International Institute of Social Studies

The Language approach of Legitimation of the Presidents of the 21st Century Socialism: A new perspective of autopoiesis

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Ecuador)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Governance, Policy and Political Economy

(GPPE)

Specialization:

Policy and Public Management- Local Governance

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The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2016

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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Acknowledgments

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

List of Acronyms

ENSO   El Niño–Southern Oscillation

MAS   Movement toward Socialism

MVR   Movement V Republic

Abstract

Political processes of Hugo Chavez in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Rafael Correa in the Republic of Ecuador and Evo Morales in the Republic of Bolivia are linked in this paper considering their ideology, strategies and discourses. This study analyses what is the language approach of legitimacy for each of the representatives of the new Latin American Left through their inaugural speeches. This study also proposes a toolkit and a new methodology of discourse analysis based on framing, myth and legitimation to understand these speeches and the usefulness of autopoiesis as a new concept to recognise the discourse.

The analysis shows that the general frame in the Latin American new Left discourse is based in cultural resonance and a problem-solution logic as part of substantive and procedural framing. Moreover, the study shows that this discourse has a multidimensional legitimation and that it uses myth as a regular tool to support the speech. Finally, this study uses autopoiesis to respond to the research question, as a new perspective applied to discourse which is treated as a living system, to comprehend the unceasing framing of "myth making" in order to legitimate initial discourses of Presidents Morales, Chavez and Correa.

Relevance to Development Studies

This study addresses the discursive elaboration through framing, myth and legitimation and introduces the adaptation of the concept of autopoiesis as a new theoretical tool to understand the inter-dependence of the first three concepts. Under the umbrella of development studies, this analysis shows how discourses and its representations of reality can be constructed or unpacked by examining their structural components and seeing them as living organisms.

Keywords

Discourse, Framing, Myth, Legitimation, Legitimacy, Autopoiesis

Chapter 1
Introduction

"Three men are chained since childhood to live in the depths of a cave with their backs to the entrance. They are tied facing the wall, their vision is very limited and can only observe on the wall the shadows of models, statues, animals and objects passing in front of a bonfire projected by other people. One day one of the prisoners escapes and leaves the cave, and outside, the daylight dazzled him. Nonetheless, as days pass, he gets used to the sunlight. He is surprised at the world he discovers and does not believe it can be real. As understand his new environment, he realizes that his previous view of reality was wrong. He realizes that he only saw shadows. He begins to comprehend his new world, and appreciates that the Sun is the basis of life. He decided to return and tell the other prisoners of his findings. They do not believe him and threaten to kill him if he tries to set them free."

'The Allegory of the Cave' by Plato

When Hugo Chavez spoke to the nation as President of Venezuela for the first time he said, *"We must revolutionise ourselves! It's time to hear again to Bolivar and now is when Venezuelans will hear me talk of Bolivar, because that is the lighthouse."*. Similarly, when Evo Morales took charge as President of Bolivia, in his first speech he said, *"We should continue to talk about our history, we need to keep remembering our forefathers who fought Tupac Katari to restore the Tahuantinsuyo, Simon Bolivar who fought for this great country and Che Guevara who fought for a new world of equality"*. Likewise when Rafael Correa, made his maiden speech in Congress in his first presidency he expressed, *"Alert, alert, alert Bolivar's sword that is walking in Latin America"*. However, why do they refer to Bolivar and Che Guevara? Why do they use words like revolution? Why do they use military language like fight and sword? Why do they make us remember the past? Why do they present the information in this sense? But more importantly, what do they want to achieve with this in their first speeches as the head of the country - legitimation? The similar use of discourse by these Presidents, remarkably different from the past regimes, appears as a tool to intentionally construct their legitimacy.

Three political processes in Latin America are linked in the current academic literature on grounds of their comparable political and ideological paradigms - the political processes of Hugo Chavez in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela since 1999, of Rafael Correa in the Republic of Ecuador since 2007 and Evo Morales in the Republic of Bolivia since 2006. These three governments differ in many aspects. For example, the empowerment of sectors that support the governments - military for Chavez, indigenous people for Morales and middle and low classes for Correa. Ellner (2012:96) said that they "share strategies, policies, and discourses that contrast with those of the center-leftists in power in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay as well as the social democratic, socialist, and classical populist experiences of the past". Such examples can be seen in the continuous calls to elections to validate their actions, building foreign relations focused on the construction of supranational blocks for Latin America and the use of the revolution embedded mythical speech to contrast with the past.

Considering 'speech' as a common characteristics of these new left regimes, this paper addresses the question:

What is the language approach of legitimation of the representatives of the new Latin American Left through their inaugural speeches?

Three sub-questions that feed into the main research question are:

- How do these representatives frame the legitimation?
- How do the Presidents build their legitimation of their ideology, policies, actions and plans?
- What rhetoric tools do they use to legitimatize themselves?

To address these questions, framing, legitimation and myth can be analysed. Framing can be understood as highlighting some parts of the reality in order to communicate a particular perspective (Entman 1993:52). Developing this understanding, there are studies on how Latin American left governments are involved in media politics considering evaluation of discourses on the media, direct-communication practices and media regulation (Kitzberger 2010), on parallelism between Correa's discourse and public newspapers (Ruiz 2015) and studies which analyse agenda-setting, framing and priming through Twitter about the late President Hugo Chavez's cancer (Koeneke 2001). However, there is a gap in the literature on the application of framing by new left Presidents to build their legitimation in the 'public sphere'.

This building of legitimation is the purpose of new systems of authority and language is a critical mean for these efforts (Van Leeuwen 2007: 91).There are studies on Latin America and legitimacy that explain how Morales, Chavez and Correa built legitimacy through 'radical democracy' (Ellner 2012). There are also studies that relate these regimes as populist and see how they claim legitimacy through electoral means (De la Torre 2013). Other academics consider that institutional means and hostile use of plebiscitary tactics are used by Chavez, Morales, and Correa to legitimate those new orders (Laurence 2016). Nonetheless, there is still the need to study the relation between discourse and language of legitimation used by the new left Presidents in Latin America.

