

The discursive construction and  
attributions of motive in relation to the  
Chilean student movement (2011-2013)  
in the national news genre

(80,947 words)

Carolina Pérez Arredondo, BA, MA

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# **Declaration**

I hereby, declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material which has been accepted or submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

# Abstract

Carolina Pérez Arredondo, BA, MA. 'The discursive construction and attributions of motive in relation to the Chilean student movement (2011-2013) in the national news genre'. PhD Thesis, Lancaster University, December, 2017.

This thesis investigates how motive is linguistically and discursively constructed in news reports of the Chilean student movement. In particular, I analyse how these constructions of motive are recontextualized, represented and attributed to legitimize and/or delegitimize the actions associated with them.

The corpus under study consists of a specialized corpus containing news articles about the student movement, drawn from seven major newspapers over a three-year span (2011-2013), sub-categorized into conservative and alternative press. The analysis builds upon my personal adaptation of van Leeuwen's work on purpose and legitimation to analyse motive in the news genre. I combine this adaptation with positioning theory and corpus-assisted methods.

Methodologically, I propose a three-step method to analyse motive in the news genre that consists of (1) an analysis of grammatical realizations of motives; (2) position analysis in order to identify the most common storylines with which the educational issues being contested are framed, and how the actors are positioned within them; and (3) a keyword and collocation analysis to identify the ideological struggle presented in these news reports in terms of representations of motives and (de)legitimation strategies.

The results show that the inclusion, exclusion and recontextualizations of motive can be used to subvert and/or normalize social representations of the students. While no differences emerge in the ways grammatical structures are used in both the mainstream and alternative presses, semantic and discursive resources are used differently in order to legitimize and delegitimize the motives of the actors involved in the conflict. Finally, the corpus analysis helped to triangulate the results obtained in the qualitative analysis. This method contributed to the identification of motive through social actor representation, as opposed to social action representation. Therefore, it consolidated the methodological approaches I propose in this thesis.

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# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1 Background and researcher's motivation

Amid the renewal of the Chilean student movement in 2011, I participated in a 1,800-hour marathon that students organized around the governmental palace to represent the US\$1,800 million needed to fund free education in the Higher Education sector. When I told my grandfather about it, his reaction was one of utter disappointment at me having become *una anarquista* [an anarchist]. Despite my efforts to explain that my participation consisted in running a few laps around the governmental palace, he said that the only thing he had ever seen in the news about the students' protest was vandalism. He claimed that my running might have been triggered because I was running away from the police. This episode made me focus on how this social movement, and in particular its motives, was portrayed in mainstream media. In particular, I wondered how people could effectively organize towards social change when most easily accessible sources of information backgrounded or suppressed students' motives to protest. This work is the result of that wondering.

Motive has always been at the core of human action and the object of endless philosophical, metaphysical, and sociological debate. The *whys* of individual and collective human actions and practices can have various interpretations depending on institutional, situational, and psychological contexts. For example, people might interpret my jogging as a way of keeping fit when, in reality, it is motivated by running late to work. Conversely, it might be interpreted as escaping from danger if other people are running behind me, unless we are all wearing sports clothes in which case it would be interpreted as participating in a marathon. Or, if you are my grandfather, my running can be interpreted as escaping from the police by associating running with student protest only. There are different situational and contextual cues that might trigger, foreground and/or background different interpretations to people's actions and their subsequent

attributions. This becomes much more complex when we talk about collective action, in particular social movements.

Social movements are highly socially, culturally, and historically context dependent. While the differences among them constitute their own peculiarities and strengths, they also share a great deal of similarities such as the constant innovation of protest repertoires, demonstrations of unity and support, and discursive practices to challenge the status quo (see Ch. 3).

In this way, 2011 saw an unprecedented social uprising worldwide (for an overview, see Castells, 2015; García Agustín et al., 2016; Martín Rojo, 2014a). It all started with Arab countries, in a process identified as the Arab Spring. The uprising against authoritarian regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and other Arab countries sparked similar protests in Europe with *the Indignados* movement in Spain and *the Occupy* movement in the United States and across the world, including countries such as the UK, India, South Africa, Brazil and Hong Kong. In all these, neoliberal ideologies and representative politics were questioned, especially in their relation to social inequality and wealth distribution. In this context, Chile was no exception.

The Chilean student movement has always been an influential political force, grounded in its participation in and important contributions to struggles against social inequality and state oppression, playing a fundamental role in the overthrow of two dictatorships (Cabalin, 2012; Tironi, 1985; see also Ch. 2). During the democratic transition after Pinochet's dictatorship, most social movements remained dormant in the hopes of giving the Coalition for Democracy a chance to rule by avoiding conflict in a still unstable political scenario (Mayol & Azócar, 2011). At the beginning of the 2000s, however, secondary school students came back to the political front in order to make visible the disastrous consequences of the educational policies undertaken in the educational system in the 1980s. These protests were short, spontaneous and failed to achieve the impact students were hoping for. This was true until the 'Penguin Revolution' in 2006, in which secondary students successfully organized to repeal the Constitutional Organic Education Law (henceforth LOCE). Despite achieving their main goal, students saw with dismay that this policy was updated only in minor or superficial ways as the market remained the main catalyst and regulatory system in education (Ch. 2).

The series of protests and occupations during the Penguin revolution set the ground for the revival of the student movement in 2011. Secondary and university students effectively organized and paralyzed the country for over seven months in an attempt to draw attention to the social inequality and segregation the current system fossilizes and to end profit in education. Led by Camila Vallejo, students were responsible for the change of three Ministers of Education and the astonishing drop in popular support for Sebastian Piñera, the first democratically elected right-wing president since 1958. This succession of demonstrations and social uprisings led to parliamentary discussion on the possibility of granting higher education for free to the more economically deprived sectors in society. This reform was first implemented in 2015 and it is currently being updated to gradually broaden its scope by the time of submission of this thesis. More importantly, the skill in social organization shown by the student leaders since 2011 managed to secure them parliamentary seats in 2013. In this, Camila Vallejo and Carol Kariola (Communist Party), Giorgio Jackson (*Red Democrática*, Independent candidate), and Gabriel Boric (*Izquierda Autónoma*, Independent candidate) were elected as MPs. Since then, they have questioned representative politics as well as the limitations set to social welfare, resonating with most of the social causes addressed by the student movement.

Students' motives have been encapsulated in their most popular slogans: *No más lucro* [end profit] and *Educación pública, gratuita y de calidad* [Free, public, and quality education]. The representation of these motives, however, varies in mainstream and alternative media. Consider the following extracts reporting on student demonstrations from these two types of media:

(1) Mainstream (EM\_2011\_08\_octubre.txt) (in Ch. 5)

<p>Una turba de encapuchados, prácticamente, le "secuestró" el bus articulado para <i>formar la "mejor barricada" (como los mismos violentistas la definieron) del primer día del paro.</i></p>	<p>A mob of hooded demonstrators, practically, "kidnapped" the aforementioned bus to <i>set up the "best barricade" (as the violent ones defined it themselves) of the first day of strike.</i></p>
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(2) Alternative (TC\_2013\_40\_08May.txt) (in Ch. 6)

<p>Pero el control del orden público a estas alturas no puede contener la rabia acumulada. En las calles</p>	<p>But at this point the control of civic order cannot contain the built-up anger. In the streets near</p>
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contiguas a la Alameda los estudiantes improvisan fogatas, paran el tránsito y corean el hit del momento: “ <i>Y va a caer, y va a caer, la educación  de Pinochet</i> ”.	Alameda the students improvise fire barricades and block the traffic and chant to the hit of the moment: “ <i>And it’s gonna fall, and it’s gonna fall,  the education of Pinochet</i> ”.
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Both examples report on civil disobedience and vandalism, through the inclusion of setting barricades and destroying public property. However, the motivation of those actions are completely differentiated in each example. While the mainstream media portray these actions as nonsensical and driven by the pleasure of just watching the world burn (1), the alternative press rationalize these actions in terms of anger sparked by the measures imposed by Augusto Pinochet that still determine the educational system (2). The focus of that anger becomes clear by the inclusion of a recurrent protest chant in student demonstrations, which foregrounds the figure of Augusto Pinochet and his legacy as the source of their anger and discontent. These examples could be understood in terms of deviant social behaviour / juvenile anarchism in example (1) and of social vindication in (2). In the former, students are just inherently driven by violence for the sake of it; in the latter, students appropriate the fight for social reforms as their duty, rising against social inequality and segregation: one is legitimate, the other is not. These disparities in their representations are all the more problematic when we understand that the reports of almost 90% of media outlets in the country are similar to example (1) (see Ch. 2). With a limited access to mainstream media and/or the public sphere due to the high (political and economic) concentration of media ownership, social movements, even the strongly popular ones such as the student movement, see the dissemination of their cause and maintenance of their collective at risk.

Therefore, this thesis studies and analyses *representations* of motive. In particular, it explores the *attributions* of motives to the Chilean student movement in both the national press and group discussions. I aim to systematically address the concept of motive, providing consistent theoretical and methodological resources that help identify and analyse motive in the news genre from a discursive point of view. This stems from the fact that motive, despite being at the core of human action and behaviour, has been loosely acknowledged in the study of media reports of social movements and, in particular, how people conceptualize motive. Thus, this thesis contributes to this gap in

the literature in relation to the linguistic and discursive strategies used by the media to represent and attribute motive to social collectives and the social actors involved in the conflict.

Considering the scope of motive in the representation and recontextualization of social practices (Ch. 3), this thesis also revolves around concepts such as power and ideological struggle. This is conditioned by the current state of the Chilean media as well as the nature of the object of study (i.e. how social movements position themselves against the status quo). Consequently, in order to analyse motive, this thesis draws on the idea that language is a system of choices (Halliday, 1978, 2014) and how the media choose to foreground, background and/or exclude motives determines to a certain extent how we are to interpret people's actions. Systemic Functional Linguistics has also been adopted by Critical Discourse Studies, the overall framework of which I have drawn on in developing the research methodology used. Within CDS, van Leeuwen's Social Actor approach proved to be particularly useful in analysing motive. More importantly, I attempt to broaden the scope of the models this approach offers by applying it to the news genre in the Chilean context to fully appreciate how attributions of motive behave in language and discourse. The data are in Chilean Spanish and presented in English translations. I will argue in Chapter 4 that despite the grammatical differences between Spanish and English the representation of motive works in such a substantially similar way in both languages that the approach remains valid.

## **2 Aims of the study**

The main objective of this thesis is to investigate how motives of social movements such as the Chilean student movement are represented in the national press. This thesis also aims to build a bridge across disciplines concerning how social movements and motives are studied, positioning language and discourse at the core of how people collectively organize to resist and challenge the status quo. The study of language and discourse is thus at the core of understanding these processes. Finally, this study aims to vindicate the use of motive, a widely, loosely-used term in the social sciences, the use of which has been criticised, that, as I intend to show, can be framed so that it helps us understand how representations of social actors and actions are part of a wider struggle.



These objectives are reflected in the scope and concepts of the three research questions that structure this doctoral thesis. The first research question deals with the more structural issues of motive:

RQ1 How is motive linguistically constructed and attributed to the actors involved in the Chilean educational conflict at the grammatical level in the (mainstream and alternative) national news genre?

RQ1 aims to identify the linguistic and discursive realizations of motive, whether these are represented or attributed to other actors. In Ch. 5, I postulate that motive representations play a crucial role in the way people understand, interpret, support, or vilify social movements, especially those comprised of social actors already undermined and excluded from hegemonic discourses such as the Chilean youth. I focus on the interplay of the discursive and linguistic cues news reports draw on to convey students' motives to protest and how they differ from each other.

Answering RQ1 in Chapter 5 includes the analysis of how greatly the representations of motives of some social actors involved in the conflict differ from others. It explores whether these differences help create positive or negative self- and other- representations, as evidenced by the position the actors represented have in the development of this political conflict. For this purpose, I manually select a sample of the corpus and analyse it following a systematic approach to the identification of attributions and representations of motive in the news genre.

The second question addresses the legitimization function of motive constructions in relation to how actors position themselves in relation to the conflict as evidenced by the analysis in Ch. 6:

RQ2: How do motive constructions and attributions contribute to the legitimization and delegitimation both of the social actors involved and the social movement more generally in relation to the narratives they construct?

In this regard, there seems to be an overall tendency to favour the representation of *how* demonstrators protest instead of *why* they protest. Following on work in media studies, for instance, it is suggested that social movements are mostly represented as futile, irrational and violent, backgrounding and/or suppressing the contextual and historical features of their social cause (Stanley Cohen, 2011; McLeod, 2007; see also Ch. 3). However, I claim that motives are not suppressed in media representations of the student movement at all. In fact, motives are almost equally present in both mainstream and alternative presses. The difference lies in *how* these motives are represented and *who* are the actors considered worth attributing motive to in the reporting of the educational conflict. I analyse these instances in relation to positioning theory, in the light of Harré's work (see Ch. 3; section 5.2).

Finally, in Chapter 7, the last research question combines both methodological approaches to a corpus-assisted analysis of the whole corpus:

RQ3: What are the similarities and differences in how the mainstream and the alternative media construct, convey, legitimate, and attribute motive to the actors involved in the Chilean student movement?

While answering RQs 1 and 2 consists of a manual analysis of a reduced sample of the whole corpus, RQ 3 sets out to identify how motive is constructed, represented and attributed in the whole corpus. An analysis of the corpus can reveal how differently the various media deal with motive but, more importantly, it can also signal their similarities. The analysis of the whole corpus foregrounds the ideological and rhetorical strategies used by these media to cover the student movement and shows how they can influence how motive is conveyed. This kind of analysis also allows us to confirm and strengthen the first two different approaches to motives included in Chapters 5 and 6 by integrating them and interpreting statistical differences among the sub-corpora. Thus, this corpus-assisted analysis serves as a form of triangulation to compare, contrast, and corroborate the results achieved in the first two analysis chapters of this thesis.

As these research questions show, this thesis revolves around the linguistic and discursive realizations of the motives of the Chilean student movement. Nonetheless, I am

positive that there will be issues of interest to readers who are not particularly interested in this social movement nor in Spanish language data sets. The analyses of why people protest in the media are structured in such a way as to foreground methodological strategies that can be applied to either English or Spanish data as well as replicated in the analysis of other social movements. Having said that, I do hope to demonstrate that the peculiarities of this social movement and its media representations does provide an interesting example from the Latin American region to compare with the more Euro-American focus of CDS.

### **3 Organization of the thesis**

The focus of this study is on representations and attributions of motive in relation to the Chilean student movement. In this regard, the second chapter of this work is devoted to a systematic review of the relevant contextual features, particularly in relation to the history of both the Chilean student movement and the press (Ch. 2). I focus on the cultural and political aftermath of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990) in the current state of the educational system and social welfare more broadly. The influence of the dictatorship is particularly relevant in relation to the dynamics of the media in the country, which inevitably shares some resemblance with the current state of the media in the Latin American region as a whole.

I then continue with the theoretical framework of this study, which is grounded in Critical Discourse Studies, drawing on frameworks from social studies of social movements, the media, and motive (Ch. 3). I overview concepts such as discourse, power, ideology, social movements, their relationship with the media and explore the concept of motive in depth. In particular, I focus on the implications the multiple definitions of motive have had on its study in the social sciences. I then take a more linguistic/discursive approach to the issue by proposing a comprehensive theoretical framework for its analysis. In this overview, I explain why I talk about *motive and motives* rather than purpose, intentionality, etc.

This literature overview works in conjunction with the methodological framework proposed to study how motive is linguistically and discursively realized in the news genre (Ch. 4). I first explain the data collection process, from the sampling process to the ethical

constraints and the challenges of applying English frameworks to Spanish data sets. I then explain how the theoretical framework proposed was applied to the analysis of motive, covering van Leeuwen's *grammar of purpose*, and positioning analysis, and how corpus-assisted methods are useful in a project studying these characteristics. Finally, I discuss how these data and methods address each of the research questions structuring this thesis in the subsequent analysis chapters.

The following three chapters contain the analysis and discussion of the results of my study in the news genre. I first start with the analysis of a sample in order to identify the grammatical features that are used to construct, convey and attribute motive in the news genre (Ch. 5). This corresponds to the first exploratory step taken to approach realizations of motive in the news to identify how actors, actions and their motives are recontextualized.

I then approach the same sample using positioning analysis, that is, identifying the most recurrent motives these constructions referred to in relation to the stance undertaken by the actors involved in the conflict (Ch. 6). By following an inductive approach, this more qualitative analysis aims to complement the grammatical analysis by providing a different angle on the media representations of the Chilean student movement's motives. The contributions of this kind of analysis are twofold. On the one hand, it sheds light on the particular (de)legitimation strategies and storylines foregrounded in the news reports through these motives. On the other, the analysis reveals how these reports positioned the actors involved in the political conflict over the national educational system in these storylines.

The last analysis chapter aims to triangulate the results obtained in the sample analysis by carrying out a keyword and collocation analysis on the whole corpus (Ch. 7). In this, I intend to broaden the approach to motive by assisting the qualitative analysis with a careful exploration of the corpora keywords<sup>1</sup>. I contrast keywords in terms of motive, revealing stark differences in how this conflict is reported depending on the kind of press analysed.

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<sup>1</sup> Keywords are particularly frequent words in a corpus when compared to another (reference) corpus. See section 4.3.2.1. in Ch. 4 for a more detailed explanation of the term.

Finally, the last chapter gives an account of the main findings of this thesis (Ch. 8). I identify these findings in terms of the ways these address the research questions proposed in this study and their relation to one another. I then outline the contributions of this study, structured around three main axes: empirical and methodological contributions and contributions to the study of the Chilean student movement. I also include a section on the limitations of this study, followed by possible lines of further research that stem from the analysis of motive in the news genre. This section is followed by the challenges I faced during the PhD process in an attempt to make my choices and research design more transparent. Finally, I conclude with some final remarks on the issues raised by motive, social movements, and social change.

# Chapter 2. The Chilean student movement: an overview

## 1 Introduction

Social movements have played a crucial role in the political history of Latin America, contributing to vindications and resignifications of democracy and political participation (Alvarez, Dagnino, & Escobar, 1998). At the turn of the 20th century, the region suffered from important socio-political and economic changes due to internal migration, urbanization and industrialization of its cities (Calderón & Jelin, 1987). In this context, Latin America stands out as a “region where the processes of struggle, the conflicts associated to processes of transformation emerged from *within* the State as opposed to strictly social conflict. The action was inside the state as opposed to society” (Calderón & Jelin, 1987, p. 6; personal translation, emphasis in original). The conflict at the level of the State as opposed to a problem within society has contributed to the multidimensional participation of social movements. Far from being strictly defined by the causes important to one social group, social movements have acknowledged various aspects relatable to other social movements, which has inevitably widened their scope (Calderón, 1986; Calderón & Jelin, 1987)

In particular, the history of Latin America has been greatly shaped by the influence of its youngest members: the students (Rodríguez, 2013). The organization of student movements in the region can be classified into two main areas. In the first half of the 20th century, Latin American students organized collectively in their own countries to demand changes in how higher education and society were conceived and to show pride in their Latin American identity as a continent (Folletto, 1986, p. 186). Their demands revolved around the secularization of education and widening its accessibility, then restricted to the elites of their own countries. The fight for these *reformas universitarias* [university reforms] positioned young students as political actors and symbols of “‘modernity’,

‘social progress’ and ‘national unity’” in various countries (Pensado, 2015, p. 130), several of whom would later go on to be cultural and political leaders (Marsiske, 2015a, p. 26).

Although students around the region mobilized for educational reforms, this cause was soon narrowed down to address more urgent social issues in education. In Mexico, for example, students were concerned with achieving what they called *educación popular* [popular education]. Throughout this period, they managed to set up and extend primary education to rural, working class areas which struggled to send their children to school (Pensado, 2013, 2015). Similarly, students in Brazil focused on *la misión del universitario* [the university student mission]. This mission consisted of learning their social and political reality in order to achieve the economic independence the country needed from external sources. Thus, they positioned themselves as having a duty to their country, as it was through education they could contribute to this aim (i.e. “*Reforma Universitaria: deber de nuestra generación*” [University reform: duty of our generation] (Machado, 2015, p. 59).

During the second half of the century, at the start of the 1960s, students consolidated their place in societies and supported different social causes along with workers unions (e.g. the overthrowing of the dictatorships that affected the region during the 1970s and the 1980s). Their fights became more political, as the students’ organizations targeted paradigmatic changes in how their societies were structured. This second stage in their evolution was highly influenced by the Cuban revolution and the protests of May 1968 in France (Rodríguez, 2013, p. 5). Throughout Latin America, students rose to overthrow the various dictatorial regimes in the region (cf. Cárdenas, 2014b; Machado, 2015; Vera de Flachs, 2015). For example, between 1976 and 1983, almost 20% of all the disappeared were university students in Argentina, mainly because of the strong opposition they presented when attempting to overthrow the dictatorship and protesting against the violation of human rights (Bonavena, 1990; Bonavena & Millán, 2012). In Chile, it was secondary school students who led the fight against the dictatorship, through different occupations and demonstrations during the 1980s (see section 4).

The fight against authoritarian regimes was followed by opposition to the neoliberal wave taking over the region. One of the most widely reported and studied examples has been the Zapatista movement in Mexico. This is probably one of the most studied social movements due to the wide array of causes related to how neoliberalism and capitalism affect the poorest, peasants and the working class in areas such as education, land ownership, health, freedom, etc. (Van Deer Haar, 2005). The movement has also been the object of study in Discourse Studies, most notably for its power struggles against hegemonic structures and its promotion of inclusive vocabulary (see Gribomont, n.d.; Montesano Montessori, 2009, 2013). Its fight and causes were followed widely by the younger population, who defended the public administration and democratization of higher education while resisting its privatization. In Mexico, for example, along with the defence of human rights, and the fight against the exploitation of natural resources, students fought against the neoliberal turn the Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México (UACM) was being subjected to because of its new administration both at an institutional and national level (Vega Ruiz, 2012). In Argentina, university students organized to change their electoral, organisational and funding systems for more inclusive, democratic, left-wing centred mechanisms (Bonavena & Millán, 2012, p. 114) while in Colombia, a resurgent student movement focused on gaining autonomy and ensuring quality in education (Archila, 2012).

Despite the constant struggles stirred by students across the region, it would be wrong to homogenise their social and discursive practices as they all have “well-defined national features” (Calderón & Jelin, 1987, p. 35). This might be one of the reasons why Latin American student movements as a whole have tended to be understudied with research restricted to descriptive work (Pensado, 2015; Vera de Flachs, 2015).

This chapter aims to provide an understanding of the features that make the Chilean student movement different from other student movements in the region. As opposed to the other student movements, the Chilean student movement has three distinctive features that are unique to the country. First, there is a history of constant and consistent demonstrations ever since the early 20th century, which has made it as important a social movement as the Workers’ Union. Secondly, secondary school students are as active as university ones and it is their joint organization that has given more resonance to their



demands and generated the power to actually exercise changes in the status quo. Finally, their demands go beyond university demonstrations and are tightly related to the aftermath of the dictatorship. Thus, while their main demand is free, public and quality education, the core change they demand is the abolition of the measures undertaken during the dictatorship that determine social welfare, maintaining and fostering social inequality.

The chapter also addresses the difficult relation between this student movement and the media, another common feature among the region due to the high concentration of media ownership (Lugo-Ocando, 2008). To achieve these purposes, I provide a brief overview of the history of the student movement from 1906 right up until Augusto Pinochet's military coup in 1973 (section 2). I then focus on the social aftermath of the dictatorship, and how the educational system and the media landscape, in particular the press, were radically altered (section 3). This is followed by the role of the student movement after the dictatorship, providing an overview of their current state and political influence (section 4). Finally, I present a summary which includes an interpretation of how this contextual information relates (and/or contributes) to this research (section 5).

## **2 From classrooms to the streets: students as social vigilantes**

At the beginning of the 20th century, education was still highly controlled by the Catholic Church and the effects of industrialization had had a devastating impact on the working class. This scenario triggered the collectivization of students into unions, and 1906 saw the foundation of the first student union at the Universidad de Chile (FECh), followed by the Universidad de Concepción (FEC) in 1919, and the Universidad Católica (FEUC) in 1938 (Tironi, 1985). These collectives revolved around 1) their concern for social questions, 2) their demand for the secularization of education, and 3) their beliefs that knowledge was a powerful catalyst for social change (Tironi, 1985, p. 64). These concerns took the form of voluntary work aiming at improving the living conditions of the working class, by opening primary and night schools as well as several social dispensaries. Through their social involvement and protests, they played a crucial role both in the process to secularize education (1906-1918) and the overthrow of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo's dictatorship (1931).

During the 1950s, they allied with the Workers' Union (henceforth CUT) in the face of the increasing social discontent in the country (Cruces, 2006; Tironi, 1985). Different protests during this period saw manual workers and students being brutally repressed by the authorities, reaching new levels during the 1960s. The effects of the agrarian reform, the promises of educational reforms, the nationalization of copper, among other demands, became the common ground not only for the left-wing parties but also for the emerging Christian Democrats (Tironi, 1985, p. 96).

Highly influenced by the Cuban revolution, most of the student movement chose Salvador Allende (from the Popular Union party) as the Presidential candidate in the 1970 elections. During his presidency, the student movement was highly active and fully supported the CUT and the government, adopting a more radical stance in their social work (Tironi, 1985, pp. 102–103). This political and social involvement, however, ended abruptly on 11 September, 1973 (Guardiola-Rivera, 2013).

### **3 The aftermath of the dictatorship in the educational and communicational sectors**

The military dictatorship was determined to erase any cultural, political, and social ideas and practices of Salvador Allende's government. This was carried out through different actions such as the burning (and censorship) of books and films, the cleansing of walls, the taking over the administration of public universities, to name a few (Errázuriz, 2009). The ban on organizing politically and the right of association followed, dismantling the student movement and other social organizations, putting leaders and members at the risk of imprisonment, exile, of being disappeared, tortured, and/or murdered. This section explores the aftermath of these practices in three relevant social areas: the educational system (3.1), the national media (3.2) and the role of alternative media (3.3).

#### **3.1 The national educational system: an overview**

The student movement and the workers' union had a crucial role in forcing a large increase of public expenditure on improvement of the educational sector. A law enforcing Primary Instruction in 1920, had made it compulsory for parents to send their children to school and positioned the State as responsible for ensuring the quality of education

provided. In the 1940s, Pedro Aguirre Cerda's government focused on technical instruction at secondary and higher educational levels to cope with the modernization of technology and the city (Soto Sepúlveda, 2004). However, by the 1960s, there were still some structural problems in the educational sector. The most pressing problem was the scope of access to education in a society with a rapidly increasing population. Consequently, President Eduardo Frei Montalva led an educational reform whose objective was to position education as a social catalyst. By the time Salvador Allende took office, education was the main concern of the State as reflected by its role in the regulation of and investment in the sector (accounting for 7.5% of public investment (J. M. Valenzuela, Labarrera, & Rodríguez, 2008)).

In government, Allende acknowledged the need for establishing a planned and integral educational system in which educational actors came to the fore as influential agents in decision making (Aedo-Richmond, 2000, p. 173). His program also included a controversial plan to eradicate private education, incorporating it within the state-owned system (Aedo-Richmond, 2000, p. 173). These reforms were overtaken by the military coup orchestrated by August Pinochet on September 11, 1973.

The educational reforms during the military regime revolved around two main axes: *limiting the role of the State in education* and *the renovation of the national curricula* (Valenzuela et al., 2008, p. 132). Privatisation of schools was allowed to ensure everyone had access to education in line with the regime's principle of freedom of education [*libertad de enseñanza*]. This principle aimed at allowing parents to choose where they wanted their children to study (Simonsen, 2012; Valenzuela et al., 2008). The process started in 1980, when three types of school managements were introduced: public schools (State-funded, but administrated by city councils), voucher schools (State-funded, but privately owned and administrated), and private schools (funded by parents and tutors) (Valenzuela et al., 2008, p. 133). The renovation of the educational curricula, on the other hand, was carried out by solely focusing on the accumulation of content. As such, subjects and activities that fostered debates, participation and pluralism were banned as they were considered as going against the regime (Valenzuela et al., 2008, p. 133). One day before the end of the military dictatorship (10 March, 1990), Pinochet passed the Constitutional Organic Education Law (henceforth LOCE) to definitely implement this

new model of education. In this, primary and secondary education were privatized and left to be regulated by the market, without any further involvement or supervision of the state (Bartoletti & Mangiantini, 2010). This resulted in the strengthening of (social) inequality and stratification while benefiting the minority elite in Chile (Cabalin, 2012). These consequences were consolidated by the left-wing coalition Concertación during the 1990s (Simonsen, 2012).

Once democracy returned to the country, Patricio Alwyn's transitional government decided not to alter the new educational funding system. In part, this decision stemmed from abiding to the agreements made with the right-wing coalition in order to allow Pinochet to step down from office. This decision was made despite the first signs of social segregation, low quality, and major structural problems in the sector after 10 years of Pinochet's policies (OCDE, 2004). Instead, the left-wing coalition issued some reforms during the 1990s that aimed at updating the national curricula, which also included the improvement of teachers' working conditions and the implementation of full-time school instruction [*jornada escolar completa*] (Donoso Díaz, 2005, p. 120). However, these reforms were unable to target the deficiencies of the model imposed by Pinochet, which grew exponentially over the 1990s and 2000s. The crisis in education sparked the revival of the secondary school student movement at first, who were then joined and strengthened by the university students (see section 4).

### **3.2 The national media: media regulated by the market**

As suggested earlier, the dictatorship aimed at erasing any evidence or trace of Allende's government, which included the media as well. For instance, while the governmental palace was being bombarded, a special air force unit, in a mission called Silence Operation, was sent to bomb the radio stations *Magallanes* (which was transmitting Allende's last speech when *La Moneda* was being bombed) and *Corporación* (belonging to the Socialist party, which was later expropriated and became Radio Nacional de Chile, the official radio station of the military regime) (Herrera, 2007). Immediately after, most newspapers and radio stations were closed down, and the ones which were not suffered strong censorship. As part of the mission, journalists (and others) who had supported or

worked for Allende's government were imprisoned, tortured, executed, and/or sent into exile (Herrera, 2007).

It is in this context in which *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* (owned by the Edwards and Copesa companies, respectively) consolidated their role as social and political referents. Censorship was reduced to the minimum as both newspapers shared political, economic, and ideological views with the new regime. Needless to say, the violations to human rights during this period were ignored and/or manipulated by these companies and by television alike (Agüero & Villagrán, 2008; Dougnac, Harries, Salinas, Vilches, & Lagos, 2009). These were informed by clandestine resistance journals, such as *Hoy*, *Análisis*, *Apsi*, or *Cauce*, whose writers risked their lives to inform the citizenship and fight for the restoration of democracy.

Public television, originally managed by the universities, also suffered changes during this period. Created to be educational and cultural assets, television stations were forced to surrender to the dictatorship's intervention in their management. The most infamous example was TVN, a public TV station regulated by the government, which became the official voice of the military junta, serving the interests of Pinochet and his wife (Matus, 2013; Monckeberg, 2008). Eventually, these TV stations were progressively privatized, and advertising and ratings became priorities in order to survive. As with the press, this market-oriented scenario was consolidated by *Concertación*, short for 'Coalition of Parties for Democracy' (González, 2008; Lugo-Ocando, 2008; Monckeberg, 2008), leaving many emergent media struggling for survival and opting for digital formats to cut expenses (Gibbs & Parrini, 2009; Herrera, 2007).

Nowadays, the press is mainly governed by the Edwards-Copesa duopoly (Monckeberg, 2008) through the most widely-read newspapers. While *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias (LUN)* belong to the Edwards group, *La Tercera* and *La Cuarta* belong to Copesa. Most notably, these newspapers address the whole demographic classification spectrum: ABC1 and C2 (*El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*) and C3 and D (*La Cuarta* and *LUN*) (Marín, 2014; Monckeberg, 2008). These newspapers reach all social economic levels through their readership, especially sectors C2 and D. The power and scope of the press concentration of the Edwards-Copesa duopoly are also reflected in their circulation as they represented almost 90% of all the media outlets in the country

(Gumucio & Parrini, 2009; Marin, 2014; Sapiezynska, 2014; Sorensen, 2010). Along with the absence of governmental regulation, these characteristics explain why alternative media struggle to find a legitimate role in the media arena.

### **3.3 Alternative media against concentration of media ownership**

In Latin America, *alternative media* has been often defined in terms of what it is not (Rodríguez, 2009), in other words, what makes this kind of media *alternative* is its opposition to hegemonic, mainstream media. Alternative media adopt a more horizontal model of media coverage, in that it is the many reporting to the many as opposed to a few reporting on the many (Rodríguez, 2009, p. 15).

In Chile, the term alternative media refers to emerging communication channels which challenge the representations of the mainstream media by means of the issues they cover and the inclusion of marginalized actors in their coverage (Couso, 2012). Because of the high concentration of mainstream media ownership, and its near monopolization of public discussion, these emerging alternative media have had to rely on the internet to cut expenses due to their inability to attract private funding (Monckeberg, 2008). Most notable are the cases included in this research, that is, *El Mostrador*, *The Clinic*, and *El Ciudadano*. Despite all the odds, these newspapers have managed to have some paper editions, although their stronger arena is online. While *El Mostrador* aims at providing a diverse news scenario, where different voices could be heard, *The Clinic* aimed at a satirical representation of Chilean politics and is very popular, especially among young people (Bresnahan, 2003). *El Ciudadano*'s editorial line is much clearer and more direct than the last two as reflected in its slogan 'Against the Communicational Siege' [*Contra el Cerco Comunicacional*].

Despite their attempts to resist the mainstream media, the alternative media have been unable to influence the news agenda or public opinion on the matters they cover (Couso, 2012). This scenario is particularly relevant when discussing the traditional press, as it continues to be a powerful entity in the country (Couso, 2012). This situation is not only worsened by the concentration of the media in the hands of a few, but from the concentration of the private funding used to finance it. Both television and the press get most of public and private funding (Couso, 2012; González, 2008; Lugo-Ocando, 2008; Marin, 2014; Monckeberg, 2008), leading to the creation of a second, more important

client: advertising companies. Monckeberg describes that this second client has become determinant in the definition and selection of contents and their editorial lines (2008, p. 419).

Although this neoliberal turn to the media is a world-wide phenomenon, it plays a specific political role in Chile. Sunkel and Geoffroy (2001) explain that having a homogenous political and economic group in charge of the financial support of the media will not contribute to a change in favour of pluralism and diversity (in Monckeberg, 2008, p. 433). This is reflected in a common expression among Chilean media scholars: *what Pinochet did not do was done in democracy* (Monckeberg, 2008, p. 435).

#### **4 “*La educación chilena no se vende, se defiende*”: Students post-dictatorship**

The role of high school students was fundamental in the organization of a strong opposition during the dictatorship. They organized consistent and regular demonstrations (1983-1987) with the slogan ‘*Seguridad para estudiar, libertad para vivir*’ [Safety to Study, Freedom to Live] until the dictatorship was overthrown (Cárdenas, 2011; Salazar, 2006). Simultaneously, the university students’ unions, motivated by a political and social drive to democratize the country (Tironi, 1985, p. 106), were reconstituted, concretizing the politically and socially active role of young students in the fight against the dictatorship.

Once democracy was restored, social movements gave the new political and democratic transition led by ‘*Concertación*’ a chance to restore social and political order (Salazar, 2006). At a macro-level, however, society showed signs of social trauma. This social trauma was reflected in an inability to deal with conflict and dissent, which led to a diminution of social mobilization during the 1990s (Aguilera, 2012; Fernández, 2013) as well as an accumulation of unrest and political disenchantment (Mayol & Azócar, 2011). This was reinforced by the cultural model fostered by the new democratic coalition to achieve a national reconciliation through the undermining (and restriction) of possible conflict (del Campo, 2004). It is in this context in which the students’ political, social and cultural role decays, purposefully obscured by different narratives of exclusion. For example, Aguilera (2012, p. 103) describes an emphasis on constructing young people in terms of their apathy, what they are not, what they do not do. By the year 2000, however,

this understanding of the students, and the generalized politicised apathy in society, starts changing with a renewal of social movements in the country. The ‘Penguin Revolution’ is the epitome of this renewal, and its massive support laid the basis for the subsequent 2011 revolution.

#### **4.1 ‘The Penguin Revolution’**

The ‘Penguin Revolution’ was a wave of social protests led by high school students over a three-month period. The media called it the penguin revolution, alluding to the students’ school uniforms –black and white– and their resemblance to a colony of penguins when they demonstrated together on the streets. It started as many of the demonstrations they had had before. Their demands were summarized in specific changes to the educational system such as free access to the PSU<sup>2</sup> for the three poorest quintiles and free transport tariffs. These demands were violently repressed by the police and highly criminalized and delegitimized by the government (Bartoletti & Mangiantini, 2011, pp. 33–34). In this context, two prestigious schools (Liceo de Aplicación and Instituto Nacional) were occupied, starting a wave of occupations which ended with more than 350 schools occupied nationally (Bartoletti & Mangiantini, 2011, p. 37). At the same time, high school students, nationally organized under the Assembly of High School Students (henceforth ACES), rephrased their demands into the abolishment of LOCE (see section 3.1. above), positioning themselves within a political and ideological arena from which they appealed to different social organizations with their slogans “*No a la educación de mercado*” [No to market education] or “*Por una educación digna*” [For a dignified education] (Bartoletti & Mangiantini, 2011, p. 35).

After three months, the revolution came to an end with the government’s promise to change LOCE. Three years later, the law was finally repealed and replaced by the General Education Law (LGE), although students did not agree with the changes as education was still considered a commodity (Vera, 2012a, p. 247).

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<sup>2</sup> *Prueba de Selección Universitaria* [Higher Education Selection Test] is a test high school students take at the end of their high school education to access Traditional Universities belonging to the National Vice Chancellors’ Council (as opposed to Private Universities which do not ask for this test score). It is equivalent to A levels in the United Kingdom and SATs in the US.



This revolution had different implications for the various social movements. For example, high school students managed to re-establish their connections with, and support of, other organizations fighting against the neoliberal system creating a transversal, common cause among them (Aguilera, 2012). In the same way, it allowed university students to re-organize their unions, igniting their social and political drive towards the end of the privatization of education (Bartoletti & Mangiatini, 2011).

#### **4.2 ‘The Chilean Winter’**

By 2011, the Chilean education system had not improved and continued to foster social inequality through high stratification. The (university) student movement had managed to organize different demonstrations during 2006 and 2010, especially after Sebastián Piñera, a right-wing businessman, was elected the new President in 2010. However, it was only in April 2011 that high school and university students took to the streets to demand a structural change of the educational system supported by the Teachers’ Union and the National Association of University Deans (Bartoletti & Mangiantini, 2011).

This demonstration opened the path to massive demonstrations as well as school and university occupations, arguably the largest demonstrations Chile had witnessed since the end of the dictatorship in 1990 (Fernández, 2013, p. 29). The students broadened their protest repertoires to include the occupation of public spaces in the form of flash mobs, street interventions, and different cultural activities that were widely covered by international media such as *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Time Magazine* and the *BBC*, among others (García Agustín & Aguirre, 2014).

Despite the repression and the government and the media’s blunt attempts to delegitimize them, the student movement had an ever-growing energy and an outstanding support. The Minister of Education was dismissed and the government had reached the lowest approval rates. The tension between the movement and the government increased by the day and reached its peak on 04 August, 2011. On this day, the government would not grant permission for two different protests, one called by high school students (in the morning) and the other called by university students (in the afternoon). Students, however, protested all the same. The levels of repression were compared to those seen

during the dictatorship and, at night, people spontaneously banged their pots and pans in protest.

After this demonstration, the student movement became more radical. Different social movements and unions joined the marches called by the students, including a two-day general strike in August which ended with one person dead, shot by riot police. By the end of 2011, there had been three different Ministers of Education, various measures were being taken to reform the educational system and the movement had gained international support (Vera, 2012b, pp. 292–293).

After 2011, the student movement and their leaders became political and social referents, actively involved in the Parliamentary debates to radically change the educational system and sanction profit in education. Most notable is the case of ex-Minister of Education Harold Beyer, who was constitutionally questioned for allowing profit in Education with the case of Universidad del Mar. He was formally dismissed from his position and was forbidden to work in or for the government for five years. Similarly, four former 2011 student leaders successfully campaigned for seats in parliament in 2013. Even though politicians and presidents had been involved in student unions before, this was the first time former student leaders were elected despite their young age and short political careers, which might reflect how influential the 2011 demonstrations were.

#### **4.3 Student movement and social media**

The Chilean student movement has never had a smooth relationship with the mainstream media (Aguilera, 2008; Pérez, 2012; Sapiezynska, 2014; Sorensen, 2010) though they have often worked with the alternative media (Pérez, 2016, *in press*). Social movements have been traditionally backgrounded and/or excluded from hegemonic narratives, which tend to their criminalization, marginalization and delegitimation (see Ch. 3 for a discussion on the dynamics between media and social movements). In the case of the Chilean student movement, there are binary patterns that can be found in their media representations, namely students are destructive/obedient and students are dangerous/peaceful. Recent studies on their representation on broadcast media have found that students tend to be represented through medical metaphors (i.e. STUDENT is

CANCER) to foreground and emphasize how they *infect* society (Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017; Pérez & Cárdenas, *in press*).

In this context, students have turned to social media to contest, challenge, and (re)signify the representation of hegemonic discourses and traditional politics as we know it. These challenges to traditional political practices have positively affected how the Chilean student movement discursively constructs their individual and collective identities to understand politics and society more broadly and inclusively (Pino-Ojeda, 2014, p. 127). Digital platforms such as Facebook have allowed students to actively challenge hegemonic representations of themselves, their movement, and youth more generally. Simultaneously, it has allowed them to produce, replicate and expand certain nodes of signification from which they can vindicate themselves as political actors (Cárdenas, 2016b, p. 96).

The online practices undertaken by the student movement have influenced hegemonic media representations of students and young people in general (Cárdenas, 2014a; Cárdenas & Cares, 2016). Online spaces allow participation, enunciation and deliberation due to their dialogical nature (Cárdenas, 2014a, 2016c). These spaces also allow the creation, management and circulation of their own representations and interpretations of their collectives, demands, and organization (Pardo Abril, 2009). In particular, their self-representation in online spaces such as Facebook provides them with symbolic resources to create and legitimize their own social order, one in which traditional concepts of political participation are contested and resignified (Cárdenas, 2016c, p. 45).

Currently, Cárdenas is thoroughly exploring how students make use of social media to construct and articulate their identities as political, conscientious actors in clear opposition to their mainstream representation (Cárdenas, 2014a, 2014c, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c; García Agustín et al., 2016). Likewise, there is extensive work being carried out on the impact social media had during the wave of protests which started in 2011 (e.g. Barahona, García, Gloor, & Parraguez Ruiz, 2012; Scherman, Arriagada, & Valenzuela, 2013; Scherman, Arriagada, & Valenzuela, 2014; Valenzuela, 2013; Valenzuela, Arriagada, & Scherman, 2012). However, research on how their motives are represented

in the press, both mainstream and alternative, is almost non-existent. This thesis aims to fill this gap in the literature.

## **5 Summary**

The student movement in Chile has always presupposed the idea of (upcoming) social change (Cabalin, 2012; Garretón & Martínez, 1985). Considering the characteristic factors of the Chilean media in terms of ownership, regulation, and readership, this study investigates how these features contribute to framing and shaping reality according to the media's own interests. From a critical perspective, these features can be understood as a discursive monopolization of "the production, the access to, and the circulation of discourses" (Martin Rojo & Van Dijk, 1997, p. 550). The consequences of having an established media being owned by the one main political-economic elite leaves alternative informational sources struggling to enjoy the same access to the public sphere as mainstream means of information (Arriagada, 2013, p. 107).

The effects of this monopolization of media outlets become all the more relevant in the coverage of social movements. Mainstream coverage of the student movement bluntly distorts and/or suppresses students' motives, as their representations systematically use criminalization and demonization (Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017; Marin, 2014; Pérez, 2012, 2016). The attributions of these negative motives are at the core of the constant undermining of the students' political role in hegemonic discourses.

The following chapter sets out the theoretical framework that structures this thesis in relation to three main areas: Critical Discourse Studies, social movements, and motives.

# Chapter 3. Literature review

## 1 Introduction

This thesis investigates how motive is represented and attributed in news articles reporting on the Chilean student movement. There are two important concepts in this objective: social movements and motive.

The focus on social movements inevitably draws on concepts of power and ideology, and the complex relations that stem from the representation of their individual and collective motives in the media. The complexity lies in how social movements not only challenge the status quo but also in their social and cultural practices, (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003, p. 3, see also section 2) as in the case of the Chilean student movement. As discussed in Chapter 2, this movement has been an important political actor in the country that has managed to exercise its influence in the making of national policies. Collectively, the student movement positions itself as an alternative to the socio-political and economic system by calling on a more participatory approach. This approach is grounded in the aim to abolish the policies implemented during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, which are still protected by both the establishment and the political opposition. In this context, the power and ideological struggles involved in the conflict define their demands, legitimizing their motives to protest.

Motive, on the other hand, is far from being a concrete concept to analyse. As I explain in section 3 below, there is a vast literature on this subject in the Social Sciences. Motive has sparked philosophical and ontological debates in order to identify what the drive behind people's actions really is. Nevertheless, there is still an aspect that has been overlooked: its *realization* in language. Motives are identified as an omnipresent condition of human action. However, patterns and strategies arise from this identification, helping us understand how language and discourse are used to express, represent, and attribute motives to ourselves and to others.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, I provide an overview of social movements and their relationship with the media (section 2). This section aims at defining the object of study and identifying the most common patterns that their media representation draws on. Second, I move on to the concept of motive (section 3). I introduce various ways motive has been understood in the Social Sciences and Linguistics, to then introduce how the concept is to be understood in this research. Third, I explain why the Social Actor Approach to Discourse Analysis is the most suitable for analysing motive, media representations and social movements (section 4). This section includes a discussion of the theoretical assumptions on which this research is grounded and the definitions of the key concepts on which this thesis draws, such as power, ideology and discourse. Finally, I explain the theoretical framework designed for the analysis of attributions and representations of motive (section 5) in this thesis, followed by a summary discussing the main concepts and how they relate to each other (section 6).

## **2 Social movements**

Social movements have played a crucial role in the fostering and promotion of change, developments in technology and innovation as well as the fostering of social and civic engagement (Castells, 2015; García Agustín et al., 2016; Goodwin & Jasper, 2003; Goodwin, Jasper, & Polleta, 2001; Martin Rojo, 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Tilly, 2004). The role they play in society has resulted in extensive work, in which different aspects of this social phenomenon are carefully analysed (e.g. issues of identity, management, maintenance, activism, resistance, ideology, etc.). One of these aspects is the kind of social impact social movements can have on how democracy and social welfare are conceived. To take the Arab Spring as an example: the uprising in Tunisia managed to spread to other countries such as Egypt and Yemen, whose protests inspired the wave of other movements that followed them (e.g. Occupy, *Indignados*, even the Chilean Student movement). This is a “transnational convergence of political transformations” which are usually led by social collectives, affecting socio-political and economic aspects of their countries and societies (Markoff, 2015, p. 23).

In this thesis, I understand social movements in relation to two main characteristics. First, I adhere to Goodwin and Jasper’s definition of social movements, who define this

social phenomenon as “a collective, organized, sustained, and noninstitutionalized challenge to authorities, powerholders, or cultural beliefs and practices” (2003, p. 3). This definition foregrounds both the antagonistic nature between two (or more) entities (e.g. authorities, cultural and social beliefs, companies) and the social practices involved in its organization and maintenance. There are three common practices social movements resort to: the use of *campaigns* (“a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities”); *protest repertoires* (political actions such as “creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering”); and *public representations of WUNC* (i.e. worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment) (Tilly, 2004, pp. 3–4). Second, I also subscribe to the idea of social movements as constitutive actors in themselves, in that they do not only (re)produce power but question and (re)formulate alternative projects through the occupation and resignification of *space* (García Agustín, 2016, p. 242; see also Martín Rojo, 2014a).

Despite their foundational role in society, the importance of social movements was undermined academically for most of the first half of the 20th century. They were classified as urban riots, triggering negative connotations and social condemnation in both society and academia (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003; Goodwin et al., 2001). This negative framing and lack of academic attention began to shift in the 1960s, a decade characterized by social uprising not only in Europe (Freeman & Johnson, 1999, p. 3) but also in Latin America (Calderón & Jelin, 1987; Garretón, 2002; Marsiske, 2015b) (see also Ch. 2). After these waves of protests in the 1960s, studies started to focus on how social movements’ demands shifted from economic to moral ones, in which the needs of the people (e.g. their identities, their rights) came to the fore (Melucci, 1980; Offe, 1985). From the 1990s on, however, there is a new shift in the study of social movements which focuses on the way *globalization* (and the turn to neoliberalism) affects the structures, organization and outcomes of social movements (Smith & Johnston, 2002; Tarrow, 2002, 2011). In particular, contemporary social movements (since 2000s) have new characteristics as part of their evolution.

These characteristics revolve around innovative *protest repertoires*, including the re-appropriation of urban public spaces and their subsequent transformation as “sites of

resistance” (Martin Rojo, 2014a, p. 2; see also Montesano Montessori, 2016; Thigo, 2013); a rejection of traditional organizational hierarchies, highlighting direct decision making among its participants; and an emphasis on rejecting the current political and economic order (Badaró-Matos, 2015, p. 485), most of them with a clear anti-capitalist tone (Turner, 2013, p. 378). Since the early 2000s, the Internet has been a common denominator in explaining the success and scope of these new movements in galvanizing people and media attention both nationally and internationally, especially since 2011 (Turner, 2013).

Attention to the discursive practices structuring social movements has blossomed since 2011, in particular due to the changes in protest repertoires explained above. The study of language focuses on the emerging discourses among the social collectives and their role in the problematization of former ways of understanding and representing what is around us by appropriating new ways of using public spaces, expanding what we understand as the political body (Martin Rojo, 2013, p. 276). This is reflected in the various studies –that have been sparked by movements such as *Occupy* or *Indignados*– of the practices adopted by their leaders to focus on participatory (rather than representative) politics through the use of public spaces as sites of resistances and resemiotization (cf. Martin Rojo, 2014a; Montesano Montessori & Morales López, 2015).

Both the emphasis on participatory politics and the consolidation of social media have also contributed to changes in their communicative practices. The adoption of new communicational strategies have helped these movements to foreground and vindicate their collective memories, historical and common fights, and neglected minorities (Sierra Caballero & Gravante, 2016, p. 172). The reappropriation and resemiotization of meanings through protest repertoires and discursive practices is all the more relevant in a region still in the aftermath of authoritarian military regimes, undergoing representational and legitimation crises, with communication strategies being adopted to challenge and resist a mostly monopolized region in communicational matters (Gumucio-Dagron, 2011; Lugo-Ocando, 2008; Sierra Caballero & Gravante, 2016).



## 2.1 Social movements and the media

In spite of the increasing role of social media such as Twitter or Facebook in recent social movements (cf. Bruns, Highfield, & Burgess, 2013; Cabalin, 2014; González-Bailón, Borge-Holthoefer, & Moreno, 2013; Scherman et al., 2013), traditional media continue to play a critical role in understanding and disseminating social movements' causes (Kennis, 2016; McLeod & Hertog, 1999; Seguin, 2016). In linguistics, the focus has been on unveiling ideological and power struggles in the representation of social disobedience in news discourse, mainly through social actor and action representation (Fowler, 1991; Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Hart, 2013; Van Dijk, 2008). However, some of these studies have failed to include long-standing models on the representation of social movements in media studies and these two lines of research could certainly complement each other. While some research projects have tended to revolve around the idea of biased representations of collective action (section 2.1.1), there have been some recent studies focusing on how to subvert negative framings of social movements as well (section 2.1.2).

### 2.1.1 Deviant behaviour, social movements and mainstream media

The rise of different social movements during the 1960s and 1970s sparked a major interest in understanding how they were represented in the media, and the impact of media selections and representations in the public sphere (Cohen & Young, 1981). In their seminal edited collection of essays on moral panics and deviant behaviour, Cohen and Young explored these issues, with a particular interest in the features that characterized their reporting in the news. From these articles, Cohen's work stands out as an analysis of the narrative structure of how the case of the Mods and Rockers battles (gang rivalry conflict that sparked off at Easter time, 1964, in Clacton, a small holiday resort on the Essex coast) was depicted in the news (2011; 1981). Despite their focus on deviant social behaviour, their work is fully applicable to the representation of social movements in the media as well.

In his work, Cohen focuses on the *inventory phase*, namely, the moment in which people involved in a disaster (such as the sparking off of this outrage between gang members) process the events unfolding in front of them and their own roles to facilitate

interpretation. Amid this process and shock, “rumours and ambiguous perceptions” arise as facilitators for this interpretation (Cohen, 2011, p. 24). This inventory phase is structured around three main characteristics: exaggeration and distortion, prediction, and symbolization.

Exaggeration and distortion are self-explanatory, as they refer to strategies undertaken by the media to over-report the incident, thus exaggerating and distorting both witnesses’ accounts of the incident as well as the representation of the actors involved. There is an emphasis on distorting the negative consequences and the actual people involved in the event reported, based on crime and spectacle narratives. The distortion is reflected by “the sensational headlines, the melodramatic vocabulary and the deliberate heightening of those elements in the story considered as news” (Cohen, 2011, p. 26). The second characteristic refers to the inclusion of predictions that this kind of event will eventually occur again. As such, the structure of the report serves as a “self-fulfilling prophecy” from bystanders and people (potentially) affected by the events (Cohen, 2011, p. 35). These prophecies usually take the form of the precautions victims have taken to avoid the negative consequences of a next time or the inclusion of how concerned and fearful they are in the possible scenario the event might repeat itself. Finally, there is symbolization, in which the role of language is foregrounded by appealing to cultural and social stereotypes in their audiences (e.g. *encapuchados* [hooded rioters] in Chile) through processes of resemiotization. Cohen explains that names and places can come to symbolize and evoke “more complex ideas and emotions”, much like what has happened with Syntagma Square in Greece, Tahrir Square in Egypt, and Alameda avenue in Chile.

