because the social observation is required to understand the student's manners and the riots phenomena, also a description based on the author’s insight after the observance and knowledge of the situations and thoughts of the students that helped enrich this monograph.

Whereby, this is a phenomenological research since it analyzes the students’ participation in the riots through lived experiences that are explained in the deep interviews, a survey of 10 closed questions and a field test to describe the student behavior in the riots. The process of the research instruments included face to face interviews in which we could define the reactions and feelings they expressed as they answered.

The riots are a phenomenon with big importance in the Colombian Public Universities. In general, the speech is related to rights, the students consider are violated by the authorities by means of education reforms and forced decisions. One of the most remembered riots happened in 2011 when President Santos said he wanted to make a reform in higher education that caused

a big reunion of students. However, some infiltrators threw stones and the ESMAD counterattacked with tear gases.

As BBC insured in Bogota clashes amid Colombian student protests (2011) “Last month, President Santos urged students to not let themselves be manipulated by rebel groups like the FARC. ‘We know very well that it's the Farc strategy to stimulate social protest and infiltrate the protests to bring about violence and chaos,’ he said”.

But the Organizations didn't accept that asseveration: We're an open civic movement, made up of university students from across the country, said Giselle Medina from the Federation of University Students told the Spanish news agency Efe. (Bogota Clashes amid Colombian student protests, 2011).

Whereby, the research is applied with a survey to 15 Bogota's students from the National University and an interview unstructured, applied to different students and each student interviewed is going to help us giving us information and contact with other students that being part of the protests, that is to say, students or active leaders in the protests.

## **Data collection instruments**

### **Interview**

“It is a scientific method of data collection, through the use of standardized questionnaires, made by interviewers specially trained or distributed for self-administration to a sample”. (Kuechler, 1998)

The survey has different types. Hyman in 1971 claimed they are five: Exploratory, descriptive, explanatory, predictive and evaluative. To understand better each, one, some authors that had written about them are going to be in the following lines:



The exploratory survey is a small-scale investigation prior to the investigation itself, whose defining element is its consideration of test or trial and the restricted nature of its approach. (Alvira, 1984). Hyman says about the descriptive survey: "the central objective of this type of analysis is essentially the precise measurement of one or more dependent variables, in some defined population or sample of a said population" (Hyman, 1971).

Jaime Arnau Gras wrote: "Particularly, explanatory surveys must address the determination of the direction of a possible casualty and the existence of adulterated variables, through the careful review of alternative hypotheses and the adjustment of models". (Arnau Jaime, 1990)

Vidal Díaz de Rada wrote about Predictive survey: "The prediction supposes 'one more step' within the development of types of research since it is necessary to know the explanation of the phenomena before trying to establish a prediction of these". (Vidal Díaz, 2009) The last type: "Evaluative survey is the accumulation of information about an intervention, its operation, and its effects and consequences" (Alvira, 1985)

According to Sabino (2002), interviews are divided into two types: structured, unstructured: call also formal. It is characterized by being rigidly standardized, identical questions are posed and in the same order to each of the participants, who must choose the answer between two, three or more alternatives that are offered.

It is more flexible and open, although the research objectives govern the questions, their content, order, depth, and formulation are entirely in the hands of the interviewer.

Although the researcher based on the problem, the objectives and the variables, elaborates the questions before conducting the interview, modifies the order, the way of channeling the questions or their formulation to adapt them to the different situations and particular characteristics of the subjects of study.

## **Survey**

One of the methods used in this research is the survey. “It is a technique that uses a set of standardized research procedures through which a series of data is collected and analyzed from a sample of cases representative of a larger population or universe, from which it is intended to explore, describe, predict and/or explain a series of characteristics”. (García Ferrando, 1992). Also, “It is an interpersonal confrontation, in which a person asks other questions whose purpose is to get answers related to the research problem”. (Kerlinger, 1985). According to (Sierra, 1999) “it is a conversation that establishes an interrogator and a questioned (...) oriented to obtain information about a defined objective.”