Moreover, discourse can use 'myth making', construction of myths, to pursuit Legitimacy (Brown 1994) as a tool by which actors or entities legitimate their advantaged power relations and activities in the present and future. Available studies on Latin America and myth making analyse the cult of Bolivar and demonstrate how his figure was filled with inconsistent meanings depending on the different periods of the hero (Conway 2003). In particular, there is a study that explores how Chavez uses the myth of Bolivar to construct and deconstruct the Venezuelan political imaginary (Rojas 2000). Another example is how President Correa uses the myth of Eloy Alfaro to build a successful communication strategy (Nieto 2012). Additionally, there are studies relative to the use of the indigenous figure as an incarnation of the Bolivian people and as a useful strategy of the political movement of President Morales (Casen 2013). Nevertheless, there is little work found in relation to myth making of political performers as part of the myth in Latin America.

In addition, there is a lack of quantitative and qualitative research on the relation between legitimation, framing and myth in the political discourse. Hence, this paper will make a number of contributions : First, identifying the general frame of the new left discourse in Latin America by finding what Presidents say and what they silence by the way the information is presented to the public opinion. Second, understanding the kinds of legitimation that the three Presidents use. Third, recognizing the process of myth making within the political discourses of the new left Presidents and their rhetoric tools. Fourth, providing an interconnected analysis between frames, myths and legitimation and proposing a creative toolkit and methodology for doing so. Fifth, suggesting autopoiesis, the ability of living systems to self-produce (Collazos 2009:81), as a new perspective applied to a discourse which approaches it as a living system to understand the continuous framing of myth making to legitimate Presidents Morales, Chavez and Correa as the leading exponents of the 21st Century Socialism.

1.1. Paper structure

This Research Paper will be divided into nine chapters;

Chapter 1 – (Current chapter) the introduction.

Chapter 2 - A toolkit for understanding discourse: legitimacy, frame and myth approaches will be delineated, as well as studies in their field and the relation between them.

Chapter 3 - the research strategy.

Chapter 4 contextualizes the discourses and explores the speeches by content and policy agenda analysis as base of framing, legitimacy and myth.

Chapter 5 identifies the substantive and procedural framings of speeches.

Chapter 6 generates Legitimacy analysis through discourses.

Chapter 7 presents Myth analysis.

Chapter 8 argues a new perspective of autopoiesis to understand political discourses.

Chapter 9 has the final conclusions.

Chapter 2
Developing a Toolkit for understanding discourse: legitimacy, frame and myth.

"The menu is not the meal."

Alan W Watts
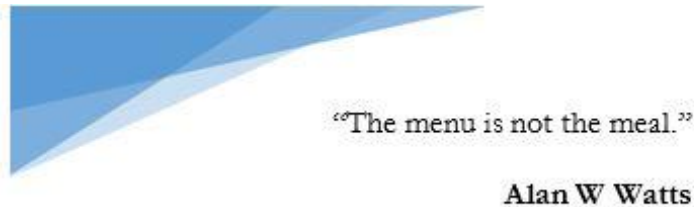
This chapter aims to explore the main discussions and approaches to the concepts of myth, framing, legitimacy and autopoiesis. These analytical tools help to comprehend how representations are shaped, how discourses are legitimized and how myth is used as a tool in discourse. Finally, this chapter ends with a proposal of a new analytical framework to understand the interaction of these theories through autopoiesis.

2.1. Language and legitimacy

Modern legitimacy theory was propounded by Max Weber's classification within the field of politics. Booth and Seligson (2009:1) refer to the taxonomy of legitimacy proposed by Weber, "he distinguished between 'charismatic', 'traditional', and 'rational-legal' forms of legitimation of the state, arguing that the first two are unstable forms that eventually evolve into the rational-legal form dominated by state bureaucracy." [1]

After that, the concept of legitimacy was expanded broadly on the idea of political legitimacy by David Easton "which recast the definition of political legitimacy within the framework of what he called "political support". Easton's framework divided political support into certain components that are more generalized (related to fundamental values) and others that are more specific (the evaluation of well-known leaders)" (Booth and Seligson 2009:9).

Other scholars focus more in terms of measure the legitimacy and standpoints to do that, as (Weatherford 1992:149) arguments: "by distinguishing two different vantage points in the study of political legitimacy, a macro perspective emphasizing formal system properties, and a micro view emphasizing citizens' attitudes and actions."

Furthermore, on legitimacy and language, relationship that interests for the purposes of this paper, some academics propose to discover the language of legitimation studying public political thought. For instance Abulof (2015:74) suggests "unpacking the language of legitimation through normative concepts

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[1] Nonetheless, legitimation is not only a base of the state.

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analysis (NOCA). Normative concepts are not merely informative but appraisive. They ascribe a certain moral value to politics, directly signifying, or indirectly alluding to prescriptive principles. Human rights, happiness, peace, prosperity, security, self-defense and God – these are but few of the many normative (legitimating and de-legitimating) concepts that have come to play an important role in shaping modern politics".

Others researchers deliberate on this connection of language and legitimacy considering that language builds legitimation. Ass Berger and Luckmann (Van Leeuwen 2007:91) state, "incipient legitimation is present as soon as a system of linguistic objectification of human experience is transmitted. For example, the transmission of a kinship vocabulary *ipso facto* legitimates the kinship structure. The fundamental legitimating 'explanations' are, so to speak, built into the vocabulary."

Finally, another framework, which will be taken for the analysis of this study, for analysing the language of legitimation and for delineating types of legitimacy according to the forms and contents of language, as they arise in public communication as well as in ordinary interaction, is suggested by Habermas (Van Leeuwen 2007:92): " Four major categories of legitimation - 1) Authorization, that is, legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested. 2) Moral evaluation, that is, legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems. 3) Rationalization, that is, legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge society constructs to endow them with cognitive validity. 4) Mythopoesis, that is, legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions." These classes of legitimation are not mutually exclusive.

2.2. Language and framing

Framing, since its psychological foundation, through its sociological perspective and its political standpoints, has been analyzed with different approaches. During the last twenty years, framing theory has been developed mainly on media research. However, framing conceptual foundations can be found outside the media field, especially in three areas of interpretive sociology, symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology, where concerns are oriented towards building social reality and the production of meaning in interaction or communicative exchange (Sádaba 2001: 146).

Besides, it is important to mention that in framing studies, other scholars as Goffman along with Gitlin and Gamnson apply the framing theory to social movements, understanding that these build situations of collective action, relying on symbols and frames (Sádaba 2001: 152). From this point of view, the social reality is formed by active agents in a constructivist sense. It is in constant interactions where perceptions are constructed, interpreted and recreated.