Soon after the dissection of the reporting of this event, Chan and Lee proposed a paradigm to identify these features in reports of social movements in particular. This *protest paradigm* (Chan & Lee, 1984) stemmed from their study on the most notorious characteristics surrounding the coverage of social movements in Hong Kong. The explanations for these characteristics are many, such as “the bias of the individual reporter, the impact of the news organization, the canons of the journalistic profession, the cultural and ideological blinders of the social system, and the constraints of the medium” (McLeod, 2007, p. 186).

There are five main features in this paradigm: *news frames, reliance on official sources and definitions, invocation of public opinion, delegitimization, and demonization* (McLeod, 2007, pp. 186-187). The concept of news frames draws from Entman's concept of framing, in which frames select "some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, pp. 51–52). In this paradigm, the framing of social movements takes the form of the crime, spectacle and riot narratives. These narratives are enhanced by the reliance on official sources to legitimize the coverage, which helps the media reflect prestige, efficiency and objectivity also evidencing the power struggles involved. McLeod states that "[w]hen public officials are the predominant source of information for news, stories tend to be told from the perspectives of the powerful, downplaying perspectives that challenge that power" (2007, p. 187). The invocation of public opinion reinforces the crime narrative by contrasting protesters' deviant behaviour to social norms through bystanders' condemnations of the social movement in question. This works in conjunction with *delegitimation* strategies which are framed by failing to "adequately explain the meaning and context of protest actions, leading the audience to perceive them as futile, pointless, and even irrational" (McLeod, 2007, p. 187). Finally, *demonization* refers to the emphasis on vandalism and damage to public and private property.

It is at this point that motive emerges as an important feature of the representation of social movements in the media (see also section 2.2). The inclusion and/or exclusion of motive plays a determining role in how (de)legitimation and the criminalization of student movements take place. Thus, the exclusion of the deviant social actor(s)' personal background, context, and their motives facilitate their demonization (Cohen, 2011, p. xxx). Hence, this paradigm highlights the exclusion of demonstrators' motives and the emphasis on how regular citizens are affected by their irrational actions as a way to portray social movements negatively. In this thesis, however, I show that motives are not always excluded and that even negative representations of social movements offer a much more complex understanding of how these motives are actually constructed and, more importantly, attributed in the news genre.

These patterns in the representation of social movements inevitably enhance the dichotomy of *us vs them*. Protests tend to be represented as sparking from nowhere, driven by negative and irrational emotions such as rage (Goldlust, 1980 in Barker, 2008, p. 2). However, these representations face new challenges in their appeal to moral values in the demonization of deviant behaviour. Cohen explains that this crisis stems from the fact that:

The moral integrity of the police and other authorities is tarnished; criminality is less an assault on sacred and consensual values than a pragmatic matter of harm to individual victims (...) This means that moral panic narratives have to defend a 'more complex and brittle' social order, a less deferential culture (2011, p. xxx).

However, there is always resistance to negative representations, which constitutes one of the key aspects of social movement organizations. There are instances in which mainstream media could potentially be critical of power holders (McLeod & Detenber, 1999, p. 5) as discussed below.

### 2.1.2 Subverting the protest paradigm

Some sections of the media can become critical of the status quo when there is conflict among power elites (McLeod, 2007). The explanation for this phenomenon can be traced back to the 1980s, and it is surprisingly still applicable nowadays:

[a]s a rule, the leftist "journalistic paradigm" (...) tends to lend a more sympathetic ear to civil protests even if these are monopolitical in nature. Conversely, the rightist journalistic "paradigm" is constantly antagonistic to civil protests, fearing that these activities are conspiratorial and Communist initiated. The centrist journalistic "paradigm", standing somewhere in between, displays a less consistent pattern and can be for or against civil protests, with each case being weighed on its own merits (Chan & Lee, 1984, p. 188).

In this context, alternative (or radical) media have played a crucial role in giving access to activists to the public sphere. Despite the lack of agreement on how to refer to this kind of media (Harlow & Harp, 2013), scholars agree that alternative (or radical) media has the ultimate objective of fostering "substantially different structures and processes of

communication that make possible egalitarian, interactive, and emancipatory discourse” (Atwood, 1986, p. 19). Activists and marginalized communities have resorted to the creation of and reliance on alternative media to galvanize popular support and counteract the overall negative representation they get in mainstream media (i.e. protest paradigm) (Downing, 2001; Harlow & Harp, 2013).

Recent studies have focused on the use of alternative/radical media and their role in social movement representation of mainstream media. In one particular study, Harlow and Johnson (2011) contrast the media representation of the Egyptian revolution in *The New York Times* (mainstream newspaper), the *Global Voices* blog and Twitter feeds (alternative media) in order to identify whether the protest paradigm is presently used across different media sources. In this, the authors found that the protest paradigm is as relevant now as it was in the 1970s. The revolts were framed in the light of a spectacle narrative, in which drama and violence were foregrounded, while the motives for protesting were backgrounded or plainly suppressed (2011, p. 1369). On the other hand, the alternative media challenged the protest paradigm by offering a more “participatory, interactive approach to news coverage that could prompt greater credibility among readers” (2011, p. 1370).

The role of radical media achieves different objectives in different regions. While in the United States alternative media are associated with historically marginalized underground groups, alternative presses in Latin America have been the haven for groups systematically marginalized by the economic and political elites that dominate the media landscape in the region (Lugo-Ocando, 2008; Harlow & Harp, 2013). Thus, alternative media enhance people and their communities’ empowerment by allowing the appropriation and resignification of media practices. Hence, alternative media have evolved from their original role of being the means by which social movements and communities vindicated their place in their countries to become a site of resistance in themselves (Gumucio-Dagron, 2011; Sierra Caballero & Gravante, 2016).

Despite their significant contribution, alternative media have always been rather neglected in academia (Couldry & Curran, 2003). In fact, the roles of community radio or digital newspapers have been overshadowed by the increasing interest sparked by social media in social mobilization. This thesis aims to explore these complex relations

alongside media representations of the Chilean students' motives for protesting in both mainstream and alternative press. Also, I aim to acknowledge the role of motive in social movements in the existing paradigms in media studies to understand media representations of social movements. The relationship between social movements, media and motive understood as emotions is further developed in the following section.

## **2.2 Social movements and emotions**

Motive is crucial in the formation and maintenance of social movements. The creation of a collective identity for participation relies on *sparkling an urge* in people to take action, whether in the form of *needs* or *moral crises* (Cohen, 2011; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). At the same time, the creation of these needs and moral crises are heavily grounded in people's *emotions* (Cohen, 2011; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Goodwin et al., 2001).

Emotions permeate our social and cultural context leading to the construction of a moral compass (Papermann, 1995, p. 181; in Charaudeau, 2011, p. 99). In relation to social movements, activists draw from one-sided arguments and claims in order to spark an emotional reaction in society, constituting one way in which moral panics can be generated (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p. 147). While not all causes manage to arouse the same emotional reaction to threats and risks (e.g. environmental movements have struggled to fully galvanize people despite the imminent threat to our ecosystem), these tend to revolve around emotions nonetheless. This reliance on emotions explains why most instances of the demonization of social movements in the media rely on these negative emotions such as hate or fear so as to increase the alienation of their supporters and overall audiences (Goodwin et al., 2001).

Emotions can also explain why people do things, thus making this issue relevant to the understanding of motive and, therefore, this thesis. However, the fact that emotions have historically been associated with irrationality explains their use as a delegitimation strategy rather than a legitimizing one. In an attempt to challenge the idea of irrationality, Charaudeau proposes that emotions are, in fact, a reflection of someone's intentionality. He explains that emotions such as pity or hate are always constructed in relation to another object and the characteristics attributed to it, surpassing immediate, impulsive

reactions and becoming rationalized (2011, pp. 102-103). As such, the rationalization of these emotions is connected to moral constructions in a particular community which result in “pervasive (...) motivators for action” (Goodwin et al, 2001, p. 10). For example, van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and van Dijk (2011, pp. 92–94) argue that emotions such as grievance and anger play a crucial role as motivators for participation in social collectives. This is particularly true if three features are met: instrumentality (i.e. understanding protests as an effective means to achieve the collective’s objectives); identification with the collective (i.e. the more someone identifies with a collective, the more motivated that person will be to participate); and ideology (i.e. constructing their cause in terms of values and morality). In all, regardless of the extensive debate on the role of emotions in social movements, we can identify that motive is part of it.

### **3 Motive**

Despite the different work on motive in different fields (see below), its relevance when reporting human interaction seems to have been largely overlooked. The lack of research on this aspect of motive might stem from a lack of agreement in how to talk about this issue. As I explain in the following sections, motive has been interchangeably identified with purpose, blame, and intentionality in different areas of the social sciences. Also, I provide a brief account of how motive has been central to questions in philosophy, sociology and cultural studies, focusing later on how it has been approached in linguistics.

#### **3.1 Motive in the social sciences**

Motive has always been at the core of understanding human behaviour and has led to numerous studies (Aristotle, 1984; Cohen, 2014; Koorsgaard, 2014). There are three seminal works that are worth foregrounding on the study of motive: Max Weber (1922/1947), Kenneth Burke (1935, 1969) and C. Wright Mills (1940).

Weber’s posthumously published book *Economy and Society* (1947; originally published in 1922) is one of the most important works on the subject of motive to date. Weber understood motive as “a complex of subjective meaning which seems to the actor himself or to the observer an adequate ground for the conduct in question” (1947, pp. 98–

99). Motive, in this sense, is highly influenced by the situational and cultural context (i.e. (historical) time and place) in which the action takes place (p. 95). For Weber, people's motives were at the core of social dynamics, and it was through understanding them that these dynamics could be explained, resembling the kind of scientific explanation (positivism) dominant in the Western world at the time.

Weber observes that there are two ways in which the *understanding* and attributions of motive of human action takes place: direct observation and exploratory (motivational) understanding. On the one hand, direct observation appeals to an idea of making rational observations which is, in other words, primary observation without the influence of a broader context. He exemplifies this by referring to our understanding of a multiplication (2x2) when we come across it or the reading of facial expressions to identify if someone is angry. On the other hand, exploratory (or motivational) understanding is then the process of contextualization of the aforementioned primary observation. In this, Weber expands his examples by explaining that the person carrying out the multiplication needed to balance a ledger while the anger in the other person was affected by jealousy or pride (1947, pp. 98–99). From this, we can gather that Weber's conceptualization of motive revolved around the consideration of three fundamental aspects: the psychological, institutional, and situational contexts of an individual (Campbell, 1996). Hence, in the light of Weber's work, *the attribution of motive is a broad concept affected by cognitive, discursive and contextual features that need to be taken into account when studying human action.*

Contrary to what might be expected, however, further studies on the issue of motive, while important, narrowed Weber's notion instead of broadening it by only considering certain aspects of motive at a time (Campbell, 1996). For instance, Burke attempts to theorize, structure and conceptualize previous philosophical studies into a renewed understanding of motive in his seminal works (1935, 1945). *Anatomy of purpose* (1935) starts with an account of how Pavlov and Gestalt's work contributed to the understanding of motive in terms of personal experiences and how these can be conditioned to form and alter people's responses to situations to how the Freudian tradition demanded a more detailed distinction between these personal experiences and the workings of the mind when talking about motive (1935). By exploring different areas



that have attempted to explain human action, he prepares the ground for understanding motive in action. He claims that, in human actions:

(a) there is a sense of relationships, developed by the contingencies of experience; (b) this sense of relationships is our orientation; (c) our orientation largely involves matters of expectancy, and affects our choice of means with reference to the future; (d) in the human sphere, the subject of expectancy and the judgment as to what is proper in conduct is largely bound up with the subject of motives, for if we know why people do as they do, we feel that we know what to expect of them and of ourselves, and we shape our decisions and judgments and policies to take such expectancies into account (1935, pp. 29–30).

Motives are not only highly dependent on the situational context a person is embedded in but also on how we express motive through language (a point also made by Mills, 1940). How we choose to talk about motives is simultaneously affected by the way society (i.e. moral values) allows us to talk about them. Thus, the language repertoire to talk about motive is then highly symbolic (i.e. discursive) and works in conjunction with our own ability to interpret actions within the socio-political, economic and morality (e.g. religion) available at the moment of communication. It follows then that our actions are also symbolic: *how* we verbalize our motives is as important as *what* we communicate.

This emphasis on language and society as crucial to the understanding of motive led Burke to a more structured idea of what (attributions of) motive entails through what he called *A Grammar of Motives* (1945). By grammar, he means the recognition of the elements contained in motive constructions and attributions *without focusing on their actual and/or potential uses*. He claims that how these grammatical elements of motive are used by individuals corresponds to their own *philosophies*, dependent on the time and context these individuals are situated in as well as the language used. Therefore, these elements are beyond the scope of his theory (1945, p. xvi).

In his work, Burke provides an important contribution to the analysis of attributions of motive: he draws on a theatrical metaphor (i.e. *dramatism*) to convey what elements are present when talking about or attributing motive to others: *act*, *scene*, *agent*, *agency*, and *purpose*. He explains that, in any account of purpose or motive, there is an action that needs to be identified (act) along with the situational context in which it takes place

(scene) and the actor(s) who carried it out (agent). Once these are identified, it is also necessary to learn how these actions were carried out (agency) and the motives behind them (purpose). In all, he claims, the study of motive always revolves around five questions: “what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose)” (Burke, 1945, p. xv). He argues that these elements can be identified and realized differently in human interaction, as they depend on our own philosophies. In this regard, he foregrounds the idea that both language and thoughts correspond to modes of actions through the dramatism analogy. Hence, he claims that the study of motive raises complex dialectical and metaphysical matters, which demands a more holistic approach:

we hope to make clear the ways in which dialectical and metaphysical issues necessarily figure in the subject of motivation. Our speculations, as we interpret them, should show that the subject of motivation is a philosophic one, not ultimately to be solved in terms of empirical science (1969, p. xxiii).

This conceptualization of motive lays the foundation for extrapolating the analysis of motive as narrative episodes. In narrative, there is a similar focus on the questions asked by Burke in his analogy (i.e. what happened, when or where, who, how, and why), with an added element of evaluation (i.e. coda) ultimately dependent on who is constructing and/or attributing motive. Hence, this thesis revolves around the dialectical nature of attributions of motives and how these draw on various discourses and moral values in order to understand human behaviour (see section 5).

Building on Burke’s earlier work (1935), C. Wright Mills proposes analysing motive in relation to how it is expressed in situational contexts in which motives might be questioned in *Situated actions and vocabularies of motive* (1940). In this seminal work, Mills disagrees with the common understanding of motives as inner expressions of the individual as it is impossible to access these cognitive processes from language itself. Therefore, he argues, this position fails to understand what motives really are:

Motives are words (...) They do not denote any elements "in" individuals. They stand for anticipated situational consequences of questioned conduct. Intention or purpose (...) is

awareness of anticipated consequence; motives are names for consequential situations, and surrogates for actions leading to them (1940, p. 905).

Mills argues that there are different ways in which motive can be expressed, starting from the most *obvious* terms such as *useful* or *purposeful*<sup>3</sup>. He broadens this understanding by referring to the role of both representations of lines of actions and situational contexts. As such, “motives are accepted justifications for present, future, or past programs or acts” rather than individual drives to satisfy needs and pleasure (p. 907). Hence, motives can also be strategic, highly influenced by the role of morals and social norms. Motives inevitably tend to draw on higher moral values and evaluative terms in their verbalization: “as lingual segments of social action, motives orient actions by enabling discrimination between their objects. Adjectives such as “good,” “pleasant,” and “bad” promote action or deter it” (p. 908). In this vein, Mills argues that moral values and society not only reflect power relations in terms of hegemonic ideologies, but also determine (un)acceptable social practices and actions (see also Mannheim, 1940). While this stance omits Weber’s psychological component of motive (i.e. the role of personal experiences), it is still useful in seeing how motives are ideologically driven.

Since the publication of these works, the concept of motive has continued to be narrowed down to a *justification for action* (cf. Campbell, 1996; Peters, 1958; Scott & Lyman, 1968; Winch, 1958), despite the recent trend in psychology to broaden the concept again (Heckhausen & Heckhausen, 2008). By regarding motive as a justification for action, studies dismissed interactions in which an action or personal features affecting the realizations of an action might go unquestioned. There has been a constant neglect of the role of the individual’s personal experiences and inner characteristics that might determine his/her (in)action. In his critique of this evolution, Campbell appeals for a renewed focus on the cognitive aspects of motive, dismissing the work on the sociology of emotions as being mostly influenced by social constructivism (1996, p. 112).

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<sup>3</sup> This point is also made by van Leeuwen (2008, p. 126) in relation to the legitimization nature of purpose (see section 3.2 below).

### 3.2 Motive in linguistics

In linguistics, motive has been broadly understood in terms of *purpose* (i.e. the functional aspect of motives that focuses on the situational aspect and omits psychological, emotional and contextual (pragmatic) drives), especially in relation to the conveyance of cohesion and coherence relations in text (Halliday, 2014; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; J. Martin, 1984, 1992). Purpose clauses and circumstantials correspond to different discourse markers that build cohesion and coherence in a text. It is important to distinguish that these purpose markers correspond to one way of expressing *causality*. Causal relations work in conjunction with implications and can be categorized into seven main types: cause, reason, means, consequence, purpose, condition, and concession. Renkema (2004) summarizes their functions as follows:

A cause indicates a consequence that is outside the domain of volition. A reason always indicates that a volitional aspect is present. A means is deliberate utilization of a cause in order to achieve a volitional consequence. A purpose is a volitional consequence. A condition is a necessary or possible cause or reason for a possible consequence. A concession is a cause or a reason for which the expected consequence fails to occur, or the yielding of a point (p. 109).

The understanding of purpose remained untheorized in discourse analysis until van Leeuwen proposed a model to analyse the purpose of social actions within his Social Actor Approach to discourse analysis (2000, 2008). Van Leeuwen proposes a model to analyse the “*construction of the purposes of social practices (including discursive practices)*” (2008, p. 124, emphasis in original). For him, *purpose* is a key feature in determining what appropriate behaviour is in relation to social (and discursive) practices. Hence, there is an inherent power struggle in determining which actors are purposeful and which are not (p. 135).

Throughout his model, van Leeuwen highlights that purpose is an attribute people ascribe to action and, hence, discursively constructed, drawing a parallel with legitimation. On this, van Leeuwen categorically rejects the idea that all purposes are legitimating. He draws on Habermas’ work to explain that purpose constructions can be legitimating only if they draw on higher moral values “in a frame of instrumentality”

(1976, p. 22, in van Leeuwen 2008, p. 125). From this distinction, he identifies two types of social actions that can account for purpose constructions: generalized and moralized actions. While generalized actions correspond to “micro-actions” that contribute to achieving a non-moralising action (non-legitimizing), moralized actions correspond to actions that appeal to moral values intertextually or interdiscursively (legitimizing). He exemplifies these actions as follows:

[7.1] His mother joins the queue to pay his dinner money to the teacher.

[7.3] the following strategies were employed to make the introduction to PE more smooth. (p. 125).

In the first one, van Leeuwen explains that queuing to pay the dinner money is not legitimizing as it refers to a routine practice (generalized action). However, in the second example, drawing on abstract qualities such as smoothness helps legitimate the strategies undertaken by the teacher (e.g. discourse of efficiency). Moralized actions and qualities tend to be realized implicitly within a text: “they are treated as common sense and do not make explicit the religious and philosophical traditions from which they ultimately draw their values and on which their legitimizing capacity ultimately rests” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 126). In order to be a purpose construction, these actions need to contain three elements that account for what van Leeuwen calls a *Grammar of Purpose*: These elements are: a) a *purposeful action*, b) a *purposeful link*; and c) a *purpose* (2008, p. 126). He uses the following examples to illustrate three overarching purpose categories: goal-oriented; means-oriented; and effect-oriented constructions of purpose; respectively,

- (1) Mothers take their tots to the clinic to check their health.
- (2) Mothers check their babies' health by taking them to the clinic.
- (3) Mothers take their babies to the clinic, so the doctors can check their health (2008, p. 131).

These categories foreground the functionality of the actions described, mainly because of the nature of his data (i.e. first-day-at-school texts) which have greatly shaped van Leeuwen’s overall conceptualization of purpose. In the first one, mothers are represented as having a clear goal (i.e. having their children’s health checked). In the second one,

agency is blurred as the emphasis is on the measures undertaken to check their children's health. Finally, in the last example, agency is attributed to another actor who is more qualified than the mother. In this, the emphasis is not on the actions undertaken by mothers, but the effect/result this action will have on somebody else (i.e. their children)<sup>4</sup>.

Apart from distinguishing between generalized and moralized actions, van Leeuwen also distinguishes between two different kinds of purposes that are context dependent. On the one hand, he claims that there are purposes that stem from, and are determined by, tradition, aesthetic, or emotional factors. He claims that these purposes are not discursively interesting to analyse as their impact is reduced to the private sphere (2008, p. 125). On the other hand, he foregrounds the importance of discursively analysing the purposes for doing new things and/or updating old ways of doing something as they have a greater impact in the public sphere (2008, p. 125). Notwithstanding, and similarly to the evolution of the understanding of motive in sociology, van Leeuwen's conceptualization of purpose is restricted to the influence of instrumentality and institutional contexts, rationalizing social actions once again.

One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether purpose is the same as motive. What van Leeuwen proposes is a framework in which motive is restricted to *functional* aspects of social practices. In this vein, cognitive and emotional aspects that might determine why people react to situations in a particular way are not *purposeful* per se, yet they are still *motivated*. Thus, the linguistic conceptualization of motive in Linguistics is not helpful in targeting the aspects I want to study in this thesis either. However, it does provide a methodological framework, which is further developed in section 5.1 below and Ch. 4; sections 4.1 and 4.2.

### **3.3 Motive in this thesis**

In this thesis, motive is understood as a combination of what Weber, Burke and van Leeuwen postulate. This decision is grounded in three main factors. First, Weber's definition of motive comprises three main aspects that can help explain why people do what they do: 1) the individual's psychological context, including the weight of personal

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<sup>4</sup> These categories, while useful in the analysis of purpose, are not so for the analysis of motive. Therefore, they are excluded from this research. The reasons for this decision are developed in section 5 below and in Ch. 4, sections 4.1 and 4.2).

experiences and unique idiosyncrasies; 2) the individual's institutional context, consisting of social norms and morality; and 3) the individual's situational context, meaning the time and space in which one lives. These aspects include a whole spectrum of socio-political, economic and pragmatic aspects that may exercise a (sub)conscious influence on people and determine their (in)actions.

Second, Burke's understanding of motive through a drama metaphor foregrounds the role motives play in giving accounts (cf. Edwards & Potter, 1993; Sacks, 1972; Stokoe, 2010, 2012; Stokoe & Edwards, 2008). I argue that motives can, and must, be considered as embedded in narratives, especially when analysing the news genre which includes information on how, when, and where (i.e. circumstances, Halliday, 2014) an event took place. These "accounts of actions" (Buttny & Morris, 2001, p. 286) focus on the event and the influence that relationships, personal circumstances and so on might have had on the action being described (such as storytelling or narrative episodes (Buttny, 2008)). In the case of news reports, these revolve around the idea of replying to an implicit sequence of *why* questions from the audience. The evaluative component of how this is reported comes to the fore in the inclusion or exclusion of details, social actors, events, etc. that might conflict with the interests of the editorial board. As de Fina puts it,

narrative accounts (including justifications, excuses and explanations) can, in my view, be defined as recapitulations of past events constructed as responses to an explicit or implied "why" or "how" evaluative question by an interlocutor. Since accounts are given when an evaluation by an interlocutor is presupposed, they are eminently explanatory and dialogic. Thus, the original intention of the person who asks the question is not important here, what is important is the way the narrator shapes the narrative and therefore the way s/he perceives the interlocutor's question (2009, p. 240).

Third, representations of motive in the media have not been adequately studied yet. As I explain in section 2, the *protest paradigm* points out that (radical) social movements are depicted as purposeless collectives, which enhances a negative view of them. However, this paradigm does not focus on how motive is *actually included and/or excluded*.

Throughout this thesis, I postulate that patterns of motive can be found at the clause level, having van Leeuwen's purpose model as the basis. These patterns can be identified

identically in both Spanish and English due to the similarities between both languages at the clause-level (see Lavid, Arús, & Zamorano-Mansilla, 2010), especially when expressing causation (García, 2013). These similarities allow us to compare and contrast the two languages in relation to how motive is constructed in the news genre, facilitating its replicability. While this study does not aim to be a contrastive analysis between English and Spanish, the ease with which SFL can be applied to Spanish supports the theoretical and methodological frameworks devised and designed to achieve the objectives of this research (see Ch. 4, section 3.5).

The theoretical implications of conceiving motive this way are developed in section 5 below while the methodological aspects of it are explained in Ch. 4. In the following section, I cover the area of Critical Discourse Studies to foreground its usefulness in the analysis of representations and attributions of motive in relation to the news coverage of the Chilean student movement.

#### **4 Critical Discourse Studies**

The core objective of Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS) is to evidence power and ideological struggles in society (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011). It is a problem-oriented approach to naturally-occurring data, in which its immediate co-text and socio-political and historical contexts are taken into account. In other words, CDS is interested in “studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodological approach” (Ruth Wodak & Meyer, 2016a, p. 2). In this context, the study of the media representation of social movements and the associated issue of motive make a relevant and current topic to analyse. While social collectives are motivated to challenge and resist the hegemonic power in any society, different strands within the media have traditionally favoured the perspective of official administrations and sources. This dynamic can lead to conflicting representations *and* attributions of motives that can frame, evaluate, and the (de)legitimize the collective’s demands. Hence, power and ideological relations are at the core of the constructions, representations, and recontextualizations of such collectives’ members.

There is an extensive literature on the scope, agenda and theoretical grounds that are the basis for Critical Discourse Studies (e.g. Van Dijk, 2011; Ruth Wodak &



Krzyżanowski, 2008; Ruth Wodak & Meyer, 2016b). From these grounds and objectives, different approaches to CDS have been developed such as Reisigl and Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (2001, 2016), Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach (2016) or van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach (2014) among many others (for an overview on these various approaches, please refer to Hart & Cap, 2014; Van Dijk, 2011; Wodak & Meyer, 2016b). Far from being mutually exclusive, they all touch upon the social, textual and cognitive aspects of discourse in some respect (Unger, 2016). More importantly, they all seek to empower dominated groups and communities (Van Dijk, 2008) by revealing "power relations that are frequently obfuscated and hidden, and then to derive results which are also of practical relevance" (Wodak & Meyer, 2016a, p. 19).

Despite the array of choices within CDS, this thesis is firmly grounded in the Social Actor Approach (see Van Leeuwen, 2008, for a comprehensive overview). Van Leeuwen presents a comprehensive discursive analytical approach to the analysis of texts, based on the premise that discourses consist of the "recontextualization of social practices" (Van Leeuwen, 2008:14; see also Van Leeuwen, 2016). Drawing on a Foucauldian understanding of discourse, van Leeuwen explains that discourses are "*socially constructed ways of knowing some aspect of reality* which can be drawn upon when that aspect of reality has to be represented, or, to put it in another way, *context-specific frameworks for making sense of things*" (2016, p. 138 emphasis in original). There can be multiple discourses to define leadership, for example, following on the multiple understandings associated to the activity (i.e. "what leaders *do*") (2016, p. 138).

Understanding discourses as social practices means that they are open to transformation, affecting how these practices are carried out. For instance, van Leeuwen explains that some aspects of what it means to be a leader may be foregrounded, backgrounded and/or suppressed in particular situations and/or contexts to fit specific purposes (e.g. legitimation) or the interests of the actors involved (2016, p. 138). This takes us back to the idea of discourse as a *recontextualization* of social practices, acknowledged in the following section.

#### 4.1 Discourse as a recontextualization of social practices

The concept of *recontextualization* originates in Bernstein's work on pedagogical discourse (Bernstein, 2003, 1981). His work revolves around the idea that unequal distribution of power stems from how social relationships are structured. In turn, these structures have repercussions on the dynamics of social groups, their conceptions of social order and reality, their practices and the divisions of social labour. In his research, Bernstein develops the hypothesis that class relations are at the core of social organization. He is interested in "how class regulation of the distribution of power and of principles of control generates, distributes, reproduces, and legitimates dominant and dominated principles regulating the relationships within and between social groups and so forms of consciousness" (2003, p. 10).

He identifies three interdependent contexts that affect and determine pedagogic discourse, its practices and organization. First, there is the context in which a text is originally developed to suit a particular context thus creating a particular "'intellectual field' of the educational system" (i.e. *primary context*) (Bernstein, 1981, p. 363). Second, there is a process in which some aspects of this primary context are chosen and strategically reproduced, constituting the "field of reproduction" (i.e. *secondary context*) (1981, p. 363). Finally, there is the process in which the discourse, after being developed and selectively refocused in the previous two processes, is relocated into the secondary context, constituting the "recontextualizing field" (i.e. *recontextualizing context*) (1981, p. 363). For example, when a student collective meets, they write minutes of the session. This is meant to help them record their debates and follow up their demands and action-plans (i.e. *primary context*). The acts are made public, and the media usually report on them. However, they do not faithfully replicate the act due to space constraints and editorial decisions. Thus, they read through the acts and select the most important points in line with their own criteria (i.e. *secondary context*) and write a report in which that information is *also* included yet is accompanied by other information as well (i.e. *recontextualizing context*).

Another important concept is the "*principle of decontextualizing*" (Bernstein, 1981, p. 363). This principle determines the changes in the text and its context so that the original text is never the same as the resulting one. The process consists of changes in

how the text relates to other texts and practices from that of the original, as it undergoes modifications in its focus, foregrounding and/or backgrounding specific codes and practices to suit its new context. Thus, the resulting text has not only been repositioned in a new context, within new codes and practices, but its original focus and purpose has changed, regulating its “new ideological positioning” (1981, p. 363). Both processes of *decontextualization* and *recontextualization* occur simultaneously in pedagogic discourse. However, the idea that these processes are unique to the educational field is limiting as it can be easily applied to other social fields, especially in news discourse (Sagayo, 2015). In the example of the reporting of the students’ act, the selection of the *most important aspects* of it is framed by the purpose of the resulting news article, the editorial line of the newspaper, and the multimodal aspects surrounding this news piece (i.e. pictures, advertisements, headlines, fonts, etc.). Therefore, the act is first *decontextualized* from its original objective and context and *recontextualized* into the news genre to fit other purposes.

Van Leeuwen draws on Bernstein’s understanding of recontextualization and broadens its applications outside the field of education, under the premise that “all discourses recontextualize social practices, and that all knowledge is, therefore, ultimately grounded in practice, however slender that link may seem at times” (2008, p. vii). In the case of its application to the field of news, news discourse also “establishes and reproduces categories, hierarchies, levels of relevance and modes of development (which are more or less exhaustive, more or less explicative, more and less objective” as the discourse of education (Sagayo, 2015, p. 581). Therefore, everything can be interpreted as a *re*-presentation of social action in the Social Actor Approach, even the most abstract form of being or action (Van Leeuwen, 2008; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). For instance, the reports of Chilean student protests are a *re*-presentation of the actual actions and practices performed by the students into the format of news report. In this process, some aspects of the protest might be excluded, suppressed or foregrounded to fit its new context (and genre) accordingly.

The analysis of the representation and attribution of motive inevitably brings up issues of how language is conceived. It raises issues of the role of language in the understanding of concepts such ideology, power, and hegemony as they are usually at the

core of social movements and the development of their political conflict. Throughout this research, I adopt a critical stance towards the object of study in the light of how the Social Actor Approach has applied these concepts. There are two particular theoretical and methodological influences that explain why I have chosen this approach to Discourse Studies and not another. On the one hand, there is Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (2014; see also Thompson, 2014) and its understanding of language as a system of choices (section 4.2). On the other, there is the role of Social Semiotics (Hodge & Kress, 1988, 1993; Van Leeuwen, 2005) and its influence on how meaning is understood in relation to a system of social signs that determine social interaction and the broader social order. In particular, I draw on their understanding of how ideology, power and hegemony are realized in social interaction (section 4.3). These will be explained accordingly in the following sections.

#### **4.2 Language as a system of choices: Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar**

The main concept behind Systemic Functional Grammar is the idea that language must be seen as social semiotics (Halliday, 1978). When language is conceived this way, we are left with various strategies to approach human (inter)actions and social processes as embedded in a particular social structure, with its respective issues of power, social class, hierarchy, among others. Halliday argues that conceiving language this way helps explain "the linguistic processes whereby the members construct the social semiotic, whereby social reality is shaped, constrained and modified –processes which, far from tending towards an ideal construction, admit and even institutionalize myopia, prejudice and misunderstanding" (Halliday, 1978, p. 126). This focus on a *system* of *social* signs is crucial to the understanding of motive used in this thesis. Representations and attributions of motive are highly determined by social constraints and how actors use an array of various linguistic choices to explain, justify, and challenge actions in terms of their motive. Therefore, the analysis of language in use –from this point of view– is grounded in the identification of functions as deployed by people when they choose between the different set of options available to convey their message (Thompson, 2014, p. 29).

Halliday structures his grammar around three main functions of language (i.e. experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions) (Halliday, 2014; see also

Thompson, 2014). Nevertheless, there is also *a logical component* (Thompson, 2014, p. 38) to these functions which focuses on the kind of relations between the clauses that constitute the message. In other words, while the three main metafunctions deal with how meaning is structured in the semantic choices, the *logical metafunction* “relates to the kinds of connections that we make between the messages” (Thompson, 2014, p. 39).

This logical metafunction plays a crucial role in the identification of motive. As I explain in section 5 below, motive is composed of three main elements: the meaningful action (MA), the motive (M) and the link between these two elements (ML). The arrangement of these elements at the clause, sentence and textual level determines how we interpret representations and attributions of motive. This arrangement becomes clearer once the logical metafunction, and the way it is realized in texts, is included in the analysis (see Ch. 4; section 4.2 for a detailed explanation of how motive was operationalized in this research). The logical metafunction, therefore, facilitates the identification of how these messages relate to one another in the representation and attribution of motive as recontextualized by the established and alternative press.

The interpretations of these arrangements and the kind of motives that are foregrounded, backgrounded and/or suppressed are in line with the idea of language as a system of choices, embedded in a context of *social* interaction. This social interaction is determined by power relations and ideological complexes that determine the hegemonic structures of a society and its social order. For this matter, I draw on Social Semiotics and how this approach uses these concepts in the analysis of how meaning is conveyed through different (and simultaneous) semiotic modes.

### **4.3 Power, ideology and hegemony as semiotic processes: Social Semiotics**

Social Semiotics foregrounds the social aspect of the (re)production and dissemination of meaning through signs and language. It focuses on “social meanings constructed through the full range of semiotic forms, through semiotic texts and semiotic practices, in all kinds of human society at all periods of human history” (Hodge & Kress: 1988, p. 261; see also Lemke, 1998, 2009; O’Halloran, 2004; O’Toole, 1990; Van Leeuwen, 2005). Social Semiotics sees signs and social reality as dialogically intertwined, in which one cannot exist without the other (Thibault, 1997). On this matter, Halliday argues that

The construal of reality is inseparable from the construal of the semantic system in which the reality is encoded. In this sense, language is a shared meaning potential, at once both a part of experience and an intersubjective interpretation of experience (1978, pp. 1–2).

At the core of Social Semiotics are the concepts of *power* and *ideology*, which are both highly influenced by the Marxist tradition. These concepts are grounded in the idea that meaning and society operate through language and communicative situations through their everyday practices: “the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men – the language of real life” (Marx & Engels, 1998, p. 42). From this understanding, Social Semiotics regards society as the site of constant struggle between dominant and dominated, in which power operates, determines, and controls our actions, behaviours, and more broadly, our social life (Hodge & Kress, 1988, 1993).

This conceptualization of power relates to that of Foucault, in the sense that power is pervasive in all aspects of society and human interaction (Foucault, 1998, p. 93; see also Kelly, 2013). Similarly, power is also understood as being “embedded in and conveyed by discourses” within CDS, playing a key role in its social implementation (Wodak & Meyer, 2016a, p. 11). Nevertheless, as critics of Foucault have pointed out, Foucault foregrounds how power is exercised on people rather than people’s resistance to power (Said, 1986, p. 151).

Social Semiotics steps back from this seemingly unilateral understanding of power and foregrounds the idea that it is the *dynamics* of domination *and* subordination that are central to the (re)production and dissemination of meaning. (Hodge & Kress, 1988, 1993). This dichotomy is closely related to Gramsci’s understanding of *hegemony* (Gramsci, 1948/1971), in that society is understood as a constant dynamic of struggle and resistance. In this conceptualization of hegemony, the dominated class has a *dual-consciousness* in which, aware of the power exercised by the ruling class through their consent, they are able to empower themselves and create a resistance (i.e. a counter-hegemonic block) grounded in self-standing morality and ideologies. For instance, within Social Semiotics, Halliday coins the terms of *antisociety* and *antilanguage*, which evidence this phenomenon (1978). For Halliday, an *antisociety* consists of a society

immersed in another one that can be regarded as “a conscious alternative to it”, working as a resistance (1978, p. 164). Parallel to this is the concept of *antilanguage*. Its origins reside in this antisociety, in that it provides an “instance of [its] prevailing sociolinguistic order” (1978, p. 164). These two concepts work together to resist and challenge the main hegemonic blocks, providing a counterculture to their members.

Needless to say, the study of hegemony is vast across the Social Sciences and goes beyond the Marxist tradition or Gramsci (for an overview see Munck, 2013; Worth, 2015). An example of this research is Ernesto Laclau’s work (1977, 1990) and the work resulting from his contribution with Chantal Mouffe (1985) (for an overview see Critchley & Marchant, 2004; Smith, 2003), which is particularly grounded in the Latin American context. Throughout his work, he proposes three different theoretical models for understanding hegemony (Howarth, 2004). First, he postulates that hegemony, while carried out by social classes trying to lead in line with their interests, values and morality, is not a class issue *per se* (1977). In contrast with the Marxist tradition, Laclau suggests that ideological claims are not necessarily dependent on belonging to a certain class; the class component is merely an attribute the claims are inflected with. Second, in his work with Mouffe (1985), Laclau develops the idea that ideology is negotiable due to the presence of *floating signifiers* (i.e. “contingent elements”) that particular (and opposing) political forces can act upon (Howarth, 2004, p. 259). In this context, the mouldable nature of social relations is crucial to exercising hegemonic practices, in which there is a constant struggle over the floating signifiers for the stabilization of their meaning. The definition of these *nodal points* is what ensures the formation of hegemonic structures. Finally, Laclau extends his understanding of hegemony from political matters to social structures more generally by developing the concepts of *myth* and the *social imaginary* (1990). For a political force to become hegemonic, it needs to position itself as being more than an alternative to the existing opposing political forces (cf. Norval, 1996). This myth consists of a promise built around an *empty signifier*<sup>5</sup> that needs to be filled with the

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<sup>5</sup> The concept of *emptiness* is crucial in the understanding of discourse for Laclau and Mouffe. For these authors, the process of emptying a concept of its meaning is the only way in which opposing and contesting elements can be sutured together, leading to the formation of a discourse. As I adhere to a different understanding of discourse, this will not be further discussed but the reader might refer to Howarth (2000), Smith (2003), and Critchley and Marchant (2004) for further references on the subject.

meaning and practices of this political force. Once the political force has gone beyond being a mere alternative and positions itself as a social order, the myth becomes a *social imaginary*.

While the contribution of Laclau's work to political theory and the study of power and hegemony is unquestionable (Smith, 2003, p. 151), I understand hegemony in terms of people's (power) relations with each other, which are, in turn, "an effect of discourse, if 'discourse' has a general sense equivalent to 'semiosis' (the process of construction and circulation of signs)" (Hodge & Kress, 1993, pp. 158–159).

The identification of power and how it determines social order goes hand in hand with the identification of *ideology*. There is abundant literature on the topic, especially in the political sciences and philosophy (for an overview, please refer to Eagleton, 1991; Gramsci, 1971; Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002). In Discourse Studies, the focus is on the more hidden realizations of ideology through every day beliefs (Wodak & Meyer, 2016a) or assumptions (Fairclough, 2015). For example, Fairclough believes that everyday realizations of ideology depend on the way power is distributed in society:

Ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underline the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted (2015, p. 2).

Ideology is therefore engrained in and constitutive of the way we perceive the world, representing a schematic and complex organization of our representations and attitudes in relation to our social context. In other words, ideologies are "*belief systems*" (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 116). Ideologies are crucial in the legitimation of hegemony (following Gramsci's understanding of the concept), especially when these attitudes and representations are uncontested because they are regarded as natural or neutral (Gramsci, 1971).

Within Discourse Studies, we also find that Social Semiotics regards ideology in a similar fashion. Researchers taking this approach believe ideology is seen as the



projection of a reality that *should* be, from the point of view of the dominant and/or dominated agents in a particular group (Hodge & Kress, 1988, 1993). These projections of reality clash in society, in that agents of particular (anti)groups enact these values and beliefs according to their position in society (Hodge & Kress, 1993). These *ideological complexes*, as Hodge and Kress call them, consist of:

A functionally related set of contradictory versions of the world, coercively imposed by one social group on another on behalf of its own distinctive interests or subversively offered by another social group in attempts at resistance in its own interests. (...) [They] sustain relationships of both power and solidarity (...) represent[ing] the social order as simultaneously serving the interests of both dominant and subordinate (1988, p. 3).

Ideological complexes are crucial in the (re)production of meanings, behaviour and social action as they systematically organize our reality. Ideological complexes are composed of *relational models* and *actional models*. While the first addresses classifications in terms of actors, actions, circumstances, among others, the latter addresses issues of what is allowed/forbidden to whom in a particular society (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 3). The message is thus articulated within a first layer of meaning, excluding the issues of how that message is to be understood by a particular audience and the functions it fulfils (e.g. irony). The rules subscribing social interaction and semiotic production (i.e. *logonomic systems*), Hodge and Kress argue, prescribe how a message and its meanings are produced and received. These authors believe that this logonomic system explains “who can claim to initiate (produce, communicate) or know (receive, understand) meanings about what topics under what circumstances and with what modalities (how, when, why)” (1988, p. 4).

The relationship between ideological complexes and logonomic systems suggests that they cannot exist without the other. More importantly, the inscribing of the ideological complex into the logonomic system means that the latter can also be a site of struggle, in which people can resist and/or subvert them. The contested systems, therefore, “can be constructed where the structures and rules of the dominant form are weakened or inverted, to create antisocieties, antilanguages and antiworlds” (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 267; see also Halliday 1977).

One major drawback of this conceptualization of meaning is that it strengthens the idea that people and/or minority groups (e.g. the alternative press in Chile) are powerless in relation to larger, more powerful institutions (e.g. the established media). In the case of the alternative media, for instance, studies have shown their crucial role in the contestation of oppressive governments and the safe haven they provide to minority and/or oppressed groups to challenge, resist, and re-signify their identities and practices (Gumucio-Dagron, 2011; Harlow & Johnson, 2011; Sierra Caballero & Gravante, 2016; see also section 2.1.2). In the light of this evidence, I argue that representations and attributions of motive can help understand how the political conflict in education is perceived and managed by the actors involved regardless of where they are in the dominated/dominating dichotomy. More importantly, the dialogical nature of attributions can be systematically analysed in relation to the meanings these actors (re)produce, contest, resist, and negotiate through their motives and the motives attributed to them.

By subscribing to the idea of *discourse as a recontextualization of social practices*, motives can be regarded as signs whose construction depends on the social relations and social constraints that constitute particular societies. The analysis of news reports inevitably deals with different levels of recontextualization serving multiple purposes. Therefore, conceiving language as a system of choices is fundamental to the analysis of representations and attributions of motive.

Having explained the main concepts and theoretical assumptions that structure this research, I next introduce the theoretical framework devised for the analysis of motive in the Chilean news genre.

## **5 A theoretical framework for the analysis of motive**

As I have discussed in sections 3 and 4, motive is an important part of how actors, actions, and experience are constructed subject to ideological conflict, particularly when we consider social movements. Actors involved in the conflict are (ideologically) classified in a community in terms of their motives through the linguistic choices deployed in their representation by a third party (newspapers). The Social Actor Approach is thus useful because it provides a set of discursive and linguistic strategies to identify these representations and recontextualizations of motives in reports of social

conflict, grounded in the idea of language as a system of choices (Thompson, 2014, p. 35). By understanding language as an inherently social phenomenon, this approach offers a systematic analysis that enables the analysis to “trac[e] the dialectic between text and processes, linguistic form and social and semiotic processes” (Hodge & Kress, 1993, p. 159). The choices people adhere to in their constructions of reality make this model a suitable tool for approaching the issue of representations and attributions of motive. In Thompson’s words, “Functional Grammar is deliberately designed to look outwards from specific instances of linguistic choices to the socio-cultural – and, eventually, ideological – factors influencing their existence and use, critical discourse analysis is a natural extension into practical application” (2014, pp. 265-266).

However, as I will show in the following section, the main limitation of the Social Actor Approach is that it has a very functionally-oriented approach to motive (i.e. Grammar of Purpose). In other words, van Leeuwen sees aspects of motive as merely a functionalization of people’s drives to achieve a goal and/or an effect. Despite this functionalization of motive, his model provides a basis for the analysis of a broader understanding of motive. In the following sections, I develop the basis provided by van Leeuwen’s Grammar of Purpose in order to create a theoretical and methodological (Ch. 4) framework for the analysis of representations and attributions of motive in the news genre.

### **5.1 From a Grammar of Purpose to a Grammar of Motive**

As I explained in section 3.2, van Leeuwen rightly believes that purposes are an important attribute people ascribe to their experiences, social actions and practices. He distinguishes between those purposes that are moralized (i.e. function as a legitimation strategy) and those which are not, foregrounding the idea that only purposes that justify changes in practices and social actions are worth paying attention to. This restricted understanding of purpose not only neglects social and psychological aspects of motive but also ignores the importance of tradition, aesthetics and emotional factors in explaining why people do (or do not do) what they do. In fact, most of van Leeuwen’s examples are *statements* that explain purposes quite straightforwardly –mainly because he analysed instructional texts (i.e. first-day-at-school texts). However, people also talk about why they *do not* do things,

in which cases tradition, a sense of duty, feelings and/or emotions usually come to play (Pérez, *in preparation*).

His Grammar of Purpose was devised to identify the different functions purposes play in relation to their context. Thus, there are three main purpose categories (i.e. goal-oriented, means-oriented, and effect-oriented purposes) and their corresponding sub-categories that account for different ways people purposefully do things to achieve their goals and objectives. This functionalization of purpose does not contribute to the analysis of *motive* and, thus, is excluded from this research. What I do consider, however, is his identification of *the elements of purpose*, with a slight change of their names:

**Table 3.1: Personal adaptation of van Leeuwen’s elements of his Grammar of Purpose (2008).**

Van Leeuwen’s categories	Personal adaptation
Purposeful action	Meaningful action <sup>(MA)</sup>
Purposeful link	Motive link <sup>(ML)</sup>
Purpose	Motive <sup>(M)</sup>

Changing the name of van Leeuwen’s categories for the elements of his Grammar of Purpose is far from an arbitrary and/or stylistic decision. The complexities of motive prevent me from identifying an action that bridges the actor’s experience and action with their inner drive (i.e. motive) as a *purposeful action*. There are times these actions do not serve a particular purpose but serve an emotional one. Thus, the action stops being *purposeful* and becomes *meaningful* to the actor: a valid reason (not) to act upon. Consequently, the other two categories need to be changed as well in order to mark a distinction between the functionality of purpose and the broader category of *motive*. What these categories mean and their functionalization in relation to methodological issues are detailed in Ch. 4, section 4.2.

This Grammar of Motive provides the basic structure to identify how motive is represented in the Chilean news genre. Nevertheless, it might be restrictive when it comes to the analysis of *attributions* of motive, as these attributions can be easily affected by socio-political and ideological elements especially when it comes to reporting a social conflict. These attributions are heavily dependent on what people believe what is right or wrong in relation to social conduct, practices, and their moral values. This *positioning*

also determines how actions and motive are to be legitimized, particularly by drawing on specific narratives. Therefore, the grammar of motive needs to be complemented by a theoretical and methodological framework that accounts for this aspect of social conflict. This *Positioning Theory* is explained in the following section.

## **5.2 Positioning theory**

Positioning theory is an approach to analysing narratives that portray conflict developed within the realm of social psychology (Harré, 2010; Harré & Slocum, 2003). It pays particular attention to how meanings in a conflict are negotiated and developed in interaction (Harré & Slocum, 2003, p. 100). This theory appeals to the idea that the cognitive tradition of the study of conflict is not enough to cover how these are verbalized and represented in actual interaction among the actors involved in the conflict:

Positioning theory is an approach to the analysis of the patterns of interpersonal actions created by the individuals engaged in the unfolding of a social episode in which rights and duties are created and maintained ad hoc through discursive interactions between the actors present and engaged in the episode (Harré, 2015, p. 2).

The focus of positioning theory is directed at how meanings of actions are negotiated and constructed in interaction. It follows then that the main objective is to identify what people believe their duties and rights are as reflected in their interactions because these determine their (potential) actions. These beliefs are highly influenced by the situational, historical and social contexts of the individuals in conflict, appealing to specific moral orders that determine the roles they play in a conflict (Harré, Moghaddam, Pilkerton Cairnie, Rothbart, & Sabat, 2009, p. 6). For instance, Chilean students claim the right to act politically because of their historically established duty to voice the people. These self-attributions of rights and duties conflict with the duties and rights attributed to them by the government. From their point of view, students have a right to voice their discontent but cannot act politically due to their role in society (i.e. to study). Their conflict draws on different ideologies and ways of conceiving the world that constitute different moral orders.

This moral order (or moral values, as van Leeuwen calls them) determines the rights and duties people believe they and others have to abide to in their talk and actions. Harré explains that moral orders determine and influence the way people think, feel, act and perceive things as they “include not only beliefs about which things and actions are good and which are evil (...) but also explicit and tacit beliefs about the distribution of rights and duties to think, speak, act, and even feel in certain ways” (2015, p. 5). Thus, the main contribution of this approach to the development of this thesis is how it acknowledges different attributions and constructions of rights and duties in relation to higher moral orders. From this, we grasp that the position a person undertakes in the development of a conflict, any interpersonal communication, or a taken-for-granted social activity is “a cluster of rights and duties relevant to the actions of a person or group of people” (2015, p. 5). In this vein, positions, and the (discursive) practices with which these are concretized, are a reflection of the individual’s moral landscape (Harré et al., 2009).

The analysis of how actors position themselves in a conflict is threefold. Firstly, the analyst needs to identify the storyline or lines the actors involved in the conflict believe they are experiencing. For instance, Achugar (2016) identifies that victims of torture and persecution during the Uruguayan dictatorship talked about that period of their lives in a narrative of dark times or Resistance while supporters of the dictatorship talked about it in a Cold War or Two Demon narratives, to justify the actions undertaken by the military (see also Achugar, 2008; Achugar, Fernández, & Morales, 2013). Secondly, it is necessary to attend to the meaning attributed and negotiated in the interaction by each of the actors involved (e.g. speech acts). For instance, the online discursive practices among students belonging to the Chilean student movement aim at resisting their overall negative representation in the national public sphere by ideological re-orientation of their own practices and those of the government (Cárdenas, 2016b). Finally, one should attend to how the content, rights and duties of the actors involved are distributed and attributed to themselves and others. For instance, the Chilean student movement frames their resistance to neoliberal politics in the educational sector by claiming education, as well as social welfare more generally, is a responsibility of the State. However, the government supports the idea of freedom of education, in which parents and tutors are the ones

responsible for choosing and funding the education they see fit for their children and pupils (González, Cornejo, Sánchez, & Caldichoury, 2007). The application of positioning theory to the analysis of my data is explained in Ch. 4, section 4.3.1.

Within the realm of linguistics, positioning theory could be potentially equated to *perspectivization strategies* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; 2016). According to Reisigl and Wodak, perspectivization strategies correspond to how the speaker or writer positions and distances themselves in relation to what is being represented (2016, p. 43). In other words, it refers to the ideological perspective from which actors and actions are represented and supported (through argumentation strategies). These strategies can be identified through the use of deixis, discourse markers, metaphors, the people actively included and/or excluded in the representation (through (in)direct speech), etc. (2016, p. 33). However, I favour positioning theory because of its addition of the moral orders in the development of conflicts, such as the educational one.

While work on positioning theory has mainly concentrated on interpersonal communication, there is an on-going trend to also apply this theory to the conflict between abstract entities such as nations or institutions by identifying the latter as actors (Moghaddam, Harré, & Lee, 2008; Slocum & van Langenhove, 2003). This thesis aims at contributing to this recent trend by applying positioning theory to the news genre. I intend to identify how the actors involved in the educational conflict are positioned and represented by the national press in relation to their rights and duties, identifying, comparing and contrasting the proposed storylines.

## **6 Summary**

This thesis is strongly grounded in the idea of language as a system of choices (Halliday, 1978, 2014, Hodge & Kress, 1988, 1993; Thompson, 2014), pertaining to the nature of human motivation. I adopt a critical stance on how motive is decontextualized, recontextualized, represented, and attributed in the Chilean national press. There are three reasons why this matter is particularly relevant to Critical Discourse Studies and applicable to the Chilean context. Firstly, access to the media and pluralistic information are highly restricted in Chile due to the political, ideological and economic monopolization of the national media (Ch. 2). Secondly, social movements have

historically struggled to get the attention of the media to disseminate their message, only to be bluntly delegitimized, marginalized, and criminalized (Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017; McLeod, 2007; Pérez, 2012, 2016, *in press*; Shoemaker, 1984). Finally, the fight for quality and free education constitutes an ideological cause, which gives voice to the current social inequality and segregation in the country. In this vein, I understand discourse as a recontextualization of social practices (Bernstein, 2003, 1981, 1986; Van Leeuwen, 2008), practices which are, in turn, highly influenced by individual and collective motivations.

Motives, on the other hand, are understood in terms of the psychological, situational and institutional contexts which determine why and how people act (Weber, 1947). It follows, then, that the role of personal narratives, socio-political and situational contexts, and the perspective from which these motives are constructed are relevant in how these are perceived by society when they are foregrounded in the context of social movements.