## **Description and justification**

There are several definitions of research, proposed by famous authors and scholars of their time. You will find out that the basic meaning and the context of these definitions are the same. The difference between these definitions lies only in the way the author has undertaken research in his discipline.

Research comprises “creative work undertaken on a systematic basis in order to increase the stock of knowledge, including knowledge of man, culture and society, and the use of this stock of knowledge to devise new applications.”

Scientific research is a systematic way of gathering data, a harnessing of curiosity. This research provides scientific information and theories for the explanation of nature and the properties of the world. It makes practical applications possible.

Scientific research is funded by public authorities, by charitable organizations and by private groups, including many companies. Scientific research can be subdivided into different classifications according to their academic and application disciplines. Scientific research is a

widely used criterion for judging the standing of an academic institution, such as business schools, but some argue that such is an inaccurate assessment of the institution because the quality of research does not tell about the quality of teaching (these do not necessarily correlate totally).

A broad definition of research is given by Martyn Shuttleworth (2008)– “In the broadest sense of the word, the definition of research includes any gathering of data, information, and facts for the advancement of knowledge.”

Another definition of research is given by (Creswell, 2008) who states that – “Research is a process of steps used to collect and analyze information to increase our understanding of a topic or issue”. It consists of three steps: Pose a question, collect data to answer the question, and present an answer to the question.

Qualitative type is research dealing with phenomena that are difficult or impossible to quantify mathematically, such as beliefs, meanings, attributes, and symbols. Qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior. The qualitative method investigates the why and how of decision making, not just what, where, when. (Krishnakumar, V. 2011)

This type of research has the next advantages: It enables more complex aspects of a person's experience to be studied, fewer restriction or assumptions are placed on the data to be collected. Not everything can be quantified, or quantified easily, individuals can be studied in more depth, it is good for exploratory research and hypothesis generation and the participants are able to provide data in their own words and in their own way.

It also has some disadvantages: It is more difficult to determine the validity and reliability of linguistic data, there is more subjectivity involved in analyzing the data. “Data overload” – open-ended questions can sometimes create lots of data, which can take a long time to analyses and the time-consuming.

The riots are a fact of great importance in Public Universities of Colombia, generally, the speech is related to the rights, the students consider that they are violated by the authorities that use educational reforms and forced decisions. One of the most remembered riots happened in 2011 when President Santos said he wanted to make a reform in higher education that caused a big reunion of students. However, some infiltrators threw stones and the ESMAD counterattacked with tear gases.

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#### CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter is about the after process to the surveys applied to 15 Bogotá's students from the National University and the Interviews applied to different students during the period from October to November 2017. Among the surveyed population it was found that all were students from Bogotá between 18 and 25 years old. To carry out an analysis in a clearer way, a program known as Atlas.ti for the interview was used, where all the data obtained was emptied and later analyzed.

##### **Interview**

The following is the analysis of the data and the interpretation of the results, making a review of them and the baseline of the data and the concept map. First, general information will be presented about what could be observed and known at the National University, with the intention to understand the other results.

The interview is composed of seven open questions made for six students of different careers of the National University in Bogotá. Most of them are going to appear in this project as Anonymous.

##### **First interview: Guillermo Olarte- University Nacional student**

It is possible to see that the speech of this student is detailed, diverse and very well argued, letting us know his point of view according to the marches in his studies place as part of the riots a couple years ago, in that sense he demonstrates himself as knowledgeable about the subject in its entirety. According to the questions, information could be gathered. It tells his opinion.

The conclusion of the interview is: There are stages before to the marches were there are students who are interested in the topic to which they want to denounce, are student representatives principally, student organizations, students that are not representatives and they

do not do part of the organizations but that are motivated by the topic of the situation of the public universities essentially and so of the higher education in general, that they begin identifying a series of problematic about these topics: higher education or public university, later the problems are denounced because it is considered to be mainly at this moment, a relative consensus.