In fact, it is important to say that theory of framing still has difficulties in defining its object of study, since analysis it's given in fields like psychology, sociology and political communication have different definitions. Nonetheless,

one of the most accepted definitions is from Robert Entman, when he refers to "politics of representation", describing framing as a process of selecting "some aspects of perceived reality and make them more relevant in a communicative text, so that a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and / or treatment recommendation for the issue described "(1993: 52). [2]

This last definition from Entman, which will be taken for the analysis of this study, is part of the academic literature of "politics of representation" mostly used in cultural and media studies. From a general logic, representation "connects meaning and language to culture" (Hall 2009: 15), and more precisely, "representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully to other people" (Hall 2009: 15). Therefore, representations are meanings established by language in a detailed context that encloses a culture and a shared thinking of the world.

Finally, as Mehan (1997:250) states, "language has power. The language we use in public political discourse and the way we talk about events and people in everyday life makes a difference in the way we think and the way we act about them". In this sense, representations are shaped in power relations. Hall (2009: 25), building on Foucault's thought says, "it is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistics and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others". As a result, reality can be understood as product made real through speeches.

2.3. Language, Memory and Myth

Scholars have perceived social memory as a subfield of the sociology of knowledge and broadly as "the connective structure of societies" (Assmann, as cited in Olick and Robbins 1998: 105). They have seen it as linking particular groups of practices like commemoration and monument building and general forms like tradition, myth or identity (Olick and Robbins 1998:106).

Moreover, in relation to manipulation of the past in order to build the present, Olick and Robbins (1998:128) state that past is created in the present and is therefore malleable. This is called 'presentism' with which it is possible to highlight either instrumental or meaning scopes of memory:

Considering presentism, where memory can be built in the present, and instrumentalism of memory, where memory is used as a tool, it is possible to assume that individuals or groups are the actors of these two conceivable processes. Consequently, it could be productive to use a 'social agency' approach to analyze memory. As Bell (2003: 65) states, "Collective memory is therefore an experientially formatted inter-subjective phenomenon. This is not to say that our shared understanding(s), conceptualization(s), or representation(s) of

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[2] These definition forms the functions of substantive frame, while cultural resonance and magnitude, as repetition, build de procedural frame.

past events generally considered to be vital in the forging of group identity – the sense in which 'collective memory' is employed usually (Jedlowski 2001: 33–4) are unimportant, but rather that they should not be classified as truly mnemonic. Instead, they should be conceived of as mythical". It means that memory is socially framed, first by individuals and then by groups that experience a particular past event and that share the remembrance when they interact. Nonetheless, if memory is attached to experience, (cited above), and in the present we mention past events that we have not experienced. Hence we are talking about something mythical and not truly mnemonic. We are talking about myth.

In the literature of myth, academics deliberate on myth-making when considering that contemporary events are likely to be described and taken in mythical ways, because one of the functions of the mythical story is including the unknown, by no rational uses of language (as metaphor or analogy), in the construction of political myth. The events are considered not for what they are, but as other things. They are considered in an alternative way. In doing so, the event joins with a friendly and familiar environment that is known. It is mythologized. (de la Calle Valverde, Jaime 2016: 135).

Furthermore, expanding on speech and myth Barthes (de la Calle Valverde, Jaime 2016: 135) stated that modern myth is intermittent, it is not a structural story, but has the form of speech with a body of phrases. The myth evaporates but is much more profoundly the mythical. Moreover, (Barthes, as cited in Nieto 2012:141) in his determination to define things, and not words, says that if myth is a speech, therefore it is an empty element that must be filled with a new significance. Therefore, myth has the value of establishing a communication system, defined by the by the way myth is given. In this line (Levi-Strauss, as cited in Nieto 2012:141) considers language and myth in the same category. This definition of myth as speech will be taken for the analysis of this study.

2.4. Language and Autopoiesis

As (Varela et al. 1991:560) state "Every unity can be treated either as an unanalyzable whole endowed with constitutive properties which define it as a unity, or else as complex system that is realized as a unity through its components and their mutual relations". If the last is the situation, a complex system is defined as a unity by the relations between its components which conforms the system as a whole, and its properties are determined by the way unity is defined. It is these relations which define a system that is complex as a unity and establish its organization.

In this sense "the autopoietic organization is defined as a unity by a network of productions of components which (i) participate recursively in the same network of productions of components which produced these components, and (ii) realize the network of productions as a unity in the space in which the components exist (Varela et al. 1991:560)

In fact, it can be said that there are two versions of the notion of autopoiesis. One that emphasizes the physical aspect of the autopoietic machine as a

machine which generates concatenated processes, setting up the machine as a unit in physical space (Varela and Maturana 1973). The other version has a more abstract nature - it refers to the unit in the space in which the components exist (Varela et al. 1991). This second version does not emphasize the material aspect of living systems so it can be applied to different levels of reality.

The abstract version of autopoiesis is the version that has been worked on by Humberto Maturana and is also the version used in social sciences and has seen tremendous success in sociology, particularly through the work of Luhmann. He then defined society as the truly autopoietic social system, saying that it makes communication, and everything that makes communication is society. From this perspective, theory of autopoietic systems needs environment because its components are fleeting and so constant production of communications is only possible with the help of the difference between the system and the environment. (Luhmann 1998).

Finally it is important to mention that for Maturana (as cited in Collazos 2009:85) language is a biological phenomenon consisting of a flow of recurrent interactions that constitute a system of consensual behavioural coordination. Thus, according to Maturana, our words reveal our thinking and also determine our course of action. Therefore, in a community, the content of the conversation reveals its destiny. Talks form and shape the world we live, with possible actions in the realization of our bodily transformation by living in them. This abstract definition of autopoiesis related to language will be taken for the analysis of this study.

2.5. Linking Legitimacy Theory, Framing Theory and Myth through autopoiesis:

The concepts of framing, legitimacy and myth guide the analysis in this paper. The most relevant concepts are related to the importance of language-discourse and the interpretation-representation of reality. (See figure 1.) Current academic literature has not raised a cross sectional study combining these three theories to allow a cohesive analysis. This study proposes an alternative analytical framework to understand the relation between framing, legitimacy and myth in discourse that also introduces the autopoietic political discourse.

Considering that an analytical framework is a coherent set of models associated with a methodology that allows the passage between theoretical proposals (generalizations) and empirical observation, it must then have fundamental criteria, be realistic, interdisciplinary, comparative, generalizable, reflective, and operational (Hufty 2008: 8).