While these issues have been addressed in the social sciences, there is a gap in relation to the systemization of the analysis of motive, in particular how it is realized, conveyed, represented and attribute in the news genre. The following chapter deals with the implementation of these concepts in a methodological framework to investigate motive in the data collected for this study.



# Chapter 4. Study design

## 1 Introduction

This chapter explains and justifies how this research was designed and analysed. The following section opens with an explanation of the data rationale (section 2) going on to describe the data sets, considering how they were sampled and collected, and how ethical constraints were addressed (section 3). This is followed by detailed explanations of the methodological frameworks put together to analyse motive in Spanish news data (section 4). The chapter concludes with a summary of the main methodological issues and how the research questions are addressed (section 5).

## 2 Rationale of data selection: Why the press?

There has been extensive work in the area of news discourse in CDS, with its interest in unveiling power and ideological relationships in society (see Ch. 3). The power of the media as information gatekeepers has been extensively proven in different contexts, including those studies dealing with the representation of demonstrations and social mobilization (e.g. Fowler, 1991; Fowler et al., 1979; Hart, 2013) as fulfilling all the characteristics of being a newsworthy item (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). However, only a few of them explore the topic of the representation of motive of social movements (as opposed to causality or the representation of social actors and actions) despite having acknowledged its importance in the formation of social causes (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003; Tilly, 2004 see also Chapter 3). An example of this is the *Protest Paradigm*, a five-category model devised to understand how social movements are delegitimized in the media (see Chapter 3; section 2.1). Within the five categories proposed, McLeod conceptualizes delegitimation as the “[failure] to adequately explain *the meaning and context of protest actions*, leading the audience to perceive them as futile, *pointless*, and even irrational” (2007, p. 187 my emphasis). Yet, his studies (and others who have followed his framework) have not focused on *how* these motives are excluded and/or

represented in order to frame them as pointless. The emphasis is on how the media serve to maintain the overall negative representation of these social causes, instead of the linguistic and discursive patterns that help represent and attribute motive among the actors involved in the social conflict.

Another reason to include the news genre in this thesis is to contribute to the literature with a comparative study of established and alternative media representations of social movements. There has been a tendency in CDS and Media Studies only to focus on the mainstream press due to its powerful role and influence in society (e.g. Hall, 1973; Van Dijk, 1988, 1991). Chile has been no exception to this tendency, the main focus of which has been the lack of plurality and diversity in the national press (Arroyo Díaz, 2008; Krohne, 2005; Monckeberg, 2008). In this context, the alternative press has been thoroughly studied in relation to the role they played *during* the dictatorship, rather than its aftermath. Thus, the aim of this thesis is to contribute to this clear gap in the literature (especially at national level) in relation to how motives are represented and attributed in both types of press so that its analysis could potentially be replicated and applied in any context.

While there are other relevant media outlets that can contribute to the understanding of the representation of motive in social collectives, the press still acts as a *gatekeeper* of information (Shoemaker, Vos, & Reese, 2009). Through the selecting and framing of information, the news media still determine how “we see the world, ourselves and each other” (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 3). More importantly, ideology is at the core of their production and dissemination (Van Dijk, 2009). Other media such as the radio, broadcast and social media were deliberately excluded from this thesis in order to fully focus on the press in a context in which the press is hugely monopolized not only at the national level but also at the regional one (Lugo-Ocando, 2008). Data collected from these outlets was worked on simultaneously to account for the various strategies used to convey, represent and attribute motive in the media more generally (see Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017; Pérez, 2016). Finally, and as mentioned in Ch. 2, the role of social media in the construction of the student movement’s identity through their actions, challenges and motives is already the focus of Cárdenas’ work (see for example Cárdenas, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d, 2016b). Therefore, I decided to exclude this data from this study so as to

complement Cárdenas' research in terms of providing the point of view of hegemonic discourse.

### **3 Data description**

This section deals with a detailed description of how the data was selected, collected, stored and transcribed, including the ethical concerns involved in this process. It also includes a section on the challenges of carrying out research on Spanish data using a model for the analysis of the English language.

#### **3.1 Sampling frame**

I decided to build a specialized corpus (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006), that is, a collection of related texts which represented this movement during the Chilean academic year (March to December) over a period of three years (2011-2013). I then determined a set of search words (cf. Gabrielatos, 2007) which were the most common terms used to describe the student movement in the media based on an analysis carried out on a much smaller sample (Pérez, 2012)<sup>6</sup>. I identified various referential strategies (as identified by Reisigl and Wodak 2001) these newspapers used to identify students such as *actionyms* and *professionyms* (e.g. students, leaders, organizers), *criminonyms* (e.g. hooded vandals/demonstrators), *collectives* (e.g. student movement, involved actors) etc.

I selected the most frequent terms to narrow down the electronic/online search of newspapers. This implied, for example, that any article which did not contain any of the search words would be left out, even though they were about the student movement. This kind of article was rare. For instance, there were times different news pieces were included on the same page, with varied length and formats. There were pieces of two-to-three lines that included a depiction of a photograph or an anecdote that was about the protests being covered but did not include any of the search words. This happened for two reasons: either the actors behind the actions were implied by the surrounding context on the page or they included an anecdote. Either way, they were excluded from the final sample to create a consistent corpus. Finally, the selection was limited to news articles

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<sup>6</sup> These words have been consistently found in other studies when identifying the student movement in the media (see also Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017; Pérez, 2016).

only, excluding articles marked as leaders or commentary. The list of search words from the pilot study is provided below:

**Table 4.1: Key-word search list**

SPANISH ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION	SPANISH ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION
Estudiantil	Student (adj.)	secundarios	Secondary students
protesta(s)	protest(s)	estudiantes	students
movilización(es)	mobilization(s)	encapuchados	Hooded vandals /demonstrators
marcha(s)	march(es)	barricada(s)	barricade(s)
Confech	National Confederation of Chilean Students	Cones	National Coordination of Secondary Students
Aces	Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students		

### 3.2 Specialized Corpora: established and alternative press

Once the key-word search was determined, I explored Nexis, a large news database, to systematically retrieve news articles from the most widely-read established newspapers (*El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, *La Cuarta*, and *LUN*) and the most popular alternative ones (*The Clinic*, *El Mostrador*, and *El Ciudadano*) in Chile. However, the only one available in this search engine was *El Mercurio*, and I proceeded to select the articles according to their relevance to my research based on the key-word search outlined above. In the selection process, I identified some important events missing from the results and thus decided to complement the results with a second news database (Factiva). This new search resulted in the addition of more articles which fit the criteria but which were not included in Nexis.

Once the data from *El Mercurio* was retrieved, a programmer working at a Chilean university determined the search criteria in Google Chrome to download the remaining newspapers based on the same search words used to collect the data in Nexis. The programmer set the search parameters in an advanced search, including the search words, the official websites of these newspapers, and the time span (01 March to 31 December over 2011 and 2013). He downloaded the links to the news reports into different Excel files for me to clean them accordingly (e.g. excluding articles that were about protests

other than student demonstrations). However, it was impossible to retrieve texts from either *LUN* or *La Cuarta* due to their website design, and so I resorted to manual collection of the data. I contacted the National Library in Chile in 2014, informed them about my project, and they kindly provided the necessary conditions to collect the missing data. The newspapers were photocopied and given to a typist to be transcribed. Text-image generator programs were not used as these did not recognize Spanish written accents nor the letter ‘ñ’.

Two corpora were then created for the established and alternative press (henceforth CON and ALT, respectively), and the files were saved individually following the formula YEAR\_NEWSPAPER\_NUMBER\_DATE. The files excluded hyperlinks, metadata of the text (e.g. author’s name, date, times the articles were shared on social media, etc.), and photo captions, except for the articles retrieved from Nexis and Factiva. The deletion of metadata in these sub-corpora resulted in corrupted files, so I decided to leave the original texts and separate them by month (i.e. YEAR\_NEWSPAPER\_NUMBER\_MONTH). The table below contains the total of words and articles of *El Mercurio* when the metadata was excluded (it otherwise accounts for 557,719 words).

**Table 4.2: Description of the news articles corpus**

	NEWSPAPERS	NEWS ARTICLES			
		2011	2012	2013	TOTAL WORDS
Established	<i>El Mercurio*</i> (EM)	324	124	114	208.710
	<i>La Tercera</i> (LT)	194	163	150	184.933
	<i>La Cuarta</i> (LC)	209	33	23	71.985
	<i>Las Últimas Noticias</i> (LUN)	380	50	55	94.949
		<b>1,819 ARTICLES</b>			<b>560,577</b>
Alternative	<i>El Mostrador</i> (EMo)	127	79	179	191.356
	<i>The Clinic</i> (TC)	272	214	193	289.318
	<i>El Ciudadano</i> (EC)	261	117	84	392.069
		<b>1,526 ARTICLES</b>			<b>872,743</b>

### 3.3 Reference corpus

Reference corpora of Chilean Spanish are difficult to access. To my knowledge, the only option is The Dynamic Corpus of Chilean Spanish (Codicach). However, there is no open access to this corpus. The only possibility of using it would involve sending my corpora to its creator (S. Sadowski) and allowing him to make the queries and analysis based on my guidelines. This restriction would clearly limit the exploration of salient features due to my inability to explore the reference corpus at will. Also, Codicach contains documents from the 1990s to the early 2000s, which might potentially affect results in comparison with data corresponding to 2011-2013. Hence, my only option was the *Spanish TenTen* corpus provided by Sketch Engine©. This corpus contains different varieties of Spanish from Europe (21%) and the Latin American region (79%), in which Chilean Spanish accounts for the fourth most frequent variety. The corpus contains online documents from 2011 and before, making it a slightly better (and more current) option than Codicach.

### 3.4 Ethical concerns

The data were publicly available online and were not altered in any way. This means that typos and/or spelling mistakes in the Spanish originals were kept. This criteria also includes the manual transcription of the photocopies from *Las Últimas Noticias* and *La Cuarta*. The copyright permissions for the material collected manually at the National Library were also granted on condition of acknowledging the Chilean National Library in the thesis, as well as any other work (published or not) that derives from this study.

### 3.5 Translation issues

This research works entirely with Spanish data using a model that was originally proposed for the English language. At first glance, these two languages share little in common, particularly when we consider their syntax. However, one of the main reasons for choosing Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (2014) is its focus on *meaning-making*.

This focus allows the application of this model to other languages such as Chinese (Sum-hung & Yan, 2007), French (Caffarel & Halliday, 2006) and Spanish (Lavid et al.,

2010). In the case of the latter, we are able to find the same clause-relation system as in English making use of different resources (Lavid et al., 2010, pp. 10–11). This similarity at the clause level is at the core of the applicability of van Leeuwen’s model of purpose (2008) to Spanish data sets. Motive, as I explain in the following section, depends on how two clauses connect with each other in order to attribute motive to a particular (re)action.

Therefore, the analysis carried out in this thesis is always on the Spanish data set. Nonetheless, for the benefit of the reader of an English-language PhD, I provide the closest (yet not necessarily the most conventional) possible translations next to the Spanish excerpts.

## **4 Analysing motive**

In this section, I explain the different methodological approaches that I adopted and adapted in order to identify all the realizations of motive in my data set. I first start with an explanation of van Leeuwen’s Grammar of Purpose, as it is foundational in this study. I then consider the process of its application to a Spanish data set, which includes how representations and attributions of motive were identified, coded and sampled for their analysis. Finally, the last section deals with two other methods that can complement the model proposed by van Leeuwen by focusing on the identification of rights and duties of the actors involved in the political conflict (i.e. Positioning Analysis), and by also considering larger data sets (corpus-assisted analysis). The combination of these methods facilitates the analysis of motive and the identification of ideological issues involved in the social conflict at hand. More importantly, this combination leads to discovering other ways motive can be identified that are not as clear-cut as van Leeuwen’s model postulates.

### **4.1 The Grammar of Purpose: What it is**

In his work on ‘first-day at school’ texts, Van Leeuwen dissects how purpose constructions are built and proposes a set of three categories that summarize why people do what they do. He particularly focuses on those constructions that explain why “new things need to be done” and why “old things need to be done in new ways” (2008, p.

125). He explains that these serve to legitimize and/or delegitimize social actors and actions play a crucial role in how power in social practices is distributed (2008, p. 135).

Van Leeuwen identifies three main components in the construction of purpose, namely, purposeful action, purpose link, and purpose (henceforth characterized in examples as <sup>(PA)</sup>, <sup>(PL)</sup>, and <sup>(P)</sup>, respectively). In this grammar, there must be a *purpose*, which explains the reasoning behind the *purposeful action*, that is, the action needed to achieve the purpose. These two elements must be linked through a *purpose link* which explains the relation between these two elements (p. 126). This purpose link can be explicit or implicit and is realized by the use of (explanatory) conjunctions, temporal adverbials, logical processes, finite and non-finite clauses, nominalizations, and can even be disguised as circumstances. These elements are exemplified in (1) below:

(1) EC\_2011\_194\_19Oct.txt

Una manifestante dijo que <u>estaba marchando</u> <sup>(PA)</sup>	A demonstrator said she <u>was marching</u> <sup>(PA)</sup> for <sup>(PL)</sup>
por <sup>(PL)</sup> <b>la educación de su hijo</b> <sup>(P)</sup> que está en	<b>her son's education</b> <sup>(P)</sup> who is in high school
segundo medio.	

In (1), the ultimate purpose of this demonstrator's actions (i.e. marching) is to achieve a greater purpose, that is, education for her son. Her actions constitute a political purpose, as the march is a social practice people do in order to protest against and/or demand something from the government. In van Leeuwen's model, all these three elements are necessary in order to identify a purpose structure as such. Otherwise, *they cannot be regarded as purpose constructions* (2008). Even when it is implicit, the purpose link can be double-checked by the analyst supplying a missing link.

Van Leeuwen continues to identify three other categories that classify purpose constructions in terms of whose *agency* and the kinds of purposes which are at stake. The first one is *goal-oriented constructions*, whose focus is on constructing the actor(s) as purposeful beings, as having particular intentions, motives, goals, etc. (i.e. "I do x in order to do (or be, or have) y" (2008, p. 127)). Agency in these kind of constructions is unquestionable as the actor is completely foregrounded. The second category is *means-oriented constructions*, whose focus is on the objectivization of actions, in which the purpose becomes the action itself. It follows that agency in these structures is



backgrounded as the focus is on *what* was done for *what* purpose rather than *whose* purpose. Finally, the last category refers to *effect-oriented constructions*, whose focus is to highlight the outcomes of action, rendering the agent as not fully purposeful. In this kind of construction, the focus is on the *results* and/or *effects* of the purposeful action.

These last three categories, while useful to analyse *purpose*, do not account for the more complex nature of *motive*. Motive is much more complex than identifying whether the actor is fulfilling a goal or trying to have an effect on someone else, especially when we deal with *attributions* of motive. These categories become blurry and limit the understanding and analysis of representations and attributions of motive in the press. For instance, I could add that example (1) above is a goal-oriented construction, as the demonstrator is trying to achieve education for her son through her protest action (i.e. marching). However, the identification of education for her son as a *purpose* obscures the real objective of her actions. Primary and secondary education are granted for all in Chile, which means that her son *already has* access to education. We should not understand her actions in terms of mere functionality (i.e. I do A to achieve B) but rather in terms of what she *desires* (i.e. my desire and longing drives me to do X). As we see in Chapter 7, the concept of education, in the context of the student movement and its struggle, foregrounds an ideological struggle grounded in how the Chilean society is politically and economically structured. Love and hope are at the core of this demonstrator's actions as opposed to a mere *goal*.

While these three categories do not completely describe the complexities of motive, the instances which have at least one purposeful action and a purpose do describe them. The specific grammar of purpose does in fact describe how motive is constructed: actors can perform an action in the hopes of fulfilling a need, desire and/or achieving (or avoiding) a goal, outcome, or effect. Therefore, I draw on van Leewuen's elements of purpose only in the analysis of motive, broadening the scope of purpose to that of *motives*. Thus, instead of analysing purposeful actions<sup>(PA)</sup>, purpose links<sup>(PL)</sup> and purposes<sup>(P)</sup>, I analyse *meaningful actions*<sup>(MA)</sup>, *motive links*<sup>(ML)</sup>, and *motives*<sup>(M)</sup>.

In the following section, I discuss and justify how motive was identified and coded in my corpus as well as how the data were sampled for a more detailed analysis.

## 4.2 Analysing representations and attributions of motive in Spanish news data

I have already discussed two important aspects that are the cornerstone of this thesis. First, the application of van Leeuwen's model to Spanish data is valid due to the transferability of the conceptualization of language and grammar this thesis is grounded on (i.e. Systemic Functional Grammar) (see Chapter 3 and section 3.5 above). Second, purpose becomes a rather limiting feature when it comes to understanding the complexity of why people do what they do. Talking about motive instead allows the identification of psychological, institutional and contextual features that affect the formation of a *drive* leading actors to act upon it.

These features present interesting challenges when identifying motives in Spanish, which emerged during the codification and the sampling of the corpora. Thus, to ensure the analysis is both valid and reliable, I followed Maxwell's (2013) validity checklist and his understanding of a shared interpretative validity (Maxwell, 1992) when applicable (e.g. Weston et al., 2001) (see also section 4.3).

### 4.2.1 Identification

I first approached the data drawing on the same linguistic features identified by van Leeuwen in the construction of purpose. These features consisted of (explanatory) conjunctions, temporal adverbials, logical processes, finite and non-finite clauses, nominalizations, and circumstances, among others. It soon became evident, however, that Spanish has certain affordances that English does not have, which affected the identification of the elements of motive (i.e. meaningful actions, motive links, and motives). Also, the representations *and* attributions of motive need the identification of the actors involved. These aspects are described in detail in the following sections.

#### 4.2.1.1 Meaningful action

*Meaningful actions* are understood as *anything someone does (or does not do) in the hopes of fulfilling their motives* in this thesis. As opposed to van Leeuwen's, this definition accounts for people's *inactions*. There are times people deliberately avoid doing something in order to achieve a greater good (e.g. not taking your usual road to avoid traffic). Granted, this could be phrased positively (i.e. I took this road in order to

avoid traffic). However, this phrasing does provide a different outlook in these actor's actions, viz., purposefully doing something s/he never does due to contextual/situational factors. Van Leeuwen does not include this choice as part of the definition of *purposeful actions* nor did examples emerge in his data.

Having this definition in mind, meaningful actions were identified as any *actions* that have *at least* one motive attached to them. Meaningful actions could be conveyed through *phrases*, *clauses* and/or *verbs* alone (especially due to Spanish verb inflection and subject deletion). The instruction was to highlight the most basic unit of meaning critical to understanding the core action of one (or more) motives. The data also showed instances in which there was *more than one* meaningful action related to one (or more) motives. In these cases, the meaningful actions were numbered accordingly (<sup>MA1.1</sup>; <sup>MA1.2</sup>; etc.).

#### 4.2.1.2 Motive link

*Motive links* are words (i.e. adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions) or phrases that link the meaningful action and the motive(s), which can be implicit or explicit in a motive construction. When the construction is *implicit*, it can be verified by imaginarily adding one. If the construction cannot be linked with this imaginary unit, it means it is not a motive construction. The main distinction with van Leeuwen's purposeful link is that *motive links* are not restricted to the clause level: links between sentences and paragraphs are included too. Thus, motive can be constructed *throughout* the text in the (Spanish) news genre (e.g. the heading of the article may contain the *meaningful action* while the subheading corresponds to the *motive*).

As I explain in the following section, there are instances in which an action can have multiple motives attached to it *or* have conflicting motives (i.e. refuting an attributed motive to later state the *real* motive). When there are *multiple motives*, the motive link corresponds to all those words and/or phrases that create a (coherent and cohesive) link between the action and the motives (<sup>ML1.1</sup>; <sup>ML1.2</sup>; etc.). Conversely, motive links that connect *conflicting motives* were identified as <sup>ML1.a</sup>; <sup>ML1.b</sup>; etc due to their complementary nature.

#### 4.2.1.3 Motive

*Motive* is understood as the *physical, psychological, moral and/or pragmatic drive/event someone seeks to fulfil (or avoid)* in this thesis (for a more detailed explanation on this understanding of motive, see Chapter 3; section 3.3). The scope of this definition is much broader than that of van Leeuwen's, and that has particular consequences on how it is identified in the Chilean Spanish news genre. Motive can be conveyed through words, phrases and/or clauses (e.g. adjectives, adverbs, nominalizations; metonymies) at any point in the text.

There are two implications in the identification of motive when the scope of *purpose* is broadened. First, it is possible to include emotions as *drives* that lead actors (not) to act. Second, it is possible to have *multiple* and *conflicting motives* that are maintained and/or challenged in the narratives presented by the newspapers. In case of the latter, *multiple motives* are identified as <sup>M1.1; M1.2; etc.</sup> while conflicting motives are identified as <sup>Ma; Mb; etc.</sup>.

#### 4.2.1.4 Whose motive and who attributes it?

Dealing with news data implies talking about *representations* of the reality. In these representations, it becomes of the utmost importance to identify who is being talked about and who is allowed to *do the talking*. The identification of these actors is particularly important when we discuss motive. As Mills explains, motives are also *representations* of what we tell others: there is no way of finding out our motives unless we voice them (1940, pp. 909–910). However, when we let others have the power to define and/or identify our motives, our actions can become distorted and our real motives backgrounded and/suppressed altogether (i.e. access to the public sphere is a matter of power – see Chapter 2).

Therefore, these actors become indispensable when dealing with *representations* and *attributions* of motive. They provide an overview of who the actors allowed in the public sphere (actively and passively) are, as well as the frame with which their actions are being evaluated. The identification of these actors is fairly straightforward: the actors whose motives were being discussed attributed, and/or represented were identified as

[WHOSE] while the actors doing the attribution of motives were identified in [bold square brackets] at the end of the excerpts.

Once these actors were identified, they were grouped according to the roles they fulfil in society, viz., their jobs and associations, following van Leeuwen's *categorizations* (i.e. "identities and functions they share with others" (2008, p. 41)). Most of the times, this information is included in the articles as newspapers tend to include the affiliation and roles actors have in society:

(1) EC\_2011\_95\_08August.txt

La semana pasada, luego de la intensa jornada de movilización, un pleno extraordinario de la Confech dio un plazo de seis días al *ministro de Educación, Felipe Bulnes*, para atender sus demandas o de lo contrario<sup>1</sup>, advirtieron, continuarán con las movilizaciones.

Last week, after intense demonstrations, an extraordinary meeting held by Confech gave *the Ministry of Education Felipe Bulnes* a six-day ultimatum to attend to their demands or otherwise, they warned, they will continue with the demonstrations.

(2) EC\_2011\_69\_16July.txt

A pesar de que no ha habido intentos de desalojo, según nos cuenta *un dirigente del D-72*, ellos se mantienen atentos a lo que suceda.

Despite there not being any attempts to evict [them], according to *the student leader of D-72 school*, they remain ready for whatever could happen.

These instances were quite straightforward. For example, Felipe Bulnes (the then Minister of Education) was classified into the category *government coalition*, as he belonged to the ruling coalition and the student leader of the D-72 school into the category *student movement*. There were instances in which actors were not identified in terms of their roles and functions in society but their actions signalled their affiliations. For example, I categorized demonstrators as part of the student movement if they were described as participating from their protests while members of other social movements were categorized as *Other Social Actors*. I also included a category called *newspaper* whenever a representation and/or attribution of motive was part of the report (i.e. its editorial line). The description of each category is included in the following table:

**Table 4.3: Final categories of whose motives and who attributes them**

<b>Categorization</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>Student movement</b>	(Un)official members of various student collectives at secondary and university level, whether they are students or not. Anyone who supports the student collective, actively (i.e. marching) or passively (i.e. banners).
<b>Government coalition</b>	Public servants (e.g. Ministers, congressmen and congresswomen, secretaries, spokespeople, etc.). Members of the political parties supporting the right-wing governing coalition.
<b>Political Opposition</b>	Public servants (e.g. congressmen and congresswomen, secretaries, spokespeople, etc.). Members of the political parties supporting the left-wing political opposition.
<b>Law enforcement</b>	Any member of a law enforcement unit (police officers, military, etc.)
<b>Educational Institutions</b>	Actors who are affiliated to any educational institution at primary, secondary and university level (e.g. School deans, principals, tutors and parents).
<b>Bystanders</b>	Actors who have been negatively affected by and/or witnessed the actions of the student movement.
<b>Other social actors</b>	Social actors who belong to other social movements (except for the student movement and the Teachers' Union) and/or other social institutions who play, to a certain extent, an influential role in society (e.g. Church; Workers' Union; Think-tanks).
<b>Newspaper</b>	The category was applied to the instances in which a representation and/or attribution of motive was part of the report (i.e. its editorial line) and there was not a clear agency in relation to who was attributing and/or representing motive.

#### 4.2.2 Coding

While qualitative analysis demands careful examination of the object of research, it also has some weaknesses (for an overview, see Dörnyei, 2007; Maxwell, 2013). When it comes to the identification of representations and attributions of motive, qualitative analysis might lead to different interpretations. To check the reliability of my coding, I carried out an exercise involving double coding a set of texts with another researcher.

This researcher was a linguist with an EFL background. She was trained to code a sample of the corpus in terms of the elements of motive, whose motive, and who attributes it. The sample was of articles published in August 2011, a critical month in the

development of the political conflict in education (see Chapter 2). The articles published in this month accounted for 31% of the 2011 corpus (i.e. 551 articles). Due to the size, I sampled 90 articles to be coded, accounting for 16% of the articles collected in this month. The sample was selected with an Excel formula (=RANDBETWEEN(1,551)) set to choose 100 random numbers. Once duplicates were deleted, the list provided 90 random numbers. These random numbers were used to select the corresponding already numbered articles in the August 2011 corpus.

Before giving the sample to the coder, she was thoroughly trained using 30 of the remaining articles published in August that were excluded from the sample. This training aimed to ensure that interpretation and coding of the articles would be consistent across coder and researcher (see also section 4.4). She was given the definitions and instructions in section 4.2.1 above on how to identify the elements of motive as well as whose motive was being represented and who was attributing it. The training period consisted of an individual round of identification in whole articles, followed by weekly discussions with the researcher to corroborate the codification. This process of identification and corroboration was spread over two months. Once the coder was fairly confident, she was given the sample.

The coding process followed the same criteria as the training process, that is, the coder approached the sample of whole articles individually to then discuss, compare and contrast the results with the researcher. This process was very fruitful as it helped improve the instructions on how to identify motive. The coder and the researcher filled Excel columns with the number of 1) motive constructions; 2) meaningful actions; 3) motive links; and 4) motives. When there was agreement between our coding, the article was coded with a 1. Conversely, when the number of occurrences did not match, the article was coded with a 0. Once all articles were checked in terms of agreement, the articles we had agreed on were added up and divided by the total number of articles, which showed the percentage of agreement per category.

Unsurprisingly, there was not much agreement between the coder and the researcher in the first round of analysis (40-50%):

**Table 4.4: Percentage of agreement (inter-reliability) between coder and researcher (1<sup>st</sup> round)**

	No. of motive constructions	No. of meaningful actions <sup>(MA)</sup>	No. of motive links <sup>(ML)</sup>	No. of Motives <sup>(M)</sup>
<b>Agreement</b>	44	39	44	45
<b>Total of articles</b>	90	90	90	90
<b>% IRR</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>50%</b>

During the discussion, we realized that identifying motive was not as difficult as agreeing on the most basic unit of meaning when identifying the *elements* of motive. In many instances, we had identified the same sentence as being a motive construction but coded its elements differently (e.g. what I thought could be a motive link, the coder thought was part of the meaningful action, or vice versa). These instances explain the low percentages in the first round of analysis. This resulted in the improvement of the instructions, especially the ones that involve the differentiation between modal verbs and motive.

Once these issues were resolved, and we had agreed on the most basic units of meaning in the codification, we coded the articles a second time, which provided very high levels of agreement between the coder and the researcher (99-100%):

**Table 4.5: Percentage of agreement (inter-reliability) between coder and researcher (2<sup>nd</sup> round)**

	No. of motive constructions	No. of meaningful actions <sup>(MA)</sup>	No. of motive links <sup>(ML)</sup>	No. of Motives <sup>(M)</sup>
<b>Agreement</b>	90	89	89	89
<b>Total of articles</b>	90	90	90	90
<b>% IRR</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>99%</b>

The table shows that inter-reliability between the researcher and the coder was 100% when it came to identifying motive constructions. This means that these constructions are fairly evident, once the instructions given to the coder were clarified. In fact, the identification of the elements of motive was almost perfect (99%), failing to agree on the number of these in one article only (No. 67). The high percentages of inter-reliability provide solid evidence that the steps undertaken to identify motive in Spanish can be accurately replicated and undertaken by anyone who has undergone proper training. These percentages also suggest that the first research question of this thesis can be successfully achieved through the instructions and steps I designed.



When identifying who attributes motive and whose motive is being discussed, the calculation of inter-reliability was carried out similarly. We coded each motive construction following the categories laid out in Table 4.3 (section 4.2.1.4) and marked 1 when there was agreement and 0 when there was not. We calculated the inter-reliability between the codification process with the motive constructions we identified in the second round only (i.e. 321 constructions). The percentages of inter-reliability in each category are shown in the following table:

**Table 4.6: Percentage of agreement (inter-reliability) between coder and researcher**

	Whose motive?		Who attributes it?	
	Categories	Actors	Categories	Actors
<b>Agreement</b>	320	315	314	314
<b>Total of motive constructions</b>	321	321	321	321
<b>% IRR</b>	<b>99.69%</b>	<b>98.13%</b>	<b>97.82%</b>	<b>97.82%</b>

#### 4.2.3 Sampling

The realization of motive in Spanish news data required exhaustive and careful analysis for two main reasons: the size of the corpus and the fulfilment of the first research question of this research (i.e. how motive is grammatically constructed in the Chilean news genre). The identification of the linguistic elements of motive was the most basic step towards the analysis of its discursive components in the context of the political conflict in education. For this purpose, I needed to carry out a more detailed analysis of motive, following the steps I have already explained in the previous sections.

There were two issues to consider in this sampling process. First, I had to determine how to identify the grammatical components of motive (in Spanish) when this research was the first of its kind. The coding process did provide fruitful evidence on how motive was constructed in Spanish. Second, Spanish inflection, subject deletion, and typos posit a potential challenge, in that the identification of motive was more likely to be inconsistent due to 1) the lack of explicit patterns in their constructions and 2) the lack of a semantically-coded corpus.

These challenges were solved by focusing on *meaningful actions* instead of motives. As seen in the definition of motive used in this thesis, motive is *always* attached to an action. Therefore, if I identified the action, I could also identify the motive, regardless of the form it took. The identification of actions in Spanish is much more reliable and consistent, even when the corpus is not semantically-coded. Thus, the sample was restricted to texts using infinitives and gerunds in Spanish as these verbs are not subject to multiple verb inflections: while infinitives always finish in *\_ar*, *\_er*, and *\_ir*, gerunds always end in *\_ndo*.

Restricting the sample to the occurrences of infinitives and gerunds does not mean I focused on these features only. These criteria were a device for choosing passages of analysis as infinitives and gerunds are usually also embedded in other features used to construct motive (e.g. embedding, (in)direct speech, etc.). For example, even in sentences in which the motive is expressed through adjectives, there is always an action attached to it (in capital letters):

(2) LC\_2011\_85\_12August\_249

Los padres, **furiosos por VER a sus pollitos**  
**amenazados<sup>(M)</sup>**, enfrentaron a los  
maldadosos<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> y les exigieron que pelearan de  
frente<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>

The parents, **furious at SEEING their little ones**  
**at risk<sup>(M)</sup>**, confronted the evil ones<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> and asked  
them to fight with honour<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>.

Therefore, I analysed all possible ways of representing motives in the texts. This analysis was not only carried out qualitatively as I have explained so far, but quantitatively as I explain in section 4.3.2.

The corpus was sampled in AntConc 3.5.0 (Dev) for Windows (Anthony, 2016). I ran a search for Spanish infinitives [*\*ar*; *\*er*; *\*ir*] and gerunds [*\*ndo*] in the advanced settings<sup>7</sup>. As the results were still very numerous in both sub-corpora (i.e. CON and ALT), I further limited the sample to only a 5% (i.e. every 20th hit) of random results using the sampling feature in this AntConc version. Although a sample of 5% of the

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<sup>7</sup> \* is a wildcard provided by AntConc which means the software will look for any words that finish in the characters that follow the symbol. In this case, the software searched for words that finished in *\_ar*, *\_er*, and *\_ir*, gerunds always do in *\_ndo*.

search hits might not seem enough, each hit was seen in its immediate co-text. Thus, each example contains more infinitives and/or gerunds than just the one hit selected, due to the characteristic feature of combining long and short sentences in Spanish formal register (Vivaldi, 2000, p. 146). Then, a third filter was applied in relation to their relevance: I eliminated results that did not correspond to infinitives and gerunds that coincidentally had the same word-endings such as proper names (e.g. *Javier, von Baer*), nouns (e.g. *par, ayer*), or adverbs (e.g. *cuando*). Finally, the resulting sample was analysed in terms of motive constructions. The results of this process can be seen in the following table:

**Table 4.7: Sample selection**

SUB-CORPUS	RAW SEARCH	5% SAMPLE	FILTERED	FINAL COUNT
CON	35,836	1,792	1,326	359
ALT	32,536	1,627	1,246	339
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>68,372</b>	<b>3,419</b>	<b>2,572</b>	<b>698</b>

The filtering of the sample left a similar number to analyse in both sub-corpora, facilitating the contrast and comparisons among these. It is worth noting that all the examples included in this thesis had a 100% of inter-reliability with the second coder.

### 4.3 Expanding the model

Throughout this thesis, I posit that motives of social movements can be also accessed through other means rather than just focusing on grammatical features. This is briefly touched upon van Leeuwen at the beginning of his work on purpose in relation to moralized actions:

They are also moral qualities, because they trigger intertextual references to the discourses of moral values that underpin them (...) Even in these discourses, however, the moral values are rarely made explicit (...) They are only obliquely referred to, only connoted through the abstract representations of actions I have described. They are treated as common sense and do not make explicit the religious and philosophical traditions from which they ultimately draw their values and on which their legitimating capacity ultimately rests (2008, p. 126).

These intertextual and interdiscursive strategies can lead to the identification of how the events and the social actors' actions are described in terms of what they are protesting for, pointing to how the story is framed in each sub-corpus. In this thesis, I suggest that the motives of social movements can be accessed both through detailed manual analysis of a sample and through an automated exploration of the whole corpus. These two methodological approaches can help identify the motives of social movements as these tend to challenge normalized moral values and/or appeal to moral panics (see section 3 in Ch. 3). Motives are central to the creation, development and maintenance of social movements over time and their dissemination can help their cause as well as increase popular support. Thus, they might not follow the structure originally proposed by van Leeuwen but rather appeal to a word that, which a particular community, might trigger certain associations. These strategies can be accessed through the identification of how actors position themselves in relation to their rights and duties (section 4.3.1) as well as through the identification of keywords and their collocations (section 4.3.2).

#### 4.3.1 Positioning analysis

The analysis of the grammatical features shows that patterns also emerge in terms of what these social actors were fighting for. The social causes behind these actions are mostly ideological, in that there are two recognisable groups fighting for how they believe society should be structured. How these causes are constructed is, therefore, critical in the understanding of motive and, more importantly, the representation of the actors these motives are being attributed to. These motives were intimately related to the kind of press analysed.

From the same sample designed for Ch. 5, I identified *the most basic topics* being discussed as the motive. The topics were relatively similar to each other as I had built a specialized corpus on the student movement. Despite this similarity, the codification of the motive constructions resulted in 46 codes across the mainstream and alternative press. To reduce the number of codes, I grouped them into broader categories whenever possible, which resulted in 13 new codes (see also Appendix 2 for their distribution):

**Table 4.8: Codes identifying motives and their definitions**

<b>To demand social change / reforms</b>	Motives that refer to the reforms social collectives aim to carry out. These motives also include references to the changes they aim at achieving, the protests they organize, the need to change the government's attitude towards profit in education and the irregularities in the current educational system.
<b>To destabilize the establishment</b>	Motives of those actions that aim at attacking and/or challenging authority figures. This category also refers to actions and/or practices that aim at disrupting routines and the tranquillity of the city. These attacks/actions/practices could be physical or verbal.
<b>To engage in politics</b>	Motives that foreground obtaining political gain and/or avoiding political damage/losses. This also points to actions that are grounded in conflicts of interests among the actors involved in the conflict, instances of manipulation and/or corruption.
<b>To fulfil their emotions/values</b>	Motives that are grounded on emotional and or moral drives. This also includes actions that are carried out as a result of a burst of emotion and actions that are carried out to satisfy an emotional/moral need (e.g. actions because of love; or the need to study). This also includes actions attributed to irrationality.
<b>To gather / show support</b>	Motives that aim at gathering (more) supporters for a particular cause, either political or social. This category also includes actions that aim to disseminate a political or social cause and/or make a stance to show the scope of the social collective.
<b>To improve education</b>	This motive refers to the idea of <i>improving</i> the current educational system as opposed to its <i>reformation</i> . This category is fundamentally different from “demanding social change / reforms” above as, there, social collectives claim that the inequality and low quality are the result of the current system being beyond repair, let alone improvement, and thus the system needs to be <i>reformed</i> . The motive here, supporting improvement, is almost exclusively attributed to the government coalition and other social actors related to the economic sector.
<b>To maintain the status quo</b>	Motives whose main goal is to avoid radical changes to the way society and education are structured. These motives also include negative references to neoliberal ideologies and the changes implemented by Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship.
<b>To maintain/restore order</b>	Motives whose main goal is to prevent damage and criminal activity. This category includes instances of identifying criminal activity, finding

	evidence, fighting off violent actors, etc. It also includes the activities carried out by the police force and/or the judicial system, whether illegal or not, to maintain the establishment.
<b>To make violence visible</b>	Motives that foreground (illegal) practices which aim at attributing violence to otherwise peaceful actors. These practices might result in false accusations and the subsequent criminalization of these actors. It also includes instances in which excessive repression is being used.
<b>To plan (ahead) /organize</b>	Instances whose motives are the organization and planning of other activities to achieve other goals. These instances can be fully detailed or included superficially in the report.
<b>To protect/help others</b>	Motives whose objectives are the welfare of others. This category includes instances of people being asked to escape danger, counter-acting threats and trying to protect others from risk.
<b>To restrict the student movement</b>	Motives that aim at stopping, one way or another, the actions of the student movement. These actions include instances in which the student movement is deliberately criminalized, restricted, or tricked.
<b>To solve conflict</b>	Motives whose objective is to solve conflict through establishing a dialogue and/or reaching an agreement between the two (or more) parties involved.

As mentioned in section 4.2.2, various interpretations are likely to stem from qualitative analysis and the creation of these broader categories is no exception. The same coder trained to identify motive was asked to perform two different tasks. First, she was asked to identify the motive being discussed in each of the 26 excerpts presented in the briefest way possible (Section 1). Each excerpt consisted of two examples of each category, as defined by my codification. Second, she was asked to choose among three options the best category that would identify the motive being discussed (Section 2). The objective was to compare and contrast the coder's answers with mine, despite the wording she selected to identify the motives. The results are summarized in the following table:

**Table 4.9: Percentage of agreement (inter-reliability) between coder and researcher**

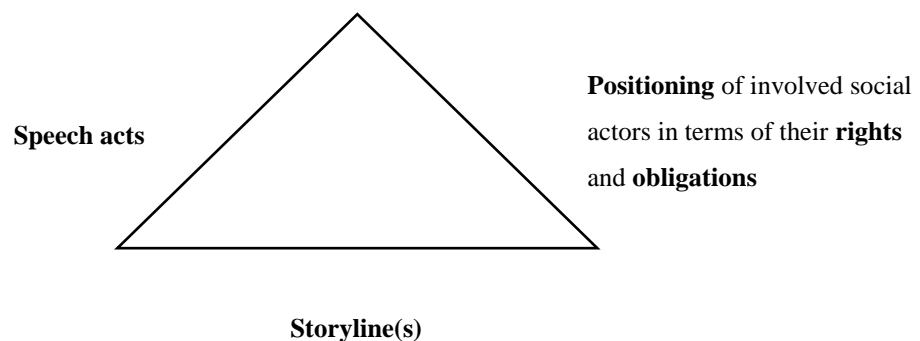
	<b>ROUND 1</b>		<b>ROUND 2</b>	
	<b>SECTION 1</b>	<b>SECTION 2</b>	<b>SECTION 1</b>	<b>SECTION 2</b>
<b>Total agreement</b>	12	15	17	21
<b>Total of excerpts</b>	26	26	26	26

<b>IRR %</b>	46%	58%	65%	81%
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As evidenced by the table, section 1 resulted in very low agreement between the coder and the researcher, mainly because the word choice was likely to vary. However, once the coder had been provided with different choices, inter-reliability increased. The first round resulted in almost 60% inter-reliability, which demanded a second round of analysis. Before the second round, the coder and I discussed the categories and came to detailed descriptions (see table 4.8 above) as suggested by the Maxwell's validity checklist (2013) and Weston et al (2001)'s study (see section 4.2.2). Once definitions were agreed upon, the inter-reliability of the coding process increased in both sections, in which the second section reached an acceptable level of agreement.

Once the motives were sorted in terms of the issues they addressed, I systematized the identification of storylines through the inclusion of positioning theory (Ch. 3). I focused on the three fundamental areas of social interactions commonly referred to as the *position triangle*: 1) how rights and duties are distributed; 2) recognizable (supporting) story lines; 3) understanding the meaning of people's actions "as social acts" (Harré, 2010, p. 52, see also 2015; Harré et al., 2009). These three areas of social interaction are shown below:

**Figure 4.1: Visual depiction of the analysis of social actor positioning (Harré et al., 2009 *personal adaptation*).**



The figure shows the three aspects considered in the analysis of the *moral values* the actors involved in the educational conflict draw on. The positioning of the actors is revealed by the motives they are represented as having and/or attributed with, which is carried out through the process I detailed above. The identification of their positions leads

to the identification of the storylines framing the reports of each press and their legitimization. In other words, the narratives help identify which narratives have access to the public sphere and which others do not. More importantly, the analysis sheds light on how these narratives are legitimizing, by framing the conflict in one particular way or another, providing an idea for exploring their role as sources of social change (Montesano Montessori, 2013, p. 298).

The inclusion of positioning analysis helps identify how motive is discursively constructed through the storylines framing the news coverage of the student movement (RQ2). In Ch. 6, the sample is analysed in terms of the speech acts evoked in the reports, the rights and duties (i.e. as evidenced by motives) which are self-assigned and/or attributed by others based on the topics brought up in the discussion (codes); and the storylines identified from the constructions and attributions of the rights, duties and motives of these actors. These storylines are fundamentally based on intertextual references to sources that help organize the narratives constructed.

This method was designed to complement the grammatical analysis carried out in Ch. 5. However, the manual analysis, while exhaustive and detailed, is still limited to the size of the sample. There are other approaches to identifying the differences and similarities between the corpora that can corroborate and/or disprove the findings from the analysis of the sample, simply by including a larger dataset. This is why the last of the methods proposed in this thesis is a corpus-assisted analysis of the data.

#### 4.3.2 Corpus-assisted approach to the analysis of motive

The combination of corpus methods and Critical Discourse Studies over the last decade has contributed to addressing different problematic issues in the social sciences, including issues of *cherry-picking* (e.g. Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008; Baker & Levon, 2015; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Mautner, 2008, 2009, 2016). Baker explains the use of corpora can help identify the cumulative effect of words that eventually create particular discourses (2006, p. 13). On this understanding, language use is seen as a shared community practice and the evaluative meanings words carry (e.g. stereotypes used to criminalize protesters) are dependent on their particular social contexts (Stubbs, 2001).



Corpora, then, can help reveal repetitive text patterns and corroborate linguistic patterns in isolated cases as well.

In a similar vein, the use of corpus methods can help triangulate the study, providing more accuracy and support to the results the analyses might reveal. This develops along the lines of favouring more eclectic approaches so different methodologies can enhance their own assets (Baker, 2006, p. 16) “while eliminating potential problems” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 283). In social sciences, as in the case of this thesis, triangulation is understood as the combination of “data sources to study the same social phenomenon” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 43). In this thesis, triangulation is carried out through the use of an updated understanding of van Leeuwen’s grammar of purpose, positioning theory, and corpus methods to the analysis of representations and attributions of motive in the Chilean press. Each method helps identify motive at a grammatical, lexical and discursive level respectively. More importantly, they help validate the research questions structuring this thesis.

A corpus-assisted approach to motive could be the focus of a thesis alone. Thus, here, I only focus on the analysis of *keywords* and their *collocations* to complement the qualitative analysis carried out in Chapters 5 and 6. However, this does not mean I ignore other methods such as the identification of clusters or the analysis of concordance lines. The focus on keywords and their collocates means that most of the analysis aims at identifying (de)legitimation strategies through lexical and discursive elements that emerge when the corpora are compared and contrasted.

This identification of linguistic patterns in content words (i.e. moral values) in the construal of motive can help identify whether motives can be accessed through keyword analysis, and their subsequent collocational analysis. Thus, the design of this analysis purposefully addresses RQ3 through the identification of similarities and differences between the corpora at a more discursive level.

As I mention in section 3.3 above, the similarities between the corpora were identified using a reference corpus extracted from Sketch Engine. On the other hand, the differences were identified contrasting the corpora with each other using the software AntConc. The following section explains the statistical measures undertaken to ensure the analysis was valid and consistent.

#### 4.3.2.1 Keywords

Simply put, keywords refer to words in a corpus that are particularly frequent when compared to another (reference) corpus. This allows the comparison and contrast between the two sub-corpora (i.e. CON and ALT) as they highlight what is most characteristic in each one of them. There are two statistical measures that can be used in the analysis of keywords: log-likelihood and Chi-square. Both of these statistical measures assign a probability value (i.e. p value) from 0 to 1 to each word of the corpus and the cut-off point is left for the researcher to decide. In general, the smaller the p value, the more likely that a word did not occur by chance. In this thesis, I use log-likelihood combined with a Bonferroni correction, setting the cut-off point to a  $p < 0.01$  (i.e. 99th percentile), which translates to a critical value of 6.63.

However, the analysis of keywords alone is not enough to explore the scope of motive in these corpora (see for example Baker & McEnery, 2005). This is why I consider the analysis of their collocations to make their intertextual and interdiscursive relations more explicit and clearer.

#### 4.3.2.2 Collocations

A collocation is “the tendency of words to be biased in the way they co-occur” (Hunston, 2002, p. 68). They facilitate the (statistical) identification of meanings and associations in a word when it co-occurs with another in large amounts of data. The analysis of collocations enhances the identification of underlying discourses and/or topoi used in legitimising corpus constructions (Baker & McEnery, 2005; Baker et al., 2008). As with keywords, there are two statistical measures to calculate collocations: T-score and Mutual Information (MI). In this research, I use MI because 1) the corpus size is rather limited and that can affect the calculations of T-score measure and 2) it focuses on the lexical behaviour of a word (Hunston, 2002, pp. 73-74). I use a minimum MI score threshold of  $\geq 3$  and a minimum frequency of 5 occurrences throughout this thesis considering that those are regarded as indicating a significant result (Hunston, 2002, p. 71).

#### 4.4 Validity and reliability

The study design of this research is grounded in a mixed-methods approach. I first approached the data qualitatively to identify how motive is constructed grammatically in Spanish (RQ1) to later focus on its discursive components (RQ2 – RQ3). In order to ensure “design validity” (see Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003), each research question was approached by a particular, yet complementary, method (Dörnyei, 2007). This design resulted in a three-step model for the analysis of representations and attributions of motive in social conflict, which followed Maxwell’s checklist (2013, p. 125).

The application of this checklist (whenever it was applicable to my data) had different implications. First, it meant that the data was studied and analysed for *prolonged periods of time* (the first three years of my PhD) in order to identify how motive in Spanish was constructed differently from English. Second, *the data was rich and diverse*, enabling the identification of the grammatical and discursive resources for the representations and attributions of motive in the news genre: I created a corpus comprising seven of the most popular and well-read newspapers in the country over the period analysed. Third, the inclusion of a second coder was a fruitful source, especially in terms of identifying *contradicting evidence* to my original definitions of the elements of motive and the instructions on how to find them. Also, the results were *triangulated* methodologically, that is, I combined different methods and approaches to the same data to identify constructions, representations, and attributions of motive. This combination of methods allowed a more thorough analysis of the corpus, reducing the risks of bias usually associated with the qualitative (manual) analysis of large amounts of data. Finally, *quantitative evidence* was not only used in the corpus-assisted analysis of my data (see section 4.3.2), but also in the more qualitative aspect of this research (see also Maxwell, 2010), particularly in Chapter 6 (i.e. topic analysis). The incorporation of “quasi statistics” (see Becker, 1970; see also Sandelowski, Voils, & Knafl, 2009) as a *complement to the qualitative analysis* has multiple benefits, among which are the identification of patterns that emerge during the analysis and the presentation of supporting evidence to the interpretation of results.

As for reliability, I followed Maxwell’s concept of *interpretative validity* (Maxwell, 1992, p. 288). Thorough training was carried out with a coder for over four months to

ensure that the interpretation of motive, the identification of its elements, and the inductive coding process were used consistently. Concretely, this entailed weekly meetings to discuss doubts that emerged from our individual codifications, which resulted in the refinement of the definitions and instructions. The sample consisted of a considerable size (5%) that set the ground for the analysis of more data and the agreement between the researcher and the coder was absolute in the identification of motive and 99% accurate in the identification of its elements. Agreement on the identification of who is attributing motives and whose motives are being discussed was also high (98.13% and 97.82%, respectively), and the categorization into the proposed categorization of social actors too (99.69 % and 97.82%). Finally, the identification of why actors involved in the educational conflict do what they do also followed the same process, enriched by constant and consistent feedback between the coder and the researcher (i.e. 81% in the second round of codification).

It is important to note that my understanding of reliability is intimately grounded in these high levels of agreement between myself and the coder, to ensure this research could in fact be replicated. In this context, I mostly intend to replicate the process proposed by Weston et al. who see reliability as “an approach for developing a shared understanding that can also establish consistency among coders” (2001, p. 395). Needless to say, these measures to ensure reliability and validity required constant revision of the research questions and the methods chosen to answer them.

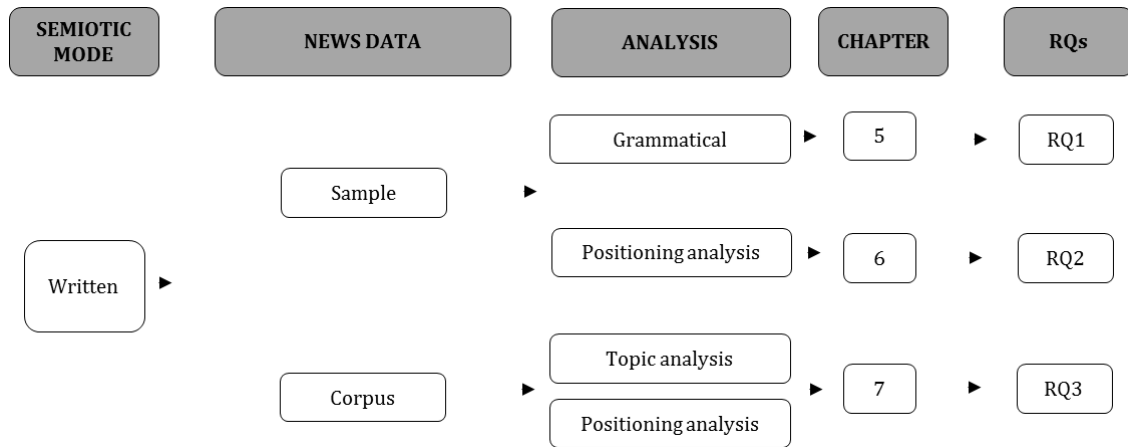
## **5 Summary**

This chapter provides an overview of the methodological framework used to analyse motive in the news genre. It starts with an overview of the rationale for data selection, and its subsequent sampling and collection processes. I also discussed the obstacles of obtaining news data in Chile due to the lack of news banks or similar search engines such as Nexis or Factiva. Methodologically, I propose a three-step process in the analysis of motive. First, I explore grammatical realizations of motive in order to complement and corroborate those structures proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) through a representative sample (Ch. 5). Second, I propose a more detailed analysis of the contents of that sample in order to identify what students are protesting for (Ch. 6). This allows the identification

of narrative lines in each news corpora and how actors are positioned in the conflict in relation to the motives they are attributed. Finally, I propose a more holistic approach to motive through the analysis of the whole corpora (Ch. 7). In particular, I suggest that keywords can facilitate the use of discursive strategies to legitimize and/or delegitimize actors in relation to their motives when both corpora are compared and contrasted. This requires careful explanation, and although keywords facilitate the identification of motives, these need to be complemented by a collocation analysis as well.

These methodological decisions were intrinsically driven by and purposefully designed to address the three research questions that structure this thesis. These questions are answered throughout the chapters, highlighting how one methodological approach leads to, and complements, another in the identification of motive. The relationship between the data, methods and research questions is visually schematized in figure 4.2 below.

**Figure 4.2: Visual summary of data, methods, and research questions**



The following chapter consists of the analysis of the grammatical structures with which motives are conveyed in the news genre, responding to the first research question of this thesis.

# Chapter 5. Grammatical realizations of motive in the national press

## 1 Introduction

This chapter aims to identify how motive is constructed and attributed to the actors involved in the Chilean student movement in the (conservative and alternative) national news genre (RQ1). For this purpose, I analyse qualitatively the grammatical structures used to convey motive in the samples of each sub-corpus (see Ch. 4). These structures overlap most of the time. For instance, an infinitive will be embedded in a reporting clause in order to attribute or construct motive. I structure this chapter overall in terms of the most frequent grammatical constructions (as shown in Ch. 4). These are divided into two main categories: constructions *at* sentence level such as extension, circumstantials of purpose and embedding (section 2) and constructions *across* sentences through cohesion strategies such as conjunctions and reference (section 3). Finally, I summarize the main findings of the chapter and how these set the ground for further exploration (section 4).