For example; on October 4, 2017, the decrease of the budget was denounced principally to the public universities by the question of the resources of the higher education that are faced towards to programs that they put in disadvantage to the public university.

That is to say, the previous, is the meetings achievement, that there are supported by academicians, specialists in the topic, social, political leaders who are supporting there; for example, in the Congress of the republic there is a conferee, called Victor Correa and have opened spaces so that the students take its worries and show reasons from what it is going on with the university and with the higher education.

Then, the time of the scenarios, in addition to denouncing, begin to project actions and that is where they begin to promote the mobilizations, as well as the mobilization on October 12 that are mobilizations where not only students participated but broader sectors such as movements social, peasants, indigenous people, people here like the southern strike for mobility of Transmilenio, for the issue of Doña Juana's trash because this day was the conquest, colonization and all the terms that involved violence in Colombia throughout Latin America, therefore this is a date to denounce all the problems it have had, so there they not only summon students but other people.

The main thing is to evaluate the scope of the mobilization and the impact, the scope that is had at the time of denouncing and the impact if it was positive or not. Many times the mobilizations are made to denounce but also to request information or request something in return, for example, the mobilization of the last time that went to the Ministry of National

Education, this time were all the universities, not only were public and private universities from here in Bogota if there were also other public universities from different parts of Colombia.

The fact is that delegations came and we went to get a letter requesting clear points, now it is false that statement “There is that the marches are useless” and it is false because those statements, these ideas are based on the mobilization is the only tool used by the student movement, that is a lie, because the student movement, let's say, not only generates mobilization, it has used other tools, such as; For example, are political supporters, so they are talking with congressmen, with the ministry, also with legal channels, requesting petition rights and making bills.

There is also a series of repertoires of action, repertoire refers to everything the student movement does within an objective and ,it has to be evaluated, if the situation becomes more fucked and more critical, because the movement will have that to increase its level of dispute so that it generates greater reception and so it can affect what the government's agenda is, because that is something that is clear and is that the mobilization including all the tools, all the actions that they carry out, In other words, all This is aimed at positioning the government's agenda, as well as giving them priority.

To make the riot stronger and effective, the first thing to do is justification, that is, the objectives of why the mobilization is called, then a call is made, which is the deployment of voice to voice, of social networks, the use of media that are specific to students or external, as the Spectator and Time, which draw articles of upcoming student mobilizations, therefore are different mechanisms that seek that, this as in the pre, in the during that, is the day 0 the day of the riot, other mechanisms are handled like the steering wheel or chapola (flyer) with information, then the students leave to the entrances.

They begin to distribute to spread to remind the students that there is mobilization that day and the people are informed, they begin to articulate and they are summoned in the main squares of the public universities, they are also people with teams and microphones for the people passing by and know the reasons why the march is made, providing arguments with reasons that explain why public education is at risk and depending on how the call is proceeded to make an internal mobilization for then go out into the streets.

We understand that the mobilization can be either a pupitrazo or a riot or a sit-down, these are mobilizations and each mobilization has its name according to its character, if it is a pupitrazo, nature is to take out desks, sit in the streets and do blockages of the tracks, so the name would depend on that too, if it's a march, then the name will depend on that.

Here the mobilization depends on its character but it also depends on what you want to denounce, the objective that has been drawn up. For example: the program is going to be denounced, ser pilo paga, the slogan is, "Ser pilo does not pay if the public ends", that would be the name we would put on the march, if it is a protest to protest missing students or the denudation that was made several years ago a mobilization where people were naked, was based on stripping the problem of education.

### **Interview 2 Woman U. National**

In this interview the discourse of a psychology student was analyzed, which was expressed in a scandalous way in front of the situation that generates this type of facts since the student mobilizations have become a joke for the high commands, for this reason, she is part of the protests actively so that the objective of what a riot has to generate, that is, a change, is not forgotten.