The model proposed (depicted in figure 1) is 'realistic' because it has the ability to describe facts, as opposed to normative perspectives. In this case the coding suggested in the methodology allows categorization of facts according to framing, legitimacy and myth as they are. It is 'interdisciplinary' due to the fact that it rebuilds an object of study among various disciplines. In this case, it takes into account political science, sociology, and biology (to understand the concept of autopoeisis). It has a 'comparative and generalizable' methodology, which assumes that various configurations or speech patterns can be measured

producing external validation. This implies that there is a reflective perspective on the part of researchers, taking into account their interactions with the other actors and the consequences arising from these contacts. Finally, the 'operational' part is feasible, considering the possible measurement through rates of codes.

Seeing this, legitimacy beyond being established through institutional or electoral mechanisms, can be constructed through language, as is described in the theoretical framework, either by the authority, moral evaluation, rationalization on or mythopoesis constructing a 'representation' of what is right to do (legitimate) and what is not appropriate to (illegitimate). Also, framing, within the policies of representation, underlines certain aspects of reality and provides useful 'representations' through the discourse. Subscribing reality from the point of view of Entman to a narrative that involves causes, problems, solutions, moral evaluations and cultural resonance. And also includes, political myth implanted through linguistic tropes as analogy and metaphor which can condense a "representation" of reality from non-real elements.

The proposed analytical framework facilitates the following interconnections and autopoietic relations in the discussion:

1. Understanding the construction of legitimacy through moral evaluation is framing the speech in the same direction. Legitimacy and framing here are together.

2. Understanding the construction of legitimacy through rationalization involves the presentation of information through logic. This logic can be problem-solution which is in the theory of framing. Legitimacy and framing here are together.

3. Understanding legitimacy through authorization by tradition is consider cultural resonance which is identifiable in the framing. Legitimacy and framing here are together.

4. Understanding legitimacy through mythopoesis as a narrative of legitimization assumes a plot which is identifiable through the general framing with a story based on a causal agent, causes, problems which are delegitimized because they are negative, solutions which are legitimized and are morally positive, and where all this is enclosed by a cultural umbrella of phrases, emotionality and more. Legitimacy and framing here are together.

5. Understanding legitimacy through mythopoesis suggests a framing, as described above, which tries to use myth and mythical generation. On one hand, it is evident by the framing of cultural resonance through the use of mythical figures or facts while on the other hand, it is evident when you start not only to generate mythopoesis or to use the myth through literary figures, but also generate a process of auto mythification of the speaker.

Consequently, this toolkit allows to understand the interdependence of these three theories. We can understand that legitimacy can have the objective of mythmaking of the political subject through a specific framing, that myth may have the purpose of legitimation through a certain framing or that a specific framing can pretend myth making and legitimation of a political entity. These inter-relationships are the components which build the organization and structure of discourse, understanding it in a different way as a living discourse, as an autopoietic discourse defined by the relations of framing, legitimation

and myth that self-produce the same discourse. (See figure 2.) The application of the concept of autopoiesis, in discourse, has not been considered by academic literature.

Hence, this new analytical framework provides a theoretical common ground to understand the logic proposed behind the political discourse of the Presidents of countries of the 21st century Socialism, explained through autopoiesis. At the same time, it facilitates the exploration of reality representations that in official discourses have been justified with myths and mythical purposes. Finally, Entman's approach of framing allowed to operationalize the postulates of Habermas in relation to Legitimacy and Language of Barthes in relation to Myth and Discourse.

Figure 1. Relation between framing, legitimacy and myth

Legitimacy (Habermas)

Framing (Entman)

1.-rationalization/problem-solution
2.-moral evaluation
3.-Mythopoesis/framing
4.-authorization/cultural resonance