Throughout the following analysis chapters, the selected examples are coded in relation to the elements of motive they refer to as discussed in section 4.2.1; Ch. 4. The key to their interpretation is summarized in the following table:

**Table 5.1: Codification key**

(MA)	Meaningful action	<u>Underlined</u>	Meaningful action
(ML)	Motive link	<b>Bold</b>	Motive
(M)	Motive	<i>Italics</i>	Sampled verb
[WHOSE]	Whose motives		
[bold square brackets]	Who attributes motives		

## 2 Motive within the sentence level

When analysing first-day-at-school texts, van Leeuwen realized that children's practices were understood in terms of their purpose in order to encourage certain behaviours and discourage others. Likewise, also explained to parents was the rationale behind the new practices they would have to adopt in order to help children with the transition. The texts were mainly instructional and educational and thus purpose constructions were straightforward. In the reporting of events, however, the articulation of motive is neither instructional nor educational: it is informational. This is also affected by the limited time and space reporters count on when trying to meet editorial deadlines and instructions. Consequently, motive constructions in the news genre are not always as straightforward as those found in the texts van Leeuwen analysed.

This section analyses the different realizations of purpose constructions at sentence level. Although some of these were also included in van Leeuwen's model, the analysis shows that they are realized differently from the way he originally suggested.

### 2.1 Extension

According to Halliday, *extension* corresponds to the extension of the meaning of one clause to another "by adding something new to it" (2014, p. 471). Extension can signify adding, replacing or presenting an alternative to the original meaning and can be realized through paratactic and hypotactic structures. When extension is combined with paratactic structures, clauses are *co-ordinated*. These are divided into three categories: *addition* (section 2.1.1), *variation* (section 2.1.2) and *alternation*. On the other hand, hypotactic structures lead to *dependent clauses* and are realized through finite and non-finite constructions.

Throughout the analysis, I found that extension structures are used consistently as way of avoiding repetition of meaningful actions, listing more than one (contradictory) motive, and/or as a way to link meaningful actions and motives, without necessarily being a motive link. These results are discussed below.

### 2.1.1 Addition

As the name suggests, *addition* adds meaning to another clause. There are three subtypes: *positive* (i.e. and); *negative* (i.e. nor); and *adversative* (i.e. but – and conversely) (Halliday, 2014, p. 472). The analysis showed that positive additions are common in the construction of motive while negative ones are rarer yet still present. Adversatives were not found in the sample.

#### 2.1.1.1 Addition: positive

One of the most frequent results consists of the use of the conjunction<sup>8</sup> y [and] as a link between the meaningful action and the motive. This conjunction does not have an inherent association with motive attached to it as it simply adds more information to the clause. However, in some instances, the result of an action can be expressed through this conjunction (Lavid et al., 2010, p. 42). Consider the following example:

(1) LC\_2011\_183\_20Oct.\_400.txt

María Elena Sobarzo Rivera (51)<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> vive hace 15 años en el barrio universitario y, **chata**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> de que el lugar quede para la historia en cada manifestación, tomó una heroica decisión: agarró el palo de hockey de su hijo, de 9 años<sup>(MA)</sup>, y<sup>(ML)</sup> **salió a enfrentar a los encapuchados**<sup>(M1.2)</sup> [Newspaper].

Maria Elena Sobarzo Rivera (51) <sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, who has lived in the university neighbourhood for the last 15 years is **fed up with**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> the reckless nonsense after every protest, so she made a heroic decision, she grabbed her 9-year-old son's hockey stick<sup>(MA)</sup> and <sup>(ML)</sup> **went out to confront the hooded rioters**<sup>(M1.2)</sup> [Newspaper].

The extract focuses on an ordinary citizen (Maria Elena) and what she used her son's hockey stick for. The extract attributes two motives: being tired of these situations and confronting hooded rioters. The inclusion of the first motive through the adjective *chata* positively frames and evaluates her action by highlighting how tired she is of these actions. This “nonsense” is routinized (*en cada manifestación* [after every protest]), while Maria's actions are positively framed (*heroica* [heroic]) as those of a concerned citizen helping maintain law and order. The term also connotes a combination of anger and

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<sup>8</sup> Conjunctions link clauses together. They belong to the adverbial class group along with prepositions (Halliday, 2014, p. 76)



frustration which, according to the report, is a reasonable emotional *reaction* to have. The practice of being a civil vigilante is not only praised as almost a duty but also as people's natural reaction towards deviant behaviour, highlighted by the inclusion of Maria's age (51). She is an adult, her actions, however violent, are to be understood as rational which is in stark contrast to the way negative emotions are attributed to young demonstrators in the coverage of the student movement (Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017).

Once the positive frame is set, the extract introduces the action by which this citizen fulfils her motives: grabbing her son's hockey stick. The action is immediately followed by the second motive, linked by the conjunction *y*. The combination of both motives allows us to interpret her actions as positive, instead of condemning her for violence. The absence of the rioters' motives facilitates the triggering of negative stereotypes which is in stark contrast with the *heroic* action of this citizen. Similarly, the sequential representation of her actions is introduced by orienting the reader to Maria's personal information, which seems to serve two different, yet complementary purposes. The clearest one lies in the protest paradigm, which is the inclusion of protest bystanders' experiences in the mainstream press in order to delegitimize social movements (see Ch. 3). The second one is induce empathy with this empowered victim and antagonize the rioters. Her motives are clear and legitimized while the latter are devoid of motives (cf. Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017).

Positive addition also works to coordinate two processes whose motives are the same, such as example (2) below:

(2) LT\_2011\_112\_18August.txt

En el comando de control de la central de comunicaciones de Carabineros<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> se encuentra un equipo multidisciplinario<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> para<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> *dirigir*<sup>(M1.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **coordinar los servicios policiales**<sup>(M1.2)</sup> que realizará la institución<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> con motivo de<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **la marcha**<sup>(M2.1)</sup>, a cargo del general Sergio Gajardo Oelckers y en terreno el jefe de Operaciones, el coronel Alejandro Olivares, quienes serán los encargados de monitorear las diversas pantallas,

In the control room at the Carabineros<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> communication centre, there is a multidisciplinary team<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> to <sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **lead**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> and<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **coordinate police services**<sup>(M1.2)</sup> the institution will set up<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> *with* the coming protest<sup>(M2.1)</sup> *in mind*<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> under the command of the general Sergio Gajardo Oelckers, and in the field, the Operational chief will be the colonel Alejandro Olivares. They are in charge of monitoring the various screens, giving instructions so the protest

dando instrucciones para que la marcha se	proceeds as normally as possible and under police
desarrolle bajo la protección policial y en la mayor	protection [Newspaper].
normalidad posible [Newspaper].	

In this example, there are two different motive constructions embedded in one (very long) sentence. While M1 is an example of positive addition I am concerned with in this section, M2 is carried out through a circumstantial of purpose that signals the motive of the action (i.e. *con motivo de* [with .... in mind]). In the first motive construction, there are two motives that justify why there is a multidisciplinary police team expressed through the infinitives *dirigir* and *coordinar*. Both motives are linked through the conjunction *y*, while the existence of this team is connected to its motive by the preposition *para* [to]. In this case, the conjunction *y* serves to add more yet different motives to the same action. This motive construction highlights the social role of the police of maintaining and/or restoring order while it also focuses on the report of backstage performances usually unavailable to ordinary citizens. It also positively frames the second motive construction, in that it represents the police's actions as thoroughly planned and organized.

The second motive construction builds on the first one. It takes the existence of this multidisciplinary team and its motives as the meaningful action of a higher, more urgent motive which is to contain the student protest. The motive becomes clear through the use of the prepositional phrase *con motivo de* [with... in mind]. A more careful explanation of this kind of motive can be found in section 2.2 below.

The following is another example of how *y* is used to link motive clauses:

(3) EM\_2013\_02\_abril.txt

"Se requiere además una mayoría en el Parlamento<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> que esté<sup>(MA)</sup> para<sup>(ML)</sup> **empujar**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML)</sup> **avanzar decididamente en estos cambios más de fondo**"<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [La entonces candidata presidencial Michelle Bachelet] [Political Opposition].

"It also requires<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> a majority in Parliament<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> to<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **push**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> and<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **move forward on these profound changes**"<sup>(M1.2)</sup> [The then presidential candidate Michelle Bachelet]. [Political Opposition].

Similar to example (2), there are two similar motives associated to one meaningful action in (3). The left-wing coalition Presidential candidate foregrounds the importance of

having a strong left-wing Parliament in order to achieve two objectives: *empujar y avanzar* [push and move forward] on the policies the coalition wants to pass in order to solve the educational conflict. She tries to make herself appealing to the younger population of the country. The importance of this positioning makes more sense when it is pointed out that, in her previous administrations, secondary students accused her of betraying them during the negotiations to repeal LOCE (see Ch. 2). Therefore, there is a political motive that drives Michele Bachelet to position herself in favour of education as a right (as opposed to a consumer good; see Ch. 7). In the last two examples, the use of similar, yet slightly different, processes enhances the importance of these motives and presents them as both equally important through the conjunction *y* [*and*].

Positive coordination is also used to bullet point motives in news report. Usually, this happens when more than two motives stem from an (nominalized) action. Through this, actions are represented as thoroughly rationalized, foregrounding various motives that aim at solving and/or improving social conditions in relation to the educational conflict:

(4) LT\_2011\_155\_30Oct.txt

Dentro de los temas que se trataron en la jornada [Estudianti]<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> en Antofagasta<sup>(MA)</sup> de ayer están el **acercamiento con los rectores<sup>(M1.1)</sup>, la ley de presupuesto que se tramita en el Congreso<sup>(M1.2)</sup>, las acciones que se tomarán para radicalizar el movimiento<sup>(M1.3)</sup>, además<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> de analizar su proyección política<sup>(M1.4)</sup> y<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> la estrategia mediática que utilizarán para reforzar las demandas<sup>(M1.5)</sup>. [Newspaper]**

Among the subjects addressed in the students'<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> meeting in Antofagasta<sup>(MA)</sup> yesterday are the **coming together with the [university] deans<sup>(M1.1)</sup>, the National Budget being processed in Congress<sup>(M1.2)</sup>, the measures that should be taken to radicalize the movement<sup>(M1.3)</sup>, as well as<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> analysing its political strategy<sup>(M1.4)</sup> and<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> the media strategy to use in order to reinforce their demands<sup>(M1.5)</sup>. [Newspaper]**

In this example, the students' actions are nominalized into a meeting arranged to serve different motives (five, in fact). The students are represented as actors with a sense of organization and planning ahead as they include different aspects of the educational conflict. Motives are coordinated through the use of commas as well as the conjunctions *además* and *y* [*as well as* and *and*, respectively] towards the end of the listing. The

motives are thus conveyed through various hypotactic clauses that are dependent on the main clause that contains the meaningful action. Contextually, the inclusion of the place in which this meeting takes place (i.e. Antofagasta) is relevant because it foregrounds the students' intentions to decentralize politics and reach agreements with the different actors involved in the social movement. However, this intention is backgrounded in the report, limiting the understanding of the students' actions to the list of motives provided. While motives are included in this report from the mainstream press, these are decontextualized and unelaborated.

Apart from the conjunction *y* [*and*], the structure *not only (...) but also* is used as a way of adding more motives to one particular action as well:

(5) TC\_2012\_102\_10August.txt

Los estudiantes <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> han advertido que podrían <u>“funar” (<i>entorpecer</i>) las elecciones municipales del 28 de octubre<sup>(MA)</sup>, no solo<sup>(ML1a)</sup> <b>por la responsabilidad de las Municipalidades en la educación<sup>(M1.1)</sup>, sino<sup>(ML1b)</sup> porque muchas urnas se instalan en colegios públicos<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Student movement].</b></u>	The students <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> warned they could <u>heckle (impede) the municipal elections on October 28th<sup>(MA)</sup>, not only<sup>(ML1a)</sup> <b>because of the responsibility of the municipalities in the educational matter<sup>(P1)</sup>, but also<sup>(ML1b)</sup> because most state schools are used as polling stations<sup>(M)</sup>. [Student movement].</b></u>
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In example (5), students are represented as determined to interfere in the municipal elections (meaningful action) as a sign of protest. The motive behind this protest, however, is twofold. The first aims at exposing the responsibility of municipal authorities in the current state of the educational system. This responsibility is understood in terms of how poorly they have used state funding destined for education and used it to finance other areas instead (see Ch. 2). The second, however, is a common complaint which has been characteristic of secondary students. From their point of view, educational facilities should not be used as election polling stations because the electoral system is undemocratic<sup>9</sup> and, thus, they should not sponsor a system conceived during the

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<sup>9</sup> The binomial (two-seat) system was created by Jaime Guzman, who was in charge of creating the Constitution of 1980. This electoral system was meant to ensure the election of right-wing sectors after Pinochet stepped down from office. As they foresaw they would not be elected after the dictatorship, Guzman devised this system in that “if the main (minority) opposition party gets at least 33.4% of the vote on each district, it [the opposition] is assured of, at least, one half of the parliamentary seats” (Kimber, n.d., para. 13).

dictatorship. As opposed to the conjunction *y* [and], the structure *no solo (...) sino* [not only (...) but also] helps foreground a new motive in the report in contrast with a motive that could be regarded as given by the audience. Therefore, the hierarchy presented in this coordinated sentence highlights the politically driven nature of the students' actions, thus legitimizing them intertextually and interdiscursively.

Finally, I would like to include an example in which various motive constructions are coordinated at the same time while embedded in the same sentence:

(6) TC\_2013\_32\_23April.txt

Fielbaum acusó que “el Gobierno<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> sigue obstinadamente defendiendo una agenda<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> que<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **viene a legitimar el lucro en lugar de prohibirlo**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>, en el caso de la Superintendencia<sup>(MA2.1)</sup>, que<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **ataca directamente a la educación pública**<sup>(M2.1)</sup>; en el caso de la ley de Financiamiento y de Acreditación<sup>(MA3.1)</sup>, que<sup>(ML3.2)</sup> **más encima vuelve a castigar a los estudiantes cuando una universidad falla**<sup>(M3.1)</sup>, como es el caso de la ley de la Acreditación, significa<sup>(MA4.1)</sup> que<sup>(ML4a)</sup> en realidad **no hay ninguna voluntad de dialogar**<sup>(M4.1)</sup> sino que<sup>(ML4b)</sup> simplemente **seguir empujando una agenda que profundiza un modelo que comprende la educación como un negocio**<sup>(M4.2)</sup> y que es un modelo que ya fracasó”.  
[Student movement].

Fielbaum made the accusation: “the government<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> is stubbornly defending an agenda<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> that<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **legitimizes profit instead of prohibiting it**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>, in the case of the Superintendence [of education]<sup>(MA2.1)</sup>, which<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **directly attacks public education**<sup>(M2.1)</sup>; in the case of the Funding and Accreditation law<sup>(MA3.1)</sup>, that<sup>(ML3.1)</sup> **on top of everything punishes students again when a university fails**<sup>(M3.1)</sup>, just like the Accreditation law, it means<sup>(MA4.1)</sup> that<sup>(ML4a)</sup>, actually, **there is no will to converse**<sup>(M4.1)</sup> but<sup>(ML4b)</sup> simply to **keep pushing an agenda that fossilizes a model that understands education as a business**<sup>(M4.2)</sup> which is a model that has already failed. [Student movement].

Example (6) includes a student leader attributing different motives to various governmental actions that reflect how the government is interested in meeting their own political needs rather than solving the educational crisis. While there are four motive constructions, the first one seems to be the main one as the remaining constructions work as examples of the government's agenda. In the case of motives 2 and 3, the clauses are linked by the unspecific pronoun *que* [that] (Lavid et al., 2010, p. 25). Interestingly, the extract finishes with a complementary use of motive links through the use of *no x sino*

*que y* [not x but y], which foregrounds the most important aspect of these negative attributions of motive, namely, that the government regards education as a business. It is important to highlight the use of adverbs in the attributions of motive. *Directamente*, *más encima*, and *simplemente* negatively evaluate what they understand the government's motives truly are. The adverbs highlight how unsatisfactory and frustrating these measures are to solve the educational conflict. In fact, the government is portrayed as purposefully undertaking these measures, oblivious to the detrimental consequences on students in favour of the marketization of education. In this, profit in the educational system can remain untouched and the students' demands only superficially addressed, purposes that become clearer through the heaping up of reasons.

The leader's attribution of motive sheds some light on how different motives are at play in the reporting of the student movement (e.g. solving the educational crisis vs. profiting from education). In some cases, the reports in both media and/or the actors themselves acknowledge these conflicting motives and integrate them into their *protest repertoire* (Ch. 3) to challenge and resist their negative representations. This leads to the next sub-section which includes an account of how these conflicting motives are realized in this sample.

### 2.1.2 Variation

According to Halliday (2014, p. 473), this type of extension has two sub-categories: constructions that are *replacive* (i.e. instead) and those that are *subtractive* (i.e. except). The analysis of the sample only revealed examples falling in the first category, that is, motive constructions in which the real motive is added while replacing a falsely attributed/presupposed one (i.e. conflicting motives). Consider the following example in which the students challenge the motives stated by the government and attribute another one, highlighting their view of the truer, more realistic nature of the government's motives through the coordination of the conjunction *pero* [but] and the discourse marker *en realidad* [in fact]:

(7) LT\_2013\_61\_12Sept.txt

Mas encima, comentó, "se está *hablando* que la medida<sup>(MA)</sup> [del gobierno]<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> **busca equidad**<sup>(M1a)</sup>, pero en realidad<sup>(MLa)</sup> **es numérica y ficticia**<sup>(M1b)</sup>. Claro, de aquí a 6 años dirán que el ingreso de alumnos municipales aumentó. Pero esa equidad es numérica, porque no hay estudios de permanencia del estudiante". [Presidente del Centro de Alumnos del Instituto Nacional (CAIN), Rodrigo Jaeschke]. **[Student movement]**.

Besides, he commented that "it has been *said* that the governmental<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> measure<sup>(MA)</sup> **seeks equality**<sup>(M1a)</sup>, but in fact<sup>(MLa)</sup> **it is based on improving numbers and is fictitious**<sup>(M1b)</sup>. Obviously, in six years' time they will say that the entry of municipal students increased. But that equity is numerical, because there are no investigations of student continuity" [President of the Students' Union at the Instituto Nacional (CAIN, Rodrigo Jaeschke)]. **[Student movement]**.

This is an interesting example in that the student leader *reports* on the alleged motive behind the modification of how students' grades affect their final average score in the PSU but immediately challenges that motive with the conjunction *pero* [but]. The challenge aims at exposing the *real motives* of the government, enhanced once again by the use of *en realidad* [in fact]. *Seeks equality* is contrasted with the adjectives *numerical* and *fictitious*, redirecting the reader to the true motive for this measure. Motives are presented, evaluated, and hierarchized in relation to a true/false dichotomy. The negative representation of the government foregrounds a lack of moral values through the adverbial. In other words, the students believe that the government is using their soundbite to justify an empty and useless measure that actually increases segregation and jeopardises the quality of education.

Finally, there are instances in which *pero* [but] does not introduce the allegedly real motive of actors, but also introduces the falsely attributed one:

(8)

Los estudiantes de cuatro universidades del Consejo de Rectores<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> decidieron tomarse el recinto del edificio central de la Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas (Junaeb)<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>. La movilización<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> duró una hora, pero<sup>(ML1A)</sup> el **objetivo principal no era la posesión del establecimiento**<sup>(M1A)</sup> sino que<sup>(ML1B)</sup> **dar a conocer**

The students of four universities belonging to the Deans' Council<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> decided to occupy the main building of the National Junta of Educational Help and Scholarships (Junaeb)<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>. The demonstration<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> lasted an hour, but<sup>(ML1a)</sup> **the main objective was not the occupation of the building**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> but to<sup>(ML1b)</sup> **publicize the problems**

<p>las problemáticas que afectan el derecho a la educación<sup>(M1B)</sup>. [Newspaper].</p>	<p>surrounding the right to education<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].</p>
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In example (8), the report aims at clarifying the real motives for the students' occupation of the governmental office. The conjunction *pero* [but] signposts the first motive that might come to the readers' minds: the occupation of a governmental office to invert power relations. This is explicitly carried out by the negation of this motive (i.e. "*el objetivo principal no era*" ["the main objective was not"]) to later complement it with the real one, namely, making people aware of their demands. In Spanish, this is carried out as *sino que* [but], which suggests that both motives were equally relevant, despite one of them being a presupposition. Similarly, even though the sentence includes *movilización* [demonstration], the agency of the students is explicitly included in the previous sentence. Therefore, the nominalization is used to avoid repetition as the newspaper highlights the effects of the students' actions.

## 2.2 Circumstantials of purpose

According to Halliday, a circumstantial of purpose explains the reason why an action takes place (2014, p. 321). This function can be realized through prepositional phrases (e.g. *for*) or through complex prepositions (e.g. *with the objective of*). While van Leeuwen clearly identifies the role of purpose clauses in the realization of goal-oriented constructions (2008, p. 127), he does not consider circumstantials of purpose as a way to convey meaning in other purpose categories.

As suggested by Halliday and van Leeuwen, *por* [for/to] was indeed a common way to convey purpose as in (9) below, which represents the students' actions and their ultimate motive (seeking support) linked through this preposition:

(9) EC\_2012\_92\_17Oct.txt

A este respecto, la UNE [Union Nacional Estudiantil] <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> viene desarrollando diversas alianzas con sectores productivos de la sociedad, especialmente con el Sindicato SITECO, de subcontratistas del cobre<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, con quienes<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>

On this regard, the UNE [Students' National Union]<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> has been developing different alliances with the productive sectors of society, especially the Syndicate SITECO of copper subcontractors<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, with whom they have started



han levantado campañas<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> *por*<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **la** campañas<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> *for*<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **the renationalization of**  
**renacionalización de los recursos naturales**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. **natural resources**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. [Newspaper].  
 [Newspaper].

There are two meaningful actions that are attributed to the same motive. The development and implementation of alliances with the Miners' Syndicate are attributed to the secondary students' intention to fund education and other kinds of social welfare. This attribution appeals to shared knowledge of the historical demand for the renationalization of copper these two social movements have been seeking since the Pinochet dictatorship (see Ch. 2). The historical relevance of this alliance is taken for granted, demanding a more active interpretational process in the audience through the use of the preposition *por* [for]. While the motive is constructed straightforwardly, the emphasis is on the meaningful action, post-modified by an adverbial clause adding more information about the nature of this alliance. In most cases, *por* [for] complements the meaningful action with a straightforward motive, limiting its contextualization and/or elaboration in terms of characteristics.

Despite the high frequency of *por* [for], the most important finding in the sample revolves around the use of complex prepositions to convey motive *across* different types of motive constructions:

(10) EM\_2011\_07\_septiembre.txt

Más de dos horas duró la reunión que ayer  
 sostuvieron un grupo de diputados de la  
 oposición<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> con el ministro de Educación,  
 Felipe Bulnes<sup>(MA)</sup>, con la idea de<sup>(ML)</sup> **buscar**  
**fórmulas que permitan destrabar el conflicto**  
**estudiantil**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

More than 2 hours lasted\_yesterday's meeting held  
 by a group of representatives of the  
 opposition<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> with the minister of Education  
 Felipe\_Bulnes<sup>(MA)</sup>, with the idea of<sup>(ML)</sup> **seeking**  
**formulas to untangle the student conflict**<sup>(M)</sup>.  
 [Newspaper].

In this example, the complex preposition (i.e. *con la idea de*) introduces the motive of the meeting organized by the Minister, namely, trying to solve the educational conflict. The politicians' agency is not fully suppressed but rather backgrounded as the meeting is more important than those who participated in it. Nonetheless, the report emphasizes the

*potential* of this meeting in fulfilling its motivation by the use of the facilitating process *permitir* [allow].

As with example (10), there are different instances in which motives are realized through a complex preposition. These structures are usually *con la idea de* [with the idea of], *con el fin de* [with the end of]; or *con la meta de* [with the goal of]:

(11) LC\_2011\_31\_26june\_489.txt

Primero, Ricardo, Patricio y Javiera<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> grabaron un video tutorial<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> que, posteriormente, el equipo difundió por Ues tradicionales, privadas y colegios<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>, con el fin de<sup>(ML)</sup> **sumar gente a la iniciativa**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

First, Ricardo, Patricio and Javiera<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> recorded a tutorial video<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> that, lately, the team shared in traditional and private unis as well as schools<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>, with the end of<sup>(ML)</sup> **adding people to the initiative**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

(12) EM\_2011\_07\_septiembre.txt

De hecho, una serie de reuniones con alcaldes de la Concertación<sup>(MA)</sup> ha sostenido en los últimos días Andrés Zaldívar (DC)<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, quien integra la Comisión Mixta de Presupuestos, con el objetivo de<sup>(ML)</sup> **definir los énfasis que planteará la oposición en este debate**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

In fact, Andrés Zaldívar (DC)<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, who belongs to the Mixed Budgeting Commission, has held a series of meetings with Concertación mayors<sup>(MA)</sup>, with the objective of<sup>(ML)</sup> **defining the emphasis of the opposition in this debate**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

In example (11), the report focuses on two meaningful actions that were aimed at causing an effect on others, namely, gathering support. Both actions are coordinated with the complex preposition *con el fin de* [with the end of]. More importantly, the emphasis is not in the video but on *who* filmed it <sup>(MA1.1)</sup> and *how* they shared it with other educational institutions <sup>(MA1.2)</sup> so as to achieve the desired effect (i.e. getting further support). On the other hand, the emphasis in example (12) lies on what the Christian-Democratic politician Andrés Zaldívar plans to *achieve* instead of the effects of his actions. The ultimate motive is linked by *con el objetivo de* [with the objective of], which defines and restricts any other possibilities of interpretation of his actions, as opposed to the examples covered in section 2.1. above. Zaldívar is represented as determined to achieve a political consensus in his party so as to project a strong and united image to both the right-wing government and the students.

So far, I have covered how one meaningful action can be represented as having multiple or conflicting motives (section 2.1.) and how circumstantials of purpose can highlight different aspects of motive (section 2.2.). The next section deals with how motive constructions can be embedded in sentences as a way of adding information of the subject or the processes involved.

## 2.3 Embedding

Embedding corresponds to a “semiogenic mechanism” in which a clause is included in another one, which is part of still another clause (Halliday, 2014, p. 491). The relationship between this embedded clause and the one it is embedded in is indirect. In the analysis of the news sample, this translates into having motives as inherent characteristics of the meaningful action(s). Hence, the action is foregrounded, while the embedded clause emphasises the information about its motive, presented as being inherent to the meaningful action.

These constructions were very common in the sample of news data. This is probably due to the stylistic choices in the news genre: nominal post-modifiers (e.g. relative clauses and appositives) are commonly used to add extra information that might be relevant to some readers in relatively few words (Biber, 2003; Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999). Consider the following examples:

(13) LT\_2012\_34\_13Sept.txt

La iniciativa<sup>(MA)</sup> se enmarca en el Ciclo de Diálogos Académicos<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> "Los fines de la Educación", que<sup>(ML)</sup> **reflexiona sobre la educación que tenemos**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> y **la manera en que puede contribuir para alcanzar la sociedad que queremos llegar a ser**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].

The initiative<sup>(MA)</sup> is framed in the Academic Dialogues Cycle<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> called “The objectives of Education”, that<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **reflects on the education we have**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> and<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **the way in which it can contribute to achieve the society we want to aim to be**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].

(14) EM\_2011\_08\_octubre.txt

Carabineros<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> está juntando más evidencia<sup>(MA)</sup> que<sup>(ML)</sup> **permite acreditar con mayor contundencia el delito**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Carabineros<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> is gathering more evidence<sup>(MA)</sup> that<sup>(ML)</sup> **allows confirming the felony more accurately**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

As example (13) suggests, embedding conveys motive implicitly, constructing motive as a characteristic feature of the actors and/or actions being represented. In this example, the measure undertaken by a university and a think-tank to debate the pros and cons of profiting in the educational sector is foregrounded and described in terms of its purpose. In this example, two characteristics of the meeting are coordinated by the conjunction *y* [and], accounting for completing motives for the initiative undertaken to catalyse social change in the educational system. Hence, motives are attributed through a relative clause that extends the meaning of the measure making it dependent on the subject of the sentence. On the other hand, in example (14) motive is expressed as an inherent feature of the kind of evidence the police are looking for. Motive is also described in terms of the *potential* it has to incriminate someone. Again, the motive link is conveyed through the relative clause, enhanced by the facilitating process (i.e. *permítase*).

The following is an example in which the embedding is inserted into a bigger group rather than just functioning as a nominal post-modifier:

(15) EM\_2011\_06\_agosto.txt

Las palabras de Ignacio Walker<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> ayer a "El Mercurio", tras los últimos desencuentros al interior del partido por la idea de un plebiscito<sup>(MA)</sup> para<sup>(ML)</sup> **destrabar el conflicto estudiantil**<sup>(M)</sup>, y la adhesión al paro de la CUT, fueron ampliamente compartidas por los dirigentes demócratacristianos.  
[Newspaper]

Ignacio Walker's words<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> to "El Mercurio" yesterday, after the last disagreements inside the party due to the idea of a referendum<sup>(MA)</sup> in order to<sup>(ML)</sup> **untangle the educational conflict**<sup>(M)</sup>, and his support of the CUT's strike, were widely shared by the Christian democrat leaders.  
[Newspaper]

The relative clause included to describe the circumstances of the statement contains a motive construction that helps the reader understand better why this politician had to make a statement in the first place. The motive construction is represented through a nominalized construction referring to the idea of having a referendum<sup>(MA)</sup> to solve the educational crisis. These comments, along with his support for the CUT's strike, prompted him to give a speech. The focus of the report is not the referendum per se but rather how he handled the situation with his co-party members. The motive construction works as a way of contextualizing Walker's speech, narrowing down the possibilities for

the audience to make motive attributions to it. Once again, the motive construction in the form of a relative phrase works to expand on the sentence meaning.

As these post-modifiers serve a similar function, they enable the possibility of different embedded clauses in the same sentence (Biber, 2003, p. 178). Consider the following example:

(16) EC\_2013\_23\_08May.txt

Otro caso se produjo en Santiago donde tres individuos de civil<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> se bajaron de “un Hyundai de color gris, patente BVCH31<sup>(MA)</sup>, sin identificación<sup>(M1a)</sup> pero<sup>(ML1a)</sup> con radio en su interior<sup>(M1b)</sup>, quienes<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> trataron de *detener* a dos jóvenes que participaban en la marcha<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Another incident took place in Santiago where three undercover police officers<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> got out of “a grey Hyundai, number plate BVCH31<sup>(MA)</sup>, without identification<sup>(M1a)</sup> but<sup>(ML1a)</sup> with a radio in its interior<sup>(M1b)</sup>, who<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> tried to *arrest* two young people who were participating in the march<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

The excerpt describes the illegal arrest of two young people during a student demonstration by undercover police. The identification of these actors as police officers can only be inferred by the nominal phrase *individuos de civil* [undercover police officers] and the action they are described doing (*detener* [arrest]). It is here that the embedded clause [<sup>(MA)</sup>] sheds some light on the motives of these actors, which is later complemented by a relative clause (*quienes trataron de detener...* [who tried to arrest...]). In addition, there are two prepositional phrases that implicitly convey motive. The first one (*sin identificación* [without identification]) negatively evaluates the situation as representing allegedly police officers without their identification badges. The second one (*pero con radio en su interior* [but with a radio in its interior]) is complemented and evaluated by the first one in that it implies that the possession of a radio in their car is a further proof that they are police officers. This description is crucial in leaving the interpretation of their motives to the reader: it is an illegal arrest, which suggests an abuse of their power. The inclusion of the appositive *patente* [number plate] *BVCH31* in the description triggers memories of the practices associated with resistance to the dictatorship. In particular, the accounts of people who were disappeared during the dictatorship when participating in demonstrations. Finally, it also appears to be an

objective account of the event, providing precise details of the situation that legitimize the account as truthful.

The previous examples have dealt with the reports of different events. However, newspapers include direct and/or indirect extracts from actors involved in these events (Méndez, 1999). The last section deals with how motive is conveyed through direct and indirect speech.

## 2.4 Direct and indirect speech

Quoting directly or indirectly corresponds to a manifestation of *projection*, that is, “a logical-semantic relationship whereby a clause comes to function not as a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but as a representation of a (linguistic) representation” (Halliday, 2014, p. 508). Halliday distinguishes two levels of projection: *locution* and *idea*. On the one hand, *locution* is a paratactic construction in which there is a primary clause that initiates the projection and a secondary one that continues it (i.e. direct speech). On the other hand, an *idea* projects the content of what is spoken or thought (i.e. indirect speech) (2014, p. 509).

This grammatical realization is commonly found in newspapers and the analysis of the sample suggests that it is also important when attributing motives.

(17) EM\_2011\_08\_octubre.txt

<p>Una turba de encapuchados<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, <u>prácticamente,</u>  <u>le "secuestró" el bus articulado<sup>(MA)</sup></u> para<sup>(ML)</sup> <b>formar</b>  <b>la "mejor barricada"<sup>(M)</sup></b> (como los mismos          violentistas la definieron) del primer día del paro  <b>[Student movement].</b></p>	<p>A mob of hooded demonstrators<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>,  <u>practically, “kidnapped” the aforementioned</u>  <u>bus<sup>(MA)</sup> to<sup>(PL)</sup> set up the “best barricade”<sup>(M)</sup></u> (as          the demonstrators themselves defined it) of the          first day of strike. <b>[Student movement].</b></p>
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The attribution of motive to hooded demonstrators by the report is carried out through the seeming re-contextualization of their words. According to these, the group of hooded demonstrators “*secuestró*” [kidnapped] a bus to build the “best barricade”. Both the meaningful action and the motive are realized by reporting the purported *actual* words of these actors, represented by the use of inverted commas. However, there are two problems with this attribution: on the one hand, it is unclear if the verb *kidnap* was

actually used by the demonstrators or if it was used as a stylistic option to emphasize the impact of this action (i.e. Quotation phenomena (q), see Semino & Short, 2004). Despite the use of inverted commas, the adverb *practically* still casts doubts on this apparent locution, accounting for a common trend in news reporting (Semino & Short, 2004, p. 154). On the other hand, the words are attributed to a *group* of demonstrators rather to one individualized actor. It seems that a statement by one or more members of this group was carefully selected in order to attribute to them a violent action or, conversely, to find a justification for their setting up of a barricade in the report<sup>10</sup>. Either way, the event is allegedly reported from the demonstrators' voice, which seems to add legitimacy to the report. Both referential strategies (i.e. *turba de encapuchados* and *violentistas*) and the selection of partial quotes from their statement serve to negatively portray them, enhancing the crime narrative status of the reporting of the student movement in the traditional press.

In relation to direct speech, they tend to be full statements in which a particular actor gives her or his motive for a particular action. In the following example, Verónica provides three motive constructions:

(18) EC\_2011\_114\_18August.txt

“[Yo]<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> Estoy<sup>(MA)</sup> por<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **mis hijas y mis nietas**<sup>(ML1)</sup> para<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **que puedan estudiar**<sup>(ML2)</sup>. Antes no podía venir<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> porque<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **como trabajo en la feria**<sup>(M2.1)</sup>. Hoy pude aprovechando la lluvia<sup>(MA3.1)</sup> para<sup>(ML3.1)</sup> **apoyar**<sup>(M3.1)</sup>”. Verónica Loyola, feriante. [Student movement].].

“I<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> am<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> for<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **my daughters and my granddaughters**<sup>(ML1)</sup> so that<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **they can study**<sup>(ML2)</sup>. Before I couldn't come<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> because<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **I work in the farmer's market**<sup>(M2.1)</sup>. Today I took advantage of the rain<sup>(MA3.1)</sup> to<sup>(ML3.1)</sup> **support [the cause]**<sup>(M3.1)</sup>”. Verónica Loyola, a farmer's market worker. [Student movement].

The excerpt starts with the representation of Verónica's utterance that explains why she is present in the demonstration through three different motive constructions. The first motive construction makes reference to her love and concern for her children and grandchildren. In other words, her love for her children drives her to attend a

<sup>10</sup> This is similar to the effect created in the editing process of news reports in which different images are juxtaposed while a narration attributes purposes to the recontextualization of the images (cf. Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017; Meinhof, 1994; Montgomery, 2007).

demonstration so that they could obtain something out of it. Thus, similar to the first example discussed in this chapter (i.e. *chata* [fed up]), emotions do have a legitimizing effect when justifying one's actions. The second motive construction includes the reasons why she decided not to attend previous demonstrations. From this excerpt, we understand that motive is her wish *not* to lose her job. Finally, the third motive construction highlights an ulterior motive for attending the demonstration, which is to show her support. The structures by which these motives are conveyed have been covered in the different sections. The novelty of this example is the fact that all these structures are embedded within the direct report of somebody else's words. The inclusion of demonstrator's motives contrasts with mainstream reports on the subject, and having what are supposed to be *the exact words* adds objectivity to the report (Semino & Short, 2004).

Indirect speech can be used to report on the attribution of motives to other actors different from the ones being reported on:

(19) EC\_2011\_203\_26Oct.txt

Con cinco meses de paralización de las clases  
muchos liceos y colegios que participan activamente  
del movimiento han denunciado diversos  
amedrentamientos<sup>(MA)</sup>[WHOSE] para<sup>(ML)</sup> *finalizar las*  
*tomas y paros*<sup>(M)</sup>. [Student movement].

With five months of having no classes, several  
schools and high schools that actively participate in  
the movement have denounced various threats<sup>(MA)</sup>  
[WHOSE] to<sup>(ML)</sup> *end the occupations and protests*<sup>(M)</sup>.  
[Student movement].

In this excerpt, students are represented as denouncing harassment from their educational institutions trying to end the strikes and occupations of their educational facilities. The students' attribution of motive is a narrative report of a speech act rather than included directly in the sentence as a way of contextualizing the educational conflict. The orientation section at the beginning of this report (i.e. referring to five months of striking and occupations of (high) schools) aims at framing the context in which this alleged harassment is taking place so as to restrict the student movement's actions.

There are other times in which the realization of direct and indirect speech is not as clear cut as the previous example suggests:



(20) LT\_2011\_30\_30August.txt

"He recibido el llamado de alcaldes, padres y apoderados<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, que me han manifestado su preocupación de que sus hijos no pierdan el año escolar, y me han solicitado que ampliemos el plazo<sup>(MA)</sup> para<sup>(ML)</sup> que puedan *inscribir* a sus hijos en el plan Salvemos el año escolar"<sup>(M)</sup>, explicó el ministro de Educación Felipe Bulnes. [Government coalition].

"I have received calls from mayors, parents and guardians<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, who have manifested their concern about their children losing the school year, and they have asked me to extend the deadline<sup>(MA)</sup> so that <sup>(ML)</sup> they could *enrol* their children in the ‘Let us Save the School Year’ plan”<sup>(M)</sup> explained the Minister of Education, Felipe Bulnes. [Government coalition].

In (20), the then Minister of Education justifies his actions by attributing them to a request made by city mayors, and students’ parents and guardians. According to him, these actors approached him to extend the deadline of the ministry’s contingency plan to re-occupy the schools *so that* their children can register and avoid missing their academic year. However, even though his justification is directly represented in the report, the Minister’s statement contains an indirect speech construction (i.e. reporting on what parents and guardians had asked him to do). Attributing his motive to extend the registration of this remedial program to the parents and tutors of students currently occupying schools positions him as an open and reasonable Minister who aims to meet everyone’s needs. Hence, the government is motivated to help students, in contrast with the overall stubbornness the movement is usually attributed with in their representation in the mainstream media. Metonymically, this also applies to the government as the Minister is its visible face in the educational conflict.

All these examples show that the relationship between quoting and motive is not straightforward. In fact, oral realizations of motive can present different levels of embedding that demand a more careful examination on how motive is actually conveyed and attributed (e.g. q phenomena, embedded indirect speech (eIS) Semino & Short, 2004). At this point, however, it is enough to say that, sometimes, motive constructions make more sense by considering the co-text before and after the sentence analysed. These instances are explored in the following section.

### 3 Motive across sentences

So far, I have covered various grammatical realizations that can convey motive at sentence level in news texts that vary –to different extents– from the ones proposed by van Leeuwen. The analysis has also shown no significant differences in these grammatical resources among the kinds of press analysed, suggesting that both the mainstream and alternative media convey motive in a similar manner. In this section, I explore how lexicogrammatical resources that help build up *cohesion* in a text (Halliday, 2014; Halliday & Hasan, 1976) can also convey and/or attribute motive *across* sentences. This suggests that the elements of the model I propose can be in fact spread through a text rather than found entirely at a sentence level. In particular, I explore conjunctions (3.1.) and deictic references (3.2.) in the following subsections.

#### 3.1 Conjunctions

Conjunctions can be categorized into *proper conjunctions* and *continuatives*. While the former refer to paratactic and hypotactic word(s) that link one clause to another, the latter refer to markers that signal a change in discourse (Halliday, 2014, p. 107). The analysis of the sample showed that proper conjunctions are the most common ones used to construct meaning in news reports. This consisted of referring to either the motive or the meaningful actions at different points in the text. Consider the following example:

(21) TC\_2013\_26\_13April.txt

Los estudiantes<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> se dieron cita este sábado  
en la sede de Pucón de la Universidad de la  
Frontera<sup>(MA)</sup>. Allí<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **hicieron un positivo**  
**balance de la marcha del jueves**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML1.2)</sup>  
**anunciaron nuevas movilizaciones para el 22 de**  
**abril y el 8 de mayo**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. Además<sup>(ML1.3)</sup>,  
**reafirmaron sus demandas que apuntan a**  
**conseguir una educación gratuita y de calidad**  
**financiada por el Estado**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].

The students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> gathered at campus  
Universidad de la Frontera this Saturday in  
Pucón<sup>(MA)</sup>. There<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>, **they positively evaluated**  
**the protest of the previous Thursday**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>  
and<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **announced new demonstrations for**  
**April 22 and May 8**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. Furthermore<sup>(ML1.3)</sup>, they  
**re-affirmed their demands aiming at obtaining**  
**free and quality education funded by the**  
**State**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].

In (21), the purposes of the meeting students held in Pucón are explained cataphorically across two different sentences. These two motives are linked through the conjunction

*además* [also], representing both constructions as equally important and grammatically independent of each other. In all, the meaningful action and the motives represent them as actors who act rationally (by planning and organizing activities) and are aiming at exercising a change in society. The elements of *motive* are thus spread over three sentences and grammatically independent from each other. This suggests that the analysis of motive restricted to sentence level could potentially overlook this kind of realization of motives in news data.

Similar to the previous example, conjunctions can also work as a way of adding one or more motives to a particular meaningful action:

(22) EM\_2013\_10\_dic.txt

Una veintena de encapuchados<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> quemó un microbús del Transantiago anoche, en las cercanías de la Usach. El hecho ocurrió a las 22:30 horas, en Matucana con Romero. El chofer y los pasajeros de un bus del recorrido 406 Cantagallo-Pudahuel fueron obligados violentamente por los atacantes a bajar<sup>(MA)</sup>, los que luego<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **incendiaron la máquina con al menos diez bombas molotov**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>. También<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **lanzaron panfletos referidos al incendio de la cárcel de San Miguel**<sup>(ML1.2)</sup>. Testigos vieron al grupo de encapuchados salir y *volver* a entrar a la Usach. [Newspaper].

Around twenty hooded demonstrators<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> burned a Transantiago minibus last night, in the vicinity of the Usach campus. The incident happened at 22:30, at the intersection of Matucana and Romero streets. The driver and the passengers of the 406 bus (Cantagallo-Pudahuel) were violently forced to leave the bus by the attackers<sup>(MA)</sup>, who then<sup>(ML1)</sup> **burned the bus with at least ten Molotov cocktails**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>. Also<sup>(ML1.2)</sup>, they **distributed pamphlets alluding to the fire in San Miguel jail**<sup>(ML1.2)</sup>. Witnesses saw the group of hooded demonstrators group going in and out of Usach. [Newspaper].

In this example, the emphasis on the victims is enhanced by the passive form and the choice of words to describe the action (i.e. *fueron obligados violentamente* [violently forced] and *los atacantes* [by the attackers]) rather than the means by which the attackers forced them to get off the bus. The reason for getting the bus driver and the passengers off the bus was to set it on fire (<sup>ML1.1</sup>) as evidenced by the chronological use of the temporal adverb *luego* [then] and the adverbial phrase of manner “*con al menos diez bombas molotov*” [“with at least 10 Molotov cocktails”]. The second attribution of motive refers to their need to publicize their political demands. In this case, the pamphlets are a call for justice for people who died in a prison fire. As a result, the portrayal of these

demonstrators revolves around the use of premeditated violence as a way of disseminating their political activism. Motives are coordinated through a time adverbial and a conjunction *también* (also) across sentences in order to create a chronological timeline of the event reported which facilitates the interpretations of the demonstrators' actions as actively seeking violence.

The fact that motives are included in different sentences also draws attention to how reference plays an important role when giving continuity to a text. The following section revolves around the role of deixis in the attribution and construction of motive in the news genre.

### 3.2 Reference

Put simply, a reference creates a link between grammatical elements in a text (Halliday, 2014, p. 605). References can be *exophoric* (outside the text), *anaphoric* (referring back to a semantic unit) or *cataphoric* (referring to a word introduced later in the text). In the construction of motive, either the meaningful action or motive can be construed by these kinds of references. Consider the following motive construction, in which the meaningful action becomes clear only after attributing motives to the students (cataphoric reference):

(23) LC\_2011\_109\_26August\_422.txt

<p>Los estudiantes<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> <b>pierden la paciencia</b><sup>(M1.1)</sup>. Ellos mismos <u>se encargan de controlar a los violentistas</u><sup>(MA2.1)</sup>. <u>Apagan la fogata</u><sup>(MA2.1)</sup>, <u>los enfrentan</u><sup>(MA2.2)</sup> y<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> <b>comienzan a corretearlos hacia el poniente</b><sup>(M2.1)</sup>, hasta avenida Manuel Rodríguez. <u>A combos y patadas</u><sup>(MA3.1)</sup> <b>los desagrupan, mientras les gritan: "¡Váyanse pa' la casa los hueones!"</b><sup>(M3.1)</sup>. [Student movement].</p>	<p>The students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> are <b>losing their patience</b><sup>(M1.1)</sup>. They themselves take charge of <u>controlling the troublemakers</u><sup>(MA1.2)</sup>. <u>They extinguish the fires</u><sup>(MA2.1)</sup>, <u>confront them</u><sup>(MA2.2)</sup> and<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> <u>kick them out towards the west</u><sup>(M2.1)</sup>, to Manuel Rodriguez avenue. <u>By kicking and punching them</u><sup>(MA3.1)</sup>, <b>they disperse them while screaming "go home, assholes!"</b><sup>(M3.1)</sup> [Student movement].</p>
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The first sentence in (23) suggests that there is an action that has triggered exasperation in the students<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. Who and what these actions are only become clearer in the second sentence in which they are described as taking the responsibility to control violent demonstrators<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>. If we could rephrase this construction, it would be along these lines: *the students started controlling the troublemakers because they lost it. Los estudiantes*

and *ellos* make the connection clearer and link both elements of motive together. The following two constructions provide more details on *how* and *why* the students decided to contain the troublemakers. The second construction narrates the episode and links the meaningful action and the motive through the conjunction *y*, foregrounding causality. The last construction adds more details to the meaningful action, and includes an apparent direct speech report from the students. More importantly, the actions with which these actors carry out their motives is only clear in the third sentence, creating an interdependence among these sentences to understand what students and troublemakers do and why. In this example, there are no adverbs or conjunctions that suggest the connection between the three motives and the different meaningful actions reported on. This is solely carried out through nominal references and verb inflection (e.g. *los* [students]; *enfrentan* [confront the violent ones]; *corretearlos* [scare the troublemakers away]; *hueones* [violent ones]). The inclusion of the students' direct speech in this way (i.e. quotation phenomena (q), Semino & Short, 2004) adds more realism to the report. And since in this particular case there is no direct attribution of who stated this, this stylistic choice just brings the confrontation narrative to life.

The following example was broadly referred to in the introduction to this thesis to exemplify the difference in motive attributions between the mainstream and alternative press. If the example is carefully examined, it is possible to identify how the meaningful action is pre and post modified by attributions of motive:

(24) EC\_2011\_90\_05August.txt

Pero el control del orden público a estas alturas no puede contener **la rabia acumulada**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. En las calles contiguas a la Alameda los estudiantes<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> improvisan fogatas<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, paran el tránsito<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> y corean el hit del momento: “Y va a caer, y va a caer, la educación de Pinochet”<sup>(MA1.3)</sup>. **[Student movement]**.

But the control of civil order cannot contain **the accumulated anger**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> anymore. In the streets nearby the Alameda the students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> improvise fires<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, stop traffic<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> and<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> chant the hit of the moment: “It’s gonna fall, it’s gonna fall, the education of Pinochet”<sup>(MA1.3)</sup>. **[Student movement]**.

The first sentence in (24) contextualizes the students' actions. In this account, the police are represented as unsuccessfully trying to control the *anger* of the people protesting. This anger is *existentialized* (i.e. an event “that “simply” exists” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 67), in

that it is not attributed to any particular actor. Both the agents and what this anger looks like are identified in the second sentence (anaphoric references). In this sentence, pent-up anger is the motive attributed to the students while its release is identified through actions usually associated with socially deviant behaviour (e.g. interrupting traffic, setting up barricades). Thus, motive serves to evaluate and frame the actors and actions to be described in the second sentence. The inclusion of an emotional reaction as a motive for the actions of the students is an intertextual strategy: it connects different statements in which the student movement has voiced their discontent and anger at an unequal and unjust socio-political system (exophoric reference). The meaningful actions chosen by the students to express their anger become clearer in the following sentence in which the students are described as setting up barricades while singing a popular protest chant. This protest chant corresponds to a more specific motive, namely, the reform of the educational system imposed by Augusto Pinochet. Both motives seem to be related in that they both refer to the need to reform systems that were imposed during the military dictatorship in the country which, in turn, spark anger in the students. This leads to their actions being directed to the authorities by demanding reforms.

In the final example I want to discuss in this subsection, both the meaningful action and its motive only make sense if the reader is familiarized with the TV show being mentioned, despite the attempt to contextualize the action in the report:

(25) LUN\_2011\_62\_09July\_233.txt

“Escúchenme todos, les habla Gokú<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>. Una fuerza extraña está poniendo en peligro la vida educativa de los habitantes de Chile”, comienza el clip. Después hace un llamado para el próximo viernes 15 de julio, al mediodía, invitando a los estudiantes a que realicen una “Genkidama”, o maniobra<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> para<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> generar energía<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. “Levanten sus manos<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> lograremos vencer el lucro en la educación chilena<sup>(M2.1)</sup>, recalca el actor azteca, que también dobló la voz de “MacGyver” y a Bruce Willis en “Luz de Luna”. **[Student movement]**.

“Listen everyone, this is Gokú<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>. A weird force is jeopardizing the educational life of the inhabitants of Chile”, starts the clip. After calling for next Friday 15 July, at noon, inviting students to do a “Genkidama”, or, a strategy<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> to<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> generate energy<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. “Raise your hands<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> and<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> we will manage to defeat profit in the Chilean education”<sup>(M2.1)</sup>, emphasises the Aztecan actor, who also dubbed “MacGyver” and Bruce Willis in “Moonlighting”. **[Student movement]**.

Raising one's hands does not end profit in education. The report's explanation for the action refers to *Gokú* and his actions to gather energy, leaving an unfamiliar reader clueless about who Gokú is and the intention behind "Genkidama". It is useful to know, however, that Gokú, the main character in the anime Dragon Ball Z, has the particular fighting superpower to defeat evil of being able to use everyone's personal energy if they raise their hands to share it with him. The report suppresses the fact that a giant white paper ball was built by the students to be passed around, emulating the effects achieved by this technique in this anime, and focuses on the person narrating the flash mob instead (García Agustín & Aguirre, 2014). These exophoric references not only explain why students are being asked to raise their hands, but also frame profit in education, and those who protect it, as evil. The students' motives for gathering in Santiago's main square to raise their hands in the air aims at protesting against the government and their insistence in protecting profit in education. However, despite the contributions to the scope of the students' motives of these exophoric references, they are excluded from the report nonetheless.

In other cases, the motives and meaningful actions are described obtusely. Consider the following example:

(26) LC\_2011\_86\_12August\_264.txt

Encabezados por la guaripola de la Fech, Camila Vallejo, los estudiantes<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> llegaron hasta la Plaza de la Constitución<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> donde<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **dejaron varios tarros del químico que hace estornudar y llorar durante las protestas**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>, Ya el martes, en el programa Fruto Prohibido en el cual estuvo de invitada, Vallejo contó que tenían caleta de lacrimógenas recogidas en establecimientos escolares en toma. De hecho, intentó infructuosamente saber de boca del ex carabinero Arturo Ripetti, quien también estaba como invitado estrella en el programa, **el valor de una lacrimógena**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. Ripetti simplemente dijo que no tenía idea. [Newspaper].

Led by the Fech hotshot, Camila Vallejo, the students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> arrived at the Plaza de la Constitución<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> where<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **they left several chemical canisters that make them sneeze and cry during protests**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. Last Tuesday, on the show Fruto Prohibido which Vallejo was invited to, she said that they had a lot of tear gas canisters picked up from the occupied schools. In fact, she unsuccessfully questioned former police officer Arturo Ripetti, who was also invited to the show, about **the cost of each tear gas canister**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. Ripetti simply said he had no idea. [Newspaper].

In (26), the motive element takes the form of a relative clause. The students are described as going to the governmental square to leave empty tear gas canisters. The implications of walking to the governmental palace and choosing to leave tear gas canisters, however, remain unmentioned. They are only briefly touched upon in the following sentence by referencing the time Vallejo questioned a police general about the price of each tear gas canister <sup>(M1.2)</sup>. By bringing empty tear gas canisters to the governmental gardens, the students intended to question the authorities about the official expenditure on this equipment for repression when that money could be invested in education. The intention is to foreground police repression and how much money is spent on repressing social movements rather than on social areas such as education. Understanding all these references is taken for granted in the audience, leaving the task of interpreting them up to them. If the audience, on the other hand, is not familiar with these references, the representations of the students' actions could be regarded as meaningless. Also, it is important to mention that tear gas canisters are indirectly referred to by the effects they cause, complicating the understanding of the students' actions.