The conclusion in the interview is: The procedure before the riots as such is, basically an organization that is born without any further objection because of the situation that occurs in the



country, the city or the university; As well as everything that has to do with the policies that the government implements, then the first thing that is done it's to verify what moment is being lived and what situation is happening. When that happens, there is a need to show it, certain groups begin to say: "Ok, this is happening, what we are going to do?", so the first mechanism is to convoke people and say: "This is happening, this happens for such reason ", and the idea is to go to some representative place as the Plaza de Bolívar, the Ministry of education, the Ministry of Agriculture; let's say depending on what is happening. After that, through social networks, people are invited to participate and to know what is happening and finally, it's the riot.

The student movement itself has a mobilization agenda regarding all the things that happen in the country, right? So, for example, in every May the first there will always be a riot because it is the day of work, then all the people summon for human rights violations that arise, for the human being as such and basically have those moments. For example, right now we have the budget cut to public education, to favor the program Ser pilo paga, to favor the ICETEX, that are indebtedness credits that mean an unfinished payment, then, that is outrageous, that is a violation of human rights, of our right to education, of our right to have a free country where we can speak; then that makes one resign.

There are several dynamics about the fights and clashes with the ESMAD, in one hand there are people who seek to sabotage spaces, then, because of their different ideologies, their thoughts, they try to use violence as a mean to damage the situation. On the other hand, there is also the state's provocation, which is what makes people react in some way. Because if you are being forced, you will not sit waiting to see how they beat or how they insult you or anything.

Anyway, that does not justify any violence mechanism that is used, but yes, obvious that there are ways of provocation and also disappearances of students. For example, she works with

human rights, she realizes that there are always some of the public forces that try to hit the students, so they react and at that moment, they start to form the pandemonium.

The idea is also a bit to end things, if you realize after the riots end, for example in La Plaza de Bolívar not only is allowed to concentrate people but when they give an order eviction the ESMAD begins to throw gases to dislodge people, that also causes people an adverse reaction and basically I think the problem comes from both, how this type of violence mechanisms is generated.

### **Third Interview: Víctor Hugo - University National student**

In this speech it was analyzed that the student Victor uses a revolutionary language with respect to what the student movement is since he is an active participant of the protests in the university, his lexicon is very broad, the interest and support are clear.

The conclusion in the interview is: the procedure that is carried out before the riots are two elements followed, the first is a communicative element that makes visible the problem or the objective of the mobilization in the riot, the communicative affects both social networks and physically, then it can be convened in networks and from that it determines also as more or less the number of people who can be in the protest.

The second element is the whole topic of preparation as well as the symbolic among the riots that are: flags, banners, pimpones, etc., that is to say, what is going to be used in terms of the symbolic that can be identified as well as the problematic or how to make it visible, and those two elements, both communicative and symbolic, are fundamental to achieve the goal of the riot.

As there are different mobilizations of different riots, that determines the convocation and that being effective; For example: the repeal of Peñalosa is something that affects citizens in general and based on the diversity of people in the city, because it is mobilized and tends to be a more effective mobilization, but for example in the National University what is done are

assemblies or that kind of strategies that allow first how to communicate to the people of why they are going to leave and also what they allow is that they arrive or replicate that need of mobilization to other people, that can be a strategy.

In addition, another strategy would be what is known as chapoleo that is to deliver pieces of papers with the information of the mobilization, in the morning, the same day, so that the people know about this. Another strategy to make the mobilization effective is the whole theme of the carnival because the mobilization itself is a carnival, then that element as cultural and artistic within the mobilization also allows to call other types of factors, which may not be identified from soon with the problem, but that cultural and artistic element allows to articulate other types of people, from that also another type of awareness will be given and that allows that later on, it does not leave by leaving if there is an awareness of why it's the riot.