Myth (Barthes)
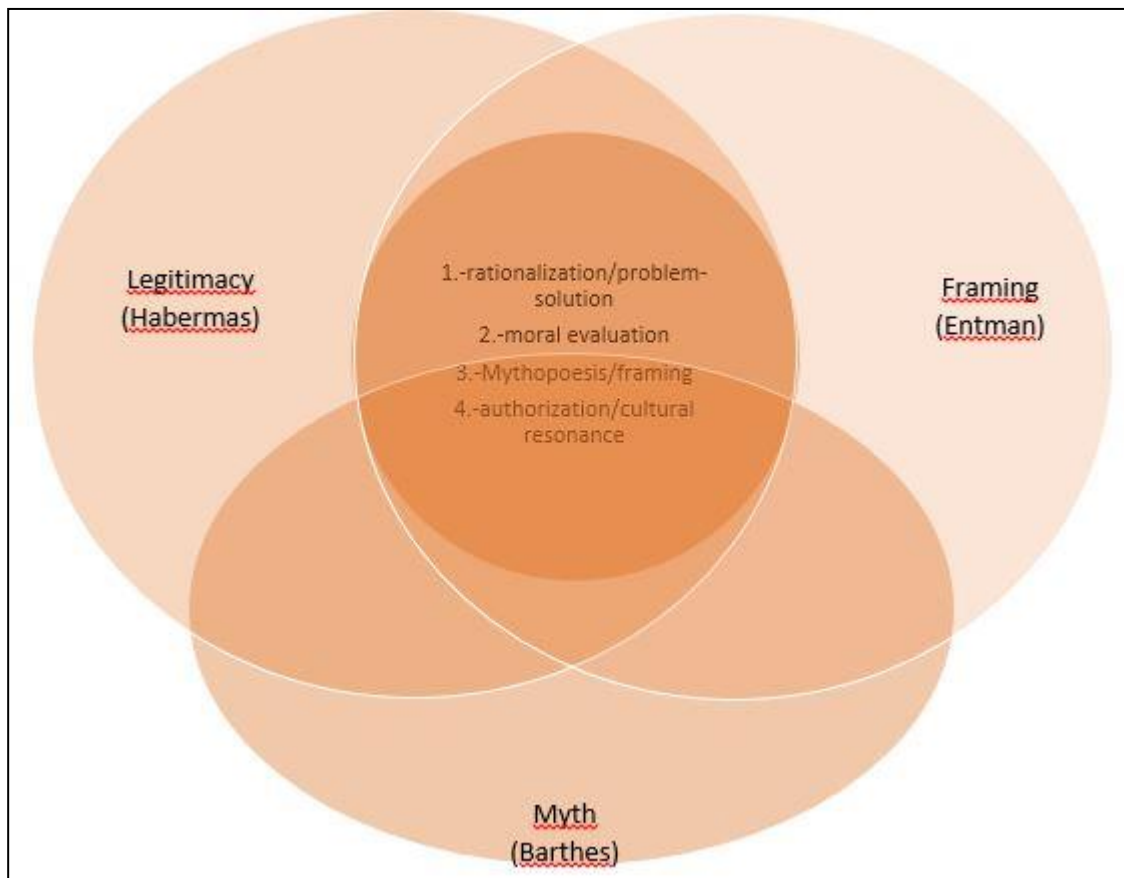
Elaborated by the author

Figure 2. Autopoietic Discourse
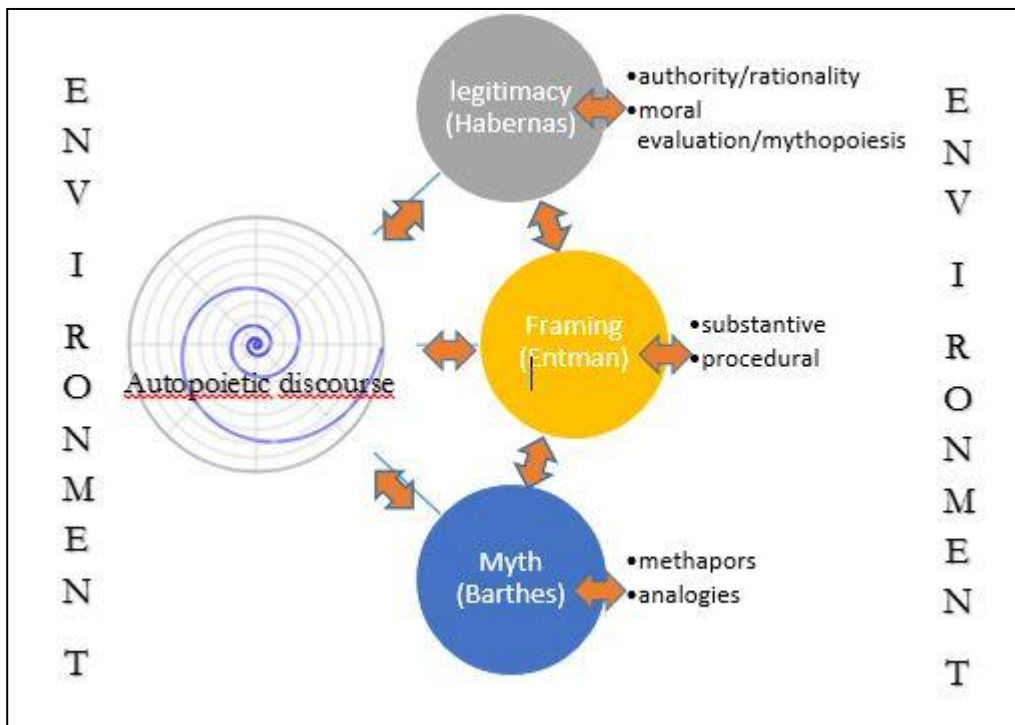
Elaborated by the author

Chapter 3
Investigating discourses

"Be less curious about people and more curious about ideas"

Marie Curie

This chapter aims to explain the research question, the case and text selection that help to answer this interrogation and the methodology applied to the speeches in order to arrive at the answer. This methodology helps to operationalize the relation between framing, legitimacy and myth in order to understand autopoiesis. Finally, this chapter ends with a theory to test its hypothesis.

3.1. Detail of the research

There are studies in relation to legitimacy and how it can be achieved through language. Moreover, there are studies about framing, explaining how a discourse highlights few elements of something. Furthermore, there are studies in relation to myth that clarifies how it's built and used. Considering these three issues, the research question investigates, 'What is the language approach of legitimation of the representatives of the new Latin American Left through their inaugural speeches?'

Three sub-questions that build the main research question are:

- What is the framing of these speeches of the Presidents of Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela?

- What kind of legitimations are preponderant in the inaugural Presidential discourses?

- Which are the most common rhetoric figures that these discourses use to construct myth?

This study of the research problem, taking into account legitimacy, framing and myth analysis, would allow principally to recognize the kind of legitimacy that Presidents use through discourses over civil society; to identify how Presidents frame their speech; to observe how discourses build myths; and to introduce the perspective of autopoiesis in the discourse of the 21st Century Socialism.

3.2. Case and text selection

Since 2005, there is the premise that Presidents Chavez, Morales and Correa make up the new Latin American Left and this is maintained until today. Also it is recognised that these three governments have some shared features related to policies, agendas and rhetoric speeches. However, from the discursive point of view in their first interventions they do not use the word Socialism as paradigm of the new Left.

Hence, if these new Left Governments are present to this day and have similar connotations from a political-economic point of view, different from their previous governments, it would be interesting to know how their legitimacy was settled through the inaugural speech and how this foundational legitimacy caused a breaking point with the legitimacy of previous governments.

This foundational legitimacy could be interpreted as the one which is continuous in subsequent speeches and act as reflective and supportive of the ideology of the 21st Century Socialism. For instance, as Chavez does in the first speech of his third presidency in 2007 or as Morales and Correa have been doing indirectly in their public interventions since their first speeches.

One aspect that has to be considered is the time of framing of the speeches. Discourses of Correa and Morales are developed in a similar time, 2007 and 2006 respectively, while the discourse of Chavez was developed long before in 1999. Then, because the time period is different, their context too is different and it should be given prominence for the purpose of the proposed analysis to investigate what the speeches represent. Hence, the discursive importance is in the consideration of present-past relation and its context.

The goal is that knowing that the ideological thinking of the so-called 21st century Socialism is full or partial shared by the three Presidents ¿how discursively, the three Presidents sat basis for this in their first speeches?. Moreover, the analysis is not intended to be strictly comparative, in the sense of differentiating the discursive language strategies of Presidents but to understand the common discursive language approach used by the representatives of the new Latin American Left to legitimise themselves. It is to understand the three Presidents as a 'whole discourse' and not as different parts.

This whole discourse considers a particular text selection that allows the investigation of the research question. These texts are the inaugural speeches of all three Presidents - Hugo Chavez in his first Presidential inauguration in Venezuela on January 10, 1999; the official discourse of Rafael Correa from his first Presidential inauguration in Ecuador on January 15, 2007; and, the official discourse of Evo Morales from his first Presidential inauguration in Bolivia on January 22, 2006. These texts are chosen because they are the original speeches where on one hand they speak about proposals they have and on the other hand they manifest differentiators with previous governments. Both ways legitimise their future actions.