Finally, there are instances in which motive is also conveyed and not explicitly attributed by an emphasis on social actor categorization:

(27) EC\_2011\_105\_14August.txt

<p>“Al fin todo terminó. [Carabineros] <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> <u>lo dejaron botado en el suelo del bus, aturdido</u> <sup>(MA1.1)</sup>. Después <u>lo trasladaron a un retén móvil</u> <sup>(MA1.2)</sup> y <u>lo tuvieron dando vueltas por Santiago</u> <sup>(MA1.3)</sup>. No le explicaron por qué lo detuvieron, ni le leyeron sus derechos, ni siquiera le dijeron a donde iba (...) Antes de soltarlo <b>le presentaron unos papeles para que firmara</b> <sup>(M)</sup>. Mi hermano pidió leerlos. Le dijeron no puedes, firma y te vas. Si no firmas te quedas” [Student movement].</p>	<p>“In the end, it all ended. They [Carabineros] <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> <u>left him on the bus floor, disoriented</u> <sup>(MA1.1)</sup>. Then <u>they transferred him to a police vehicle</u> <sup>(MA1.2)</sup> and <u>drove him around Santiago</u> <sup>(MA1.3)</sup>. They didn't explain to him why he was arrested, nor was he read his rights, nor even where they were going (...) Before they let him go, <b>they showed him some papers to sign</b> <sup>(M)</sup>. My brother asked to read them. They said you can't, sign and leave. If you don't sign you stay”. [Student movement].</p>
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In (27), the police are represented as actively performing actions that do not correlate with their job nor the law in order to extract incriminating information from a detained person. In this statement, the meaningful actions are represented *across* sentences, in a



chronological account. Later in the account of the events, it can be inferred that all these actions were meant to force a false declaration of culpability in this student as he was later asked to sign a paper without reading it first. The narrative suggests that there was an abuse of the police's powerful position to extract a declaration from the prisoner. This is against the law, and it draws on the kind of practices the police used to do during the dictatorship (this was briefly hinted at in example (16) in subsection 2.3.). The exclusion of a more direct accusation probably has to do with the inherent nature of the situation, namely, accusing law enforcers of acting illegally, with all the repercussions this could bring to the accuser. This negative framing of the event does foster social condemnation by appealing to normalized mainstream social representations about young students.

#### 4 Summary

This chapter explored the different grammatical realizations of motive in the news genre. This kind of analysis was needed as there has not been an attempt to systematize how motive, understood as any situational, contextual, or psychological trigger that forces someone to do or not do something, is represented and conveyed in text. Therefore, it is imperative that the first step in the analysis of motive consists of its grammatical features as it can shed some light onto how actors and their actions are foregrounded, backgrounded, and suppressed.

The analysis shows there are various grammatical features that were not originally considered in van Leeuwen's model that contribute to the construction, representation and attribution of motive. The main grammatical features identified through the analysis of the sample are summarized and exemplified in Table 5.2 below.

**Table 5.2: Grammatical structures that help convey motive in the Chilean news genre.**

LEVEL	GRAMMATICAL REALIZATION	EXAMPLES
SENTENCE LEVEL	<b>Extension</b>	y [and]
	– Positive	<i>no solo... sino</i> [not only... but also]
	– Variation	<i>no es X sino que Y</i> [not X but Y] <i>pero en realidad</i> [but in fact]

<b>TEXTUAL LEVEL</b>	<b>Circumstantials of purpose</b>	<i>por</i> [for] <i>con la idea/meta de</i> [with the idea/objective of]
	– Prepositions	
	– Complex prepositions	
	<b>Embedding</b>	Prepositional phrases Adjective clauses
	<b>(In)Direct speech</b>	Quotation phenomena ‘q’ <i>además/también</i> [also] <i>luego</i> [then] <i>El primero... el segundo</i> [the former... the latter]
	<b>Conjunctions</b>	
	<b>Reference</b>	Temporal deixis Spatial deixis Knowledge taken for granted Subject omission
	– Exophoric	
	– Anaphoric	
	– Cataphoric	

Firstly, the characteristic features of the news genre allow room for the attribution and contestation of motives when reporting an event. The use of extension to represent conflicting motives extends the meaning of clauses. Similarly, the avoidance of repetition of meaningful actions and the inclusion of bullet-point style to add more than one (contradictory) motive are also salient. Secondly, motive can be realized in many more ways in the news genre than those van Leeuwen had originally identified. For example, motives can be conveyed at sentence level (i.e. extension, circumstantials of purpose, embedding and reported speech) or at text level (cohesion strategies such as conjunctions and references). Either way, grammatical resources within and across sentences *are not mutually exclusive*. Thirdly, these grammatical resources can foreground and hierarchize conflicting and complementary motive constructions and attributions. In the coverage of social movements such as that of the Chilean students, the representation of their actions as a *protest* rather than a *protest for education* makes a difference in the overall coverage. There is a fine line between protesting nonsensically and protesting for a cause, especially when emotions such as *anger*, *love*, and *losing patience* are used as motivational triggers. At a grammatical level, however, there is no difference in how motive is constructed. Finally, the way motives are phrased can influence how their actions are legitimized by drawing on different discourses imprinted in the historical memory of the country (e.g. dictatorship). For example, sometimes, a noun or an adjective suffices to convey motive and (de)legitimize it, making the focus on grammatical structures somehow narrow.

While these findings help to identify the basis of motive, there are still some elements at the lexical level that could not be addressed in analysis. Therefore, the second step in the analysis of motive is to identify how motives are phrased and who they are attributed to in order to identify the storylines that support this social movement's vision of reality.

# Chapter 6. Motives and social actor positioning

## 1 Introduction

This chapter expands on the reasons why actors involved in the educational conflict act the way they do as reported by the national press. The chapter complements the syntactic analysis of representations and attributions of motive presented in Ch. 5 by exploring the actual reasons actors attribute to themselves and to others when explaining their actions. In particular, I explore the word choices used by these newspapers to convey motive. For instance, there is considerable difference between ‘*students are protesting*’ and ‘*students are protesting for an educational reform*’. I also analyse how these motives are affected by the positioning they take in relation to this political conflict, especially in relation to (self and other) attributions of rights and duties.

This chapter revolves around the identification of how motives are legitimized and delegitimized in relation to the storylines conveyed by the national press (RQ2). These narratives can be identified through the various ways actors are positioned and/or position themselves and the meanings at stake in the development of this political conflict (see Chapters 3 and 4). The analysis is carried out by focusing on the two main actors involved in this political conflict, namely, the student movement, and the governmental coalition. These actors are analysed in terms of the most common topics used to justify their actions, whether these are self-constructed or attributed. The categorization followed an inductive coding process which resulted in 40 codes in the CON sample and 31 in the ALT sample, which were then grouped into bigger, more homogenized codes, leaving a total of 12 and 13 categories in each sample, respectively (see Appendix 2 and Ch. 4 section 4.3.1 for more details on this process). The resulting codes and their frequencies are included in the following table:

**Table 6.1: Frequency of motive codes in the CON and ALT samples.**

	CON sample	ALT sample
To demand social change / reforms	64	110
To solve conflict	46	25
To engage in politics	34	37
To destabilize the establishment	31	11
To maintain/restore order	29	27
To restrict the student movement	5	30
To gather / show support	24	22
To fulfil their emotions / values	27	7
To protect/help others	23	12
To make violence visible	13	11
To improve education	27	7
To plan (ahead) / organize	22	15
To maintain the status quo	--	11

Despite reducing the number of codes, it is impossible to cover all of these due to space limitations. Therefore, the chapter is structured in terms of the 5 most frequently occurring motives in each sample. Some of these coincide in both samples (i.e. *to demand reforms*; *to solve conflict*; *to engage in politics*) while others do not (i.e. *to destabilize the establishment* (CON); *to restrict the student movement* (ALT); *to maintain/restore order* (CON); *to gather/show support* (ALT)). I also include the code *to maintain status quo* as it only occurs in the ALT sample. This gives a total of 8 codes which will be explored in the upcoming sections.

Before analysing these motives, however, I would like to give a broad overview of the motives associated with the students and the government. The sample shows that motive can also be attributed in the news genre, sometimes enacted through reported speech or sometimes paraphrased by the news report. Therefore, the motives discussed become more relevant when the actor constructing or attributing the motive is identified.

## 1.1 Student movement

Constructions and attributions of students' motives are very frequent in both media (i.e. 163 occurrences (45.40%) in CON and 195 (57.52%) in ALT). Most of these codes co-

occur in both sub-corpora, except for the code *to maintain the status quo* which only occurs in the ALT sample. The differences become noticeable when examining the frequencies of each motive and how they are represented, either as a self-constructed motive or attributed. Consider the following tables:

**Table 6.2: Students' motives in both samples and their frequencies (FQ).**

Attributed		CON		ALT	
by?		What for?	FQ	What for?	FQ
Newspaper		To destabilize the establishment	11	To demand social change/ reforms	59
		To demand social change/ reforms	31	To plan (ahead) / organize	13
		To plan (ahead) / organize	15	To maintain the status quo	6
		To gather / show support	9	To gather / show support	10
		To make violence visible	4	To make violence visible	6
		To protect / help others	3	To engage in politics	10
		To maintain / restore order	1	To fulfil their emotions / values	4
		To fulfil their emotions / values	10	To solve conflict	3
		<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>111</b>
Student movement		To demand social change/ reforms	23	To demand social change/ reforms	38
		To destabilize the establishment	7	To solve conflict	8
		To gather / show support	9	To gather / show support	7
		To fulfil their emotions / values	3	To engage in politics	8
		To plan (ahead) / organize	6	To plan (ahead) / organize	1
		To maintain / restore order	1	To fulfil their emotions / values	1
		To make violence visible	9	To make violence visible	2
		To engage in politics	1	To maintain the status quo	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>
Government coalition		To demand social change/ reforms	1	To destabilize the establishment	7
		To destabilize the establishment	11	To solve conflict	1
		To engage in politics	1	To restrict the student movement	1
		To plan (ahead) / organize	1		
		<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>
P o li		To destabilize the establishment	1	-	-

	To demand social change/ reforms	1		
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	-	-
<b>Political Opposition</b>	To demand social change/ reforms	2	To demand social change/ reforms	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Educational Institutions</b>	To destabilize the establishment	1	To maintain / restore order	1
	To demand social change/ reforms	1	-	-
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Other actors</b>			To destabilize the establishment	1
			To engage in politics	1
			To solve conflict	1
			To gather / show support	1
			To demand social change/ reforms	1
			To make violence visible	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>

There are various similarities between the corpora. First, motives tend to be constructed and attributed by the news report itself in both sub-corpora, as opposed to being attributed in reported speech. These account for 56.92% in CON and 51.53% in ALT. This presupposes a recontextualization of motive, either by including the main actors whose motives are being represented or reporting on the understanding of the aforementioned actors' motives from others. Secondly, the inclusion of the students' motives as understood by the government is infrequent in both sub-corpora (8.58% in CON and 4.61% in ALT). This is surprising as the *protest paradigm* suggests there is a tendency for a higher presence of official and governmental sources (see Ch. 3). This result demands an analysis of whether the newspaper acts as an official source in itself in the construction and attribution of students' motive. Finally, most of students' motive constructions and attributions come from the *newspaper*, *students themselves*, or the *government coalition* –155 (95.09%) occurrences in CON and 187 (95.89%) in ALT. This supports the idea of

just focusing on these two main actors and the position of the newspaper in relation to the educational conflict.

## 1.2 Government coalition

The distribution of attributions of the government's motives presents a similar pattern to that of the students'. These motives are the second most frequent constructions in the sample: while these amount to 93 (25.90%) in CON, there are 62 (19.17%) in ALT as shown in Table 6.3:

**Table 6.3: Government coalition's motives in both samples**

Attributed by?	CON		ALT	
	What for?	FQ	What for?	FQ
Newspaper	To improve education	12	To demand social change/ reforms	1
	To engage in politics	11	To plan (ahead) / organize	1
	To protect / help others	8	To restrict the student movement	12
	To fulfil their emotions / values	1	To improve education	4
	To solve conflict	14	To protect / help others	1
			To engage in politics	1
			To maintain / restore order	2
			To solve conflict	6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>
Student movement	To engage in politics	5	To demand social change/ reforms	1
	To solve conflict	2	To restrict the student movement	8
	To restrict the student movement	1	To engage in politics	8
			To maintain the status quo	2
			To fulfil their emotions / values	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>
Government coalition	To improve education	12	To improve education	3
	To engage in politics	6	To solve conflict	2
	To protect / help others	8	To protect / help others	6
	To solve conflict	9		
	To demand social change/ reforms	1		
	<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>



<b>Political Opposition</b>	To engage in politics	2	To destabilize the establishment	1
	To protect / help others	1	To restrict the student movement	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Educational Institutions</b>	-	-	To destabilize the establishment	1
	-	-	To demand social change/ reforms	1
	-	-	<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Other actors</b>	-	-	To maintain the status quo	1
	-	-	To restrict the student movement	1
	-	-	<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>

The table shows that the government's motives are mostly represented in the voice of the newspaper (49.46% in CON and 43.07% in ALT). As with the attributions in Table 6.2, the differences arise in the inclusion of the students and government's motives. On the one hand, the CON sample includes considerably more motive constructions from the government (38.70%) than the students (8.60%). This correlates with the features proposed by the *protest paradigm*, in particular, the tendency to include official sources (as opposed to Tables 6.2 and 6.3). On the other hand, the ALT sample continues the pattern of including more constructions from the students' point of view (26.15%) than the government's (16.92%). This is because the alternative press tend to align with the students' demands and, as such, these actors are regarded as the official sources rather than the government (Pérez, 2016, *in press*). Regardless of these differences, the government's motives are either constructed or attributed by the same actors as the students', namely, *students*, *the government itself*, and *the newspaper* (96.77% in CON and 86.15% in ALT). Therefore, this suggests that both the students and the government are crucial in the development of the student conflict, leading to my decision to focus on these two actors only.

The following is an account of the most frequently occurring motives associated with the students and the government in the coverage of the student movement (section 2). Then, I explore how the newspapers position these actors in the educational conflict in terms of their duties and rights that compose particular (de)legitimizing storylines

(section 3). The chapter ends with a summary of the main findings and how they connect with Ch. 5 and Ch. 7, respectively.

## 2 Recurring motives in the CON and ALT samples

This section focuses on the five most frequently occurring motives in each sample and their role in the representation of the students and the government in relation to their motives (see section 1). This focus on the five most frequently occurring motives aims at a more careful exploration of the interplay between constructions and attributions of motive, providing an overview of both actor representation and what this political conflict is all about. Hence, this focus can also reveal how similarly or differently these motives are emphasized in each corpus, leading to the identification of salient storylines through motive constructions and attributions. While I focus on the five most frequently occurring motives, I also include the motive *to maintain the status quo*, as it stands out in the ALT sample alone, adding a salient feature to this corpus as opposed to the mainstream press. In all, this structure accounts for seven sub-sections.

### 2.1 To demand social change / reforms

There is a wide range of actions included in this category, from a reform to the educational system to actions aimed at generating change, affecting decisions, and targeting (political) irregularities. This section also includes instances in which actors were represented as aiming at protesting without any further reference to what they were protesting for. This is because the reasons for protesting were evident at some point in the whole text and/or could be inferred intertextually, interdiscursively, contextually or co-textually. While these instances are discussed below, consider the following example in which the motive of the collective action is only clear by referring back to the title of the report:

(1) EC\_2011\_99\_09August.txt

[Título: Cerca de 500 mil personas<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>

**reafirman en las calles de Chile su compromiso por la educación<sup>(M)</sup>**. En el trayecto, se vio a

secundarios, universitarios y trabajadores de la

[Title: Around 500 thousand people<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>

**reassert their commitment to education in the streets of Chile<sup>(M)</sup>**. Along the way, secondary and

university students and workers from the

educación, pero además a pobladores, trabajadores de la salud, abuelos y niños, gritando consignas y levantando carteles<sup>(MA)</sup>. [Newspaper].

educational sector could be seen, but also slum and shanty dwellers, workers from the health sector, grandparents and children, yelling protest slogans and raising banners<sup>(MA)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Without the anaphoric reference to the title of this news report, the actors' motives to raise banners and yell protest chants are suppressed, and could be easily re-contextualized into another event and/or practice. In this case, the title seems to frame the different actions represented in the report in terms of demanding reforms to the educational sector, which is widely supported by the population (as reflected by the diversity of people represented in the report).

This code corresponds to the most frequently occurring motive in both sub-corpora, being significantly more frequent in the ALT sample (32.44%) than in the CON one (18.38%). Apart from different frequencies, the examples in the ALT sample tend to specify that the reforms related to the educational system. In these examples, education is presented as the ultimate goal in order to have a fairer, more democratic society. Such is the case in the following example, dealing with the same demonstration covered in Ch. 5 (Example 25). While that example corresponded to a mainstream newspaper report (*LUN*), the following example corresponds to the perspective of an alternative one (*The Clinic*). In this demonstration, students perform a *Genkidama* to save education:

(2) TC\_2011\_66\_19July.txt

En la plaza de armas de Santiago, estudiantes<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> replicaron la serie televisiva Dragon Ball Z<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, donde Gokú, el personaje, pide formar un genkidama<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> (bola gigante de energía) para<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **salvar a la educación**<sup>(M2.1)</sup>, en protesta<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> por<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **la mejora de la educación pública**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. [Newspaper].

In Santiago's main square, students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> replicated the animated TV series Dragon Ball Z<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> in which the character Goku asks [people] to make a genkidama<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> (a giant ball of energy) to<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **save education**<sup>(M2.1)</sup>, in a protest<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> for<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> the **improvement of public education**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. [Newspaper].

In (2), as in most of the examples under this category, students demand *public* education. In other words, they demand that the central government manage education again, restoring the role of the State in this sector. There are two motive constructions which

foreground that *Goku* and the students' motives are *saving education*, without explicitly mentioning who the enemy actually is. In all the scenes featuring a *genkidama* in the anime, the enemy had been fully identified and already engaged in combat: the *genkidama* was always used as a last resort when all other measures had been futile. In this report, however, the threatening actor is excluded from the report (i.e. the actor education needs to be saved from), as education is brought to the fore in a narrative of *moral values* (good vs evil) in which students are positively portrayed as the heroes. Motive is then metaphorically conveyed through this *mythopoesis* /over determination (van Leeuwen, 2008), leaving the audience to identify who the enemy really is.

It is not unsurprising that education is sometimes personified in order to augment the effect of the students' motives. In the following example, education is presented as *having* rights, an odd construction in both languages. This suggests that education is a *being*, enhancing the urge to save it:

(3) EC\_2012\_42\_28June.txt

<p>“Ya participé en muchas marchas. <u>Estoy acá</u><sup>(MA)</sup> para<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> <b>luchar por los derechos de la educación chilena</b><sup>(ML1.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> <b>conseguir la educación gratuita y de calidad que necesitamos todos</b><sup>(ML2.2)</sup>” [Christofer, Liceo Manuel Barros Borgoño] [WHOSE]. [Student movement].</p>	<p>“I already participated in many demonstrations. I <u>am here</u><sup>(MA)</sup> to<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> <b>fight for the rights of Chilean education</b><sup>(ML1.1)</sup> and<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> <b>achieve the free and quality education we all need</b><sup>(ML2.2)</sup>” [Christofer, Manuel Barros Borgoño High School] [WHOSE]. [Student movement].</p>
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In this example, Christofer presents education as *someone* whose rights need to be defended and protected. Education is presented as the victim of an unknown evil actor and people (such as this demonstrator) are standing up on its behalf. From this point of view, the defence of education is on everyone's behalf, by appealing to the most popular slogans of the student movement (i.e. “*la educación gratuita y de calidad que necesitamos todos*” [the free and quality education we all need]). Once again, the threatening actor is excluded, although it becomes clearer who/what this actor is by analysing the remaining motives. The last two extracts (2 and 3) rationalize the actors' actions through their determination to achieve a greater common good: the restitution of free, quality and public education as a constitutional right. These goals are legitimized by

appealing to moral values (e.g. good vs evil) and left-wing discourses (e.g. rhetoric of free social welfare) that are adopted by the students themselves and the newspapers.

On the other hand, there was only one example in the CON sample in which someone from the governmental coalition (the then Mayor of Providencia Hernan Labbé) attributes this motive to the students' actions. It is, nevertheless, negatively evaluated:

(4)

[Labbé] no oculta su molestia con las tomas de los cinco establecimientos que administra el municipio. "No era necesaria -dice [Labbé]- esta usurpación de los colegios<sup>(MA)</sup>, para<sup>(ML)</sup> *exigir reformas*<sup>(M)</sup>. Y, ojo, hablo de usurpación, no de tomas, porque eso es lo que es. Aquí nadie ha dicho nada de cuántas cosas se han robado. Han sacado computadores, discos duros, han destruido mobiliario. ¿Cuánto va a costar normalizar el año si vuelven a clases, si durante tres meses los colegios han estado en manos de irresponsables<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>?, ¿Qué pasa con la mantención?".

[Labbé] does not hide his anger about the occupations of five schools that his town hall administrates. "It was not necessary – says [Labbé]- this usurpation of schools<sup>(MA)</sup> to<sup>(ML)</sup> *demand reforms*<sup>(M)</sup>. And, hey, I am talking about usurpation and not occupations because this is what it is. Nobody here has said how many things have been stolen. [They] have taken computers, hard drives, have destroyed furniture. How much is it going to cost to normalize the [academic] year if they go back to class, if for three months schools have been at the mercy of irresponsible [people]<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>? What happens with maintenance?

The report introduces this motive construction by appealing to the emotions of the Mayor ("molestia" [anger]), who is annoyed at the students' actions. It sets the frame for the following report of the Mayor's words, favouring a triggering of negative reactions in the audience by telling them how to interpret them. The Mayor describes the students' actions not only as unnecessary but also as violent (i.e. *usurpación* [usurpation]), words that contribute to the overall delegitimation of the actions. The Mayor continues to justify his decision of using *usurpation* instead of *occupation*, because he accuses the students of stealing valuable equipment from the schools they have occupied. The mayor finishes his intervention by challenging his audience through rhetorical questions that position himself and the government as strong actors who are determined to stop the conflict. The Mayor, a former lieutenant in charge of the National Intelligence Department in the first years of Pinochet's dictatorship, straightforwardly undermines the students' actions and

delegitimizes them by negatively portraying them and not specifying what reforms they are asking for.

All the other instances of motive constructions are attributed and/or recontextualized almost equally by the newspaper. There are 15 instances in which the demands are represented in detail and 16 instances in which reforms are superficially reported on. When there is no specification of the type of reform being demanded, the newspapers in the CON sample tend to trivialize the protest, especially in *La Cuarta* and in *Las Últimas Noticias* (e.g. (5)). However, when they do include their motives, these are reported adequately (e.g. (6)):

(5) LUN\_2011\_136\_19August\_481.txt

En Exposición, pasadito de Correos de Chile, un puesto de fritangas se hace el pino vendiendo cantidades industriales de sopaipillas con aceite requeterrecalentado, mientras que a un alumno de un liceo técnico de La Cisterna<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> se le ocurre sentarse en los hombros de un compañero<sup>(MA)</sup>, sacarse la polera y protestar a cuero pelado<sup>(P)</sup>. Solamente verlo da más frío aún. [Newspaper].

In Exposición, a bit past the Chilean Mail Service, a street food truck is hitting it off selling humongous amounts of sopaipillas with overheated oil, while a student from a technical high school from La Cisterna<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> thinks of sitting on the shoulders of a little classmate<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, proceeds to take his clothes off<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> and<sup>(ML)</sup> protests naked<sup>(M)</sup>. Just seeing him makes you feel cold. [Newspaper].

(6) LT\_2011\_78\_05July.txt

Un grupo de estudiantes de liceos en toma<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> se reunieron pasadas las 13.00 horas en plena Plaza de Armas de Santiago<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, donde<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **armaron una playa artificial<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>** en el marco de una intervención cultural<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> a modo de protesta por<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **la decisión del ministro de Educación, Joaquín Lavín, de adelantar las vacaciones de invierno para los establecimientos que permanecen movilizados<sup>(M2.1)</sup>**. Con trajes de baño, anteojos de sol y quitasoles, alrededor de 500 manifestantes se organizaron<sup>(MA3.1)</sup> para<sup>(ML3.1)</sup> llevar a cabo este flashmob<sup>(M3.1)</sup>, simulando que se encontraban en una playa. [Newspaper].

A group of occupied high school students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> gathered past 1pm in the Main Square of Santiago<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, where<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **they set up an artificial beach<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>** as part of a cultural intervention<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> as a way of protesting against<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **the Minister of Education Lavin's decision to move the winter break forward for those schools that remain mobilized<sup>(M2.1)</sup>**. With swimming suits, sun glasses and parasols, around 500 demonstrators organized themselves<sup>(MA3.1)</sup> to<sup>(ML3.1)</sup> perform this flash mob<sup>(M3.1)</sup>, simulating being at a beach. [Newspaper].

In Example (5), students are represented as purposefully and actively protesting. However, neither the reasons for protesting nor their meaningful actions are properly described. On the one hand, an individualized student (i.e. relational identification) is described as protesting by jumping on another student and taking his shirt off. On the other, from the use of the conjunction y [and], we can infer a causal relation that he did so as a sign of protest (while also seemingly making himself visible among the crowd). The coordination of these clauses, and the conjunction y [and] result in a trivial and superficial representation of these students, portraying them as having fun for the sake of it rather than demanding educational reforms. This is in stark contrast with the other half of the examples in this category, such as (6) above. In Example (6), the reasons for the students to protest are included in great detail in terms of three different motive constructions across two sentences. These constructions carefully detail what the students' actions were, their motives, and the Minister they were protesting against. The constructions frame the students' actions contextually, signalling what the educational conflict is.

These differences in portraying the demands can be complemented by the various other motives attributed to the students in both kind of press. To expand on these findings, the following section deals with a similar motive, with a particular emphasis on finding solutions to the disruptions caused by the students' mobilizations.

## 2.2 To solve conflict

This is the second most frequent motive in the CON sample (12.81%) yet the fourth in the ALT one (7.37%). The example shows that this disparity might be explained by the tendency in the mainstream press to represent the government as actively working on fixing the educational problem. Conversely, the students are represented as more interested in reforms rather than short-term solutions. Consider the following examples:

(7) LT\_2012\_112\_28August.txt

Además, Chadwick<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> hizo un llamado al  
Congreso<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, para<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **solucionar el conflicto**  
**que mantienen movilizados a los estudiantes del**  
**país**<sup>(M)</sup>, convocando a los senadores a aprobar las

Also, Chadwick<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> called on the  
Congress<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, to<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **solve the conflict that**  
**keeps the students of the country mobilized**<sup>(M)</sup>,  
calling for the Senators to pass the laws on

<p><u>leyes de presupuestos</u><sup>(MA1.2)</sup> y<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> <u>proyectos que</u>  <u>apuntan a mejorar la educación</u><sup>(MA1.3)</sup>.  [Newspaper].</p>	<p><u>national budget</u><sup>(MA1.2)</sup> and<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> <u>projects that aim at</u>  <u>improving education</u><sup>(MA1.3)</sup>. [Newspaper].</p>
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(8) LC\_2011\_15\_09june.\_321.txt

<p>Rojo como tomatito, Zalaquett<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> dijo, “<u>me da</u>  <u>vergüenza tener que pedir, casi mendigar 50</u>  <u>millones de pesos</u><sup>(MA)</sup>, para que<sup>(ML)</sup> <b>los alumnos</b>  <b>del Barros Borgoño puedan volver a clases</b>”<sup>(M)</sup>  [Government coalition].</p>	<p>Red as a beetroot, Zalaquett<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> said, “I’m  ashamed I have to ask, almost beg for 50 million  (Chilean) pesos<sup>(MA)</sup>, so that<sup>(ML)</sup> <b>the students from</b>  <b>Barros Borgoño can go back to class</b>”<sup>(M)</sup>.  [Government coalition].</p>
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Unsurprisingly, governmental authorities are represented as actively pursuing their ultimate motive of restoring the educational sector back to normal. Their statements are either paraphrased by the report (7) or faithfully reproduced (8), adding legitimacy to the claims included (i.e. personal authority legitimation). Both examples positively portray these authorities as trying to solve a conflict for the benefit of others (i.e. students). In (7), the government’s spokesperson addresses Members of Parliament so that they can reach an agreement in relation to the educational conflict by supporting the government’s agenda. The solution to the conflict is to make improvements to the current system rather than update it as the students demand. In (8), however, solving the educational crisis takes a more concrete form. In this example, the then Mayor of Santiago voices a call to higher authorities to get the funding to restore one school (Liceo Manuel Barros Borgoño) that was badly damaged by the 2010 earthquake, forcing them to use other unsuitable educational facilities to continue studying. The use of emotions in this example also legitimizes his motives as selfless and true. Similar to Example (1) in Ch. 5, the anger experienced by the Minister makes him more human and therefore the audience might be more likely to relate to him and the urgency of his actions.

Most of the examples in this category position the students as the main beneficiaries of the government’s actions, which positively portrays the government as efficient, caring, and actively addressing the students’ concerns through their motives. This contrasts with the representation of the government in the ALT sample in relation to this motive category. The sample suggests two sides of the coin when representing the government’s aim to maintain political relations: the reasons governmental officials



provide and the reasons the student movement and the press attribute to their actions. On the one hand, the government is portrayed as a reasonable actor, open to discussion and determined to solve the educational conflict as seen in the example below:

(9) TC\_2011\_208\_13Oct.txt

El pasado domingo el presidente Sebastián Piñera<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> llamó a los estudiantes universitarios y secundarios a retomar el diálogo<sup>(MA)</sup> para<sup>(ML)</sup> **destrabar el conflicto estudiantil**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Last Sunday, President Sebastián Piñera<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> called for university and secondary students to resume the dialogue<sup>(MA)</sup> to<sup>(ML)</sup> **untangle the student conflict**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

In Example (9), the President is represented as actively seeking a solution with the students, inviting them to negotiate over their differences. The report includes the main two student groups involved in the conflict (*universitarios y secundarios*) in an attempt to be inclusive and acknowledge their respective demands. There are other times, however, in which the government is portrayed negatively as in the following example:

(10) TC\_2011\_198\_06Oct.txt

En nada. Después de casi cinco horas de diálogo entre los estudiantes movilizados, el Colegio de Profesores y la Confech, la mesa de trabajo instalada por el Gobierno<sup>[WHOSE] (MA)</sup> para<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **discutir**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **buscar solución en el conflicto de la educación**<sup>(M1.2)</sup> se fue a negro y quedó en el mismo punto muerto que hace cinco meses, cuando empezaron las movilizaciones. [Newspaper].

For nothing. After almost five hours of a dialogue between the mobilized students, the Teachers' Union and Confech, the round table talks set up by the government<sup>[WHOSE] (MA)</sup> to<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **discuss** and<sup>(ML1.2)</sup> **find a solution to the educational conflict**<sup>(M)</sup> was useless, and remained in the same dead end as five months ago, when the mobilization started. [Newspaper].

The prepositional phrase *en nada* [for nothing] at the beginning of the report denotes frustration about the lack of solutions emerging from a five-hour meeting. The protagonists of this meeting are a diverse range of social actors from the educational sector while the government (whose actions are nominalized) is backgrounded, and implicitly blamed for the lack of progress. The spatial and temporal deictics “*en el mismo punto muerto que hace cinco meses*” [“remained in the same dead end as five months

ago”] seems to refer to the constant and consistent accusations of the student leaders in relation to how intransigent the government is, despite their attempts to negotiate. This reference works to delegitimize the role of the government in this conflict. This delegitimization is carried out through the collectivization of the government as opposed to the individualization of the different groups constituting the student movement in the ALT sample. Thus, the emphasis is on the socially diverse composition of the movement as opposed to the homogenously inefficient collective of authorities.

Informal register is sometimes used to negatively evaluate the government’s actions in relation to the student movement and the educational conflict through the examples discussed in this and the upcoming sections. It follows then that the alternative press seem to bluntly side with this social movement. Both motive categories explored so far deal with political relations between the government and the student movement. However, the nature of the politics differs greatly depending on whose side is being considered and which features each decides to foreground. The following section deals with the use of diplomacy and politics as justifications for the government and students’ actions.

### 2.3 To engage in politics

The category ‘*to engage in politics*’ describes the motives of both the students and the government to seek political advantage. Acting politically in the sample can be regarded positively or negatively, depending on who is constructing/attribution it. For instance, there is a tendency to emphasize the strategies undertaken by politicians in order to ‘enchant’ people again with politics (11) and/or protect their own (12) through political unity in the CON sample:

(11) EM\_2011\_09\_noviembre.txt

Para 2012 [Piñera] <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> anunció una ambiciosa agenda que incluye seguir el proceso de reconstrucción<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>; implementar en su totalidad la agenda de impulso competitivo<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>; desarrollar la reforma a la salud privada sobre la base de un plan universal<sup>(MA1.3)</sup>; iniciar la reforma a la justicia civil<sup>(MA1.4)</sup>, y sacar adelante las

[Piñera] <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> announced an ambitious agenda for 2012 that includes continuing the process of reconstruction<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>; implementing fully the competitive-drive agenda<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>; developing the reform of the private health system on the grounds of a universal plan<sup>(MA1.3)</sup>; initiating the Civil Justice reform, and passing the democratic reforms<sup>(MA1.4)</sup>

reformas democráticas<sup>(MA1.5)</sup> para<sup>(ML)</sup> "reencantar" a los chilenos<sup>(M)</sup>. [Governmental coalition].

to<sup>(ML)</sup> "reenchant" Chileans<sup>(M)</sup>. [Governmental coalition].

(12) EM\_2013\_02\_abril.txt

Ambos hechos han sido recordados en las últimas horas en Palacio<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, donde no se descarta iniciar una ofensiva destinada a conseguir algún gesto similar desde la Concertación<sup>(MA)</sup> que<sup>(ML)</sup> permita evitar la caída de Beyer<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Both events have been brought back to memory during the last hours in [the governmental] Palace<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, where initiating an offensive destined to achieved a similar gesture from the opposition is not disregarded<sup>(MA)</sup>, that<sup>(ML)</sup> allows them to prevent Beyer's fall<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Both examples focus on nominalized and foregrounded sets of actions. This political strategy aims at representing politicians as trustworthy actors despite the corruption cases in which both the left and right-wing coalitions have been involved in the last few years. The meaningful actions linked to these motive constructions entail the strategic manoeuvring of people's reactions so as to soften the negative impacts their parties could be subject to due to these events. However, when it comes to representing the students' motives, these tend to be negatively framed in the mainstream media:

(13) LC\_2011\_115\_26August\_519.txt

Mañalich<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> se mostró molesto por el "abuso mediático"<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> que los estudiantes de Chilito hacen con el recurso de la huelga de hambre y que hubo un "esfuerzo sistemático"<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> por<sup>(ML)</sup> manipular<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. "Es un acto de **cobardía extrema**<sup>(M1.2)</sup> que alguien se diga en huelga de hambre cuando en realidad no tiene el heroísmo para mantener esa decisión", finalizó el afilado ministro. [Governmental coalition].

Mañalich<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> was upset by the "abuse of the media"<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> that Chilean students are doing through their hunger strike and that there was a "systematic effort"<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> to<sup>(ML)</sup> manipulate<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. "It was an act of **extreme cowardice**<sup>(M1.2)</sup> that someone says they are on a hunger strike when in reality they are not heroic enough to maintain their decision", finished the upset minister. [Governmental coalition].

From the then Minister of Health's point of view, the students' hunger strike is staged, meant to manipulate people. In fact, he calls their actions as an *acto de cobardía extrema* [an act of extreme cowardice] for pretending to be on a strike. In the extract, the Minister is described by the report as being upset, bringing emotional reactions to the fore as a

framing strategy (cf. Example (1) in Ch. 5 and Example (8) above). This enhances the negative representation of the students by highlighting negative emotions sparked by their actions. Also, the students' demands are once again excluded from the report, and appeal to the reader's contextual knowledge. However, this exclusion and the fact that he was the Minister of Health (and a medical doctor himself), legitimize this negative portrayal of the students by presenting them as dishonest people who would do anything to attract media attention.

Contrary to the CON sample, the roles are inverted in the alternative press: while the students are portrayed more positively, it is the government which is questioned on the real motives for their actions. In (14) below, the then student leader Camila Vallejo explicitly questions the real intentions of the government when calling the students for a meeting:

(14) TC\_2011\_154\_08Sept.txt

“Sentimos que la intención del Gobierno<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> es llamarnos a una mesa de trabajo<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> para<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **legitimarse como los que van a resolver el conflicto**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>, pero postergando los temas que realmente son estructurales para el final<sup>(MA2.1)</sup>, para que<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **la mesa no llegue a acuerdo**<sup>(M2.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML2.2)</sup> **quedemos validando un espacio que no va a ser conducente**<sup>(M2.2)</sup>”, señaló [Camila Vallejo]. [Student movement].

“We feel that the intention of the government<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> is to call us in to work together<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> to<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **legitimize themselves, as the ones who are going to solve the conflict**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>, but postponing [the discussion about] the issues that are fundamental to the end<sup>(MA2.1)</sup>, so that<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **nobody reaches an agreement**<sup>(M2.1)</sup> and<sup>(ML2.2)</sup> **we end up validating a process that leads nowhere**<sup>(M2.2)</sup>, [Camila Vallejo] pointed out. [Student movement].

In this example, the student leader claims that the motives of the government are selfish as they aim to protect its political image instead of actually solving the educational conflict. The negative representation of the government's motives is carried out through two complementary motive constructions. The motive construction is attributed in terms of what the student feels (mental process), based on either intuition or previous experiences with the government. Whatever the basis for this attribution, this is framed in clear opposition to the positive self-representation of the government and their motives in the CON sample.

Even when they are not attributing negative motives to the government, their own motives are phrased in such a way that the government is negatively portrayed. This is especially true when the report, or the students, represent themselves as counteracting the government's strategies to criminalize, undermine and/or restrict their actions:

(15) EC\_2013\_66\_06Oct.txt

En ese sentido [vocero de la Confech y presidente de la FEUC<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, Diego Vela] dijo que “**no vamos a ser cómplices de que se profundice este modelo<sup>(M1.1)</sup>, no vamos a *ser* cómplices de que se aumente la vulnerabilidad en que viven miles de estudiantes en Chile<sup>(M1.2)</sup> y por eso<sup>(ML)</sup> nos vamos a movilizar este 17 de octubre<sup>(MA)</sup>”.** [Student movement].

In this sense [the Confech spokesperson and FEUC<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> president, Diego Vela] said that “**we are not going to be accomplices in the normalisation of this model<sup>(M1.1)</sup>, we are not going to *be* accomplices in increasing the vulnerability in which thousands of students in Chile live<sup>(M1.2)</sup> and that is why<sup>(ML)</sup> we are mobilizing this 17 October<sup>(MA)</sup>”.** [Student movement].

(16) EC\_2011\_99\_09August.txt

Radio Bio Bio informó que estudiantes del Liceo Lastarria<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> protestaron en calzoncillos<sup>(MA)</sup> para<sup>(ML)</sup> **no ser acusados de “violentistas”<sup>(M)</sup>** en Av. 11 de Septiembre. [Other social actors].

Radio Bio Bio announced that students from Lastarria High School<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> protested in their underwear<sup>(MA)</sup> so as to<sup>(ML)</sup> **avoid being accused of being “troublemakers” in 11 September avenue<sup>(M)</sup>**. [Other social actors].

In the case of (15), the students position themselves as purposefully fighting against an oppressive social system (see also section 2.7 below) and explicitly distancing themselves through their actions. They claim that they are mobilising in order to show they are against the government's strategies to protect the system and deepen social inequality. The fact they use the word *accomplice* repetitively foregrounds the idea of a crime, that the government is doing something that is ultimately wrong. Again, the narrative of *good vs evil* is evoked by the students' rhetoric, which is included directly in this news report. In (16), on the other hand, the students are focused on the effects their actions have on others, as they bluntly accuse the government of criminalizing them when it identifies them as *violentistas* [troublemakers]. Therefore, they decide to protest in their underwear to avoid such criminalization. In this, there is an implicit homogenization of the term

*violentista* to *encapuchado* [hooded demonstrator]. While *encapuchados* cover their faces and dress in such a way their identification is compromised; *violentistas* is a term that only refers to demonstrators' behaviour, not the way they dress. Their motive is implicitly referred to, thus appealing to the reader's contextual knowledge (see Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017).

This dichotomy between how students and the government are portrayed in these samples suggests different alignments taking the shape of sides in terms of their motives. Unsurprisingly, CON leans towards a more positive representation of the government's motives whereas the students' are represented negatively and/or excluded and vice versa in the ALT sample. What does stand out, however, is the understanding of the students as political agents and the motives attributed to either enhance or undermine this social role depending on the kind of press. In this, the CON sample undermines the role of the youth by negatively portraying their motives and/or, at best, undermining them as political actors. This contradicts the ALT sample, in which the students are represented as legitimate political actors acting upon *old politics*, which is scared of reforms and leaves matters unchanged. This insistence on maintaining things as they are is even clearer in the next section, as students' actions are presented as causing damage, serving as evidence for negative attributions of motive.

## **2.4 To destabilize the establishment**

Based on the previous motive categories analysed, we can foresee that this category is clearly more frequent in the CON sample (8.63%) than in the ALT one (3.24%). It actually takes the fourth place in the CON sample. The code in the CON sample includes 11 instances in which the students and/or demonstrators are represented as purposefully attacking people and/or authority figures. This code is understandably more frequent in the mainstream press as it is a common strategy to criminalize and delegitimize the student movement used by the government, educational institutions, newspaper, and the police. Nonetheless, it is interesting to observe the patterns in terms of the motive attributions. Particularly because this destabilization is represented differently when it is attributed by the government to the students and vice versa.

(17) LT\_2011\_143\_28Sept.txt

En cuanto al cierre de la marcha, momento en que grupos de delincuentes<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> aprovechan<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> para<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **cometer actos de violencia**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>, la máxima autoridad regional comentó que “vamos a repetir la coordinación con los convocantes y les hemos solicitado que ejerzan liderazgo responsable. Es decir, que colaboren<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> para<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **aislar a los delincuentes que sólo buscan destruir**<sup>(M2.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML2.2)</sup> **atemorizar**<sup>(M2.2)</sup>. Y a esos cobardes, que esconden su rostro y a los que les sirve cualquier marcha, se los repito: van a *ser* detenidos y tendrán que asumir ante la justicia sus responsabilidades”. [Governmental coalition].

Regarding the ending of the demonstration, the moment that groups of criminals<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> take advantage of<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> to<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> **commit acts of violence**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup>, the highest regional authority commented that “we are going to repeat the coordination with the organizers and we have asked them to exercise responsible leadership. That is to say, to collaborate<sup>(MA2.1)</sup> to<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> **isolate the criminals that only seek to destroy**<sup>(M2.1)</sup> and<sup>(ML2.2)</sup> **threaten**<sup>(M2.2)</sup>. And to those cowards, that hide their face and that take advantage of any demonstration, I repeat: you will *be* detained and will have to face justice”. [Governmental coalition].

(18) LC\_2011\_165\_07Oct.\_482.txt

La juventud de la UDI criticó a la líder de la FECH, Camila Vallejo<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, por llamar a marchar por la Alameda<sup>(MA)</sup>: “lo único que está haciendo Vallejo es **incitar a los encapuchados a generar desorden**<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> y<sup>(ML)</sup> **problemas a la gente de la ciudad**<sup>(ML1.2)</sup>” [Governmental coalition].

The UDI’s Youth Union criticized the FECH leader Camila Vallejo<sup>[WHOSE]</sup>, for calling for marching through Alameda<sup>(MA)</sup>: “the only thing Vallejo is doing is to **incite hooded demonstrators to generate disorder**<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> and<sup>(ML)</sup> **problems for the people of the city**”<sup>(ML2)</sup>. [Governmental coalition].

Both examples taken from mainstream press reports seem to acknowledge an inherent violent nature in the students and those who support their demonstrations by representing them as purposefully disrupting/destabilizing social and civil order. In (17), the motive construction is paraphrased twice in the extract in order to foreground their criminal features. In this, the regional authority negatively represents these actors at the levels of reference (*cobardes, delincuentes* [cowards, criminals]), predication (*que esconden su rostro* [who hide their face]) and motive (*buscan destruir y atemorizar* [seek to destroy and threaten]; *cometer actos de violencia* [commit acts of violence]). In fact, he frames this negative representation by drawing from a good vs evil narrative, in which evil (i.e. students, hooded vandals) is punished/sanctioned by good (i.e. the authority, law and

order) (see section 5.2; Ch. 3). This is almost a threat, as there is a direct address to these wrongdoers at the end of his statement. Similarly, in Example (18), another authority recontextualizes the motive stated by one of the student leaders and turns it into a negative one. The negative motive for the students to protest is twofold: while they seek to disrupt civil order, they also seek to create trouble for ordinary people. As such, the UDI's Youth Union distance themselves from the students by recontextualizing the collective's motives. This is enhanced by the structure "*lo único que está haciendo Vallejo*" [the only thing Vallejo is doing]. This suggests that there might be another motive (the one they are attributing to her) that conflicts with the one originally proposed (excluded in this report).

In contrast, mostly all the instances in which the students are portrayed as destabilizing social order are governmental attributions of motive in the ALT sample as in (19) below:

(19) TC\_2012\_67\_29June.txt

Moreira acusó que los líderes del movimiento estudiantil<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> **incitaron a la violencia**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>, llamando a marchar por La Moneda<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> **demostrando su enojo**<sup>(M1.2)</sup>, lo que constituye "una actitud provocativa". "Ellos están respaldando un movimiento que puede tener, de muy buena fe, un anhelo de los chilenos como es la educación, anhelo que ha recogido este gobierno con responsabilidad. Pero una cosa es la legitimidad de un movimiento por la educación y otra muy distinta es ser cómplices del saqueo, de la violencia, del robo, del enfrentamiento, de los encapuchados que incluso llevan una bandera aludiendo a una canción que dice 'muerte al Presidente'", agregó. **[Governmental coalition]**.

Moreira accused the leaders of the student movement<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> of **inciting violence**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>, calling [on people] to march through La Moneda<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> demonstrating their anger<sup>(M1.2)</sup>, which constitutes "a challenging attitude". "They are supporting a movement that might have granted, in good faith, education as a core for every Chilean, a wish the government has taken in responsibly. But one thing is the legitimacy of a movement for education and another very different one is to be accomplices of looting, of violence, of theft, of confrontation, of the hooded demonstrators that even carry a flag alluding to a song that says "death to the President", he added. **[Governmental coalition]**.

In this, the MP Moreira links violence with the students' anger as manifested through their call to demonstrate. This is not the first time anger is attributed to the students as the motive for their actions. In this example, anger takes the form of "*saqueo, de la violencia,*



*del robo, del enfrentamiento, de los encapuchados*” [violence, theft, confrontation of the hooded demonstrators]. This intensifies the overall governmental criminalization of the students’ actions, despite the MP’s acknowledgement of positive motives for the call (“education”). Nonetheless, even the inclusion of this positive motive serves to represent the government positively as well. The MP says that the government has heard the students “*con responsabilidad*” [responsibly], immediately dismissing their protests as unnecessary as they had achieved their purpose (i.e. to get the attention of the government). There is a juxtaposition between a government acting rationally and responsibly versus a young collective acting irrationally, driven by anger. This example shows that negative representations of the students’ actions are in fact included in the alternative press. However, as this extract shows, they are mostly carried out through direct speech, reporting on what the government and the officials believe, rather than what the newspaper believes. If this news report is carefully examined, Moreira’s statements are almost entirely reproduced, limiting the role of the reporter to just foregrounding the link among the sentences included.

There are just a few instances in the sample in which the government are also represented as purposefully trying to negatively affect the student movement organization in the ALT sample. In these, accusations from the student movement attribute motives to the actions of the government in relation to how they handle the collective as in the following example:

(20) EC\_2011\_231\_18Nov.txt

Paralelo a ello, Camila Vallejo, vocera de la Confech (Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile), denunció que un grupo de “encapuchados” que generaron desmanes en una marcha de estudiantes en el Paseo Bulnes, descendieron de “una micro de Carabineros que se estacionó en San Diego con Santa Isabel”, lo que fue al menos “extraño ya que Carabineros los debe detener y no soltar”. Vallejo agregó que “se reafirma la tesis de que **hay intenciones políticas<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> por tergiversar la manifestación<sup>(M)</sup>**, poniendo gente infiltrada en las

Parallel to this [police repression], Camila Vallejo, the spokeswoman of Confech, pointed out that a group of “hooded demonstrators” that generated disturbances in a student demonstration in Bulnes Promenade, got out of a “police car that parked in San Diego and Santa Isabel streets”. This is particularly “strange as Carabineros are supposed to arrest them, not let them go”. Vallejo added that this “confirms the thesis that **there are political intentions<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> to distort the demonstration<sup>(M)</sup>**, by inserting infiltrators in the

marchas para ocasionar destrozos<sup>(MA)</sup>”. [Student movement].

marches to cause damage<sup>(MA)</sup>”. [Student movement].

In this example, the then student leader suggests that the government is using the police as agents *provocateurs* in order to distort the objectives of the student movement. In this scenario, the government purposefully misuses the police force in order to achieve this aim. Disguising police officers as hooded demonstrators is not coincidental, as there is a constant strategy to identify these actors as belonging to the student movement, in an attempt to criminalize students’ actions (Pérez, 2016a, 2016b; Cárdenas & Pérez, 2016; Pérez & Cárdenas, *in press*). This motive is conveyed through a succession of quotations attributed to the student leader, although it is unclear whether the inverted commas around hooded demonstrators are meant to highlight them or are part of the quotation.

The destabilization of social order is the most frequently occurring feature used to criminalize the student movement. Through this strategy, any possible contributions to the political debate from the student movement are undermined and bluntly suppressed by appealing to negative social representations of irrational and careless youth in the mainstream media. Nonetheless, these constructions can also be found in the alternative press. These negative associations are challenged and resisted by the students: they point them out as the government’s strategy to criminalize and restrict their actions in order to avoid more people supporting them and/or actually achieving social change. Hence, the negative representation of motive shifts to the government as opposed to the students as reflected in this section. Examples of negative attributions of motive to the government are examined below.

## **2.5 To restrict the student movement**

This motive category is the third most frequent motive in the ALT sample (8.84%) and unsurprisingly the least frequent one in CON (1.39%). The main focus of this motive category is the attribution of negative motives to the government, shifting the identification of students as socially deviant actors, to victims of State power abuse. The few times this occurs in the mainstream press is in relation to how educational institutions restrict students (3), how the government does that (1) and how students themselves are

trying to dissolve the *radicalization* inside the student movement (1). In these instances, the students attribute motives to the government through the use of reported speech:

(21) LT\_2011\_35\_22Sept.txt

Giorgio Jackson: "El gobierno<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> ha decidido establecer autoridad<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> y no ha cedido nada<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>". Según el líder de la Feuc, **la política de enfriar al movimiento**<sup>(M)</sup> es como "meter la mugre debajo de la alfombra". [Student movement].

Giorgio Jackson: "the government<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> has decided to establish authority<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> and has given in to nothing<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>". According to the Feuc leader, **the politics of cooling down the movement**<sup>(M)</sup> is like "sweeping dirt under the carpet". [Student movement].

In (21), both the meaningful actions and the motive are included in reported speech, whereas the remaining text is a recontextualization of Jackson's words by the reporter. The only instance in which the government is represented as purposefully restricting the popularity and the actions of the student movement is attributed by the students. The fact this is not as common in the mainstream press as in the ALT sub-corpus confirms the tendency to include criticism of the government in the mainstream media as long as it is clearly reproducing someone else's words (e.g. student leaders).

This tendency is also present in the ALT sample, in which negative portrayals of the government purposely attacking the student movement are prominent. In this sample, motive constructions tend to be attributed either by the students (22) or by evaluative remarks in the report that suggest the newspapers' editorial line (23):

(22) EC\_2013\_31\_08June.txt.

El presidente de la FEUC, Diego Vela, destacó que el permiso se ingresó con anticipación y todavía no hay una respuesta<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> que permita a los estudiantes tomar las medidas de organización necesarias. "Esto demuestra **el miedo que tiene el gobierno**<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> **de no querer que nos expresemos democráticamente**<sup>(M)</sup>. Se responde con represión o *limitando* nuestro derecho a manifestarnos, en vez de responder a las demandas de fondo, **al derecho a la educación**<sup>(M2.1)</sup> que es el motivo por el cual<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> estamos invitando a

FEUC President, Diego Vela, emphasized that the application for authorization to demonstrate was submitted in advance and that there is no answer [from the authorities] yet<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> that can allow students to take the necessary organizational measures. "This shows **the fear the government**<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> **feel in relation to us exercising our democratic right**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. They respond with repression or limiting our right to demonstrate, instead of addressing our main demands, **the right to education**<sup>(M2.1)</sup> which is the

manifestarnos pacíficamente este 13 de junio<sup>(MA2.1)</sup>”, afirmó el dirigente. [Student movement].

reason why we are inviting [people] to demonstrate peacefully this coming June 13<sup>(MA2.1)</sup>, the leader asserted. [Student movement].

(23) EC\_2011\_128\_30August.txt.