Another serious strategy to make the mobilization effective is to be able to delimit a route where the problem can be visualized; because it is not the same to riot in Caracas as to riot in the Seventh or to protest in 26, since space is different, the context and that allows adding more people to the mobilizations since sometimes there is a slogan like "Amigo mirón únase al montón que yo soy estudiante y usted trabajador ", then that slogan catches the attention of the people and sometimes there are people who according to the objective of the mobilization join, example: That slogan, ( Friend voyeur ( mirón) join the group that I am a student and you worker ) was used a lot when the cost of transport in transmilenio was increased and people got off and mobilized, so it depends a lot on the moment of agitation within the same mobilization as a strategy.

The cultural, artistic as well as the murga, the cumbia, the drums in the riot, but also what is said in the riots, the slogans, the songs are also a way to motivate the mobilization and to do it in a way more pedagogical, ludic and that allows to achieve the objective of the mobilization.

Let's say the mobilization as I mentioned above is an exercise, a mechanism more than anything like visibility, pressure, visibility can be for example the issue of SER PILO PAGA, then right now public education from the agreement of 64 and the policy educational public, let's say was socializing the commercialization of education and from that it is said as "We must mobilize and motivate people to be mobilized", then a series of mobilizations are raised as an element of visualizing the problem, after that is what student meetings are planning, what has been done this week (2017), there was an extended district meeting, a national meeting of higher education students is being planned for the next year in the face of a national strike, so let's say mobilization is also part of the planning, however, the mobilization can also be conjectural and does not have a scope beyond where it can stop the mobilization and already, and there is also the other scenario that is more circumstantial or has no projection, for example: What happened with the feeders in Ciudad Bolivar ( a neighborhood), the people mobilized in Ciudad Bolivar portal, because the feeders had not arrived, but as it was something spontaneous because it did not have a projection beyond that mobilization but nevertheless.

The fact mobilizing can also generate articulation of different sectors and can even allow a scenario that allows let's say as a programmatic projection in terms of demands as well as a mobilization agenda of its own that allows a qualitative leap in mobilization, because it is not only made visible if not demand, then there is the element of pressure.

For example, what happened with the agrarian summit about three weeks ago (2017) in terms of pressing on the agreements that the national government has not complied with the agrarian summit and what they did was a cultural act in the ministry of agriculture then mobilization is not only visible if not pressure, "we are demanding such a thing ... That's why we are mobilizing" after the riot is over or a negotiating table was agreed or is still scheduled or

preparing a series of mobilizations that allow raising the pressure level so that a good term is reached.

**Fourth interview: Anonymous man**

From the beginning his perception is visible and it is related to human rights and the procedure to make a riot work. This student clearly knows very well the topics and difficult situations that happen in a riot. Because of him, it was possible to know about the existence of organizations engaged in the riots, they are confirmed by students and some people with political interests.

**Fifth Interview: Juan Diego Ortega**

When we talked to this student we could realize he was 'Paisa' because of his accent and also his openness and initiate to tell us the things we needed to know. First, he expressed the riot wouldn't exist if there wasn't a need. And the clearness specified on the words that the people say in the riot. So we can say, his answer started from the meaning and the reason for the riot. Then he describes the order according to the strategies like the content and other things.

His opinion expresses how to behave and achieve the goal, making see the opposite side of the riot as an evil entity and the participants of the riot as the right people. He also talks about the laws and the rights of the people, which is something to emphasize in.

**Sixth interview: Anonymous man II**

This student answered really short but sure of what he was saying. He talks about the laws as Juan Diego and also agrees with the others about the social networks effectiveness to call people. However, diplomacy appears in his speech and that word was not used before in any other interviewed.

The most controversial topic of his interview was the infiltrations of police forces or other organizations in the riots.

**Survey- Results:**

**Question 1:**

The results show that 60% of students have frequently participated in the riots, 20% never, 13.3% always and 6.7% occasionally.