The parts of the speeches analyzed in this paper were translated into English keeping in consideration the essence of the original language. To sum up, these speeches are selected for the following reasons: First, because the speeches correspond to the three Latin American Presidents who have publicly said to belong to the new wave of the 21st century Socialism; Second, because the speeches are linked to the same cultural, historical and mythological acquis;

Third, because they are the first speeches of the three Presidents through which they propose their political and ideological thinking for the present and future.

3.3. Methodology applied to speech

In order to examine the discourses mentioned, six methods in the following sequence were used for analyzing the texts: First, simple content analysis as an exploratory introduction to speeches. This was done with the help of an online content analysis software (http://www.online-utility.org/text/analyzer.jsp) that counts both word and phrase frequencies. These results were more methodically analyzed in other stages of the analysis as using frame, myth and legitimacy approach.

Second, an analysis table was generated to further examine the text. Gasper's (2000) tabular format for step-wise argumentation analysis, built on the work of Scriven, was applied to the text. As an approach that centers on the particulars of the text itself, the process of building an analysis table allows the discovery of meanings within the text. The table consists of one column for the text itself, divided into sections, as well as columns for commenting on meanings and identifying stated and unstated conclusions and assumptions. Finally, there is another column to identify alternative positions. This method also works as a base for Comparative Policy Agenda codification, framing analysis and was used to identify reactions, purposes and legitimations in order to execute legitimacy analysis.

Third, Comparative Policy Agendas method was used to identify content by topic in the speech, again as an exploratory introduction to discourses. It allows classification of different events by subject, so it was possible to study the frequency of such events as well as find and investigate particular events in more details in relation to framing, legitimacy and myth. For this purpose, a codebook of Comparative Policy Agendas was elaborated (See appendix 2). It has a taxonomy of 24 codes for different topics. They are comprehensive and have been consistently applied over the speeches taking into account each time that presidents were more concentrated on an issue in a given sentence considering the column of the text itself. This was done in an extra column added to the analysis table. This resulted in a list of topics on which the Presidents focused more. These results were more methodically analysed in other stages of the analysis as frame, myth and legitimacy.

Fourth, speeches were analyzed from the contemporary explanatory model activation cascade which in the theory of political communication states that there are two types of framing - substantive and procedural. Substantive framing includes functions as problem definition, cause identification, moral assessment and remedy. Regarding procedural framing, it includes cultural resonance and magnitude. The first one can be measured with the use of images, stories, narratives, traditions and historical memory that evokes the culture of the target audience, while the second one can be measured through the repetition of certain words or phrases (Entman 2003: 417). In this sense, six columns were added to analysis table: 1. Definition of the conditions and problems; 2. Causes; 3. Moral evaluation (one column for positive evaluation and other for negative evaluation); 4. Solution or remedy; and, 5. Procedural framing of cultural resonance. For the operationalization of framing in relation to problems

and solutions (framing 1 and 4), each time the orator mentioned the topics from the codebook as a problem or solution considering the column of the text itself, a value of 1 was given. This means those topics presented as difficulties within political reality and answers were presented to them.

For framing two "Identification of causes", when the orator speaks about governments which denotes previous administrations; Elites, denoting economic groups or socially privileged people; individuals or groups with particular political, cultural or social bias; or international actors, denoting supranational subjects, that were considered as producers of problems a value of 1 was given considering the column of the text itself.

Regarding framing three, "Moral evaluation", on the one hand when the orator speaks about a virtue, it was considered as a positive moral evaluation. On the other hand when the orator speaks about a vice it was considered a negative moral evaluation. In both cases a value of 1 was given considering the column of the text itself. In this type of framing, morality may not be externalized in a clear or precise way in the discourse through exact adjectives as good or bad but may be subordinated to other adjectives such as attributive adjectives. For example, natural or normal can signify something good or positive. Hence, the importance of the context is considered in order to analyze the speech. As stated by Van Leeuwen (2007: 98), "it is not possible to find an explicit, linguistically motivated method for identifying moral evaluations of this kind. As discourse analysts we can only 'recognize' them on the basis of our common-sense cultural knowledge"

Lastly, regarding procedural framing of cultural resonance, a value of 1 was given when the speaker communicates something noticeable, denoting the data that is relevant to the public and that can impact it; understandable, denoting colloquial language, quotes, phrases, history mentioned; memorable stories or myths; or emotional use of a passionate language to set an idea. This considering the column of the text itself.

Fifth, in the field of Legitimacy, to identify the categories of legitimation (Authorization, Moral Evaluation, Rationalization and Mythopoesis), the analysis table and framing analysis takes into account three kind of elements: 1) Reactions as feelings. 2) Purposes and 3) the answer to the question 'Why should we do this in this way?' (Habermas, as cited in Van Leeuwen 2007: 93).

Sixth, concerning the myth, analog and metaphorical expansion of the speeches were analyzed to identify the new myth identity that is developed in the texts and also the presentation of traditional myths. Both in comparison with other events, other thoughts and other periods of time within speeches.

3.4. What is going to be tested?

The theory to test is:

The political discourse of the new Left in Latin America maintains a frame that is given to the myth in order to legitimate their speeches.

Three hypotheses can be extracted from here:

Hypothesis 1 - Speeches of the Presidents will follow logic of development of substantive framing: problem, cause of the problem, moral evaluation and solution. It will also have a high content of procedural framing of cultural resonance and magnitude.

Hypothesis 2 – The Presidents have multidimensional legitimation.

Hypothesis 3 – The Presidents legitimate their speeches with the use of myth as a base of legitimation.

Chapter 4
Contextualizing the speeches of the new Left in Latin America

"There are no facts, there are only interpretations"

Nietzsche
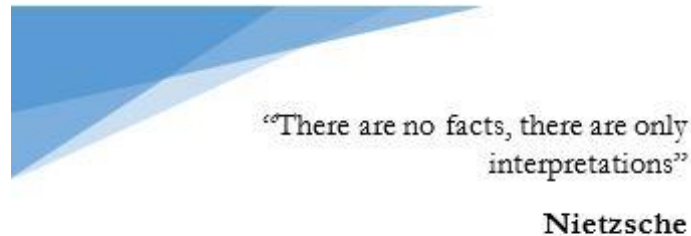
This chapter aims to explain the context against which the analysis of this paper is done. This part comprehends the general ideological features that the 21st Century Socialism defends and the realities considered by Presidents in the development of their discourses. It also contains a brief political history of Presidents related to context. Finally, it presents a general exploration of discourses by content and policy agenda analysis that shows the first concordance between context and discourses, that is the base for the next stages of analysis.