Pese a que la propuesta de Elórtogui [rector] <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> no obtuvo el apoyo mayoritario de los estudiantes de la institución, el proceso comenzó el pasado 29 de agosto con el cierre de algunos ramos<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> y la reprogramación de trabajos para diversas asignaturas<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>, lo que ha sido cuestionado por quienes aseguran que estas medidas apunta a<sup>(ML)</sup> **desmovilizar al movimiento estudiantil**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Even though Elórtogui [Dean]’s <sup>[WHOSE]</sup> proposal did not have wide support among the students of this institution, the process started last August 29<sup>th</sup> with the closure of some modules<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> and the re-scheduling of assessments of different modules<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>, which has been questioned by those who believe these measures are aimed at<sup>(ML)</sup> **demobilizing the student movement**<sup>(M)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Both examples represent the government’s actions in terms of *fear*, as a negative reaction to the actions of the student collective, attributing emotions to this actor in order to justify their actions. In (22), there are two motive constructions, the first of which foregrounds the government’s fear of the student movement. The time taken by the government to authorize a demonstration, despite doing the paperwork in advance, is interpreted by the students as a negative reaction aimed at restricting their actions. This construction is explicitly contrasted with the *real motive* the students have, that is, to march peacefully. However, there is no development of the roots of this fear, leaving room to the readership for various interpretations. On the other hand, (23) corresponds to the *interpretation* of a Dean’s actions to resume normal activities at a university. The report suggests that students believe that the main motive for these actions (closing of modules and the rescheduling of evaluations) is aimed at affecting their actions and organization (wearing them down). The attribution of motive is de-agentilized and collectivised, and it is presented as truth (reporting verb: *afirmar* [claim]), which backgrounds the official motive for the actions taken up by the Dean.

The inclusion of attributions of motives in news reports helps identify the newspapers’ perspective (i.e. editorial line). These attributions of motive, in turn, are mostly constructed from the point of view of the students or the press itself in the ALT

press. The motives of official sources such as the government are backgrounded, allowing readers to reach their own interpretations. This enhances the negative other presentation in the alternative press, by positioning the government as purposefully undermining the students' actions so as to protect the status quo (see section 2.7 below).

As part of the constitutional power they are invested with, the government is clearly positioned as an actor concerned with the maintenance of the establishment by following rules and avoiding radical changes. Nevertheless, similarly to the previous categories, they are sometimes negatively represented as carrying out their duties motivated by the wrong reasons, such as in (24) below:

(24) EC\_2011\_234\_19Nov.txt

Otra estrategia es la del **miedo**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. Días previos a la jornada de paro se difundió en todos los servicios públicos un instructivo que llamaba a los jefes a *revisar celosamente la presencia de los funcionarios*<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> y establecer duras sanciones en caso de ausencia<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>. Incluso el Gobierno<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> dijo en horas previas a la movilización que podría invocar la Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado con funcionarios que se plegaran a la movilización<sup>(MA1.3)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Another strategy is **fear**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. Days before the strike, an instruction was disseminated throughout the public service sector that called for managers to fiercely check the attendance of public servants<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> and establish harsh punishments in case of absence<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>. Even the government<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> said, hours prior the demonstration, that they could invoke the Law on National Security against public servants who support the demonstration<sup>(MA1.3)</sup>. [Newspaper].

This attribution of motive is constructed through ellipsis and it only makes sense towards the end of the paragraph. In this example, the government is presented in terms of the means by which they try to discourage people's participation in demonstrations. According to the news report, this is carried out through different strategies involving emotional reactions, in particular, *fear* through the harassment listed among the meaningful actions. This fear is grounded in common practices undertaken during the dictatorship to control people and avoid their involvement in political or Union activities. While the fear during that period was to be disappeared, the fear the news report refers to is that of losing a job.

The following section addresses the last code that is common to both sub-corpora samples. In this, the representational struggle focuses on democratic representational

status, in which the students are the representatives of the people, as opposed to the democratically-elected government.

## 2.6 To gather / show support

The frequencies of this motive category in the samples are relatively similar, being slightly more frequent in the CON sample (6.68%) than in ALT (6.48%). This similarity suggests that representing students as gathering or increasing popular support is an unproblematic issue for both media. Increasing support is not ideologically detrimental to the positive representation of the government nor does it affect the patterns of negative representation of the students in the mainstream press. On the other hand, it shows that there are other motives that are more important in the alternative press, while still foregrounding positive actions undertaken by the students.

This motive category comprises all those instances in which actors were represented as supporting someone else (mostly the student movement) and those actions that aimed at disseminating what the student movement's demands were really about. In the mainstream press, there are only three actors who are represented and/or have this motive attributed to them: the political opposition (5); the students' parents (1), and the students (18). Their representation tends to be positive, whether this is attributed by the students themselves or the newspapers:

(25) LUN\_2011\_222\_02Sept\_176.txt

Estuvieron lejos de *ser* los más de 40 mil confirmados en Facebook para el evento, pero a las casi dos mil almas fanáticas<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> del calugazo no les faltó empeño<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> para<sup>(ML)</sup> apoyar al movimiento estudiantil<sup>(M)</sup>, a pura lengua<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Far from being the more than 40 thousand that had confirmed the event on Facebook, but anyway the almost two thousand souls<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> dedicated to kissing compensated for it<sup>(MA1.1)</sup> by<sup>(ML)</sup> supporting the student movement<sup>(M)</sup>, with their tongues<sup>(MA1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].

(26) EM\_2011\_04\_junio.txt

Intentando dejar atrás lo ocurrido hace una semana -cuando la toma del establecimiento terminó con estudiantes detenidos y millonarios daños-, los alumnos del Liceo Barros Borgoño<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> llenaron

Trying to leave what happened last week behind – when the school occupation ended with detained students and costly damage- the students of Barros Borgoño high school<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> covered the front of

de peluches el frontis del recinto<sup>(MA)</sup>. Según el presidente del Centro de Alumnos, Alexis Araya, \*la idea fue<sup>(ML)</sup> "**dar a conocer a la opinión pública que no somos vándalos ni unos delincuentes<sup>(M)</sup>**", como fuimos catalogados. Aún somos niños, somos jóvenes en proceso de formación y somos pacíficos". **[Student movement]**.

the building with stuffed animals<sup>(MA)</sup>. According to the President of the Student Union, Alexis Araya, \*the idea was to<sup>(ML)</sup> "**let public opinion know that we are not vandals nor criminals<sup>(M)</sup>**", as we have been categorized. We are still children, we are young in the process of formation and pacifists". **[Student movement]**.

Both examples focus on explaining the students' actions as a way of gathering support through activities (25) or through symbolic acts aiming at cleaning up their image in society (26). In (25), the action (a *kiss-athon*) is described in an informal register which seems oblivious to the real reasons for choosing *kissing* as a means for demonstrating (i.e. the call highlighted positive emotions (*love*) to counteract the criminalization they are usually associated with). The meaningful action at the end of the report (i.e. "*a pura lengua*" [with their tongues]) trivializes the students' action by framing them as being almost hormone-driven. Interestingly, despite the *positive* representation, their actions are still undermined by contrasting the number of people who confirmed their attendance on Facebook with the actual number that showed up. Similarly, despite the students trying to subvert the negative stereotypes associated with them in (26), their positive motive is contrasted with the destruction they allegedly carried out in their occupied school a week earlier. This challenge to negative stereotypes is realized through the inclusion of their own voices (direct speech), in which the students voice their discontent about being identified as vandals and criminals, highlighting their age and innocent nature (i.e. symbolized by stuffed animals).

Similar to CON, this motive is most frequently used to represent (and attribute motives to) the students (18), followed by ordinary people (2), educational institutions (1) and the political opposition (1). Regardless of whose motive, the newspaper positively portrays these actors and their motives as a way to show how popular the movement is. This positive representation of the student movement also aims at legitimizing their cause as well as a strategy to highlight the low popular support the Piñera administration had

during his whole administration<sup>11</sup>. Their actions are thus oriented to the gathering of as many people as possible in their demonstrations:

(27) EC\_2012\_66\_22August.txt

Titelman señaló a los periodistas que la “cicletada”<sup>(MA)</sup> forma parte de un conjunto de ideas que quieren imponer los universitarios<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> “con el fin de<sup>(ML)</sup> **atraer a todas las personas, jóvenes, mayores y a la familia, a manifestarse con alegría junto a nosotros**”<sup>(M)</sup>. [Student movement].

Titelman [student leader] pointed out to reporters that the “bike-athon”<sup>(MA)</sup> is part of a group of ideas that university students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> want to bring in “in order to<sup>(ML)</sup> **attract everyone, the young and the old and families to protest joyfully with us**”<sup>(M)</sup>. [Student movement].

The example contains a list of different categorization strategies appealing to different roles in society, namely, youth, the elderly, families and children. The inclusion of this diverse range of roles serves two purposes: it helps them 1) exemplify how transversal their support is and 2) distance themselves from the criminalizing narrative used in the traditional press. This strategy is enhanced by mentioning “joyful demonstration” as part of the “*cicletada*” [bike-athon]. The relational identifications with which these actors are represented evoke positive connotations (e.g. family) and, more importantly, the collectives’ role in society is remotely associated to violence and/or social disobedience. In all, the more varied participation is, the more legitimate it is as the different groups taken together make up an alleged majority.

## 2.7 To maintain the status quo

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the category of *maintaining the status quo* only occurs in the alternative press. This particular code makes explicit references to the neoliberal system structuring Chilean society and how the students challenge it and how the government maintains it. This category differs from *engaging in politics* and *destabilizing the establishment* categories in terms of its explicit reference to discourses of neoliberalism, the Chilean dictatorship, and its aftermath as being the only responsible factors for the crisis in social welfare (including the educational conflict). This code

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<sup>11</sup> The exception being when the 33 miners were rescued from the mine in October 2010.



stands out as bluntly accusing people of supporting a system that enhances social inequality, benefiting a selected few. Thus, the students and the newspapers position the current political coalitions as the people responsible for maintaining the reforms undertaken during the dictatorship:

(28) EC\_2011\_90\_05August.txt

Pero el control del orden público a estas alturas no puede contener **la rabia acumulada**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. En las calles contiguas a la Alameda los estudiantes<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> improvisan fogatas<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, paran el tránsito<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> y corean el hit del momento<sup>(MA1.3)</sup>: “**Y va a caer, y va a caer, la educación de Pinochet**”<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].

But at this point the control of civic order cannot contain **the built-up anger**<sup>(M1.1)</sup>. In the streets near Alameda the students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> improvise fire barricades<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, block the traffic<sup>(MA1.2)</sup> and chant to the hit of the moment<sup>(MA1.3)</sup>: “**And it’s gonna fall, and it’s gonna fall, the education of Pinochet**”<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Newspaper].

(29) TC\_2013\_40\_08May.txt

En el tapete sigue *estando* la demanda de fondo, que es **el establecimiento de una educación pública, gratuita y de calidad**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> a través de<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> la reforma del sistema impuesto en 1981 por la dictadura de Augusto Pinochet<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, [sistema<sup>(M2.1)</sup>] contra el que<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> los jóvenes<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> se comenzaron a alzar en 2011<sup>(MA2.1)</sup>. [Newspaper].

The main demand *is still* on the table, which is **the establishment of a public, free and quality education**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> through<sup>(ML1.1)</sup> a reform to the model imposed in 1981 by the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet<sup>(MA1.1)</sup>, [system<sup>(M2.1)</sup>] against which<sup>(ML2.1)</sup> the young students<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> started rising in 2011<sup>(MA2.1)</sup>. [Newspaper].

Both examples clearly identify Pinochet and his political legacy as the actor students are rebelling against, by including students’ own words (28) or by reporting on it with great detail (29). In (28), the report uses anger (once again) to frame the students’ protest. However, instead of attributing their actions to social resentment, the blocking of traffic and the setting up of fire barricades is explained in terms of their drive to eradicate Pinochet’s educational system. The way in which motive is included is also worth noting: it is done through the inclusion of a protest chant, facilitating its report. Students and demonstrators alike march to this chant on every protest they organize: the core motive of their actions is realized through a song, represented here as direct speech. Similarly, in (29) students are represented as challenging the vestiges of Pinochet’s regime that has remained untouched by left-wing and right-wing governmental coalitions. Thus, the

students are represented as purposefully determined to achieve their objective (eliminate Pinochet's educational system).

More importantly, emotions (i.e. anger) are represented as the drive behind the students' actions, which leads to two important implications. On the one hand, this builds on what van Leeuwen proposed in his grammar of purpose: he mentions the possibility of having purposeful actions phrased in terms of feelings (mental processes) but he was unable to find any in his data. On the other hand, it draws on what he calls *moral values* (2008, p. 126). In this vein, it opens up the possibility of explaining social practices in terms of emotional responses to (historically recent) events such as Pinochet's dictatorship. This issue has been touched upon in the literature of historical memory (see Achugar, 2016) but it has not been methodologically systematized.

Throughout this category, we can identify a strong mistrust to this political system as represented by the electoral system:

(30) Emo\_2013\_142\_04Nov.txt

La agrupación de estudiantes secundarios<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> definirá sus próximas acciones<sup>(MA)</sup> con el fin de<sup>(ML)</sup> "mostrar el descontento hacia el sistema electoral<sup>(M1.1)</sup> y demarcar que la solución esta en la organización y no en las urnas"<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Student movement].

The secondary student association<sup>[WHOSE]</sup> will define their next actions<sup>(MA)</sup> in order to<sup>(ML)</sup> "**show the discontent towards the electoral system**<sup>(M1.1)</sup> and **demarkate that the solution is in the organization and not in the ballot box**"<sup>(M1.2)</sup>. [Student movement].

In (30), the negative representation of the government and the status quo in general is based on the grounds of its unrepresentativeness and lack of legitimacy. The students are represented as defining their actions in relation to the dissatisfaction with the status quo, suggesting that there are other ways of performing democracy (i.e. abstention). The fact that they believe that social organization is a better alternative to democratic elections suggests the value they ascribe to the people as opposed to the authorities. This might explain why they are also quite concerned with gathering as much popular support as possible (section 2.6. above). This kind of action was foregrounded in 2013 due to the presidential and parliamentary elections taking place towards the end of the year. Also,

the call for popular support is also stronger among secondary students, as four former university student leaders ran for a parliamentary seat in 2013.

These direct references to the dictatorship and/or Pinochet's role in the current educational crisis are non-existent in the CON sample. On the contrary, students are represented as *destabilizing the establishment*, which foregrounds the idea of vandalism and a challenge to the authorities, rather than a challenge to the socio-political and economic system implemented during Pinochet's regime. This serves as a further reference to identify the role adopted by the conservative newspapers in relation to the student conflict, namely, that of protecting the status quo. This is not surprising as both news holdings worked in conjunction with Pinochet's regime during that period (Ch. 2).

## **2.8 Summary**

The analysis shows a diverse range of motives attributed to both the students and the government. While there are differences in their frequency, it was possible to identify all these categories in the CON and ALT samples, with the exception of '*to maintain the status quo*'. These results suggest that motives are in fact included in both corpora but the frequency and how they are phrased can contribute to the legitimation and delegitimation of these actors. This (de)legitimation is especially evident in the inclusion of Pinochet's dictatorship in the ALT sample. This suggests that, contrary to the CON sample, the students' motives are contextualized socially and historically: their motives are represented as re-appropriating their recent past as their own in order to trigger social reform. More importantly, we can see that these motives work together in order to foreground certain aspects of the educational conflict while backgrounding others.

The analysis shows that the distinction between *they are protesting* vs *they are protesting for a better education* is important to understand what the conflict is about. The following section deals with how these different motives work together in order to convey certain storylines that further (de)legitimize these social actors and their actions

## **3 What is the educational conflict then? Positioning analysis**

The break-down of motive into these categories helps the reader grasp an idea of what the educational conflict is. There are two main conflicting actors (i.e. the students and the

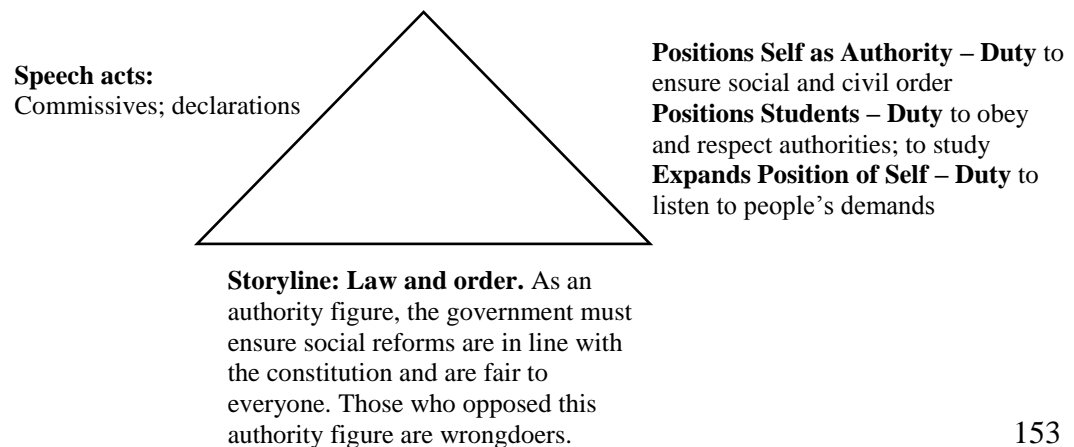
government) who seem unable to reach an agreement due to differences in their political world views. Both claim to be democratically representative and there is a clear power struggle between the two of them. This struggle takes the form of negative other-representation and positive self-representation through the inclusion of these actors' voices, but also by the way the newspapers cover the educational conflict.

Positioning theory (see section 5.2 in Ch. 3 and section 4.3.1 in Ch. 4) serves as a useful tool to identify the source of this conflict by drawing on how these actors are defined in terms of their rights, duties and motives. This theory focuses on more aspects than the mere (ideological) perspective from which actors and actions are constructed in texts and explores how individual perspectives are related to higher moral orders, as represented by the rights and duties these actors believe they have. In this section, I interpret the motive constructions in terms of the narrative they convey (*dramatis personae*). In other words, I identify what the story they are telling to their audiences is from the motives constructed and attributed in this sample. I focus on the rights and duties constructed by considering the main perspectives of these motive constructions, speech acts, and story-lines in each sub-corpora.

### 3.1 CON sample

As evidenced in the previous section, there is an overall tendency to favour a positive representation of the government in the CON sample while a negative representation of the students. In this, the newspapers align with the way the government understands the educational conflict, which can be visually represented as follows:

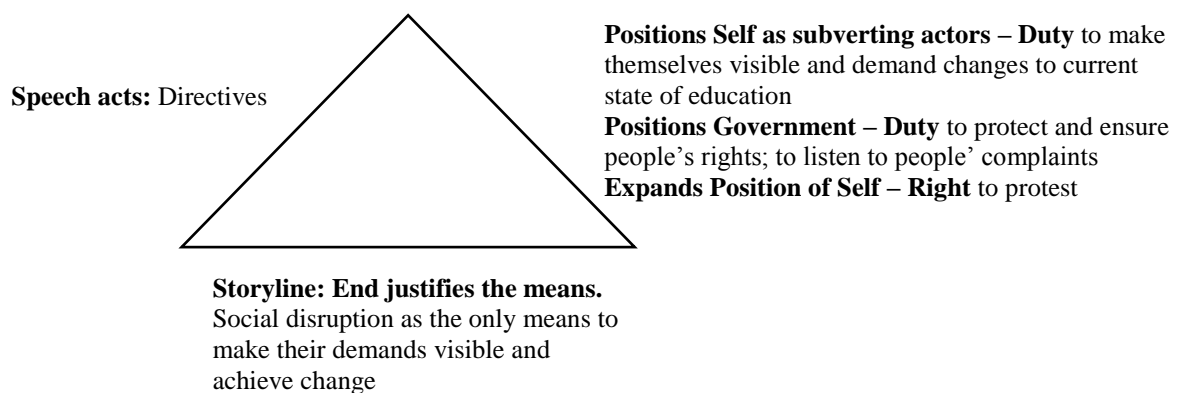
**Figure 6.1: Government's position in the political conflict**



The motives explored in the CON sample emphasize the duties of the actors involved. In relation to the government, there is an overarching duty to protect its citizens and ensure civil and social order. These are key features to keep the country working smoothly. Thus, it is unsurprising that the disruptions caused by the students are negatively portrayed. Students tend to be represented in terms of the duties they are not fulfilling such as abiding by the decisions taken by the authorities or study. This is particularly important as their representation is based on functional/relational categorizations (i.e. (secondary and university) students). There is also an emphasis on the government's duty to listen to popular protests. As seen in section 2.2 above, the government do position themselves as understanding and addressing the students' demands through the creation of reforms. This is enhanced by the use of *commissives* and *declarations* in relation to the reforms they promise to carry out to improve the educational system and solve the overall conflict. The narrative relies on authority legitimation, in which actors are supposed to abide by their social roles.

This is reinforced by the way the students' position is portrayed, in which the emphasis on their duties remains constant.

**Figure 6.2: Students' position in the political conflict**

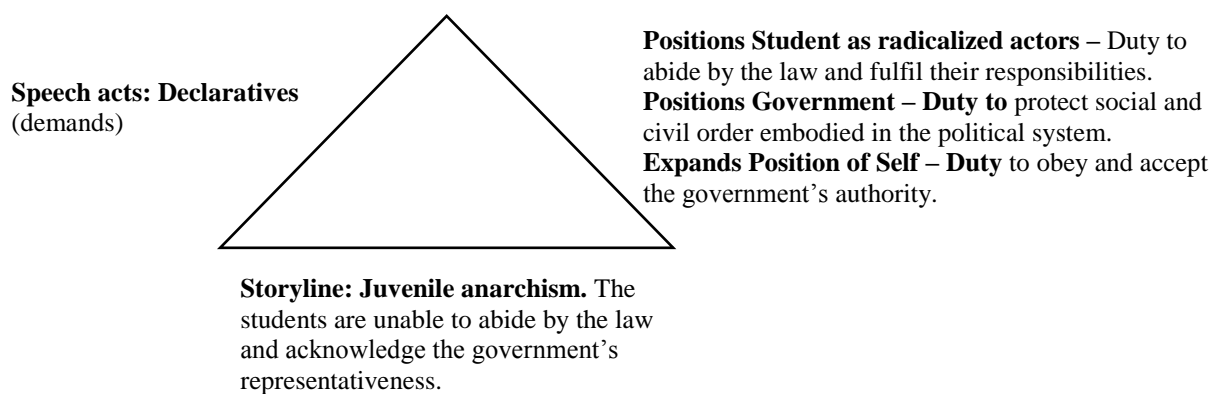


The students are framed within a narrative of *the end justifies the means*. The negative features associated with anarchism and vandalism are key to show that their exercise of democratic right to protest is distorted. In this narrative, the government's duty to protect and ensure social and civil order is disregarded by the students, who demand further

changes the authority dismisses as impossible. The subversion of their roles (i.e. actors who just study) into a more political one is negatively portrayed through the inclusion of violent and disruptive actions and the use of directives (see section 2.4). In all, while they do have a right to protest, they do not do so by abiding to the law and choose the *wrong* ways to make their demands visible. The nature of the demands remains unknown to the reader in half the cases (see section 2.1), which facilitates their representation as being unreasonable.

The way students are positioned by the government is reinforced by the newspapers, in which the students are negatively represented for not fulfilling their duties and rights appropriately (see Fig. 6.3). The crime narrative takes the form of *juvenile anarchism*, in which the role of students as political actors is dismissed due to their age and violent nature. The fact that they do not fulfil their duties and rights makes them radicalized actors, whose sole motive is to destabilize society. The fact the government does acknowledge their concerns and acts upon them enhances their representation as irrational. *Law and order* are crucial in the coverage of the student movement's actions, which explains why there is a tendency to represent the youth as deviant as the consensual and protest paradigms suggest (Ch. 3).

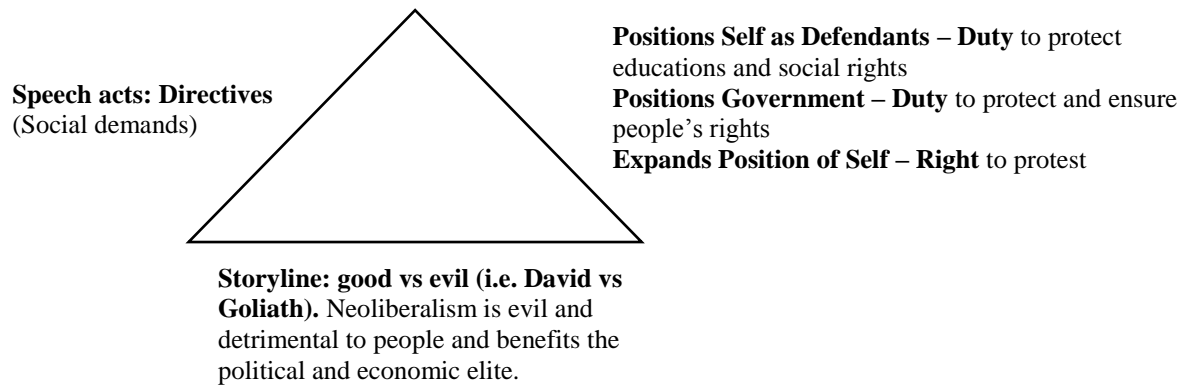
**Figure 6.3: Students' position from the government's and the mainstream press' perspective**



### 3.2 ALT sample

Contrary to the CON sample, the ALT one seems to align with the students' understanding of the educational conflict, as represented in Figure 6.4.

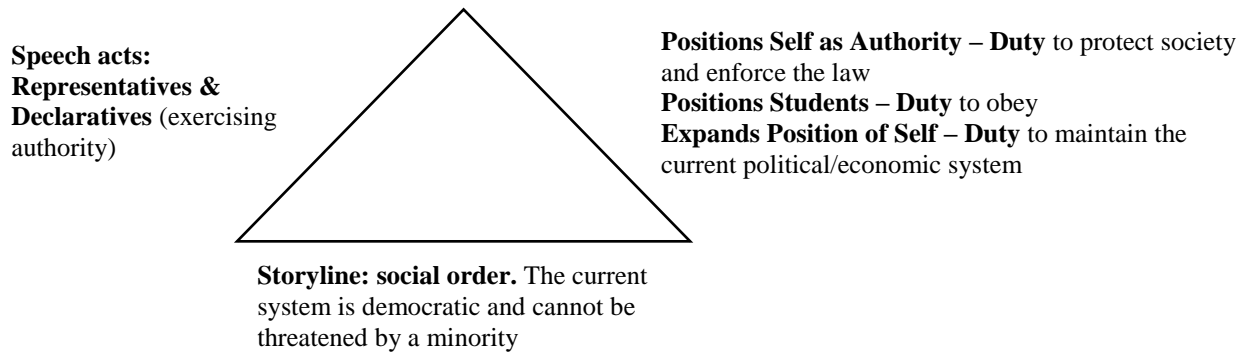
**Figure 6.4: Students' position in the political conflict**



By including the voice of the students, the sample of the alternative press frames the story in terms of good vs evil, which immediately legitimizes the actors seeking justice (i.e. the students). This fight for justice is simultaneously framed in terms of a clear disadvantage for the hero, reminiscent of the biblical story of David and Goliath. The students are represented as having the duty to defend public education from a neoliberal system that has restricted social rights, almost to the point of disappearance. Their fight is framed in terms of their Constitutional right to protest, which needs to be ensured by the authorities. However, from their point of view, this right is being neglected and limited due to the government's own political agenda (right-wing coalition), and is thus often compared to Pinochet's dictatorship. This comparison serves to legitimize their actions by appealing to democratic values, allegedly absent due to political negligence.

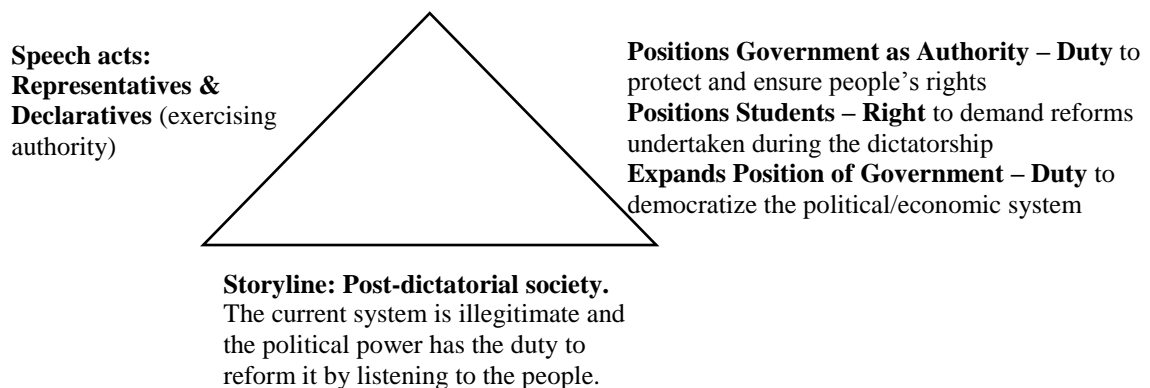
The conflict becomes clearer when analysing the position of the government and the authorities, even though it corresponds to the minority of the motive constructions in this sample (Figure 6.5):

**Figure 6.5: Government's position in the political conflict**



There is an attempt (however undermined by the attributions of motive and the editorial line of the news report) to a positive self-representation by appealing to the social order and its status as a democratically elected government. The government's actions are justified in terms of their authority and the way *things should be* and any attempt to disrupt this order is represented as deviant behaviour. However, as the motive categories explored in the previous sections suggest, there is a clear tendency to negatively frame the attributions of motive to the government by highlighting their political affiliation and similarities to Pinochet's regime. From the alternative press' point of view, the government is positioned as follow:

**Figure 6.6: Government's position from the students' and the alternative press' perspective**





There is an overall negative representation of the government based on their inability to comply with their duties, which is suppressed for political gain and conflict of interests. This is why their actions are justified by referring to their objective to cause *fear* in society or by plainly ignoring the students' demands so as to maintain social order. Although these motives are achieved through a myriad of different actions and strategies, emotions and conflict of interests do come to the fore as *justifications* for these actions, becoming *commonplaces* in this sample. Simultaneously, they tend to draw knowledge and constructions from other discourses, mainly from legal, democratic, moral and (left-wing) populist discourses in order to convey motive. This becomes particularly significant for the news genre, in which brevity is key and sometimes, motives or meaningful actions can be taken for granted or expressed through deictic relations.

The rights and duties attributed to the students and the government helps understand why the educational conflict is far from being resolved. There are not only ideological struggles that arise from complex relations with our recent past, but there is also a pervasive asymmetrical relationship between the actors involved. Far from being weak, students appropriate social causes as their duty, in order to live up to the historical influence student collectives have exercised in the country since its origins. Their past victories and their determination to eliminate the vestiges of Pinochet's dictatorship are undermined because of their age, appealing that their contribution to society is abiding by the duties of their role. The government portrays them as abandoning their socially appointed duties and challenging the authorities, regarding them as negligent social actors. In line with right-wing discourses, the government and the favouring mainstream media highlight the narrative of law and order and social obedience as the only way people contribute to keeping the country running smoothly.

#### **4 Summary**

Contrary to the analysis of grammatical features in Ch. 5, the topic and positioning analyses did show more differences between the sub-corpora analysed. In terms of similarities, it is important to mention that students' motives were indeed included in the mainstream press. In fact, almost all categories were found in both sub-corpora (except for one). However, it is the differences that show how motive is used to legitimize and

delegitimize the actors' actions. For instance, while the students were represented as demanding reforms in the CON sample, these reforms were not explained nor described as opposed to the actions undertaken by the government to solve the conflict. On the other hand, the ALT sample negatively portrays the government as protecting a socio-political model set up during the dictatorship, which makes it undemocratic. The students' demands are framed into a *good vs evil narrative*, in which they have to defeat the normalized aftermath of an oppressive and unequal system. More importantly, the fact the motives of these actors can be understood in terms of their rights and duties shows the extent to which the inclusion of motive can legitimize and delegitimize certain actions. Finally, emotions came to the fore once again as motive triggers in the coverage of the student movement. Hence, the analysis provided in this chapter serves as further proof that social practices can be sparked by emotional reactions that have an effect on how actors and actions are legitimized.

The analysis shows that both a grammatical and lexical approach are crucial when understanding motive. However, the sample analysed might be regarded as limited in relation to the size of the corpus. Therefore, the following chapter serves as a final triangulation of the analysis of the news data set as it explores the whole corpus for motive categories rather than focusing on a smaller sample.

# Chapter 7. Accessing motives through corpus methods

## 1 Introduction

The analysis carried out so far has shown various ways in which motive is represented and attributed in the news genre. While there are no grammatical differences in how the mainstream and alternative press convey motive (Ch. 5), there were differences in how motive was conveyed through discursive strategies (Ch. 6). How actors were positioned in the narrative used by these media was crucial in understanding why they were protesting and/or acting in a certain way. The analysis of the sample allowed us to explore motive construction in depth, showing the internal dynamic of the educational conflict according to each kind of media. It also showed how the actors involved in the conflict define their demands and understand their reality. However, while the qualitative methods used in the previous two chapters have been useful, their scope can be regarded as limited due to the actual size of the data set analysed. Therefore, in this chapter, I explore the whole news data set quantitatively through corpus methods, in particular the analysis of keywords and collocations<sup>12</sup>, to identify the similarities and differences in how these news outlets construct, convey, legitimate, and attribute motive to the actors involved in the Chilean student movement (RQ3).

The chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, I mention the results that emerged when the corpus was contrasted with a reference corpus in order to identify the similarities between the mainstream and alternative press (section 2). Secondly, I identify, compare, and contrast the social actors that come up in relation to the most recurrent keywords in each corpus (section 3). This has two objectives: to identify 1) who the main

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<sup>12</sup> While keywords are words in a corpus that are statistically frequent when compared to another (reference) corpus, collocations are two or more words that tend to co-occur together (see section 4.3.2; Ch. 4).

actors are according to each newspaper in the development of the educational conflict and 2) how their inclusion and/or exclusion contributes to the overall legitimization or delegitimation of their roles. Thirdly, I analyse the remaining keywords in terms of the motives they convey (section 4). I focus on how they relate to and differ in each corpus, while I identify how these motives contribute to the construction of news narratives that frame the political conflict. Then, I include a brief discussion of the results in terms of how the educational conflict is understood in each press, based on the keyword analysis (section 5). Finally, I include a summary of the main findings, while I also identify how these results correlate with the previous chapters (section 6).

At this point, it is worth reminding the reader that the keywords were normalized by selecting the first 80 lexical keywords (i.e. nouns, proper names, and adjectives) in each sub-corpus. I complemented the log-likelihood statistical analysis with the application of the Bonferroni correction in order to obtain more accurate results. Since the cut-off point was set to  $p: <0.01$  (i.e. 99th percentile), the analysis showed a limited number of keywords, which translates to a critical value of 6.63 (see Ch. 4; section 4.3.2).

## **2 Motive in mainstream and alternative press: Similarities**

As explained in Ch. 4, I explored the CON and ALT corpora in relation to their similarities and differences. To identify their similarities, I used the Spanish TenTen reference corpus provided by Sketch Engine©. This analysis resulted in *no salient differences* to report among my specialized corpora (see appendices 3.1 and 3.2). The results show the same words in both the CON and ALT corpora, which mostly refer to the search words used to collect and create the corpus (see table 4.1 in Ch. 4), personal names, and metadata in the case of the CON corpus. The results of this comparison to a reference corpus highlight the essence of the specialized corpora, that is, both are equally about the Chilean student movement and the educational conflict. Therefore, I decided to focus on the differences between my specialized corpora, which resulted in more striking findings.

To achieve this, I contrasted each sub-corpus with the other as a way of identifying how the *aboutness* of the corpus can lead to the identification of motive. The raw results of this analysis can be accessed in appendices 3.3 and 3.4 for the CON and ALT corpora,

respectively. In cases where categorization of motive is unclear and/or needs to be further explored due to its statistical significance, I complemented the analysis of keywords with collocational analysis. This analysis does not only triangulate the findings of the previous two chapters, but it also provides a different way to access motive in larger data sets by identifying the *moral values* van Leeuwen talks about (see Ch. 3). It thus also complements how motives work as legitimation and delegitimation strategies.

### 3 Whose motives?

This section aims at identifying whether the way social actors are identified can shed some light onto their motives or not. For this purpose, the keywords were categorized into social actors belonging to the same social category (in van Leeuwen's terms (2008)). For example, *presidente* [president] and *centroderecha* [right-wing coalition] were categorized under *governmental coalition* while *mateos* [intelligent student] and *cabros* [kids] were categorized under *students*, following on the categories identified in previous chapters. The full categorization of social actors can be seen in appendices 3.5 and 3.6 for the CON and ALT corpora, respectively. Similar to Chapters 5 and 6, I focus on the representations of students and the governmental authorities. These two actors are the main protagonists in the development of the political conflict sparked by the current educational system, clearly evidenced by their high frequencies in the keyword results.

#### 3.1 Students

Students are the centre of the news coverage of their protests in both corpora. The differences correspond to the terms used to identify them and their frequencies. Consider the keywords identifying students and their collective in the CON corpus when compared to the alternative press:

**Table 7.1: Representation of students in the keyword analysis of the CON corpus (p=0.01)**

FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW
199	200.71	rica	<b>98</b>	44.76	cabros	25	32.87	guaripola
59	77.58	presi(*)	90	39.5	colectividad	35	29.41	postulantes
55	72.32	mateos	36	34.59	Sarmiento	48	28.87	turba
84	71.32	egresados	48	34.21	polera	21	27.61	Cami

The table shows different ways of referring to students and demonstrators alike: individualization (*Cami* and [Julio] *Sarmiento* (Camila Vallejo's boyfriend)), collectivization (e.g. *mateos*, *cabros*, *turba*, *colectividad*, [cabeza de] *polera*), categorizations (*presi*, *postulantes*, *egresados*, *guaripola*), etc. From these linguistic choices, however, there are some that stand out for their informal register and/or their negative semantic meanings.

This informality can be explained by the characteristic register of *La Cuarta* in an attempt to live up to its motto '*The popular newspaper*'. The register used in this newspaper is worth exploring to identify how these terms are used as this newspaper is the most-read in the country (see Ch. 2). In this sense, *mateos* [slang for someone very smart] is mostly used positively and interchangeably to refer to students (with some minor exceptions). This is not the case of *cabros* [youths as wild as young goats], in which there are more negative associations to the terms. It tends to collocate with *chicos* [young] (MI: 10.94), emphasising their wild nature due to their age. Similarly, despite some neutral uses of the term, *cabros* is still associated with irresponsible and deviant behaviour. Figure 7.1 below shows the concordance lines in which *cabros* is used negatively, followed by two translated examples<sup>13</sup>:

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<sup>13</sup> This is a practice I adopt throughout this chapter to evidence key examples and provide some English translations to the reader.

**Figure 7.1: Concordance lines of *cabros* used negatively**

3	lo peor estaba por venir. Irma cuenta, entre lágrimas, que “entró un lote de	<b>cabros</b>	<i>amenazando</i> ; uno me mostró un arma y yo quedé helada, traté de esconderme
4	scían fascistas, gritaban, alegaban, pero después se sentaban a conversar. Pero con estos	<b>cabros</b>	<i>anarquistas</i> no funciona. Yo converso con el Centro de Alumnos mucho, los
5	OR UNA EDUCACION GRATUITA, DURANTE TODO EL DIA Y PARTE DE LA NOCHE, LOS	<b>CABROS</b>	<i>ARMARON CUATICA</i> , PERO FUERON VARIOS LOS QUE TOMARON OTROS CA
13	les vio ayer durante la manifestación cultural que caminó hasta el Parque Almagro. Los	<b>cabros</b>	, <i>con palos y banderas</i> en la mano, la protegieron como a una rockstar al
15	se tomó; el Parque Almagro y la sede de la UTEM en calle 18, Lo	<b>cabros</b>	<i>cuatiquearon</i> en respuesta al reportaje de “Esto no tiene nombre”, que denunci
23	, carepalo, se instaló en la ofi del jefazo de la cartera, Felipe Bulnes. Los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>dejaron la embarrada, con puertas y mamparas rotas</i> , aunque aseguraron q
24	la marcha hasta el Cementerio General por la conmemoración de la fecha, cuando los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>dejaron la escoba en pleno camposanto</i> . Ambos jóvenes fueron detenidos p
26	, la que trajo muchas consecuencias y no sólo académicas. Bien claro lo tienen los	<b>cabros</b>	del Liceo de Limache, quienes sacaron la cuenta de que <i>fruto del amor</i> que
34	la historia de hace 5 años. <i>Según cuenta el mito urbano</i> , en esa época los	<b>cabros</b>	habrían tenido una sala exclusiva que <i>servía de motel</i> , a la que sólo le
36	<i>intentaron meterse a la maleta</i> a las dependencias del Ministerio de Educación. Los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>inquietos</i> , que se identificaron como alumnos de la UMCE, trataron de entrar a
39		<b>CABROS</b>	<i>INTERRUMPIERON LA CUARTA SUBCOMISION MIXTA SOBRE PRESUPUESTO</i>
41	más al oriente, en las calles 11 de Septiembre con Ricardo Lyon, un <i>grupo</i> de	<b>cabros</b>	<i>le prendió fuego a neumáticos y basura</i> . Carabineros tuvo que intervenir cor
42	que despliegan algunos estudiantes cada vez que se manifiestan en las calles. “A los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>les llenan la cabeza de porquerías, para que salgan a tirar piedras</i> y hacer
43	la barra asegura que es igualito al humorista Pepe Tapia, agregó que “a los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>les llenan la cabeza de porquerías, para que salgan a tirar piedras</i> y hacer
45	protesta por el inminente cierre del centro de estudios. En la Quinta Región los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>levantaron barricadas</i> a la altura de la pasarela Placilla, en la comuna de Valp
49	centro del Sename. Jota no quiere eso. Su papá tampoco. Ahí sí que hay	<b>cabros</b>	<i>malos</i> . Para armar la defensa, su familia está juntando material a petición de u
56	el reloj de la ley, el que está con la ley está conmigo. Los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>no están con la ley</i> . Tengo las cosas claritas”, dijo. Acicateado por Cris- tian
64	enfrentara a un grupo de patos malos. Según vecinos del lugar, <i>un piño de</i>	<b>cabros</b>	que arrancaba de los verdes <i>se acercó hasta el camión y le prendió fuego</i>
65	menazados por patos malos. El ministro de Educación, Joaquín Lavín, se choreó con los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>que están en toma</i> y anunció que se adelantarán las vacas de invierno a 206
70	con odio”, relató. Lobos agregó que quedó para dentro cuando cachó la cantidad de	<b>cabros</b>	que <i>no tienen una familia tradicional</i> : “No me imaginé nunca que (la cifra) i
73	dormir a las féminas a sus casas para evitar futuros nacimientos. Los más de 50	<b>cabros</b>	que se mantienen en la toma actual, <i>no están ni ahí con repetir</i> la
82	cinos del establecimiento de calle Guanaco, pasaditas las 21 horas del lunes cerca de 50	<b>cabros</b>	<i>se metieron al colegio a la mala y chantearon una protesta</i> por la calidad
93	siempre encarpó mi kiosco para las marchas, por el agua del guanaco, pero estos	<b>cabros</b>	<i>vinieron a puro robar</i> ”, alegó indignada Luisa Ferrada (41), a quien le hicieron
95	primera pasada, el guanaco se los llevó a todos, pero apenas se fue, los	<b>cabros</b>	<i>volvieron y siguieron destrozando el móvil</i> ”, remacha la periodista que qued
97	chala hasta la intendencia, frente a la Plaza de Armas. <i>La primera mocha</i> entre	<b>cabros</b>	y verdes comenzó en calle Barros Arana, cerca del centro, cuando los polis le
98	, <i>son medios bolcheviques y azuzan</i> . Ahí salieron gritando que les habían pegado a los	<b>cabros</b>	. Yo no mentí, no llegué a rector siendo un gallo cagüinero. Ya nada es

(1) LC\_2011\_193\_25nov\_292.txt (Concordance line 64)

Según vecinos del lugar, un piño de <b>cabros</b> que	According to nearby neighbours, a group of
arrancaba de los verdes se acercó hasta el camión y	<b>youngsters</b> that were running away from the cops
le prendió fuego de pura mala onda.	went to the truck and set it on fire just to disrupt

(2) LC\_2011\_21\_16june\_384.txt (Concordance line 26)

Bien claro lo tienen los <b>cabros</b> del Liceo de	The <b>youngsters</b> of Liceo de Limache are clear
Limache, quienes sacaron la cuenta de que fruto	about this, as the fruit of their love sparked at the
del amor que surgió en la toma anterior entre	previous occupation of their school resulted in
algunos alumnos, nacieron cerca de 30 guaguas a	nearly 30 new-born babies, popularly identified as
quienes todos llaman “los hijos de la revolución”	“the children of the revolution”.

These concordance lines suggest that the word *cabros* is used to express exasperation towards the students’ violent actions (example 1). When this is not the case, they are talked about in terms of their lack of morality (lines 24, 26, 34, 70). The students are thus represented as attacking churches (24) while two other terms foreground promiscuous behaviour associated with school occupations such as example 2 and line 34. More importantly, the report allegedly states that 30 babies were born in just one school because the students used classrooms to have sex during the demonstrations of the Penguin Revolution in 2006. Finally, the last concordance line (70) is a statement from

the County Councillor, called Lobos, claiming that students are violent because they come from untraditional families (i.e. single parents). This caused a major outrage and he was forced to apologize, although he remained in his position (contrary to the case of *Acuña* in section 3.2. below). This negative representation is enhanced by Lobo's use of *turba* [mob] to describe how violent demonstrators are when acting in groups.

Similar to *cabros* is [cara/cabeza de] *polera* (literally, T-shirt head), which is used to identify hooded demonstrators:

**Figure 7.2: Some concordance lines of *polera* used to negatively identify demonstrators**

8	Edil Pablo Zalaquett estima más de mil millones los destrozos Cabezas de	polera	dan duro a semáforos y luminarias	Ya es una costumbre que en las marchas
9	200 cabeza de	polera	dejaron la escoba	en alrededores del Parque Almagro Vecinos otra vez sufren
10	A punta de molotov y peñascos, "cabezas de	polera	" dejaron la mansa patá	Ni el Servel libró en marcha estudiantil Un consejo de
12	por cargar bombas del tipo molotov. Debido al caos provocado por los "cabeza de	polera	", el ministro Chadwick dijo con fuerza que "el centro de Santiago ya no aguanta	
13	bus del recorrido 418 de la empresa Alsacia Express fue atacado por	polera	en el cruce de Santa Isabel con Bustamante, a un costado del Liceo Arturo	
15	que destruían su barrio "Tía de la chueca" es el terror de cabezas de	polera	Entre piedras, palos y bombas lacrimógenas	una valiente mujer se atrevió y
16	lonchera en mano Encapuchados asustaron a peques de jardín infantil Los caras de	polera	están cada día más alzados y madrugadores	Ayer se enfrentaron con Carabineros
18	Juan Manuel Zolezzi calificó de "terrorista" el accionar de cabezas de	polera	Incendian con molotov auto del rector de la Usach	Hecho bolsa quedó el auto
19	en la intersección de calle Portales con Sophoros. En ese momento, seis cabezas de	polera	ingresaron al recinto y con herramientas rompieron los vidrios	, para después
22	encapuchados y Carabineros. Mientras un puño de aproximadamente 20 caras de	polera	lanzaban piedras, sillas y hasta bombas lacrimógenas desde el segundo piso	

This identification strategy foregrounds the kind of clothes hooded rioters wear over their heads to conceal their identity. It is always used in plural and the rioters are represented as being involved in attacks involving public and private property. There is a tendency to foreground the kind of instruments these actors use to carry out attacks (e.g. Molotov cocktails (lines 10, 12, 18), stones (10, 15, 22), tools (line 19), or tear gas canisters (22)). They are also identified nearby or inside educational facilities, facilitating their association with the student movement (see also Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017; Pérez & Cárdenas, *in press*). Hence, it works as an exact synonym for hooded rioter and students.

The use of these strategies when identifying students is most likely to trigger stereotypes and negative associations in the audiences, through which they are more likely to interpret these actions as being the ultimate motive of the student collective. Along with the crime narrative with which most of these reports are framed, these strategies further background the contributions of the student movement to their society. For instance, the attributes highlighted in the mainstream press in relation to Camila Vallejo are physical, rather than focused on her demands. We can find references to her (Cuban) boyfriend Julio *Sarmiento* (emphasizing her ties with communist Cuba) and *rica* [hot], undermining the demands drawing on a showbiz narrative. Camila is thus treated as



a celebrity, whose main attributes are being physically attractive while her life and contributions to the students' demands are mediatized and ignored.

This emphasis on negative student representation shifts in the ALT corpus. In this corpus, neutral lexical terms are used to acknowledge the different members comprising the social movement:

**Table 7.2: Representation of students in the keyword analysis of the ALT corpus (p=0.01)**

FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW
6119	1225.11	estudiantes	440	127.66	asamblea	417	57.26	Vocero
1287	363.81	secundarios	317	124.59	organizaciones	52	56.59	Portavoz
1980	231.21	movimiento	89	120.3	femae	643	54	profesores
766	217.07	federación	1018	92.06	confech	66	50.34	vielma
403	199.91	coordinadora	468	61.14	estudiante	505	50.25	dirigente
519	148.38	aces	113	59.39	unión	247	47.57	apoderados
312	144.76	confederación	591	57.41	universitarios	-	-	-

The table shows how few of these terms carry negative connotations or associations with students in the ALT corpus. In fact, they are mostly categorization strategies, in which members of the student movement are identified in terms of the roles they fulfil in the student collective (*functionalization*) or in the schools they belong to (*relational identification*). Contrary to the results in the CON sample, these terms do not hint at implicit motives in these actors, but rather distinguish different members of the collective.

The most frequent term is *estudiantes* [students], which is statistically very significant when contrasted with CON (LL: 1225.11). A closer examination of the term suggests that the alternative press uses students as the nucleus of noun phrases to identify different types of students. Therefore, it is common to have articles reporting on *estudiantes universitarios* and/or *estudiantes secundarios* in the alternative press as opposed to using *universitarios* and/or *secundarios* as nouns in the mainstream press. A collocation analysis of *students* reflects this tendency. It also shows a clear tendency to highlight the social nature of the student movement by acknowledging the various social collectives that compose it. Table 7.3 is a classification of the collocates of *estudiantes* (see appendix 3.7 for the full list), followed by some examples, in which the collocates are underlined:

**Table 7.3: Categorization of *estudiantes*' collocates (5L/5R; Min. Fq.; 25; MI: ≥3)**

<b>Student associations</b>	Coordinadora; federación; confederación; estafados; secundarios; asamblea; católica; aces; cones; femae; universitarios; agrupación; federaciones; apoderados; universidad; mapuche; confech; profesores; centros; grupo; concepción; privadas; mar; feuc; trabajadores; liceos; metropolitana; nacional; organizaciones; instituto; padres; universidades; u; liceo; Valparaíso; central; colegios; organización; sede; colegio; centro; superior; fech; casa; medio(*)
<b>Roles</b>	Vicepresidente, presidenta, presidente, representantes, rectores, vocero; vocera; policía; general; dirigentes; carabineros
<b>Quantification</b>	Centenar, miles, mil, cinco; cuatro; tres; mayoría; dos
<b>Nominalization of actions</b>	Hambre, huelga, diálogo; demandas; marcha; convocatoria; manifestación; toma; llamado; protestas; demanda; propuesta; mesa; marchas; movilizaciones; movilización; tomas; acuerdo
<b>Circumstances</b>	Chile; martes; lunes; jueves; mañana; Santiago; calles; ayer; alameda; hoy; ministerio; meses; calle; plaza; pasado
<b>Others</b>	Becas; demandas

(3) EC\_2011\_182\_08Oct.txt

Las organizaciones que participan de esta Mesa Social por la Educación son la Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), Colegio de Profesores, Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile (Confech), Coordinadora Nacional de *Estudiantes Secundarios* (Cones), Coordinadora de Padres y Apoderados por la Educación (Corpade), Consejo de Trabajadores de la Educación, Confederación Nacional de Asistentes de la Educación Municipalizada de Chile (Confemuch), Asociación Nacional de la Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles (Ajunji), el Sindicato Integra, Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores de las Universidades Chilenas, Asamblea Nacional por los Derechos Humanos, y la Confederación gremial Unida de la Pequeña, Mediana, Micro Industria y Artesanado de Chile (Conupia).

The organizations involved in this Social think-tank for Education are the National Workers' Union (CUT), the Teachers' Union, The Chilean Confederation of Students (Confech), The National Coordination of High school *Students* (Cones), The Coordination of Parents and Tutors for Education (Corpade), the Council of Workers in the Educational Sector, the National Confederation of Public assistants in Education (Confemuch), the National Board of Kindergarten (Ajunji), the Integra Union, the National Confederation of Chilean University Workers, the National Assembly for Human Rights, and the labour-union Confederation of the United Small, Medium and Micro Industry and Chilean Artisans (Canupia)

(4) EMo\_2012\_30\_10August.txt

Un centenar de *estudiantes* se toma Liceo Barros Borgoño

"Nos tratan a todos como delincuentes", sostuvo Javier Delgado, alumno del cuarto medio H.

Un centenar de alumnos del Liceo Barros Borgoño inició anoche una toma del establecimiento, en protesta por el incumplimiento de las demandas estudiantiles por el Gobierno.

A hundred of *students* occupied Liceo Barros Borgoño

"They are treating us like criminals" claimed Javier Delgado, senior student of the H class.

A hundred of pupils from Liceo Barros Borgoño started the occupation of their school last night, in protest of the government's failure to fulfil their demands.

(5) TC\_2011\_126\_17August.txt

*Estudiantes* realizan velatón por los escolares en huelga de hambre

Decenas de estudiantes realizaron esta noche en varias ciudades "velatones" en apoyo de los jóvenes que se encuentran el huelga de hambre desde hace 40 días en demanda de una educación pública, gratuita y de calidad.

*Students* carry out a "stay awake" to support the students on a hunger strike.

Dozens of students across the country carried out a "stay awake" tonight to support their fellow students in an ongoing 40 days hunger strike as part of their demand for quality, free and public education

These categorizations show the emphasis on identifying the different groups, associations, and unions that comprise the student movement (example (3)). They also focus on their quantification (*assimilation*) and the nominalization of their actions (examples (4) and (5), respectively). The inclusion of circumstantial elements of time and place complements these actions (providing further information of when and where these are happening). From these collocates, *carabineros* [police officers] is the only term that might suggest confrontation, in which the police abuse their powerful position when dealing with students and the conflict itself (see appendix 3.8).