**Question 2:**

The results show that if the participation of students in riots has increased by 73.3% in 2016 and 26.7% think otherwise.

**Question 3:**

The result shows that 40% of the arguments used by students to protest are of a social nature, 33.3% are political, 26.7% are economic and 0% are religious.

**Question 4:**

The result shows that the role played by ESMAD in 39.3% is not adequate and 6.7% if it is adequate.

**Question 5:**

The result show that with respect to the protest held in 2016 by the plebiscite, 73.3% of the participants were leaders of both private and public universities and 26, 7% were people of the common.

**Question 6:**

The result is: it was analyzed that the newspapers and news programs in 73.3%, often show a foreign reality with respect to what happens during the protests, leaving the outgoing students in an unfavorable position, and to the ESMAD as executors of their duty, 26.7% always, 6.7% few times and 1.0% never.

**Question 7:**

The result is: it was evident that 73.3% of riots conclude occasionally satisfactory, 13.3% frequently and never and 1.0% always.

**Question 8:**

The result shows that 66.7% of student riots are clear and 33.3% of them are not.

**Question 9:**

The result shows that from 100 to 500 students, that is to say, an estimated 60% attended the protests in 2016, of greater than 500, 33.3% and of less than 100, on the 6th, 7% attended students.

**Question 10:**

The result shows that 80% of the riots carried out in 2017 by students have been effective and 20% have not been.

**Results' Discussion**

Taking into account the different opinions of the students is reflected an important knowledge and an insight to face the opposing forces, they see the ESMAD agents as abusive but they also know that there are people who cause the disorder and thus the disturbances begin. There is also a tendency, as the graphs say, for students to be interested in supporting the causes of the leaders and the organizations that they mention in the interviews.

The need to protect their rights has increased, also because it is known that the country has corrupt tendencies and the most fragile people get affected by them. There are not just a few, but many people who do not have the facilities to pay in order to enter private University tuition or to eat. The riot that gained the most followers was the one that was against the "Ser Pilo Paga" program, as explained in his Masters in Interdisciplinary Social Research, as explained Mr. Carlos Marchena (2017) in his Masters in Interdisciplinary Social Research:

Is an educational inclusion program aimed at a number of young students who, due to conditions of economic disadvantage supported by the SISBEN assessment and obtaining high scores in the state tests also known as Saber 11, have access to forgivable credits from the ICETEX, to be able to enter Higher Education Institutions, both public and private universities, which must be accredited as high quality.

The intentions of the riots are mostly social; they look for the welfare of the people. Although it also has to do with politics because many of the marches are based on decisions made by the government. For example, after the Plebiscite in 2016, there was a movement of students that formed the revolution and created an echo in the Colombians because of 50,000 of them to the Plaza de Bolívar. There, it is explained the reason of the riots to be based on social and political causes “With a clear social and political vocation, students from public and private universities in Bogotá, such as the National and the Andes, called mass marches that managed to unite more than 50,000 citizens in the Plaza de Bolívar under the same motto: "We want peace". (Semana Magazine, 2017)

Returning to the subject of the ESMAD's abuse there is a clear forcefulness of the bad reputation among the students that were interviewed and surveyed. It is possible that it would be a good contest, but based on opinions with respect to which is right and if it is fair to act on both sides. However, they are a group supposed to ensure the welfare of people and they should not break their values and seek to end the marches causing those people who must protect. It is their duty to be responsible for the lives of their proteges as it is for students to respect authority.

In general, the marches are to do justice and to note the indignation of a group of people affected. It is complex that this type of actions changes the perspective of those in charge. And unless universities and important organizations should influence and give their support to the point of dissatisfaction, it is possible that what students predict in the survey will happen. But



both of the contenders join and leave violence away. There is possible to consider a change and that would finish any corruption because the justice causes would be helpless.