4.1. Context: locating the 21st Century Socialism

A renewed presence of the Left wing in Latin American political sphere has emerged. It breaks away from the traditional forms in terms of political representation, foreign relations, economic views and political participation. This new political process has been conducted by democratic governments, principally governments of Ecuador, Venezuela and Bolivia, self-defined as followers of the 21st century Socialism.

These three governments share some commonalities. For example, as Ellner (2012:98) states when he refers to electoral Democracy, "One distinctive characteristic is the frequency of electoral contests including party primaries, recall elections and national referendums, which have been marked by high levels of voter turnout."

Regarding radicalization Ellner (2012:101) refers to the point of departure of these three governments from their previous governments and says, "The electoral platforms of Chavez, Morales and Correa in their first successful bids for the Presidency de-emphasized far-reaching socio-economic transformation and focused on more moderate goals. Their principal campaign offer was the convening of a constituent assembly in order to 'refound' the nation's democracy on the basis of popular participation."

Ellner (2012:104) talks about foreign relations of these three governments and points to the creation of political supranational blocs to counter the hegemony of global power led by few countries. In his words, "The strategy pur-

sued by all three governments in favor of a "multipolar world" resembles in some ways and contrasts in others with the foreign policies of governments committed to Socialism in the Twentieth century."

Ellner (2012:105) throws light on the political vision of the three governments and says that they support an alternative to Capitalism based on Socialism, "Morales, Chavez and Correa have proposed adapting Socialism to the concrete reality of Latin America at a time when the conventional wisdom in the West is that this model is all but dead."

Finally, deliberating on the social and economic condition, Ellner (2012:108) focuses on the principal actors that support and allow the assumption of power in the three countries in comparison with Traditional socialist regimes, and states that, "Nonproletarian underprivileged classes played leading roles and belonged to powerful social movements in Bolivia and Ecuador, while in Venezuela they participated in the disruptions that shook the nation in February 1989."

4.2. Correa: his brief political history and assumption of power

Ecuador faced great political instability during the 20th century, with various military regimes before the establishment of Democracy in 1979. However, this new phase also failed to produce stability. Between 1997 and 1998 the devastating effects of El Niño–Southern Oscillation (ENSO) and the dropping of oil prices led the country into bankruptcy, causing a dramatic rise in inflation. In 2000, President Mahuad dollarized the economy causing another inflation. His successor in office, his vice president, Noboa, continued this process alongside implementing a tough austerity plan imposed by the International Monetary Fund. That time saw several major banks collapse and a great fraud involving small investors occurred, leading to the rupture of the financial structure (Morales López 2012: 1).

In response, social movements took to the streets organizing major rebellions and protests, with even the risk of civil war. Despite this climate of social tension, Ecuadorian economy stabilized few years later by the same effect of Dollarization. In 2002, the former coup leader Lucio Gutierrez, who had led the coup of 2000, won the support of indigenous people after promising to end corruption. Nonetheless, once he was President, he forgot his initial objectives and political vision which caused new protests and his dismissal in 2005 (Morales López 2012: 2). Following this, his Vice President, Alfredo Palacio, was elected as president and ended the government period for which Gutierrez was elected. Palacio chose Rafael Correa Delgado as Minister of Economy, who until then had not appeared on the political scene and had been dedicated to the academia.

In November 2006, after Rafael Correa resigned as minister, he won the elections with promises to elaborate a new constitution, 'refound' the country, fight corruption and end the 'partidocracia'. This politician and his new party, Alianza País, represented a change from traditional politicians. He was a person who was away from the first line of the political contests, relatively young, working middle class and with scholarships from foreign universities. Although he was born on the coast (Guayaquil), he knew the indigenous rural areas, its

poverty and the majority indigenous country language, Quichua (Morales López 2012: 2).

4.3. Morales, his brief political history and assumption of power

In December 2005, Evo Morales, a contender from the political organization 'Movement toward Socialism', (MAS) became the president of the Republic of Bolivia by winning with absolute majority, an unprecedented event in the democratic cycle started since 1982. With this, nearly two decades of coalition governments formed through pacts between traditional parties that converged around neo-liberalism and representative Democracy came to an end (Mayorga 2008: 21).

MAS victory meant the return of the Left to power after the failed experience of the Democratic and Popular Unity (1982- 1984). Though sharing distinctive features, unlike the consideration of the working class and the old Left, MAS represents rural and ethnic identities and cultural demands, sits on a conglomerate of unions, social movements and indigenous people, with statist and nationalist projects that shares the international policy of Venezuela and Cuba (Mayorga 2008: 21).

Finally, MAS is built around the leadership of Evo Morales, first indigenous President, union leader producer of coca leaf farmers and anti-globalization figure of the movement. This shift to the left in Bolivian politics is part of a wider process of state transition that happened since the early 2000s involving : a) transformation of relations between the state and foreign investment redefining the development model; b) mutation in the relations between the state and regions to promote a model of political decentralization; c) metamorphosis of the nation-state project based on the recognition of collective rights of indigenous people; and finally, d) changing patterns of political participation and representation in democratic institutions (Mayorga 2008: 22).

4.4. Chavez, his brief political history and assumption of power

After two unsuccessful coups on 4th of February and 27th November in 1992, former Lt. Col. Hugo Chavez won the 1998 elections with almost 60% of the votes. The Bolivarian revolution emerges on the background of a major institutional crisis: the Punto Fijo system, alternation in power of two parties, (1961-1998). The Venezuelan crisis originated since early 1980s due to changes in domestic and international economic situation, mainly the decline in oil prices. The State of Punto Fijo, left the economic abundance of the 'Saudi Venezuela' era, starting with the oil shock of 1973, and begins to assume structural adjustment (Tarragoni 2013: 25).

Across the country, large disturbances occurred, popular classes opposed the government decision to raise the price of gasoline and transport. Caracazo, rebellion of people of Venezuelan neighbourhoods occurred in 1989, continuing a cycle of protests that had started in 1983-1984 and which lasted until 1990. Besides this economic crisis, institutional crisis also began. It was evidenced in the corruption scandals of political parties in the government and their inability to contain some explosive social tensions. In the 90s the implosion of Punto Fijo system occurred. In this context of crisis and revolution,

two processes took place. First, a restructuring of the political system, because new anti-system political parties emerged, for instance, the MVR (Movement V Republic of Hugo Chavez) and new social actors and movements came up. Second, there was a change of policy expectations, coups in 1992 within a context of de-legitimation of elite defenders of Punto Fijo and legitimation of Chavez who was seeking power (Tarragoni 2013: 26).