Nevertheless, none of the terms used to represent the students themselves direct to their motives. What they do convey, however, is a legitimization of their actions as being representative of *the people* due to their emphasis on different social sectors. That is, a combination of *personal authority* (i.e. students draw on their social role of students to position themselves as knowledgeable of what works and what does not in the educational system) and *role model authority* (i.e. student appeal to their historical role in the development of national politics) legitimization strategies.

### 3.2 The government

The government is the second most frequent actor when discussing the educational conflict. In the CON corpus, there are eight terms referring to the governmental coalition:

**Table 7.4: Representation of the governmental coalition in the keyword analysis of the CON corpus (p=0.01)**

FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW
59	77.58	presi	177	48.44	RN	44	27.29	Segpres
223	54.47	alianza	150	34.65	superintendencia	26	27.1	Acuña
49	50.48	centroderecha	200	29.39	mandatario			

Three of these terms refer to the governmental coalition itself (*alianza*, *center-right wing*, and the political party *RN* (*Renovación Nacional*)); two refer to the President (*presi*, *mandatario*); two refer to governmental subdivisions (*Segpres*<sup>14</sup> and *Superintendencia*); and the last one is an individualization of a public servant (*Acuña*) who tweeted an offensive and threatening message against Camila Vallejo<sup>15</sup>. These keywords broadly refer back to the same actors foregrounded in the sample, as the representatives of the ruling coalition and their occurrence is, therefore, unsurprising. However, *presi*, *Superintendencia*, and *Acuña* are worth exploring as they can suggest how the government is represented.

The occurrence of *presi* is not as surprising as the stylistic form it takes. *Presi* corresponds to a rather informal register to refer to the Head of State, especially in a corpus consisting of the mainstream press (cf. section 3.1. above). The use of this word suggests an attempt at building up closeness between the president and the readership as the occurrences referring to the president represent him in a positive light. In fact, only 14 out of the 59 instances in which this term occurs in the corpus refer to the Head of State:

<sup>14</sup> Presidential Secretary Ministry.

<sup>15</sup> The tweet stated: “*Se mata la perra, se acaba la leva*”, a common Chilean proverb. In this case, the bitch on heat corresponds to Camila Vallejo, and the dogs following her are the students. This draws on Camila’s widely recognized attractiveness, while also reducing her support to hormonally-driven behaviour.

**Figure 7.3: KWIC of the term *presi* referring to the head of State in the CON corpus.**

5	20 mil las becas para la educación técnico-profesional y subir en 20% su monto. El	<b>Presi</b>	ofreció garantizar al 40% de alumnos más vulnerables, y con mérito académico
17	jornada de conversaciones en Temuco, la Confech anoche aceptó reunirse con el	<b>Presi</b>	, Sebastián Piñera, el próximo martes en La Moneda. "Aprobada reunión en
18	el rey". A todo pulmón y al ritmo de de este temón cuate, el	<b>presi</b>	Sebastián Piñera se relajó, cantó y hasta bailó un par de rancheras bajo la
19	Jefe de Estado estará en su trono para la importante reunión estudiantil, pero el	<b>presi</b>	aprovechó sus cuerdas vocales y afirmó que la gracia de la junta es acercar
20	CAMILITA VALLEJO ADELANTO QUE ES LA "UNICA OPORTUNIDAD" DEL	<b>PRESI</b>	PARA DARLES UNA SOLUCION Mateos y Don Tatán se van de chachara este sál
21	luz de esperanza se esparció por todo el territorio: el Gobierno informó que el	<b>Presi</b>	Sebastián Piñera se reunirá el próximo sábado con los estudiantes para destr
22	entados por la Confech y, además, quieren participar de la reunión que tendrá el	<b>Presi</b>	Piñera el próximo sábado. Dos horas más tarde, los ocupantes: desalojaron
27	las 11 lloras de hoy comienzan a batir la sin hueso los mateos con el	<b>Presi</b>	Piñera, para tratar de llegar a un acuerdo y terminar con más de tres
28	lo largo del día en varias ciudades del país, Tras la cita con el	<b>Presi</b>	Sebastián Piñera, Camila Vallejo dijo que la marcha y el paro convocados par
29	conducente", dijo la guaripola de los universitarios a Radio Universidad de Chile.	<b>PRESI</b>	LLAMO AL DIALOGO El Presidente Sebastián Piñera no se hizo el leso al recha
30	a un buen padre, que es mostrarle los caminos a sus hijos", dijo el	<b>Presi</b>	, quien reconoció que no se puede obligar a los cabros a retomar los lápices
31	tenencias de la barra que ingresara al Parque, para evitar desmanes. Apenas el	<b>Presi</b>	puso un pie en el palco, el grupo empezó a golpetear las ollas y
41	nombre de su nuevo cidi, "Bandolera", y le cantó mirando a los ojitos al	<b>Presi</b>	Sebastián Piñera su opinión respecto al conflicto estudiantil durante la prom
54	El Gobierno nunca va a tolerar que la violencia termine imperando", remachó el	<b>presi</b>	.

(6) LC\_2011\_40\_06July\_211.txt

El **Presi** ofreció garantizar al 40% de alumnos más vulnerables, y con mérito académico, una beca para acceder a la institución de Educación Superior acreditada que ellos elijan, reducir la tasa de interés del Crédito con Aval del Estado, a cifras cercanas al 4% en un año normal y suspender el pago en caso de cesantía.

The **Presi** offered to guarantee 40% of the most vulnerable students who have academic merit, a scholarship to access higher education institutions of their choice; to reduce the interest rate of the governmental student loan to figures close to 4% in a normal year; and to suspend the payment in case of unemployment

(7) LC\_2012\_23\_18August\_205.txt

El presidente Sebastián Piñera hizo un llamado a no incentivar la violencia.  
"No confundamos la causa de una educación de calidad para todos, con la violencia, las tomas, los incendios de buses, las bombas molotov El Gobierno nunca va a tolerar que la violencia termine imperando", remachó el **presi**.

The president Sebastian Piñera called on [student leaders] not to incentivize violence.  
"Let us not confuse the cause of quality education for everyone with violence, occupations, setting buses on fire, and Molotov cocktails. The government will never tolerate this reign of violence", the **presi** stated.

The concordance lines show the President as involved in finding a solution of the student conflict (lines 17, 19, 20-22, 27-31), in which he is either the object of the students' actions or an active agent himself. He is also presented as trying to improve education through the passing of laws, mainly consisting of economic reforms to broaden the scope of accessibility to higher education to the most economically deprived sectors in the country as example 6 (i.e. line 5) and concordance line 41 suggest. In addition, he is represented as trying to maintain order (example 7). This representation of the Head of State is carried out through a very informal diminutive to refer to the highest authority in

the country. This positive use of *presi* contrasts to the regular banality and overall informality this term is associated with. This is particularly true when the treatment of student and social leaders is thoroughly examined, with Camila Vallejo being the most representative example (see Romero Lizama, 2013, 2015 who has extensively researched this issue).

This overall positive representation of the government coalition, and the president in particular, is enhanced by the appearance of *Superintendencia* as a keyword. The creation of this governmental agency is one of Piñera's most famous measures to improve the higher educational system. The objective of this agency is to regulate the proper functioning of higher education institutions, with particular emphasis on the identification of profit as evidenced by its collocations:

**Table 7.5: Collocations of Superintendencia (5R/5L; Min. Fq.: 5; MI: ≥3)**

Frq	Sts	Collocate	Frq	Sts	Collocate	Frq	Sts	Collocate
5	11.59	fiscalice	16	9.54	creación	5	6.82	proyectos
7	10.94	futura	55	8.65	superior	6	6.43	escolar
18	10.86	agencia	7	8.65	crear	8	6.17	ley
18	10.83	crea	15	7.44	proyecto	5	5.97	tener
5	10.59	fiscalizar	16	7.03	calidad	5	5.82	nueva
7	10.31	subsecretaría	82	6.97	educación	5	4.85	marcha

These collocates show that the main objective of this agency is the regularization of the proper functioning and funding of higher education institutions (e.g. verb inflections such as *fiscalice/fiscalizar* [to governmentally regularize]; nouns such as *educación* [education], *creación* [creation of]; adjectives such as (*educación*) *superior* [higher (education)]). It highlights the features and objectives the government foregrounds as key in the *improvement of education*, allegedly targeting the illegal profit some institutions make, such as the emblematic case of Universidad del Mar. The *improvement of education* actively involves the government in the regularization of education, if only in the form of regularization rather than administration (i.e. the actual students' demand).

Finally, the inclusion of Tatiana *Acuña*, far from negatively portraying the government, serves to represent the government as publicly condemning aggressive and disrespectful language towards the student movement and, more importantly, as

protecting the student leader Camila Vallejo. These concordance lines refer to how she was fired from the Ministry of Arts and Culture, excluding the person responsible for this decision. This negative episode affecting the public image of the government was included only in relation to her punishment. The punishment serves to distance the government from these ill-natured statements thus positioning it as a strong, respectful actor, intolerant of this kind of behaviour.

As could be expected at this point, there is not much emphasis on the role of the government in the alternative press analysed:

**Table 7.6: Representation of the governmental coalition in the keyword analysis of the ALT corpus (p=0.01)**

FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW
417	57.26	Vocero(*)	401	53.44	lavín	2332	46.62	gobierno
52	56.59	Portavoz(*)	249	53.19	derecha	-	-	-

The terms with an asterisk correspond to terms equally used to refer to members of the governmental coalition and the student movement, with a higher tendency towards the latter. Contrary to the representation of the government in the mainstream press, there is one term that might be used to negatively convey the authorities' motives: *derecha* [right-wing]. One of the most surprising results of the analysis of *derecha* is its use to equate the right-wing and the left-wing coalition (*concertación* MI: 8.55; *izquierda* MI: 7.18) (see appendix 3.9 for the concordance lines). A close examination of these concordance lines and their collocations suggests that the students distance themselves from traditional political parties, as there is a halo of distrust in the way they have run the country. For instance, hyphenated constructions (example 8) or negatively evaluated coordinated phrases (example 9) linking the main two national political collocations are common in the alternative press such as the following:

(8) EC\_2012\_46\_11July.txt

El hecho es parte de la estrategia del Confech de generar vínculos y nuevas mayorías en el país que permitan superar el eje neoliberal Concertación-  
*derecha* que han gobernado en las últimas décadas.

This event is part of the Confech's strategy to generate bonds and create a new majority in the country that allow them to defeat the

Concertación-*right* neoliberal axis which has governed over the last decades.

(9) EC\_2011\_225\_16Nov.txt

“Nuestra propuesta consiste en construir fuerza política propia e independiente de los partidos, pasando de la disputa gremial a la disputa política. No queremos ser los hermanos chicos de la Concertación, queremos construir universidad para todos, incluyendo a las personas que dejaron de creer en la institucionalidad”, declara Boric. Y agrega: “Creemos que el pactar con fuerzas política como la Concertación y, por ende, la *Derecha* implicaría una traición al movimiento”.

“Our proposal consists in building our political strength, independent from the [political] parties, starting from Union disputes to the political struggle. We don’t want to be Concertación’s younger siblings, we want to build a university for everyone, including for the people that stopped believing in political institutions” claimed Boric. He added “we believe that a pact with political parties such as Concertación, and therefore the *right-wing party*, would imply a betrayal of this movement”.

These two coalitions are held responsible for maintaining and legitimizing the neoliberal reforms undertaken during the 1980s so as to keep their parties afloat. This is particularly salient in the alternative press: the representation of the political establishment is delegitimized in favour of the students’ legitimization of influential politicians.

### 3.3 Social actor representation and motive: Summary

It is possible to draw three main findings from this analysis. Firstly, the analysis shows that the government and the students (as a collectivized entity) are indeed the main actors in the educational conflict in both corpora, as the sample analysis also revealed. The analysis also reveals the tendency of the mainstream press to positively represent the status quo as opposed to the student movement, and vice versa when it comes to the analysis of the alternative press. Secondly, the analysis shows a strong difference in how social actors are represented in each corpus, revealing that motive can in fact be attributed through social actor representation. However, this strategy only emerged in the CON corpus. These terms (e.g. *encapuchados*, *cabeza de polera*, *turba*) suggest that social actor representation might not be a very salient feature in the conveyance and attribution of motive. These terms emerged as more salient in the CON corpus as opposed to the ALT one. Terms such as *encapuchados* add to the negative connotations and the crime



narrative, facilitating the association of the students' (mostly excluded) motives with vandalism and social deviance. This contrast can be explained by the tendency of the alternative press to emphasize the social categorization and collectivization of the student movement to highlight the various groups that make up the student movement. This is all the more relevant when the analysis comparing these corpora to a reference corpus did not show any salient similarities across both corpora. Finally, the salient keywords in each corpus show how these actors are legitimized and delegitimized through their representation. The exploration of their collocates and concordance lines provides an overview of who are allowed to have a voice in each press and how they are portrayed, possibly affecting how readers understand the educational conflict.

In the following section, I analyse some keywords that are closely involved in the development of this political conflict. I compare and contrast the occurrences of these words and identify the ideological implications they have when framing the narrative of their reports on the student movement.

#### **4 What motives?**

It is impossible to sort all the remaining keywords into superordinate motive categories. Keywords are simply the relatively frequent words that emerge when a corpus is compared and contrasted to a different reference corpus and there are no distinctions between how these terms are really used. For example, I have already covered the use of *presi* in section 3.1 and 3.2 above as it worked to represent both students and the government. Due to its small frequency, it was possible to analyse each instance and determine which actor the term was referring to. Considering the frequencies in the remaining words, however, there is no certainty that, say, *mejor* [better] is always used to refer to solving the educational crisis, even if you analysed each concordance line. The analysis becomes messier as each co-text and context needs to be taken into account, compromising the study's reliability.

What is possible, however, is the identification of motives from some individual keywords in context, in particular those which are highly semantically-loaded and refer, one way or another, to (the development of) this political and ideological conflict (e.g. *educación* [education]). The selection of these keywords was based on their behaviour in

the corpus, that is, if they consistently represented an aspect of the conflict as evidenced in their concordance lines. Hence, the selection inevitably excluded most of the remaining keywords. The narrow focus allows a substantial analysis to be carried out of what these keywords mean in the corpus, facilitating the contrast between the corpora. As evidenced in the following sections, the keyword analysis shows a marked difference between the *aboutness* of each corpus. Therefore, the discussion is categorized in relation to the kind of press analysed and the motives they foreground and background.

#### 4.1 CON corpus

At first glance, the remaining keywords in the CON corpus do not suggest the existence of a political conflict about education at all. The keywords show a real conflict that involves some confrontation, as the words *lanzaguas* [water cannons] and *ataques* [attacks] suggest (LL: 28.27 and 26.63, respectively). A careful examination of the remaining words, however, shows the issue of education is somehow addressed as the keyword *oportunidades* [opportunities] suggests (LL: 36.54). In the following sections, I explore how these words (i.e. *opportunities*; *water cannons*; *attacks*) behave in the corpus and what they reveal about attributions of motives in this political conflict.

##### 4.1.1 Education as an opportunity

The analysis of *oportunidades* (LL: 36.54) reveals the kind of education the government seeks to achieve, despite its relatively small frequency<sup>16</sup> (FQ: 115). An analysis of its concordance lines did not show any salient patterns in the use of this word. Its collocates, on the other hand, provided an overview of how *oportunidades* is actually used in the corpus:

**Table 7.7: Collocates of *oportunidades* (5R/5L; Minimum frequency 5; MI:  $\geq 3$ )**

Frq	Sts	Collocate	Frq	Sts	Collocate	Frq	Sts	Collocate
26	11.32	igualdad	7	6.60	mayor	6	4.66	todos
17	8.82	sociedad	5	6.43	social	9	4.17	educación
8	8.25	mayores	6	6.39	tienen	-	-	-

<sup>16</sup> Henceforth FQ

These collocates refer to words attributed to the government in dealing with the conflict with the students. In particular, the words signal the instances in which the government offers to improve the educational system and therefore solve the conflict. Firstly, the government frames the measures taken as a way of creating a *sociedad de oportunidades* [society of opportunities] (FQ: 9) and providing *igualdad de oportunidades* [equality of opportunities] (FQ: 25) to everyone. The government is positioned as actively securing this feature through verbs such as *asegurar* [ensure], *construir* [build]; *garantizar* [guarantee], among others. This *equality of opportunities* seems to be foregrounded, as opposed to the right to education, which is generally suppressed. There is only one instance in which the President openly states that education cannot be free:

(10) LT\_2012\_145\_30April.txt

Piñera hizo hincapié en los esfuerzos que representa el modificar la estructura del sistema impositivo, y por ello, acotó que "(...) la sociedad entera está haciendo un tremendo esfuerzo para dar estas *oportunidades*".

"La *educación* no es gratis, las becas y créditos los pagamos todos. La *sociedad* está apostando y haciendo un sacrificio por los jóvenes, y por eso es necesario y justo pedirle que hagan su mejor esfuerzo como estudiantes para aprovechar las *oportunidades* que la *sociedad* les está dando, porque ninguna reforma va a tener éxito si no se aprovechan", planteó Piñera.

Piñera emphasized the efforts needed to modify the structure of the imposing system. That is why he added that: "(...) our society is making a tremendous effort to give [you] these *opportunities*".

"*Education* is not free, scholarships and [student] loans are paid by everyone. *Society* is betting [on you] and making a sacrifice for young students, and that is why it is necessary and fair to ask you to do your best as students to take advantage of the *opportunities society* is giving you, because no reform is going to be successful if it is not taken.

In this particular example, the premise seems to be that, since everyone pays for scholarships through taxes, education can never be truly free. Ergo, society is making a monetary sacrifice in broadening students' opportunities to access education through scholarships and student loans. The emphasis on increasing these opportunities highlights the idea that everyone will benefit from them (e.g. *todos* [everyone]), backgrounding the role of the State as a provider. The argument of a *society of opportunities* thus contributes to a legitimization of the government's measures by appealing to a neoliberal discourse. In this discourse, the assumption is that everything is better once you give opportunities

to everyone to succeed while the responsibility to make proper use of those opportunities is ultimately individual (Lazzarato, 2009; Méndez, 2008; Springer, 2012; Tomic, Trumper, & Hidalgo, 2006). Therefore, the motives driving the government to provide opportunities are mainly ideological (i.e. maintaining the current socio-political and economic model).

The emphasis on *opportunities* also suggests that the government conceives of education as a commodity, in which increasing opportunities for some solves inequality and regularizes access to higher education. The construction of education as a commodity is also related to the idea of *desempeño* [performance] (LL: 81.58), in which only academically worthy students are to benefit from these opportunities:

**Table 7.8: Collocates of *desempeño* (5R/5L; Min. Fq.: 5; MI:  $\geq 3$ )**

Frq	Sts	Collocate	Frq	Sts	Collocate	Frq	Sts	Collocate
27	12.64	convenios	5	8.16	académico	5	5.53	superior
5	11.25	asociados	5	8.00	diferencias	7	5.14	entre
13	9.63	buen	5	6.49	colegios	6	4.52	gobierno
6	8.90	aportes	5	6.40	instituciones	8	3.95	educación
5	8.86	áreas	5	5.80	bien	6	3.90	estudiantes

*Desempeño* [Performance] (LL: 81.58) is mostly used, yet not exclusively, to refer to the educational sector in this specialized corpus. It also applies to educational institutions, to which the government shifts the responsibility of overseeing academic and managerial matters. However, this is one of various meanings associated to the word, as it is also used to talk about other kinds of performances (e.g. political performance as in how well the President is doing in polls).

In all, *opportunities* seems to be pointing to an ideological motive behind the government's actions. This motive (i.e. to protect the marketization of education through an increase of opportunities) seems central to understanding why the issue is still strongly debated in the country by the right- and left-wing coalitions. In the next section, I turn to two other keywords (*ataques* and *lanzaguas*) that stand out in the analysis as they complement the attributions of motive to the social actors identified in section 3.1 above.

#### 4.1.2 Confrontations

The use of the terms *lanzaguas* [water cannons] (LL: 28.27) and *ataques* [attacks] (LL: 26.63) supports the overall negative representation of demonstrators and foregrounds the idea of violent confrontations among the actors involved. The foregrounding of these negative attributes is enhanced by the exclusion of agency in these reports, which mostly appeals to prior knowledge in the reader and/or deictic references to attribute agency. These references are heightened by the homogenization of terms used to refer to (peaceful) demonstrators, students, and hooded rioters alike (Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017). Consider the following concordance lines:

**Figure 7.4: Some concordance lines of *ataque* in the CON corpus.**

29	en la inteligencia, junto con facilitar la acción vandálica, que incluso implicó el	ataque	con bombas molotov al cuartel del OS-9 -situación que ya había sucedido el
30	puchados ajenos a las marchas, saqueos a plena luz del día, fogatas y barricadas,	ataque	con bombas molotov a un cuartel del OS-9, entre otros desmanes ostensible
31	Content Services LLC Document MERCRO0020110712e77c0000j Economy Inusual	ataque	con coligües en pleno centro de Santiago El Mercurio 185 words 12 July 20
32	as para que la Fiscalía Oriente investigue la supuesta participación del menor en el	ataque	con fuego contra la cuncuna del recorrido 418.
33	served 152 of 230 DOCUMENTS El Mercurio (Chile) November 4, 2011 Friday	Ataque	con molotov a móvil de Carabineros LENGTH: 173 palabras Dos carabinero
35	canasta fue a parar Francisco Moreno, el joven acusado de ser el autor del	ataque	con una molotov en contra de un carabinero durante la marcha estudiant
36	tenidos y anunció querrela criminal en contra de quiénes resulten responsables por	ataque	con ácido a carabinero y otra querrela contra los 14 detenidos por desórde
37	rios policiales. En los treinta minutos que se extendió su discurso, Piñera recordó el	ataque	contra el carabinero Gastón Pastén, el pasado jueves 14 de julio, durante un
39	ital de Carabineros para visitar al subteniente Pablo Cárdenas (23), quien sufrió el	ataque	de delincuentes encapuchados el miércoles a las afueras de la UMCE. "Cómo
40	ENTS El Mercurio (Chile) August 11, 2011 Thursday Dos carabineros heridos en	ataque	de encapuchados LENGTH: 203 palabras Con heridas en una mano y en el cu
57	caso de dos adultos mayores y un niño que resultaron con quemaduras tras un	ataque	incendio a un bus del Transantiago, ayer, en las cercanías de Macul con
58	, que cruza los dedos para que el piloto no quede muy sicoseado luego del	ataque	incendio al bus que manejaba. Según detalló a La Cuarta Victoria Burr, e
66	acuentran vidrios rotos y cámaras de seguridad destruidas. "Este ha sido lejos el	ataque	más violento que ha sufrido nuestra sede en el último tiempo", dijo Pillado en
71	cial". La autoridad policial agregó que Carabineros debió replegarse ante el violento	ataque	, pero "la turba comenzó a avanzar lanzando piedras hacia las dependencia
76	ógeno se dejaba sentir en el edificio Paseo Bulnes, aún 24 horas después del brutal	ataque	que sufrió la planta baja del inmueble por parte de jóvenes que participaban e
78	oso", señaló el apóstol que avalú los daños en 90 millones de pesos. El maletero	ataque	se desarrolló en medio de las amenazas de desalojo por parte de Carabinero
79	de una protesta a las afueras del Liceo de Aplicación. En el lugar del	ataque	se encontraron panfletos alusivos a una agrupación encapuchada, "Colect
81	bus, un quiosco resultó parcialmente quemado. Los individuos al escapar tras el	ataque	, se refugiaron dentro de la Universidad. Para controlar la emergencia, llegó
83	ENTS El Mercurio (Chile) October 19, 2011 Wednesday Chofer cuenta detalles del	ataque	: "Temí por mi vida y la de los pasajeros" LENGTH: 816 palabras Transportis
84	d de Santiago, USACH, presentará, en las próximas horas, una querrela criminal por "	ataque	terrorista" contra quienes resulten responsables del embate, con una bombe
86	encapuchados, que no dejaron rastros de la agrupación a la que pertenecían. "Es un	ataque	terrorista de algún grupo extremista, que posiblemente intenta amedrentar
87	se reagrupan. Ya son muchos menos. GUANACO Los tontos sin rostro vuelven al	ataque	, tiran piedrazos y lesionan a cinco manifestantes que arman el escudo hur
88	la casona, inmueble que por años ha cobijado a la colectividad. En medio del	ataque	, tres violentistas se descolgaron y saltaron un muro perimetral. Una vez a
89	nes resulten responsables" en los hechos de violencia. Ministerio Público indaga el	ataque	.Una querrela en contra de "quienes resulten responsables" interpuso el decar
90	nder escurar sus palabras bajo esta fórmula demuestra cuán artero y cobarde es el	ataque	y cuan fuerte su prejuicio", manifiesta. La Comunidad asegura que "el antisen

(11) LC\_2011\_49\_23July\_235.txt (Concordance line 35)

A la canasta fue a parar Francisco Moreno, el	Francisco Moreno who ended up in the joint, was
joven acusado de ser el autor del <i>ataque</i> con una	accused of being the author of the <i>attack</i> with a
molotov en contra de un carabinero durante la	Molotov cocktail on a police officer during the
marcha estudiantil el pasado 14 de julio.	student protest on 14 July.

(12) EM\_2011\_06\_agosto.txt (Concordance line 40)

Dos carabineros heridos en <i>ataque</i> de	Two police officers wounded in an <i>attack</i> from
encapuchados	hooded demonstrators

(13) EM\_2013\_04\_junio.txt (Concordance line 39)

El ministro del Interior, Andrés Chadwick; el general director de Carabineros, Gustavo González Jure, y el intendente metropolitano, Juan Antonio Peribonio, llegaron ayer hasta el Hospital de Carabineros para visitar al subteniente Pablo Cárdenas (23), quien sufrió el **ataque** de delincuentes encapuchados el miércoles a las afueras de la UMCE.

The Minister of the Interior, Andres Chadwick; the general director of Carabineros, Gustavo Gonzalez Jure, and the metropolitan superintendent, Antonio Peribonio, arrived yesterday at the Hospital of Carabineros to visit the Second Lieutenant Pablo Cárdenas (23), who suffered the **attack** from hooded criminals on Wednesday outside UMCE

(14) EM\_2011\_08\_octubre.txt (Concordance line 98)

En medio del **ataque**, tres violentistas se descolgaron y saltaron un muro perimetral. Una vez adentro, los delincuentes pegaron un papel con la frase "Pitéate un UDI" en una lámina que recuerda al fallecido senador Jaime Guzmán, forzaron la puerta de entrada y destrozaron el hall central y una vitrina.

In the middle of the **attack**, three violent ones jumped the perimeter wall. Once they were already in, the criminals glued a piece of paper with the phrase "kill a [person belonging to the right-wing political party] UDI" in a poster commemorating the deceased senator Jaime Guzman [founder of the political party], and then forced their way in to destroy the main hall and a showcase

From these concordance lines, there are four key characteristics surrounding the term *attacks* that, jointly, set the grounds for implicit attributions of motive. The first one suggests a tendency to include the instruments with which these attacks were carried out (e.g. lines 29-33, 35-36, 57-58, 71, 84, 87). From these weapons, fire seems to be the most recurrent one, usually through the use of Molotov cocktails but without excluding acid attacks and plants (i.e. *coligüe*<sup>17</sup>). Thus, the means by which motives are carried out are foregrounded (i.e. meaningful actions). The second feature stems from the first one, which is, the inclusion of victims (e.g. lines 29-30, 32-33, 35-37, 39-40, 57-58, 81, 83-84, 87). It does not matter if it is public property or actual people (e.g. police officer, collateral damage), the inclusion of the damage is reported and individualized whenever possible. In this vein, these meaningful actions are represented as purposefully targeting (innocent) people. The third feature corresponds to the exclusion and backgrounding of the perpetrator, thus relying on circumstantial references to link these violent acts with the

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<sup>17</sup> *Chusquea culeou*, from the family of bamboos.

student movement (e.g. lines 39, 57, 78-79, 81, 84). The inclusion of university campuses (e.g. “UMCE”, “Usach”), their locations (“nearby Macul and Grecia” [intersection where three different university campuses are located]) or the circumstance in which these actions happened (“in a student demonstration”) increase the negative associations with the student movement, which seems to be a common strategy in mainstream media (Pérez, 2016; Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017). The last characteristic refers to the naturalization of violence, in which actions *just happen* (van Leeuwen, 2008). This is a common strategy to de-agentialize actions and, as the sample of concordance lines above suggests, the coverage of student movement is not an exception (lines 31, 66, 76, 86, 88-90). This strategy was missed in section 3.1 above as the analysis shows those instances in which social actors were actually included in the report. In addition, this strategy emerges in the analysis of how attacks (i.e. social *action*) are realized, which might explain why this feature had not come up earlier in the analysis, especially considering how it contributes to the overall tendency to represent students’ actions as driven by violence and irrationality. Therefore, motives are hinted at by foregrounding meaningful actions, victims, violence and places usually associated with students. These patterns can trigger specific social representations of the youth in the audience, leading to various negative attributions of motive.

What do these patterns say about motives? The semantic patterns seem to refer to *meaningful actions*, that is, the actions undertaken by hooded rioters to disrupt social order. The way they are identified triggers well-known social representations in relation to the youth, especially when they go unidentified. Hence, their motives are implicit, presented as shared knowledge among the community who are ultimately responsible for how they interpret these actions. In this vein, there are neither explicit constructions nor attributions of motives, but they are simply hinted at.

This conveyance of motive works in conjunction with social actor representation. As evidenced in section 3, motive was attributed in the way demonstrators were negatively identified. The focus of the CON corpus seems to foreground violent confrontations to facilitate the association with anarchist and violent motives. This motive drastically contrasts with that of the government, which offers opportunities to students to reach an agreement between the two political groups, driven by ideological commitments.

The two actors, therefore, are broadly identified as being driven by two different motives: while the government aims at solving the conflict, demonstrators (allegedly) belonging to the student movement actively seek to prolong the conflict through violent means.

These subtle representations of motive greatly differ from how it is constructed in the ALT corpus, in which ideological matters are more explicit and direct.

## 4.2 ALT corpus

Contrary to the previous section, a first glance could potentially be enough to identify the main issues at stake in the development of this conflict as reflected in Table 7.9 below.

The table contains the remaining keywords after the analysis of social actor representation, with the keywords to be addressed in this section in bold:

**Table 7.9: Remaining keywords signalling motives in the ALT corpus**

FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW
<b>1075</b>	<b>198.22</b>	<b>demandas</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>94.23</b>	<b>neoliberal</b>	801	71.91	movilizaciones
<b>455</b>	<b>178.24</b>	<b>gratuita</b>	254	92.48	educativo	57	68.4	luchas
<b>217</b>	<b>162.5</b>	<b>dictadura</b>	760	92.39	social	409	66.16	fuerzas
228	134.64	represión	1842	91.63	estudiantil	347	65.04	calles
713	122.52	sociales	538	89.21	paro	<b>108</b>	<b>62.04</b>	<b>negocio</b>
1379	119.7	nacional	<b>301</b>	<b>86.06</b>	<b>demanda</b>	61	56.57	tortura
680	110.08	movilización	<b>4543</b>	<b>79.29</b>	<b>educación</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>52.04</b>	<b>modelo</b>
105	106.07	hrs	280	79.1	movilizados	255	51.79	huelga
287	104.26	lucha	200	77.89	cobre	<b>822</b>	<b>48.44</b>	<b>pública</b>

Most of the remaining keywords, if not all, refer to either student demonstrations, their scope, or their demands. In the upcoming sections, I focus on the students' demands through the analysis of *gratuita* [free]; *demanda(s)* [demand(s)]; *educación* [education]; and *pública* [public] (section 4.2.1). I also focus on the origins of their demands (i.e. *dictadura* [dictatorship]; *neoliberal*; *negocio* [business/profit]; *modelo* [model]) as these draw on strong ideological components to justify their motives to protest (section 4.2.2).



#### 4.2.1 Free (public, and quality) education

It comes as no surprise that the main demands of the student movement revolve around the area of education. In particular, these demands are a matter of the kind of education they *want*. The attributes of this kind of education are nowhere to be seen in section 4.1 above, although they are broadly addressed in a more careful analysis of a sample (see Ch. 6). Conversely, the alternative press goes into great detail into this issue as evidenced by the sample analysis *and* the corpus analysis.

Let us start with *demanda(s)* [demand(s)]. Its collocates suggest a strong social component in the kinds of demands they are making, that not only includes changes to the educational system, but also other important social causes such as the vindication of the Mapuche people:

**Table 7.10: 30 first collocates of *demanda+* [demand+] in the ALT corpus (Min. FQ: 10; 5R/5L;  $\geq 3$ )**

FQ	MI	Collocate	FQ	MI	Collocate	FQ	MI	Collocate
23	9.17	históricas	10	6.33	desmunicipalización	18	5.62	propuestas
18	8.73	internas	18	6.04	gratuidad	17	5.53	ciudadanía
14	7.75	ciudadanas	12	5.97	petitorio	15	5.31	sectores
17	7.18	respuestas	54	5.92	sociales	13	5.27	fondo
10	7.09	concretas	61	5.90	pública	95	5.27	movimiento
129	7.08	estudiantiles	33	5.87	fin	10	5.13	documento
63	6.80	gratuita	13	5.84	principal	10	5.06	mayo
20	6.64	principales	17	5.83	mejor	11	4.96	cambios
42	6.60	respuesta	12	5.77	solución	11	4.94	mapuche
13	6.57	educacionales	13	5.75	pueblo	168	4.89	educación

*Demand(s)* are also defined as being *historical* (MI: 9.17), which draws on both the contextual knowledge of the reader and discourse of historical memory. The demands are positioned as part of the history of the collective, foregrounding the fact that educational reforms have long been ignored and/or neglected by politicians:

(15) EC\_2013\_53\_09August.txt

<p>“Nosotros planteamos que no estamos en contra de los procesos democráticos, que las tomas no nacen</p>	<p>“We postulate that we are not against democratic processes, that occupations do not happen because</p>
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porque queramos boicotear una elección o porque nos gusta estar en toma. Hay que entender que hay *demandas* y un sentir de los estudiantes secundarios que no ha tenido respuesta y que no ha sido resuelto, *demandas* que son históricas como la desmunicipalización, ya que vemos cómo los municipios han demostrado que no tienen la capacidad administrativa para encargarse de los establecimientos educacionales”, señaló Paredes.

we want to boycott an election or because we like occupying [our schools]. It needs to be understood that there are *demandas* and a feeling among secondary students that have not been attended to nor resolved. *Demandas* that are historical like demunicipalization, because we see how Town Halls have shown they are not able to manage educational facilities” pointed out Paredes.

The most important aspect of these demands refers to the costs of education. With the increasing role of the market in the regularization of education (see Ch. 2), students demand a major involvement from the government in the management of schools. Therefore, free education (*gratuita* (MI: 6.80); *gratuidad* (MI: 6.04)) is intimately related to the role of the State, as evidenced by the term *desmunicipalización* (MI: 6.33) (see Ch. 2).

These characteristics attributed to the students’ demands become clearer once *educación* [education] is thoroughly analysed. Both the kind of education students want and the means they use to achieve their goals become clearer once the collocates of education are explored:

**Table 7.11: 40 first collocates of *educación* [education] in the ALT corpus (Min. FQ: 10, 5R/5L; ≥3)**

FQ	MI	Collocate	FQ	MI	Collocate	FQ	MI	Collocate
11	7.86	parvularia	200	6.61	ministerio	108	6.06	chilena
419	7.45	gratuita	22	6.60	fortalecimiento	16	6.04	física
498	7.37	superior	30	6.59	superintendencia	14	5.95	integral
19	7.23	laica	56	6.42	privada	68	5.87	gratuidad
13	7.02	cívica	21	6.41	división	180	5.85	derecho
434	6.99	calidad	18	6.31	gratis	48	5.84	acceso
12	6.98	preescolar	17	6.30	partida	17	5.80	estructural
539	6.96	pública	24	6.30	básica	37	5.79	ministra
13	6.95	igualitaria	21	6.21	excelencia	11	5.78	secretaría
11	6.94	digna	19	6.20	consumo	332	5.77	ministro
31	6.88	seremi	13	6.18	justa	25	5.75	niveles

15	6.83	primaria	32	6.16	secundaria	186	5.75	lucro
26	6.71	universal	13	6.14	gigante			
18	6.69	intercultural	20	6.14	recuperación			

We can see that, apart from the aforementioned attributes also present in its collocates, *education* has other relevant features that their idea of reform to the educational system demands. Firstly, the reform should be applicable to all levels of education. While higher education (*superior*) has been the main focus, the changes students demand also need to be implemented at preschool (*parvularia*; *preescolar*), primary (*primaria*; *básica*), and secondary (*secundaria*) levels. Secondly, there is an appeal to the secularization of education. Historically, students have tried to cement the secularization of education, targeting the important role the Church still has in various social areas (Ch. 2). When they, and the reports about them, talk about education, adjectives such as *laica* [secular] and *cívica* [civic] come to the fore (Figure 7.5 below). Finally, there are other adjectives and nouns which are used to legitimize their demands through positively-loaded terms such as *igualitaria* [equal], *digna* [dignified], *justa* [just/fair], *derecho* [a right], and *integral* [holistic].

The features attributed to education clearly contrast with the idea of the marketization of education as suggested by the collocates *privada* [private], *consumo* [consumer's good], and *lucro* [profit]. In fact, the adjectives associated to education could potentially lead audiences unfamiliar with the political situation in Chile to believe education is not granted by the State at all. The case is that education is highly privatized which, from the students' point of view, is unfair and perpetuates social segregation and inequality. In this vein, the end of marketization is also the motive that drives students' actions. As the next section suggests, the role of the market in education is highly delegitimized (even demonized) by highlighting its origins.

**Figure 7.5: Collocations *educación* + *laica* and + *cívica* (Min. FQ: 10; 5R/5L; ≥3)**

garantiza, además, el derecho de los ecuatorianos a una	educación de calidad, laica	y gratuita. En Chile, en tanto, la propuesta de
logra en materia de concretar logros en la lucha por una	educación digna, gratuita, laica	y de calidad, que este año estuvo en el calend
ma. "Estoy acá junto a miles más para que tengamos una	educación garantizada por el Estado, laica	, gratuita y de calidad. Consideramos que la ciu
ción ciudadana que defienden la idea de conseguir una	educación gratis, laica	y de calidad para todos. La Aces (Asamblea Co
a exigir respuesta rápida a las demandas nacionales por	educación gratuita, laica	, de calidad e intercultural- ha significado la pr
ajo mapuche ante los nuevos desafíos de la búsqueda de	educación gratuita, laica	, de calidad e intercultural. En agosto pasado, e
el paro y marcha que se realizará en todo el país, por una	educación gratuita, laica	, igualitaria y de calidad para todos y todas.
n centrados solamente en los hombres. Estamos por una	educación gratuita, pública y sobretodo laica	", señala Francia Jamett, de la Red Chilena Con
on la Confech y que seguirán apoyando la lucha por una	educación gratuita y laica	desde donde se encuentran. La movilización f
arana, Inba, y el Liceo de Aplicación en demanda por una	educación laica	, de calidad y estatal; y una TNE que sirva todo
s establecimientos educacionales; el fin al lucro, con una	educación laica	gratuita, de calidad e igualitaria para todos/as
o. Las demandas de los estudiantes secundarios son una	educación laica	, gratuita y de calidad; el rechazo a la privatiza
erzas. Entendemos que la única posibilidad de tener una	educación laica	, gratuita y de excelencia igual para todos los e
del agua y las semillas y hoy, la imponente defensa de la	educación pública, gratuita, laica	y de calidad". Para las organizaciones el siste
hoy están en la calle convencidos que la clave está en la	educación: pública, laica	, gratuita y de calidad" Otros rostros de TV, ta
regando que la universidad representa a "un ícono de la	educación pública pluralista, laica	, diversa y tolerante" por lo que la acción de to
lización sin privatización, cuando todos buscamos que la	educación pública y laica	sea gratuita y de calidad para todos los niños
ciudadana", asegura Vielma. Implementar programas de	educación sexual laica	, con respeto a la diversidad sexual. Frenar la
demás, su documento busca implementar programas de	educación sexual laica	, pertinente a los requerimientos de la comuni
sayo. Hay que cambiarla con tal de que se desarrolle una	educación cívica	, cultural y ciudadana", asegura Vielma. Imple
enedor a la Sofía, comentó que ellos abogan por recibir	educación cívica	, tener derecho a sindicalizarse y a recibir el su
ramos excluidos de la formación formal como Francés o	Educación Cívica	para los cursos de básica. Carreño detalla qu
n los últimos años. Así tuvimos más horas de Historia, de	Educación Cívica	e hicimos foros que nos permitieron aprende
storia, Inglés y Filosofía, agregando talleres de Francés o	Educación Cívica	. Le sumaron talleres de patinaje, salsa, guitarr
perencia autogestiva, que incluyó más horas de Historia,	Educación Cívica	y foros, "fue mucho mejor que el plan SAE, po
ías, Matemáticas, Lenguaje, Historia. Después integraron	Educación Cívica	, movimientos juveniles y procesos revolucion
a, como lo define la Constitución, denunciando la falta de	educación cívica	y sexual entre otras cosas. En este document
gan la misión de suplir el vacío que hay en contenidos de	educación cívica	y acción social". Robinson recalca que "el pri
stablecimientos de manera permanente un programa de	educación cívica	democrática"; fortalecer el rol y la participaci
Piñera, el hermano del Presidente, apuntó al ministro de	Educación: "Con amistad cívica	, pero más amigo de la verdad: si J. Lavín obtu
s comunidades escolares y enseñar derechos laborales y	educación cívica	a todos los alumnos, con colegios financiados
en los planes para las escuelas para pueblos originarios,	educación cívica	y hasta una materia que ahonde en derechos

#### 4.2.2 ¡Y va a caer, y va a caer, la educación de Pinochet!

Another of the students' motives is ending the conceptualization of education as a business people can profit from. Nouns such as *negocio* [business], *lucro* [profit] or *bien* [consumer good] convey that politicians as well as the government are driven by personal economic gain, rather than the wellbeing of the country. In particular, *lucro* [profit] connotes the excess of how people benefit from their investments instead of investing them in education, as one of the main students' demands evidences: *quality in education*. According to the student collective, *profit* becomes a priority for the government, reflected in the exponential increase of private universities with poor academic performance (the case of Universidad del Mar is the last, most iconic example of this situation). In addition, the word *negocio* [business] refers to the profit in education that has strengthened the economic neoliberal model. This conceptualization of education clashes with the worldview proposed by the students, who constantly juxtapose the nouns *right* and *business*:

**Figure 7.6: Collocates of negocio + derecho in the ALT corpus (5L/5R; Min. FQ.: 5; MI: ≥3)**

1	Educación, sino que deja fuera a los secundarios y sigue viendo lo que es un	<b>derecho como un negocio</b>	" 11:44 horas Opinión de Gabriel Boric, presidente de la Federación de Estu
2	peter porque "criminaliza el movimiento estudiantil". Para ella, "la educación es un	<b>derecho, no debe ser un negocio</b>	", y critica la indiferencia del Gobierno. Con muchos años a
3	nosotros, al igual que para la gran mayoría de este país, la educación es un	<b>derecho, no un negocio</b>	; es una oportunidad para desarrollar al país, no para engordar la billetera
4	is y secundarios por separado, sino dos maneras de entender la educación: como un	<b>derecho o como un negocio</b>	. Las demandas de los secundarios, de los deudores de Corfo, de
5	alabras de Piñera sólo "reafirman que para ellos la educación es concebida como un	<b>negocio y no como un derecho</b>	", apuntó. En tal sentido sostuvo que el único camino que
6	cación y seguimos trabajando las demandas históricas para que la educación sea un	<b>derecho y no un negocio</b>	", recalcó el presidente de la FECH, Andrés Fielbaum. Los dirigentes recalca
7	cación y seguimos trabajando las demandas históricas para que la educación sea un	<b>derecho y no un negocio</b>	", recalcó el presidente de la FECH, Andrés Fielbaum. Los dirigentes recalca

From the reports and the students' perspective, the marketization of education can be traced back to *Pinochet* (LL: 51.17) and the *neoliberal model* he imposed during the *dictatorship* (LL: 94.23; LL: 52.04; and LL: 162.5, respectively) (see figure 7.7 and example (16)). Its linguistic realizations acquire negative connotations due to the historical figure associated to them (i.e. a dictator, dictatorship), which is, in itself, a complex matter. There are still sectors in society that do not acknowledge Pinochet as a dictator and call him president instead, thus refusing to use the word *dictatorship*, even in educational settings (Ciper, 2012). All these terms have a negative semantic prosody that enhance the negative representation of the government and the establishment. Hence, the rhetoric used in the newspapers appeals to a left-wing populist discourse in which negative associations with the establishment are brought up to galvanize people in their fight against "a self-serving 'elite'", enhancing the binary opposition of us ("the good and morally pure 'people'") vs them (Brett, 2013, p. 410).

**Figure 7.7: Concordance lines of Pinochet and educación as a context word (Context horizon: 10L/10R)**

1	cuando la animadora gritaba: "¡Y va a caer, y va a caer, la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	!", considerando que a su lado estaban varios políticos que poco y nada hicieron por deri
2	AHORA! Bajo el lema "¡Y va a caer, y va a caer, la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	!" secundarios destacaron la necesidad de cambiar la Constitución para promover la edu
3	el ministro Lavín renuncie. "Y va a caer, y va a caer la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	' era uno de los tantos gritos que se escuchó en la multitudinaria manifestación ocurrida
4	el hit del momento: "Y va a caer, y va a caer, la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	". Durante la tarde hubo protestas en la Usach, en el Pedagógico, más de 5 mil personas
5	"Históricas protestas en Chile. <b>Privatización de la educación</b> que comenzó bajo	<b>Pinochet</b>	".
6	de Fuerzas Especiales que no querían que corearan "y va a caer la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	". La policía se llevó detenidos a varios de ellos, incluida la Presidenta de la Unión
7	vitalidad del movimiento estudiantil "Y va a caer, y va a caer, la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	", volvió a escucharse hoy, 22 de septiembre, por la Alameda hasta el parque Almagro, e
8	<b>educación</b> se convierta en una <b>empresa</b> " o "Ya va a caer (bis), la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	". También ecologistas se sumaron a los estudiantes, quienes acusaban de farsante al a
9	en Chile los estudiantes gritan en las calles "y va a caer la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	", instalada por el <b>dictador</b> y <b>bancarizada</b> por los gobiernos concertacionistas; en Colom
10	in". Afuera, chicos nacidos en democracia gritaban: "¡Y va a caer la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	!". "Creo que esa imagen refleja el gran cambio ocurrido –reflexiona Glatz–; lo que dijo
11	todas las personas". 13:07 horas ¡Y va a caer, y va a caer, la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	! Gritan los y las manifestantes a la marcha, mientras siguen expresando su parecer los y
12	estudiantes secundarios saldrán a la calle a gritar "Y va a caer la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	". Si bien el gobierno trató de frenar la movilización sacando a los bancos del <b>negocio</b>
13	tín como vicerrector académico. Salame fue el último ministro de <b>Educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	. El <b>NEGOCIO</b> EN REGIONES El <b>negocio</b> de la educación no sólo es en la capital.
14	a un buen colegio o universidad. Desde que el exgobernante de facto Augusto	<b>Pinochet</b>	eliminó la <b>educación</b> terciaria gratuita en 1981 todas las universidades –tanto las públic
15	a pedir cambios al sistema impuesto en 1981, durante la dictadura de Augusto	<b>Pinochet</b>	(1973-1990), que redujo el aporte del Estado y abrió la <b>educación al mercado</b> .
16	ad. "Queremos terminar con la <b>educación</b> originada en la dictadura de Augusto	<b>Pinochet</b>	, y la Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza (LOCE), legislación que dejó al Estado co
17	universitarios y del Colegio de Profesores, al grito de "va a caer la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	" o " <b>la educación chilena no se vende</b> ", se defiende". Hacia el final del recorrido se
18	a pedir cambios al sistema impuesto en 1981, durante la <b>dictadura</b> de Augusto	<b>Pinochet</b>	(1973-1990), que redujo la aportación del Estado y abrió la <b>educación al mercado</b> , lo que
19	manda de una reforma al sistema impuesto en 1981 por la dictadura de Augusto	<b>Pinochet</b>	, que abrió la <b>educación</b> al sector privado y redujo la aportación estatal a este sector.
20	para exigir un cambio del sistema impuesto en 1981 por el régimen de Augusto	<b>Pinochet</b>	, que redujo la participación estatal y abrió la <b>educación</b> al sector privado.
21	brán emigrado a la <b>educación</b> universitaria particular". "Modelo educacional de	<b>Pinochet</b>	" Para Víctor Pérez, la crisis por la que atraviesa el sistema obedece a que permanece
22	gracia de la <b>educación pública</b> , sigue tan vigente como cuando fue firmado por	<b>Pinochet</b>	". Esto, dijo, "a pesar que es un modelo que por sus resultados no sólo fracasó
23	iendo un cambio en la <b>educación</b> , criticando al gobierno de Piñera, el legado de	<b>Pinochet</b>	y a los gobiernos de la Concertación. En medio de ellos: Michelle Bachelet, de espaldas
24	ieral, y en particular de la Santo Tomás, es una consecuencia de la <b>educación</b> de	<b>Pinochet</b>	y de la Concertación, puesto que la plata que debería invertirse en sueldos dignos para

(16) EC\_2013\_42\_26June.txt

El motivo de la acción estudiantil, es la demanda por el “Derecho a una Educación Gratuita y de Calidad”, lo que desean esté consagrado constitucionalmente y tenga financiamiento a la brevedad. “Queremos terminar con la *educación* originada en la dictadura de Augusto *Pinochet*, y la Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza (LOCE), legislación que dejó al Estado como regulador delegando gran parte de la enseñanza a entes privados”, han señalado los estudiantes movilizados.

The motive of the students’ actions is the demand for “The Right to Free and Quality Education”, which they want to be constitutionally granted and funded immediately. “We want to end the *education* originated in Augusto *Pinochet*’s dictatorship, and the Constitutional Organic Education Law (LOCE). This legislation left the State as the regulator leaving a big part of education to be managed by private entities”, the mobilized students have pointed out.

What follows from the keywords analysis in the ALT corpus is that students are mobilising for their *demands* which consist of *free, quality and public education for everyone* as well as *the end of the marketization of education*. The latter further complements and strengthens the claim of *public* education, in which the State takes over the management and administration to finance education as opposed to leaving the regularization to market fluctuations. Hence, the motives of the students are highly ideological and are also presented as ultimately the goals they need/want to achieve.

## 5 What is the educational conflict then? Discussion of the main results

The corpus analysis in this chapter presents two distinctive patterns in each corpus. In the CON corpus, the keywords show a tendency to attribute negative motives to the student movement through social actor representation. Terms such as *encapuchados* [hooded vandals] or *turba* [mob] and the suppression of agency in actions such as *ataques* [attacks] can trigger well-known negative social representations associated with the youth. There is an implicit attribution of negative motives in that interpretations of the reports are left to the audience. This dynamic can explain why people tend to be left with the overall impression that the demonstrators are being criminalized in the mainstream media (cf. Pérez, *in preparation*). As shown in Chapters 5 and 6, students’ motives are in fact included in the reports. However, the negative attributions of motive through their identification as violent actors seem to outweigh those of their legitimate cause when

contrasted to the alternative press. In this context, the government is not attributed any particular motives apart from the identification of an ideological drive behind the measures undertaken to improve education as reflected by the use of *oportunidades* [opportunities]. In relation to motive, however, the remaining keywords did not show any significant contributions.

Conversely, the identification of these actors is predominantly positive in the ALT corpus, and motives cannot be inferred through this strategy. The remaining keywords draw heavily on the ideological component of the conflict. The reports clearly side with the ideology of the students, setting the need for educational reform as their primary goal in a post-dictatorial society (Arancibia, Sadlier, & Montecino, 2016, p. 333).

The keyword analysis, in this regard, does facilitate the identification of different ideological narratives to frame both the actors involved and the actions that did not emerge in the manual analysis. The analysis allows us to contrast these storylines and how these legitimize some actors and delegitimize others in terms of the motives they are represented with. More importantly, it highlights a difference in how motive is attributed and constructed in each press. While previous chapters showed there were no differences at the syntactic level, the keyword analysis did show differences at the semantic and ideological levels more clearly. From this analysis, we gather that students' motives are not as central to the mainstream media as is their identification as violent actors. In contrast, the alternative press revolves around the students' motives, outweighing those of the government and the actual identification of the actors involved.

## **6 Summary**

This chapter dealt with the identification of motive and legitimation strategies through the analysis of keywords and their collocates. The analysis had two foci: the identification of social actor representations *and* their motives. In relation to social actor representation, there are two main findings. Firstly, the analysis indicates that actor identification through keywords can indeed serve as legitimation and delegitimation strategies. The focus on social collectives in the ALT corpus contrasts with the tendency to include official sources in the CON corpus, which legitimize each news narrative. On the other hand, the analysis suggests that motives are harder to identify in how actors are identified. The

exception is terms that connote negative associations with demonstrators in the mainstream press. These terms (e.g. *encapuchados*), in combination with the naturalization and de-agentialisation of violence, facilitate the attribution of negative motives to demonstrators who are used interchangeably with students in the CON corpus.

Regarding the identification of motive, the results are also twofold. Firstly, keywords are, in fact, an effective way to access motives in large data sets. However, this needs to be complemented with other tools such as the analysis of a keyword's collocates and its concordance lines in order to avoid overgeneralizations. Secondly, it was found to be possible to identify a distinctive semantic pattern in how motive is attributed in each press. The analysis of the CON corpus shows a tendency to foreground confrontation and the government's ideological drive. The confrontation narrative complements the negative attributions of motive carried out through social actor representation. In this regard, more than motive identification *per se*, it was possible to identify words that trigger certain narratives that might facilitate negative social representations of the youth in the audience. Hence, motive remains implicit, demanding a more active role from the audience to decode these representations.