To conclude this chapter, it was evidenced that the student movement is a mean of communication, to the dissatisfaction of students regarding injustices and to respect the rights that as students of public universities have, the right to be heard, the right to have an adequate infrastructure in which they feel safe when studying, the right to free expression, that is why the discourse analyzed to students through interviews discloses a discourse that handles what is change, the change to facts negative that affect the people as such, the change to unfavorable laws for people and for future generations.

What is achieved with this speech managed by the university students is to give a voice of change with the protests, risking criticism badly promoted by governmental organizations, in general this is the discourse managed by the public universities that for many years have implemented this movement with real arguments to the reality of what is happening in our country.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

During this investigation, we analyze the discourse used by the students of the public universities in the riots. This fact was investigated through different subsequent investigations, degree works, theses, through historical facts and keywords, interviews and surveys that resolved what the student movement has been, how it is handled and the importance of it. In this chapter, we try to show the limitations of the study, the recommendations for further research and the last conclusion.

### **Limitations of the present study**

Carrying out this type of research at the beginning was interesting, as we had a series of historical, social and real elements that the country lives and in which it is possible to corroborate the experience of many people close to us and alien to these situations; however, it became more interesting when the path of obtaining data that the observer at the first glance does not evidence, that allowed me to have access to another type of lens to see reality, was undertaken. In spite of this, it is not enough because, even when finished, the interest would be expected to reach a neutral state, it is an exciting subject and only more doors are opened to the meticulous interest in understanding collective behavior with other characteristics. On the other hand, just a little percentage of the students accepted the invitation of the interview, most of them did not seem interested or had any time to do the interview. Others were afraid of the retaliations insurgency groups could have with them, also for the same reason, some of them did not give their names.

Not all of the sources have complete information as the date, the author or the origin. As for suggestions for future research based on the discourse part, it is fundamental to analyze the elements used in this type of communication, since in the course of the work, when setting objectives, they can be changed, causing the monograph objective to be lost.

## Conclusion

Based on the aforementioned observations on the results of the data and the general and specific objectives, plus the question of the problem, it was identified that the discursive strategy used is mentioned as putting perspective framed or representation of speech, since, is used in the mobilizations of the students as the procedure that is carried out before the riots and, therefore, the strategies used during the process, so that the protests are effective, since within the procedure students express themselves in different ways when participating in the process or in committees to solve doubts, such as, why are they committing riots, or how spread through social networks? The purpose of what is carried out is the protest, or when they use a mechanism to disseminate as the flyers or the *chapolas* with the information, then the students leave them at the entrances.

The discursive elements used in the disturbances in the communicative function to transmit their ideologies are two elements followed, the first is a communicative element that makes visible the problem or the objective of the mobilization in the riot, then it can be summoned in the networks and, from that, they also determine how more or less the number of people who may be in the riot.

The second element is the whole topic of preparation, the symbolic among the disturbances that are: flags, banners, tables, etc., that is, what is going to be used in terms of the symbolic that can be identified, as well as the problem or how to make it visible, and those two elements, both communicative and symbolic, are fundamental to achieve the objective of the riot.

We focus on public universities as the National University, so the discursive identity of the universities that are part of the disturbances is based on the organization, they make assemblies that allow people to communicate, why are they going to protest? what generates that, they arrive or replicate that need for mobilization for other people.

According to the question of the problem, we find that the biggest problem within the mobilizations is the interruption by organizations such as ESMAD, the media, the infiltrators, such as hoods, vandals or guerrillas. This is why students do not have two discursive strategies with respect to these adversities that are generated continuously during these mobilizations, which leaves a negative result for students, communities of people who really defend a right since in a country like Colombia, most people who do not attend these protests, only judge and believe what they are told by television, social networks and the media in charge of rejecting this type of communication.