The analysis also shows a completely different pattern in the ALT corpus. Here, the main result is the blunt foregrounding of the ideological components that frame the students' demands. The representation of the government is neglected in favour of a detailed description of what the student demands' truly are. This detailed description of their demands not only serves to represent the students as actively pursuing a goal but also to legitimize their cause. For this, the figure of Pinochet and the dictatorship are crucial in how higher moral values and world views are brought into the narrative, legitimizing their cause and actions. While the most recurrent interdiscursive strategy in the CON corpus was the appeal to the status quo, in the ALT corpus it was the reference to the dictatorship and how society is currently being governed and determined by policies set up by an authoritarian regime.

Overall, the methodology proposed over the course of the last three chapters is mutually complementary. Considering there are no previous systematic analyses of motive, it is crucial to identify how it is constructed at a grammatical (Ch. 5) and lexical (Ch. 6) levels through careful manual analysis. Once these features are identified, we can



move on to larger data sets to get an idea of how generalizable the results from the qualitative analysis are. Therefore, a corpus-assisted analysis can provide this option, by contrasting the corpora together.

Finally, I managed to arrive at the same results by analysing the sample grammatically and thematically, while also analysing keywords at a lexico-semantic level in the whole corpus. The methodology also reflects on the crucial role of motives in the coverage of social movements. As it turns out, there are various power and ideological struggles in the reports, and some actors are foregrounded and others backgrounded depending on their (political) stance.

# Chapter 8. Conclusions

## 1 Introduction

This thesis explored the concept of motive and how it is represented and attributed in the Chilean press in the coverage of the Chilean student movement. As I hope to have shown throughout this thesis, this objective was successfully met, broadening how we conceptualize motive and, more importantly, how it can be approached in the news genre.

This final chapter is structured as follows. First, I summarize the main findings of this research by addressing the research questions individually in order to highlight the most significant results (section 2). Then, I highlight the main contributions of this research which are theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of motive in Discourse Studies as well as contributions to the study of the Chilean student movement (section 3). Third, I outline the main limitations in the development of this research (section 4), followed by a discussion of further research that can stem from the main results achieved in this thesis (section 5). Then, I include a section on the challenges faced throughout the whole PhD process in an attempt to make my choices and research design more transparent (section 6). Finally, the chapter concludes with some final remarks, connecting the main motivations for undertaking this object of study and its implications (section 7).

## 2 Summary of findings

### 2.1 RQ1: Grammatical realizations of motive

The analysis in Ch. 5 showed that the grammatical realizations van Leeuwen originally proposed are much more diverse in the news genre. In particular, it raised the distinction between motive constructions within sentence level and motive constructions at text level.

There are four salient grammatical strategies used in Systemic Functional Linguistics that helped construct and attribute motive in these news reports *within*

*sentence level*: parallel constructions, extension, embedding, and (in)direct speech (see section 2; Ch. 5). Firstly, *parallel constructions* complement and/or contrast different attributions of motives through clause coordination. In these constructions, one or more motives may work in two ways: 1) they may highlight the various motives one action serves in the reporting of the educational conflict or 2) they may hierarchize motives that might have been unknown to the audiences or are usually suppressed in news reports (see section 2.2; although it is a common feature that co-occurs with other strategies too). Secondly, contrastive motive constructions and attributions are used to *extend* the meaning of clauses, in particular in relation to actors reported as challenging or resisting either attributions of motives or detrimental social representations associated with them (see section 2.1). Through these constructions, actors position themselves as *revealing the truth* of their actions, challenging previous reports and/or assumptions. Thirdly, *embedding* is used to build in motives as an inherent feature of the actor/nominalized action being represented (see section 2.3). In most of these instances, the motive link is omitted and conveyed through an adjective clause or a facilitating process. It thus prompts the reader to actively interpret what kind of motive relation there is between the actions and the descriptions attributed to them. Finally, *(in)direct speech* is a crucial feature in the attribution of motive (see section 2.4). Motives included as part of direct speech allow newspapers to evaluate these actors in relation to the role they play in the educational conflict. In the case of indirect speech, however, newspapers frame their motive attributions within their own narratives, limiting the audience's interpretations of these motive constructions.

Cohesion strategies are crucial for conveying motive *across sentences*, in particular conjunctions (section 3.1) and reference (section 3.2). These strategies play a crucial role in interpreting motive attributions to actions that might be suppressed or backgrounded because they were regarded as common knowledge or mentioned earlier in the report (e.g. heading, subheading, and main body of the text). Van Leeuwen's analysis of purpose consisted of analysing a highly instructional genre, in which each action and practice needed to be clearly identified. In contrast, the nature of the news genre is informative rather than instructive, which allows more flexibility in how its contents are represented.

Apart from the various grammatical patterns, motive can also be conveyed through the use of adjectives and/or nouns alone, especially when they refer to *emotional triggers*. While these results become clearer through the corpus analysis (section 2.3 below), it was possible to identify some instances in which the motive attributed to the actors involved consisted of one word. As it turns out, these cases usually help legitimize and/or delegitimize the motive construction in question.

Finally, these grammatical resources are used equally in both the mainstream and alternative press. The difference in motive constructions was not at the syntactic level, but at the lexical one, which becomes more evident when analysing the actors' positioning and storylines (section 2.2) and the whole data set (section 2.3).

## **2.2 RQ2: Actor positioning and motive**

The analysis of attributions of motive in Ch. 6 revealed the type of duties and rights students and the government appropriate in the development of the educational conflict. These rights and duties go hand in hand with how motive is attributed by the actors involved, and revolve around what these actors believe is rightfully theirs and what their duty is in relation to the conflict itself (see section 5.2, Ch. 3 and section 3, Ch. 6 in particular).

In the ALT sample, students' actions are framed in *good vs evil* storylines. The students challenge and resist an oppressive and restrictive socio-political system on behalf of the oppressed and discriminated (i.e. David vs Goliath). Their social struggle is framed in a post-dictatorial society that has not come to terms with its past. Both the students and the editorial line of the ALT attribute to the government a *social order* storyline, engrained in the fear of having another military coup (Simonsen, 2012). In this social order narrative, the government are unrepresentative and not fulfilling their duties to provide for every citizen. Similarly, the students are positioned as having the right to protest as the main beneficiaries of education and also because of the historical role they embody.

Similarly, the representations of the students' demands in the ALT sample are fully contextualized and elaborated. These demands foreground the political and ideological features of this conflict as well as the social inequality and segregation caused by the

current state of the national educational system. This elaboration and contextualization are further complemented by attributing to the government the motive of maintaining a social structure grounded in the policies implemented during Pinochet's dictatorship. The role of a repressive state and Pinochet are brought to the fore, in which illegal detention and torture practices were allowed. In this scenario, the then President Sebastian Piñera's administration supports this model and is determined to protect it.

Conversely, the government is positioned as an authority figure in charge of enforcing *law and order* to maintain *social order* in the CON sample. The government is positioned as protecting the students' rights to protest and acknowledging their demands. This acknowledgement corresponds to policy reforms to broaden the scope of scholarships and promote a better regulation of the current educational system, leaving the marketization of education and poor quality of education untouched. This is justified by a neoliberal storyline that foregrounds individual responsibilities and ensures the so-called *liberty of education* to parents and tutors (see section 2.7 in Ch. 6 and section 2.3 below). In these narratives, on the other hand, students do not abide by their duties (i.e. to study) and are abusing their rights due to their juvenile and irrational nature.

In addition, there are constant representations of the student movement as purposefully aiming to destabilize the social order in the CON sample. This representation is enhanced by negative categorization and functionalization strategies used to identify demonstrators, which suggest inherently negative motives (e.g. *encapuchados* [hood rioters]; *violentistas* [violent ones]; *turba* [mob]; see also section 2.3 below). On the other hand, the government is attributed motives that enhance its overall positive representation in terms of effectiveness and concern. It is represented as purposefully acting towards a solution of the educational conflict through the implementation of educational reforms, the increase of scholarships and the maintenance of political consensus between the right-wing and left-wing coalitions.

Finally, the discursive constructions and attributions of motive draw on different ideologies and on moral values that legitimize and delegitimize each of the actors' stances accordingly (see section 3; Ch. 6). In this vein, the storylines conveyed reflect the ideological struggle between the actors involved.

### 2.3 RQ3: Motive and corpus methods

In contrast, the representations of the students' demands in the ALT sample are fully contextualized and elaborated, in which their demands foreground political and ideological features. The corpus analysis revealed a different pattern of how motive is attributed in each press (Ch. 7). While motive attribution in the CON corpus was conveyed through social actor representation, the ALT corpus focused on the nominalisation of actions to convey the students' motives (see section 4). In the CON corpus, the representation of the collective focused on the criminalization of demonstrators, whose motives were conveyed implicitly. This strategy demands a more active role in the reader as it appeals to normalized social representations and shared knowledge in the community (section 4.1). In contrast, the representations of the students' demands in the ALT sample are fully contextualized and elaborated (section 4.2). These demands foreground the political and ideological features of this conflict as well as the social inequality and segregation caused by the current state of the national educational system. Therefore, the students' motives revolve around the abolition of these policies and the political coalitions that have sustained this socio-political and economic model.

Therefore, keyword and collocation analyses proved to be useful in the identification of how these motives are attributed to each actor, in particular those motives which are ideologically driven (section 4.1.1). When it came to analysing the remaining keywords, however, the focus in CON was on the *opportunities* provided by the government in the educational sector. This emphasis on a *society of opportunities* draws on neoliberal discourses in which the individual is solely responsible for their wellbeing. This also contrasts with the idea of *education as a right* proposed by the student collective, which is ultimately suppressed as evidenced by the keywords in CON. Conversely, the attribution of motive in the ALT corpus is mainly carried out through semantically-loaded words that draw on different legitimating discourses. Hence, the identification of social actors is backgrounded in order to highlight the nature of their demands, thus explicitly stating the collective's motives. Through these constructions, we get a clearer idea of the kind of education they demand, as opposed to the current state of education linked to Pinochet's educational policies. In this vein, the demands are

foregrounded as historical, tracing them back to these neoliberal policies and the lack of (social, political, and economic) compensation. Therefore, the accounts draw on the legal and historical discourses of the dictatorship, challenging the representativeness of the current forms of government and their inability to properly address the social crisis in the country (section 4.2.2).

### **3 Contributions**

This thesis uses textual analysis of motives to see how historical and contextual features are employed in the representation of the Chilean student movement which can provide a basis for the analysis of and comparison with other media representations of social movements. Most social movements struggle against oligarchies and media monopolies (Van Dijk, 2005), especially in terms of media ownership (Lugo-Ocando, 2008). In this context, clear motives for social uprising are key in the formation, maintenance and expansion of collective action in the hope of achieving social change.

The thesis shows that there is a huge difference in how motives are decontextualized in a country currently ruled by unchallenged policies and laws implemented during a dictatorship, resulting in high indexes of social inequality and segregation. Although there are contextual features that are characteristic of Chile and the Latin American region, the theoretical and methodological frameworks proposed in this thesis can be applicable to and replicated in different contexts. Studies of social movements have revealed common elements among them, regardless of their context and, as this thesis has shown, theoretical and methodological frameworks mainly applied to English data were successfully applicable to Spanish data sets.

There are also more specific theoretical and methodological contributions of this research, as shown in the following sections.

#### **3.1 Theoretical contributions**

This study uses well-established tools from Discourse Analysis, Social Actors, and the SFL framework to explore an aspect of social action that has been understudied: the representation of motive. There has been work on causality and purpose, but those understandings of why people do what they do leave out some important contextual,

situational and psychological factors that might affect our (interpretations of) actions. I propose to talk about motive as a way of accounting for all these factors and I identify how it is conveyed and represented in text.

The issue of motive seems particularly relevant when we analyse other and self-representations of social movements and (Critical) Discourse Studies. There is a crucial difference between *demonstrators are protesting* and *demonstrators are protesting for free and quality education*, which is ultimately grounded in issues of power. Access to hegemonic discourses and the public sphere can normalize one representation of reality over the other, affecting how people understand and interpret the emergence and demands of social movements. Motives are intimately related to legitimation, as it helps us understand and justify why people (do not) act upon events and ultimately, our own reality.

As I hope to have demonstrated throughout this thesis, it is possible to identify patterns in the constructions of motive in the news genre. The identification of these patterns can facilitate the analysis of other discursive and linguistic strategies researchers might focus on, as it nicely complements social actor and action representation. Despite the identification of these patterns, however, motive is also open to interpretation due to the semantic and ideological associations of certain words that are related with the society being analysed. For instance, *profit in education* has undergone a very interesting process of re-semiotization thanks to the demands raised by the students. As a result, the phrase is now used negatively to identify politics and social inequality.

The conceptualization of motive I propose highlights how situational, institutional and psychological factors affect its understanding and analysis. Drawing on Weber's (1947) conceptualization of motive, I claim that attribution of motive is in itself a discursive strategy in that actions are represented and recontextualized to serve different social purposes. Motive is always represented through semiosis and its understanding is highly dependent on the person at the other end of the communication chain. This becomes problematic when the attributions of motives disregard the motives constructed by the person or people in question due to a more powerful status, such as that of the media, thus limiting their negotiations and normalizing mainstream social representations about young Chileans, their movements and other collective enterprises.



### 3.2 Methodological contributions

The most obvious contribution of this study to Discourse Analysis is in providing methodological approaches and tools for the study of motive. This thesis proposes three main methodological approaches to identify representations and attributions of motive:

1. To identify grammatical structures
2. To identify storylines and actor positioning
3. To check against larger data sets using corpus tools

Each methodological approach targets different ways in which motive can be conveyed. First, we must be able to identify how motive is represented and attributed in a language in order to carry out an analysis. The first step is the examination of linguistic strategies to identify which ones are used to represent and attribute motive. In this thesis, infinitives and gerunds proved to be the most consistent and frequent way in which motive is conveyed in Chilean Spanish news data. More importantly, infinitives and gerunds led to a vast array of other grammatical features to represent and attribute motive in the news genre that were consistently taken into account. The relevance of this step is the identification of the salient linguistic cues used to convey and attribute motive such as parallel structures, embedding, (in)direct speech, references, among others (see section 2.1 above). However, there might be other grammatical structures (e.g. rhetorical questions) and/or paralinguistic strategies (e.g. pausing, intonation) that are used to convey motive that did not occur in the news reports analysed in this thesis (Pérez, *in preparation*). Second, once grammatical structures have been identified, we need to consider the various word choices that convey and represent motives. In this step, the identification of word choices gives the analyst access to the storylines and actor positioning through motive attributions, facilitating the analysis of how actors and their actions are negatively and/or positively portrayed in terms of the motives at play. It can also give a glimpse of the ideological and power struggles at stake in the development of a social conflict. Finally, once a careful and detailed manual analysis has been carried out, we can move on to larger data sets to triangulate the results. It is possible to compare and contrast the corpora through corpus methods, in particular keyword and collocational

analyses. The analysis of keywords and their collocates can help unveil salient features and patterns in the representation of social actors and their actions that might have been missed in the sample. It also facilitates the identification of ideological struggles in the development of the conflict analysed, that cannot be accessed through the analysis of a sample.

The combination of these three methodological approaches showed that linguistic and discursive realizations of motives can be foregrounded, backgrounded or suppressed through evaluative remarks that legitimize some motives and delegitimize others. The relation between motive constructions and attributions becomes clearer when the narratives of the social conflict and the positioning of the actors involved are identified. Thus, the representation, attribution and conveyance of motive in the news genre are all much more complex and dynamic than in first-day-at-school texts. Motive is highly dependent on institutional, social and personal contexts as meanings are sometimes taken for granted, especially when the same social movement, such as the Chilean student movement, has been a constant newsworthy issue across time.

This research also systematizes the analysis of motive, facilitating its applicability to media studies focusing on representations of social movements or socially deviant behaviour (e.g. *protest paradigm*). As explained in Ch. 3, motive has become an empty concept loosely used to explain human action, without clear theoretical or methodological approaches. This thesis foregrounds the role of motive in individual, social and discursive practices, especially in the understanding of social movements and their media and social representations. In this regard, it contributes to the identification of how motive and the narratives that convey it are represented in different types of media. This approach to the news genre also parallels the analysis of social movements in CDS, that is, the representation of social actors and actions. This thesis, as well as other works that have stemmed from this investigation (see Pérez 2016a, 2016b; Cárdenas & Pérez, 2016; Pérez & Cárdenas, 2017; Pérez, *in preparation*), have foregrounded how motive can be attributed as an inherent feature of social actors, especially those that connote negative social representations. This symbolic use of linguistic resources (Cohen, 2011) can complement and shed some light on what motives are foregrounded, backgrounded or suppressed in the representation of social collectives.

### **3.3 Contributions to the study of the Chilean student movement**

The results of this thesis have an impact on how representations of the Chilean student movement and other social collectives more generally can be analysed. As I have mentioned throughout this thesis, motive is central to understanding human action. When it comes to social movements, motives are indispensable for the emergence and maintenance of a social collective. Therefore, it is striking that no research had attempted to systematize how motive is represented in language.

Knowing how this delegitimation and criminalization is done opens the path for a counter-strategy by the students to challenge and redefine their representations in terms of their motives. Understanding (and justifying) why people behave the way they do can increase the chances to relate to this person and sympathize with their cause. Therefore, devising communicational strategies to counter-act the suppression of their motives can benefit the cause as well as the overall support they have in society.

Finally, the analysis of motive shown in this thesis provides a deeper understanding of the ideological divide between rightist/leftist ideologies as a continuing product of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship and its effects on younger generations. We observe a young population that is politically active and determined to achieve changes in a system they consider wrong (see Chapters 6 and 7). Students actively seek for greater social welfare through the abolition of the policies imposed during the dictatorship. They are vocal in accusing the political establishment of maintaining these policies and enhancing social inequality for their own personal gain. The results of this research offer an overview of how the motives of this generation are centred in the common good as opposed to individual gain (i.e. *society of opportunities*; Ch. 7). Thus, it offers more information on how to challenge and redefine the social representations of the youth as indifferent, violent, and uninquisitive (cf. Achugar, 2016; Achugar et al., 2013).

## **4 Limitations**

The results of this research show the dynamic relation between grammar, discourse and motive. While the analysis showed interesting results, in particular in relation to *attributions* of motive, this focus on grammar and discourse might overlook some other aspects that can influence how we understand and interpret motive. For instance, work on

Cognitive Linguistics might be able to show other communicational strategies used for the conveyance of motive. For example, the use of conceptual metaphors can affect how we interpret and evaluate social actors, their actions, and, also, motives (cf. Cárdenas & Pérez, 2017).

A systematization of the study of motive, and its relationship with social movements, is complex and demands the analysis of different genres and semiotic modes. Hence, another main limitation of this research was the impossibility of bringing other media sources such as the radio, news images, news broadcasts, and social media into account due to space constraints. Except for radio, these data sets were originally considered in the first year of the program and later excluded due to difficulties in accessing data and ethical constraints. However, I did manage to explore visual and multimodal representations of motive in some of the excluded data (Pérez, 2016b, *in preparation*, Cárdenas & Pérez, 2016, Pérez & Cárdenas, 2017). These first approaches foreground the multimodal component of motive, evidencing a further gap in the literature and the contributions of this research. It is my aim to continue exploring multimodal realizations of motive in further research as a continuation of the framework proposed in this thesis.

Similarly, another main limitation was the impossibility of including people's reactions to the media representations of the students' motives. Focus groups were carried out in early 2016 in an attempt to both identify how motive is constructed in interaction and how people react to these motive attributions. The discussions focused on media reports in general, and it would be useful to set up similar groups focusing only on motives in student demonstrations, or in other specific news reports. Nevertheless, the analysis did provide further insights into how motive is constructed orally at the grammatical and syntactical level as well as its behaviour in group interactions. Although this research could not be included in this thesis, a paper detailing these results has been prepared for publication.

Finally, the inclusion of an argumentative approach to how motive is constructed and attributed could illuminate the analysis presented in this thesis. Motives can be framed in terms of commonplaces (*topoi*) and fallacies as part of students' or government's official statements that can help understand how actors position themselves

in relation to the national educational system. This aspect of motive could be complemented in further studies to test its possible applicability.

## **5 Future research**

Further research should consider the nature of different social collectives. As mentioned in Ch. 2, the student movement has historically played an influential role in national politics. Its large media coverage and people's familiarity with the movement are thus unsurprising. In this context, the analysis of shorter and less popular movements can shed some light on the different ways in which motives are disseminated online and offline and their representation in the public sphere. It is worth exploring how social representations and ideological struggles can pave the way for social change in relation to how motives are framed on pressing issues such as the *refugee crisis* or *Black Lives Matter*, for example. Finally, comparing and contrasting motive constructions between people actively involved in social movements and those who are not can shed light on how people's social representations can be altered or normalized through their own social and individual practices.

Finally, further research could focus on the issues of data accessibility, in particular, Chilean data. Contrary to English or Spanish (Spain) data, Chilean media are not widely stored in news banks nor are they easily retrievable online. Digital access to media sources is expensive and time-consuming, as permission from the National Congress Library is required. Thus, the manual collection of news reports and the subsequent creation of a news corpus was incredibly time-consuming, accounting for most of the first and second years of my doctoral program. This limitation is all the more relevant when considering the need for a reference corpus to carry out the keyword analysis in Ch. 7. This difficulty might be an explanation for the lack of similar studies in the country or why they are mainly focused on *El Mercurio* which is available in Nexis and Factiva. It is my intention to raise these issues in national academic circles to spread awareness on the need for accessibility to this content through projects similar to the one being carried out by Ulloa (2015) at the moment of submission of this thesis. In this project, he aims at facilitating access to media resources and the visualization of data through social platforms in order to foster citizen engagement with current national affairs in the

educational sector. It is my hope to contribute to the creation of a similar news bank and/or an accessible reference corpus of Chilean Spanish.

## 6 Challenges

There were various challenges I had to overcome in the development of this thesis. Apart from data accessibility (see above), the main challenge consisted in devising a new conceptualization of motive that was compatible with methodological approaches known to linguistics and CDS. As I mentioned in Ch. 3 and section 2.1 above, hitherto motive has been loosely targeted in the Social Sciences. This had resulted in the lack of systematization of its analysis, referring to motive as another feature in the analysis of *other* particular discursive and linguistic strategies. Fortunately, the different ways motive has been acknowledged in the literature had focused on its conveyance through language, which facilitated the design of the theoretical framework.

The second challenge revolved around the research design, particularly, how to approach motive methodologically. All potential known approaches had been applied to English and to other genres, which raised issues of transferability. Fortunately, SFL has been applied to Spanish successfully in the past, which validated the use of Social Semiotics and the Social Actor Approach as the basis for this research.

The closest model I could draw from was van Leeuwen's Grammar of Purpose, although it did not meet the requirements for my conceptualization of motive entirely. Defining actors as goal-, means- or effect-oriented focused on a functional understanding of motive, ergo, I only drew from his identification of the *elements of purpose*. These elements provided the basic structure to start the analysis which later led to the identification of various syntactic and lexical patterns in the representation and attributions of motive.

Finally, in order to ensure reliability and validity in the identification of these elements, I resorted to a second coder. Interestingly, the identification of motive constructions was easy (see Ch. 4). The challenging aspect of the coding process was to identify where the elements of motive started and ended. This required intensive training sessions with the coder and constant revision of the research questions, until we managed to devise a consistent definition of the codes. This process entailed a careful analysis of

each sentence's co-text in order to identify if this corresponded to a motive attribution or the meaningful action of a motive represented somewhere else in the report.

## **7 Final remarks**

Motive is undoubtedly a complex matter and semiosis is at the core of its understanding. When motive is conveyed through language, it concerns our own interpretations of why people do things. The more texts and semiotic modes we consider, the more ways we can identify how motive is determined by institutional and situational contexts across time and space. While motive is applicable to any social practice, it is especially crucial in the understanding of how social representations come to be maintained and challenged through political collective participation (i.e. social movements). In this regard, *how* we phrase motives and *who* phrases them is as important as *what* we phrase to be our motives. The Brexit referendum showed that the concerns of older generations greatly differed from those of younger ones, who have integrational and mutual cooperation at the core of their priorities for remaining in the European Union (Elgot, 2016). In a similar fashion, the Chilean student movement has always been insistent that future generations will be the ones who will benefit from their fight.

In this sense, I would like to go back to my grandfather's negative reaction to my participation in a demonstration organized by the Chilean Student movement in 2011 (Ch. 1). My grandfather's and my own historical and personal backgrounds differ greatly. He underwent a strict formation at a Catholic school and strongly believed in hard work as the only way to achieve social mobility. Similarly, having lived through the dictatorship, a strong sense of abiding by the rules to avoid persecution or raising suspicions became his personal motto, to the point that he never discussed politics, religion nor football affairs with me until I turned 18 years old. It is unsurprising then that he reacted negatively to my participation in a student demonstration: I was not only defying the social order and challenging authority, but I was actually becoming a useless and deviant citizen. While these ideas come from his upbringing, they have been consistently normalized and supported by the media. Living in the countryside of Chile and having national TV and press as the only means of information, the way he perceives the world is thus confirmed.

It took me hours to convince him that my participation had been peaceful and inform him of the reasons why I did it. His original attribution to me of motive grounded in anarchism then changed to me being brave, yet still reckless. This foregrounds the need for a more pluralistic and inclusive media as well as a more informed population to foster challenging and altering these social representations, vindicating the role of social demonstrations as a legitimate political practice through the foregrounding and inclusion of the motives that drive them.



# Appendixes

## 1 Category of *Others* excluded from the analysis

### 1.1 Category of *Others* in the CON sample

Whose motive?	Attributed by?	What for?	Total	How?
	Others	To maintain/restore order	2	Coordination Infinitive Indirect Speech Reported Speech
		To solve conflict	1	
		To gather / show support	1	
		To demand social change / reforms	1	
		To protect / help others	1	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	
	Newspaper	To maintain/restore order	3	
		To solve conflict	2	
		To protect / help others	2	
		To gather / show support	1	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	
	Students	To make violence visible	1	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	

## 1.2 Category of *Others* in the ALT sample

Whose motive?	Attributed by?	What for?	Total	How?
Others (24)	Newspaper	To restrict the student movement	7	Coordination Embedded Deixis Infinitive Indirect Speech Reported Speech Predication
		To demand social change / reforms	4	
		To engage in politics	2	
		To gather / show support	2	
		To improve education	1	
		To maintain the status quo	1	
		To protect / help others	1	
		To make violence visible	1	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	
	Other actors	To demand social change / reforms	2	
		To gather / show support	1	
		To engage in politics	1	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	
	Government coalition	To solve conflict	1	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	

## 2 Categorization of codes: Topic analysis

FINAL CODES	CODES			
	CONSERVATIVE PRESS		ALTERNATIVE PRESS	
<b>To demand social change / reforms</b>	Demand reforms (35) Generate change (3) Affect decisions (1)	Target irregularities (1) Protest (24)* highlight in ex	Demand reforms (92) Protest (13)	Target irregularities (5)
<b>To restrict the student movement</b>	Restrict SM (3) Scam students (1)	Stop protests (1)	Restrict SM (23) Criminalize SM (6)	Retaliation (1)
<b>To engage in politics</b>	Politics (21) Damage the gov (4) Conflict of interest (3) Political interest (1)	Protect themselves (2) Manipulate (1) Corruption (2)	Political interests (21) Counteract gov's strategy (6) Conflict of Interests (4) Protect themselves (3)	Personal gain (1) Disguise (1) Distancing from politics (1)
<b>To maintain / restore order</b>	Maintain/restore order (19) Identify criminals (5) Fight off HD (2)	Finding evidence (2) Control violence (1)	Restore order (10) Identify criminals (4)	Torture (2) Illegal detention (1)
<b>To fulfill their emotions / values</b>	Emotions (12) – fear - love Have fun (6) Morality (2) Family (1)	Sense of duty (1) Rest (1) Learn (4)	Learn (6)	Irrationality (1)
<b>To protect / help others</b>	Protect people (18) Help others (2)	Escape (1) Counteract (2)	Protect people (12)	
<b>To gather / show support</b>	Support (15)	Dissemination (9)	Support (15)	Dissemination (7)
<b>To solve conflict</b>	Solve conflict (45)	Listen to students (1)	Solve conflict (25)	
<b>To destabilize the establishment</b>	Destabilize/disrupt (20)	Attack (authority) (11)	Destabilize/Disrupt (11)	
<b>To make violence visible</b>	Visibilize violence (13)		Visibilize violence (10)	Escape violence (1)
<b>To improve education</b>	Improve education (26)		Improve education (7)	
<b>To plan (ahead) / organize</b>	Plan/Organize (22)		Plan/Organize (15)	
<b>To maintain the status quo</b>			Neoliberalism (8) Maintain Status Quo (2)	Categorize Sts (1)

### 3 Keyword analysis

#### 3.1 Results of keyword analysis in the ALT corpus (against the Spanish TenTen reference corpus)

FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW
1016	427.75	confech	308	86.79	bulnes	275	68.16	vocera	66	47.14	vielma	153	34.7	petitorio
750	338.81	fech	1287	86.18	secundarios	160	67.89	chadwick	440	45.82	marchas	366	34.6	educacional
513	314.2	aces	620	86.1	camila	71	65.82	nau	81	45.7	labbé	320	34.31	jackson
318	263.21	beyer	401	85.07	lavín	295	64.07	liceos	656	43.48	lucro	60	34.16	carmela
295	251.9	boric	234	84.59	giorgio	167	62.02	usach	115	43.08	ballesteros	81	33.95	desalojos
321	238.36	feuc	455	82.54	alameda	158	59.9	gajardo	90	42.64	molotov	43	33.61	bofill
239	214.87	cones	100	82.37	desmunicipalización	91	57.96	eloísa	497	42.16	batchelet	46	33.46	encapuchado
128	129.53	fielbaum	135	80.36	dirigenta	64	56.09	cariola	49	42	renacionalización	165	33.36	cut
130	124.03	titelman	82	79.38	ancalao	220	54.47	gratuidad	91	41.1	mapocho	34	32.8	insuco
798	106.09	vallejo	241	78.66	encapuchados	862	54.04	liceo	47	40.92	funa	35	32.54	recaredo
136	103.03	harald	1838	78.1	estudiantil	114	53.71	barricadas	56	40.81	cruch	6116	32.23	estudiantes
277	101.53	mineduc	1485	76.28	carabineros	82	53.34	noam	54	40.59	utem	73	32.02	clinic
162	99.03	zalaquett	801	76.1	movilizaciones	130	52.86	frontis	39	38.18	lanzaaguas	92	31.97	ñuñoa
278	97.12	movilizados	121	74.97	lacrimógenas	56	52.72	feusach	38	37.82	udm	247	31.94	apoderados
270	89.36	hinzpeter	765	73.65	estudiantiles	71	52.25	zolezzi	34	35.43	aburman	49	31.83	larroulet
89	88.21	femae	84	69.15	borgoño	230	50.96	marchar	90	35.3	simce	417	31.63	vocero

### 3.2 Results of keyword analysis in the CON corpus (against the Spanish TenTen reference corpus)

FQ	KN	KW	Freq	KN	KW	FQ	KN	Keyword	FQ	KN	Keyword	FQ	KN	Keyword
1787	1650.03	noticiasfinancieras	184	170.83	reproducciyoacute	94	86.95	fielbaum	189	63.22	mineduc	85	48.18	lacrimógenas
1787	1553.5	reserved	184	170.81	amyeacute	224	84.84	september	159	61.47	chadwick	1729	47.73	diarios
880	721.18	gda	238	161.16	feuc	153	82.91	dirigenta	1267	59.27	carabineros	211	47.6	gratuidad
1787	687.89	rights	1789	145.23	all	123	81.06	wednesday	193	58.27	hinzpeter	540	46.75	movilizaciones
838	627.73	documents	375	126.47	august	211	79.51	october	129	55.51	molotov	82	46.62	monday
706	590.83	length	135	125.36	byline	121	78.67	thursday	631	55.34	estudiantiles	240	46.45	lavín
1782	568.05	copyright	214	119.72	aces	301	77.26	bulnes	333	55.06	alameda	63	45.1	violentistas
907	527.79	spanish	374	111.02	encapuchados	154	75.35	sunday	1415	54.76	estudiantil	223	44.17	liceos
837	407.61	language	135	110.94	cones	152	68.88	december	127	54.47	barricadas	123	42.57	gajardo
837	298.81	periodico	857	108.33	camila	129	67.43	friday	72	54.28	desmunicipalización	122	41.63	ballesteros
685	262.76	confech	168	106.14	saturday	171	66.66	june	88	53.72	tuesday	80	41.15	labbé
598	246.11	fech	186	103.51	zalaquett	168	66.47	november	80	53.59	zolezzi	91	38.95	april
2885	229.21	mercurio	824	99.75	vallejo	70	65.61	mercuro	76	50.26	cruch	96	38.76	cep
879	210.71	reservados	284	93.44	giorgio	890	65.05	prohibido	70	48.6	words	119	38.06	movilizados
277	208.94	beyer	249	90.56	july	837	65	america	143	48.44	usach	46	37	cariola
249	193.8	boric	128	88.4	harald	74	64.74	titelman	64	48.22	borgoño	71	36.77	carmela

### 3.3 Results of keyword analysis in the CON corpus (against the ALT corpus).

FQ	KN	KW	Freq	KN	KW	FQ	KN	Keyword	FQ	KN	Keyword	FQ	KN	Keyword
2324	984.54	grupo	49	50.48	centroderecha	115	36.54	oportunidades	986	31.43	dos	161	28.72	acuerdos
4143	420.98	Chile	79	50.44	admisión	698	36.29	bien	108	31.34	iniciativas	207	28.43	países
199	200.71	rica	177	48.44	RN	346	36.07	oposición	118	31.09	Equidad(*)	37	28.28	Gordon
1092	197.03	derechos	470	47	U	170	36.02	planteles	80	30.96	global	34	28.27	lanzaguas
336	95.15	DC	193	45.57	estatales	155	35.77	cierto	72	30.89	Tasas(*)	80	27.88	valor
136	88.56	inteligencia	98	44.76	cabros	845	35.34	superior	303	30.67	ejemplo	150	27.73	aumento
119	81.58	desempeño	132	43.98	programas	46	35.07	incentivos	39	30.51	metas	21	27.61	Cami
59	77.58	presi	462	42.99	instituciones	150	34.65	superintendencia	52	30.47	prioridades	21	27.61	semejante
55	72.32	mateos	249	39.6	materia	36	34.59	Sarmiento	47	30.37	papá	30	27.41	deficiencias
84	71.32	egresados	90	39.5	colectividad	32	34.58	chofer	44	29.93	voluntario	30	27.41	preferencial
197	61.75	ingresos	90	39.5	Walker	48	34.21	polera	28	29.58	polis	92	27.36	subvención
158	58.7	crecimiento	212	39.45	mayores	211	33.67	senado	102	29.53	avances	44	27.29	Segpres
91	57.65	razonable	69	38.01	trayectoria	410	33.5	Mejor(*)	35	29.41	postulantes	26	27.1	Acuña
581	57.14	mayor	150	37.97	plantel	179	32.87	difícil	200	29.39	mandatario	128	26.83	buen
223	54.47	alianza	126	36.78	mejores	25	32.87	guaripola	229	29.24	Resultados(*)	69	26.66	Naturaleza(*)
150	53.77	senadores	53	36.69	cuadro	40	31.63	proporción	48	28.87	turba	91	26.63	ataque

### 3.4 Results of keyword analysis in the ALT corpus (against the CON corpus)

FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	Keyword	FQ	KN	Keyword	FQ	KN	Keyword
6119	1225.11	estudiantes	713	122.52	sociales	301	86.06	demanda	304	59.85	convocatoria	643	54	profesores
2407	537.01	universidad	89	120.3	femae	134	83.35	bío	113	59.39	unión	401	53.44	lavín
1287	363.81	secundarios	1379	119.7	nacional	4543	79.29	educación	645	59.34	colegios	249	53.19	derecha
288	282.94	mapuche	680	110.08	movilización	280	79.1	movilizados	63	59.12	Aguas *	329	52.04	modelo
1980	231.21	movimiento	301	109.38	organización	200	77.89	cobre	50	58.69	pacos	255	51.79	huelga
547	218.84	trabajadores	105	106.07	hrs	1125	77.46	santiago	156	58.01	ciudadano	127	51.17	Pinochet(*)
766	217.07	federación	287	104.26	lucha	863	72.92	liceo	53	57.94	pobladores	66	50.34	vielma
403	199.91	coordinadora	336	99.19	medios	801	71.91	movilizaciones	591	57.41	universitarios	505	50.25	dirigente
1075	198.22	demandas	255	94.7	radio	318	68.91	policía	417	57.26	vocero	249	49.68	chileno
455	178.24	gratuita	107	94.23	neoliberal	57	68.4	luchas	52	56.59	portavoz	822	48.44	pública
217	162.5	dictadura	254	92.48	educativo	251	68.37	prensa	61	56.57	tortura	79	48.07	pueblos
519	148.38	aces	760	92.39	social	409	66.16	fuerzas	818	56.4	día	247	47.57	apoderados
312	144.76	confederación	1018	92.06	confech	347	65.04	calles	398	55.82	valparaíso	731	47.23	pasado
228	134.64	represión	1842	91.63	estudiantil	63	62.85	indígenas	38	55.49	udm	61	47.2	sindicato
440	127.66	asamblea	538	89.21	paro	108	62.04	negocio	216	55.47	humanos	82	47.07	ancalao
317	124.59	organizaciones	194	87.68	pueblo	468	61.14	estudiante	387	55.31	protesta	2332	46.62	gobierno

### 3.5 Categorization of social actors in the CON corpus

Social actors (32)	Conservative press					
	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW
<b>Governmental (coalition) (9)</b>	59	77.58	presi	150	34.65	superintendencia
	223	54.47	alianza	200	29.39	mandatario
	49	50.48	centroderecha	44	27.29	Segpres
	177	48.44	RN	26	27.1	Acuña
	90	39.5	Walker	-	-	-
<b>Students (9)</b>	199	200.71	rica	48	34.21	polera
	55	72.32	mateos	25	32.87	guaripola
	84	71.32	egresados	986	31.43	dos
	98	44.76	cabros	35	29.41	postulantes
	90	39.5	colectividad	48	28.87	turba
	36	34.59	Sarmiento	21	27.61	Cami
<b>Police (2)</b>	28	29.58	polis	37	28.28	Gordon
<b>Educational institutions (6)</b>	470	47	U	150	37.97	plantel
	462	42.99	instituciones	170	36.02	planteles
	193	45.57	estatales	845	35.34	superior
<b>People (2)</b>	32	34.58	chofer	47	30.37	papá
<b>Opposition (2)</b>	336	95.15	DC	346	36.07	oposición
<b>Others (2)</b>	2324	984.54	grupo	211	33.67	senado
	4143	420.98	Chile	207	28.43	países
	150	53.77	senadores	-	-	-



### 3.6 Categorization of social actors in the ALT corpus

Social actors (46)	Alternative press					
	FQ	KN	KW	FQ	KN	KW
<b>Governmental (coalition) (5)</b>	417	57.26	Vocero(*)	249	53.19	derecha
	52	56.59	Portavoz(*)	2332	46.62	gobierno
	401	53.44	lavín	-	-	-
<b>Students (20)</b>	6119	1225.11	estudiantes	1018	92.06	confech
	1287	363.81	secundarios	468	61.14	estudiante
	1980	231.21	movimiento	113	59.39	unión
	766	217.07	federación	591	57.41	universitarios
	403	199.91	coordinadora	417	57.26	Vocero(*)
	519	148.38	aces	52	56.59	Portavoz(*)
	312	144.76	confederación	643	54	profesores
	440	127.66	asamblea	66	50.34	vielma
	317	124.59	organizaciones	505	50.25	dirigente
	89	120.3	femae	247	47.57	apoderados
<b>Police (2)</b>	318	68.91	policía	50	58.69	pacos
<b>Educational institutions (4)</b>	2407	537.01	universidad	645	59.34	colegios
	863	72.92	liceo	38	55.49	udm
<b>People (3)</b>	288	282.94	mapuche	547	218.84	trabajadores
	194	87.68	pueblo	-	-	-
<b>Others (12)</b>	336	99.19	medios	53	57.94	pobladores
	255	94.7	radio	398	55.82	valparaíso
	134	83.35	bío	127	51.17	Pinochet(*)
	1125	77.46	santiago	79	48.07	pueblos
	251	68.37	prensa	61	47.2	sindicato
	156	58.01	ciudadano	82	47.07	ancalao

### 3.7 Lexical collocations of *students*

353	6.95	coordinadora	551	5.09	chile	29	4.29	padres	31	3.80	cuatro	31	3.35	mayoría
595	6.77	federación	242	5.07	confech	34	4.28	representantes	63	3.78	colegios	32	3.35	marchas
210	6.57	confederación	149	5.03	profesores	66	4.26	diálogo	40	3.76	llamado	58	3.35	movilizaciones
28	6.45	estafados	26	4.93	centros	26	4.19	rectores	25	3.72	protestas	49	3.34	movilización
767	6.39	secundarios	123	4.88	grupo	91	4.13	universidades	28	3.71	organización	27	3.32	tomas
254	6.35	asamblea	51	4.86	concepción	27	4.13	cinco	56	3.70	mañana	27	3.29	ministerio
25	6.14	centenar	52	4.80	privadas	32	4.12	u	101	3.66	santiago	36	3.27	forma
138	5.99	católica	44	4.80	mar	105	4.10	liceo	25	3.62	sede	28	3.27	meses
230	5.96	aces	63	4.78	feuc	27	4.06	martes	30	3.61	calles	26	3.22	calle
103	5.92	cones	99	4.67	trabajadores	28	4.05	becas	26	3.61	demanda	30	3.20	acuerdo
32	5.66	femae	262	4.63	presidente	45	3.99	valparaíso	27	3.58	policía	44	3.16	dos
197	5.55	universitarios	110	4.63	mil	118	3.95	demandas	59	3.58	colegio	46	3.11	fech
56	5.47	miles	49	4.55	liceos	62	3.93	central	33	3.58	general	46	3.11	dirigentes
32	5.45	agrupación	34	4.53	familias	45	3.93	vocero	51	3.57	centro	33	3.10	plaza
113	5.38	chilenos	46	4.49	metropolitana	140	3.90	marcha	39	3.55	tres	30	3.10	casa
30	5.35	federaciones	33	4.48	crédito	32	3.89	convocatoria	47	3.54	superior	44	3.08	pasado
68	5.28	apoderados	31	4.48	hambre	31	3.88	lunes	38	3.51	propuesta	27	3.07	medio(*)
657	5.27	universidad	40	4.47	huelga	28	3.84	vocera	29	3.42	ayer	85	3.01	carabineros
37	5.10	vicepresidente	216	4.46	nacional	37	3.81	manifestación	34	3.40	alameda			
70	5.10	mapuche	48	4.42	organizaciones	44	3.81	jueves	30	3.36	mesa			
111	5.10	presidenta	43	4.33	instituto	82	3.81	toma	96	3.36	hoy			

### 3.8 Some concordance lines of the collocation *estudiantes + carabineros*

5	en Valparaíso y en todos los lugares donde se reprimió violentamente a los	<b>estudiantes". Carabineros</b>	disipó a los manifestantes desde el Mineduc con carros lanza aguas. La	2012_EMo_01_15March
6	el Liceo República de Siria. Al llegar a la UMCE más de un centenar de	<b>estudiantes, carabineros</b>	ingresó a la universidad sin permiso de las autoridades del plantel Po	EC_2012_98_25Oct.txt
8	En Mendoza,	<b>estudiantes chilenos denuncian abusos de Carabineros</b>	Cuatro estudiantes chilenos cruzaron la Cordi	EC_2012_77_04Sept.txt
9		<b>Estudiantes chilotes son desalojados por Carabineros</b>	de rampas del Canal de Chacao Cerca de las 9:0	EC_2011_200_24Oct.txt
11	iminalizar" el movimiento CIDH rechaza represión "desproporcionada" de	<b>Carabineros contra estudiantes</b>	En una audiencia en Washington realizada en el marco del 143º perío	2011_EMo_103_28Oct.t
12	su destino -la Plaza de Los Héroes- se produjeron los primeros ataques de	<b>Carabineros contra estudiantes</b>	que intentaron continuar por la Alameda hacia el Poniente. En un am	EC_2011_66_14July.txt
13	" El dirigente usó un desafortunado ejemplo para graficar el dispositivo de	<b>Carabineros contra marcha de estudiantes</b>	. Sus palabras no tardaron en convertirse en el blanco de du	2011_EMo_30_04August
14	inaron abruptamente tras un enfrentamiento con las Fuerzas Especiales de	<b>Carabineros cuando los estudiantes</b>	comenzaron a avanzar hacia la intersección de avenida Brasil y Be	EC_2011_11_19April.txt
15	clase en plena vía pública, por lo que fueron violentamente reprimidos por	<b>carabineros. Damián, uno de los estudiantes</b>	allí congregados, quien recalcó que funcionan en asambl	EC_2012_74_30August.1
16	Acusan a	<b>Carabineros de agredir a estudiantes</b>	La conmemoración del 11 de septiembre trajo problemas a varios	EC_2011_159_21Sept.tx
20	curso de amparo, del Artículo 95, del Código Procesal Penal, en favor de los	<b>estudiantes detenidos por carabineros</b>	no identificados, de Fuerzas Especiales, que omitieron leerles	EC_2011_19_07June.txt
21	ayer, a la par de una marcha organizada por la Aces que terminó con varios	<b>estudiantes detenidos por Carabineros</b>	. Mineduc en la dura Ante la ola de reclamos y el foco	TC_2013_186_21Nov.tx
31	o Jackson, calificó la movilización como "un éxito", al tiempo que dijo que "	<b>Carabineros está reprimiendo a los estudiantes</b>	sin ningún tipo de provocación". Los dirigentes de l	2011_EMo_16_30June.t
32	, Giorgio Jackson, si bien calificó la marcha como "un éxito", denunció que "	<b>Carabineros está reprimiendo a los estudiantes</b>	sin ningún tipo de provocación". "Los estudiantes es	2011_EMo_16_30June.t
34	bservadores de Derechos Humanos, señalaron que en el sector de Bilbao "	<b>Carabineros golpeó a los estudiantes</b>	a diestra y siniestra". Agregando en los últimos minutos que en	EC_2013_01_07March.t
35	Denuncian que	<b>carabineros golpeó y torturó a estudiantes</b>	en Santiago y Valparaíso Un estudiante de Valparaíso y	EC_2011_105_14August
42	chos ocurrieron en la calle Ejército, en pleno centro de Santiago. Un par de	<b>Carabineros lanzan piedras a los estudiantes</b>	que se encontraban en la Alameda. Y sus compañeros moto	TC_2013_117_27June.tx
44	pintura Como una forma de representar la molestia frente a los abusos de	<b>Carabineros, los estudiantes</b>	de la Universidad Diego Portales convocaron a una "marcha de los tui	EC_2013_15_17April.txt

### 3.9 Concordance lines of the collocation *derecha + concertación*

1	enes en estos seis meses han dicho que apoyan el movimiento estudiantil, “tanto la	<b>Concertación como la Derecha</b>	”, sin embargo, “no han realizando nada para materializarlo, sólo dan cu
2	ensos y el binominal en el Congreso propiciaron un escenario cómodo tanto para la	<b>Concertación como para la Derecha</b>	, quienes omitieron durante todo este tiempo debates sobre problemá
3	por la dictadura de Pinochet y terminó siendo presentada en un gran abrazo de la	<b>derecha con la Concertación</b>	, con Michelle Bachelet al medio. Meses antes los estudiantes e investiga
4	ento que están cometiendo “femicidio político”, tal como en su momento reclamó la	<b>Concertación cuando la derecha</b>	fustigaba al gobierno de Bachelet. Sin micrófono Recién asumida, Sch
5	enerar vínculos y nuevas mayorías en el país que permitan superar el eje neoliberal	<b>Concertación-derecha</b>	que han gobernado en las últimas décadas. “Estamos totalmente de acuerdo co
6	tico chileno ofrece la oportunidad de constituir una nueva mayoría que supere al eje	<b>Concertación-derecha</b>	. Una candidatura que emerja del movimiento social tras consensuar un prograr
7	ición no fue a fondo” en la reestructuración de algunos aspectos claves del modelo.	<b>Concertación, derecha</b>	y memoria ¿Cómo enfrentó la Concertación el tema de la memoria? “Es un asu
8	ila y Giorgio le contestaron ‘nosotros estamos hablando de política’”. Si por años la	<b>derecha desperfiló la política, la Concertación</b>	la encerró entre cuatro paredes y los medios la redu
9	espacios de poder le dan la espalda a los estudiantes. Lo hizo Bachelet y la	<b>Concertación el 2006, lo hizo la derecha</b>	todo este tiempo y en tres años de gobierno de
10	adrilátero de las contiendas electorales es el gran fracaso de la oposición. Si bien la	<b>Concertación ganó alcaldías a la derecha</b>	, la votación que obtuvo fue más bien en rechazo a
11	ón de Jaime Guzmán, que ya no está”. Por último, aseguró que “cuando gobierna la	<b>Concertación gobierna la derecha</b>	. Bajo ninguna circunstancia, ni aunque me vuelva loco votaré por Ba
12	que Bachelet da al partido del orden, a ese partido transversal que atraviesa desde la	<b>Concertación hasta toda la derecha</b>	política, es muy potente. Al colocar en un equipo tan estratégico
13	in a todos los niveles, configurando una educación para ricos y otra para pobres. La	<b>Concertación, la coalición de centro-derecha</b>	y centro-izquierda que gobernó Chile desde el plebiscit
14	o con la policía”- cuenta Espinoza “Los jóvenes queremos que se vayan todos. Ni la	<b>derecha ni la Concertación</b>	van a hacer cambios estructurales. Nosotros seguimos movilizados y alcald
15	liantes y rápidamente mandado a desalojar por los alcaldes de las comunas, sean de	<b>derecha o Concertación</b>	. En Providencia los estudiantes se tomaron el liceo Arturo Alessandri Palma
16	por el alcalde Julio Palestro, da cuenta de que da lo mismo un alcalde de	<b>derecha o de la Concertación</b>	. Palestro es PS y es apoyado por el PC. Ellos van
17	o las marchas por la Alameda y en las principales ciudades del país. Difícilmente la	<b>derecha o la Concertación</b>	pueden curar la enfermedad, ya que no creen en la educación pública,
18	mesas de trabajo que no hagan agua como las del 2006. “Independiente de si está la	<b>Concertación o la derecha</b>	en el gobierno, el peligro es el mismo. Nosotros no queremos que
19	se repostula porque es el segundo periodo que conforma la mesa directiva); Centro	<b>Derecha Universitaria; la Concertación</b>	; Armas de la Crítica y dos alternativas denominadas “La cochi
20	mos oposición, fuimos un referente de izquierdas que constituía una alternativa a la	<b>Concertación y a la derecha</b>	, pero hoy día Chile ha cambiado”, dijo la candidata en entrevista
21	Vicepresidente de la Fech “los dichos de Bachelet nos comprueban la posición de la	<b>Concertación y de la derecha</b>	pues solo hablan de avanzar en pero no plantean un cambio
22	ncertación y la Alianza. “Sabemos que se abre un periodo de fuegos cruzados entre	<b>Concertación y derecha</b>	por el tema de las presidenciales, no nos interesa ser partícipe de ese
23	RECHAZAR EL MODELO NEOLIBERAL Si lo que sustentó en las últimas décadas a la	<b>Concertación -y hoy a la derecha</b>	-, era el relato del crecimiento hacia el desarrollo mediado por
24	as del programa de Mega transmitido en vivo. Con cánticos y lienzos que decían “La	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	lucran con la educación”, tuvieron el tiempo suficiente para señalar el
25	habló de eso. Me alegro que los chilenos estén despertando de un sueño entre la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	”. Josefina, estudiante de derecho de la Universidad de Chile derecho crit
26	del país. Con la intención de ofrecer a la juventud estudiantil una alternativa a la	<b>derecha y la concertación</b>	, la UNE dará a conocer sus conclusiones luego de una serie de
27	timidez. Pese a que por años ha sido a quien más han escuchado desde la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	en cuanta comisión se ha creado -“ha participado en la mayoría de
28	”. El ex presidente de la Fech agregó que “queremos formar fuerzas alternativas a la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	, algo que reivindique las movilizaciones de la ciudadanía” y que marcará s
29	ucación Camila Vallejo: “No se resuelven las demandas en base al consenso entre la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	” “Lo que nos preocupa es que la oposición en general se está
30	las demandas para mejorar la educación se zanjen a través de un acuerdo entre la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	en el marco de la discusión del Presupuesto 2012. “Lo que nos preocupa
31	. Y afirmó que “aquí no se resuelven las demandas en base al consenso entre la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	. Hay que volver a tomar la iniciativa, tener un pronunciamiento desde el
32	fesores, “a espaldas del movimiento educacional” y de negociar directamente con la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	. Y a nivel interno, si bien Camila Vallejo ha tenido una buena
33	legocian día a día (inclusive previo al inicio de la movilización) directamente con la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	, todo esto a espaldas del movimiento estudiantil”, sostuvo el grupo radica
34	lideran las demandas y salen hoy a la calle a marchar, el “pacto” entre la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	se funda en elevarse a condición sagrada, por tanto incuestionable, en bas
35	un sano escepticismo. No olvidamos el 2006, la LGE, y los brazos en alto de la	<b>derecha y la Concertación</b>	”. Posteriormente, tras las numerosas críticas y reacciones que suscitaron
36	Con votos de la	<b>Concertación y la derecha</b>	municipio penquista se deshace de colegios En el consejo municipal de Co
37	, Karol Cariola. A la espera de su pronunciamiento y de la pelea desatada entre la	<b>Concertación y la derecha</b>	, con anuncios de sacar “trapitos al sol” a la ex presidenta, el
38	no están dispuestos a repetir la política de los consensos que se gestó entre la	<b>Concertación y la derecha</b>	, donde “salen con los brazos en alto legislando de espaldas al pueblo”.
39	nal no sirvió de nada porque las decisiones se tomaron entre cuatro paredes entre la	<b>Concertación y la derecha</b>	. Y hoy el miedo que existe es que vaya a pasar lo
40	alidad”, declara Boric. Y agrega: “Creemos que el pactar con fuerzas política como la	<b>Concertación y, por ende, la Derecha</b>	implicaría una traición al movimiento”. En otra senda, se leva

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