These strategies are: the argument, that is the justification of positive or negative attributions, and the intensification-mitigation, that is , the intensification and attenuation of the illocutionary force of the affirmations (discriminatory), for that reason for not to allow ESMAD to appear in the protests. It is important to control from day 0 of the riot to the vandals that generate confrontations with this type of public force, since there are more people who are going to protest and have not generated chaos, for that reason, there are more crowds who reject this kind of people, for that, to verify that they have not hooded and try not to take priority routes that generate this type of conflicts so that there are more days to go out, with more people, and fewer misfortunes.

The mass media attract attention mainly to the fact that politics is rooted, that is, to avoid having posters or images of political figures on posters or posters, which makes television focus only on that and not on the mobilization.

When analyzing the protests between 2016 and 2017 in which was the development of this investigation, and current marches, there were many subjects that promise democratic hope for Colombia, which are, first of all, even though our president is clumsy and blind to the reality facing the country, he has also allowed people to go out and express themselves, likewise a

massive quarrel that as never before is expressed in values of solidarity and its affirmed that we can no longer tolerate injustices against the people, a media that showed its political place is with the powerful , social networks that have allowed to create a diverse, ambiguous and complex opinion where there is room for more truth and many more countries, citizens who can not stand it anymore, who are outraged and want to fight for a more just society, young people who have wanted to innovate politics with the symbols of our time of shows, police forces that showed that they only want to attack, repress and damage the people, some jurassics who, from chaos and violence, want to demonstrate their political incompetence and disrespect for citizens who do want to bring about changes.

And for all this, the internet, cell phones and social networks are the screens that allow reality to stop being just Caracol and RCN and begin to take the many forms we have of being Colombia. Young people, new media, social networks, indignant citizens allow us to imagine a happy ending: of course, there are the bad people of always who do not want to lose their power: the media, the politicians and the owners of the country that looks to and from the USA.

This research also left us an apprenticeship with respect to the students of public universities, and not all of them organize a riot that has an idea, and that is to generate a change for society, for the city, for forgotten communities, for the crowds, who want to be heard by the government or by the top brass; they are students with advanced intellectual abilities, they are young actors in the student movements, they are young people who know the problems because they analyzed them, they studied them, they met with people from other cities who have not been heard by a government and unjustly forgotten, students who defend their own rights and those of others, make us reflect that not everything that appears on television is true, we must not judge them without knowing them, without first knowing why they protest and fight for a better country.



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**APPENDIX A**

**A.1 SURVEY**

**1. In the marches that have been presented this year, the students of public universities have had participation?**

- a. Always
- b. Often
- c. Sometimes
- d. Never

**2. We can affirm that the number of students participating in the riots in relation to a year ago (2016) has increased?**

- a. Yes
- b. No

**3. What causes are often used as a reason for students to protest?**

- a. Social
- b. Economic
- c. Political
- d. Religious

**4. Is the ESMAD's role in protests or riots appropriate?**

- a. Yes

b. No

**5. Is it valid to say that the protest that took place a year ago for the results of plebiscite was conducted by public and private universities?**

a. Yes

b. No

**6. Do newspapers and newscasts show a different reality to what happens during the protests, leaving students in an unfavorable position and ESMAD as the fulfillers of their duty?**

a. Always

b. Often

c. Rarely

d. Never

**7. Do the student riots conclude satisfactorily?**

a. Always

b. Often

c. Rarely

d. Never

**8. Is clear the information circulating in student riots?**

a. Yes

b. No

**9. How many students do you think attended the riots and protests in 2016?**

a. Less than 100

b. Between 300 and 500

c. Greater than 500

**APPENDIX B**

**B.1 Interview**

1. What is the procedure that takes place before the riots?
2. What strategies are used to make the riot take strength and be effective?
3. The leaders of the public universities meet before to organize the riots?
4. Why most of the riots end in disturbances and confrontations with the ESMAD, making the goal for which they went to protest it lost?
5. What means do you use to summon people to attend the protests?
6. What types of names do you give to the riots?
7. When a march ends the following is planned?