Thus, in elections of 1998 converged the rejection of the elites Punto Fijo, the political mismanagement of the social crisis and the invention of a new political tradition. Between mythology and ideology, between crisis and messianic, a foundation called "bolivarianismo" was built. A neologism, which involves the doctrine of Simon Bolivar as the ideological and political umbrella of Chavez´s governmental proposal (Tarragoni 2013: 27).

4.5. Exploring discourses by content considerations

4.5.1. Rafael Correa's speech

The overall parameters used to explore content of the speech can be seen in Table 1 of appendix 1. Regarding to frequency, there are phrases that contain four words, that involve the issue of *'corruption'* and *'debt'*, which suggests that the discourse contains these subjects as important frames. See Table 2 of appendix 1.

Regarding the frequency of words, first in relation to the pronouns there is no considerable frequency with respect to any of them, which determines the varied use of the first, second and third person in both singular and plural. Second, some nouns that are repeated more frequently in the speech are, for example, words like *'nation', 'country', 'state'* and *'Ecuador'* denoting the use of nationalist language. There is also the use of *'America' 'countries'* and *'Latin America'*, denoting a supranational language. Other words used are *'crisis', 'debt'* and *'corruption'*, which determines the focus of discourse in this type of problems. Likewise, there are words such as *'struggle', 'revolution'* and *'development'* which states the actions that the orator specifically proposes. Regarding the use of emotive language there are words like *'brothers'*. Finally, a name of a person that is repeated considerably compared to the length of the speech is *'Bolivar'* which shows the importance of this historical figure to the speech. See Table 3 of appendix 1.

4.5.2. Evo Morales's speech

The overall parameters used to explore content of the speech can be seen in Table 4 of appendix 1. Regarding to frequency, there are phrases that contain four words that involve the issues of *'indigenous people'* or the *'government of USA'* which conform important frames. See Table 5 of appendix 1.

Regarding the frequency of words, first in relation to the pronouns there is considerable frequency with respect to possessive pronouns as *'our'* and *"us"* which states that the discourse is developed in first person plural. Second, some nouns that are repeated more frequently in the speech are for example *'Pueblo', 'Bolivia', 'Bolivian', 'country', 'State', 'peoples'* and *'national'*, denoting the use of a nationalist language. There is also the use of *'countries'* and *'international'*,

denoting a supranational language. Other words used are *'naturals'* and *'indigenous'*, which determines the focus of discourse in this type of ancestral subjects. Likewise, there are words such as *'struggle'*, *'movement'*, *'assembly'*, *'government'* and *'change'* which states the actions that the orator proposes specifically. Regarding the use of emotive language there are words like *'brothers'*, *'thanks'* and *'true'*. Finally, a name of a person that is repeated considerably compared to the length of the speech is *'Evo'*. It means the orator refers to himself in third person to remark his position. In this way he also uses the word *'President'*. See Table 6 of appendix 1.

4.5.3. Hugo Chavez's speech

The overall parameters used to explore content of the speech can be seen in Table 7 of appendix 1. Regarding frequency, there are phrases that contain four words that involve *'supreme court'* and *'congress'* for the process of the modification of the constitution, also phrases as *'my fault, my fault'* which states the Christian language that is used in political context, and *"exercises his absolute will"* as a quote from Simon Bolivar that is constantly repeated. See Table 8 of appendix 1.

Regarding the frequency of words, first, in relation to the pronouns there is huge frequency with respect to personal pronouns as *'I'* and *'you'* and possessive pronouns as *'me'* and *'my'* which states that the discourse is developed in first person trying to establish the importance of the orator in the discourse. There are also pronouns as *"our"* and *"us"* which states that the discourse is developed in first person plural too.

Second, some nouns that are repeated more frequently in the speech are, for example, *'Pueblo'*, *'Venezuela'*, *'Venezuelans'*, *'country'*, *'republic'*, *'peoples'* and *'national'*, denoting the use of nationalist language. Other words used are, *'congress'*, *'crisis'*, *'emergency'*, which determines the focus of discourse in this type of subjects. Likewise words such as *'constituent'*, *'referendum'*, *'project'* and *'government'* state the actions that the orator propose specifically. Finally, a name of a person that is repeated considerably is *'Bolívar'*, highlighting the importance of this character, another word is *'President'* which means the orator positions himself in the discourse in a remarkable way. See Table 9 of appendix 1.

4.5.4. How presidents use the content of the speech?

Taking into account the three presidential speeches, from a quantitative point of view, the study has identified important issues and patterns in the texts. For example, the frequency of nationalist words, the use of emotional and cultural language, issues that are considered problematic as well as solutions to them, and pronouns used strategically. The repetition of these words tells us that presidents focus more on certain aspects to position their political vision, through framings like revolution, through priming and agenda setting and also to build the magnitude, repetition, within the procedural framing, allowing greater efficiency in transmission of the message.

Similarly, from a qualitative point of view, the study looks at the type of language used. The Presidents use nationalist (all three), Christian (Chavez) and indigenous (Morales) language and the language of confrontation through words like *'revolution* or *'fight'*. This is the use of Manichean vision and use of pronouns to engage marked positions. Nationalist language with terms like

'country' and *'people'*, who are empty signifiers and can be filled with new meaning, are used by the new presidents while talking about projects proposed by them to construct the imaginaries.

So then, saying the word 'people' and speaking on behalf of the people makes the President part of them and validates him, establishing a connection between President and population. This legitimacy urges the people who defend the homeland to also become defenders of his political projects.

For the achievement of this objective, pronouns are needed. Hence, the recourse to classify visions in *'them'* and *'us'* in order to demarcate new identities is necessary. In this case, lovers of the country are people and protectors of the present solutions, against those who are haters of the country who are people representing past problems. In the same way, the words *'Bolivar'* and *'indigenous'*, which are also empty signifiers, are filled with new meanings to support the political actions of those who use them. So, *'Bolivar'* necessarily becomes revolutionary and *'indigenous'* assumes not only a cultural but also a political connotation.

4.6. Exploring discourses by Policy Agenda considerations

Now I am going to use the codebook to uncover the issues most mentioned in discourses of each president.

4.6.1. Rafael Correa's speech

Correa´s speech has a higher percentage in the field of government and administration (code 20) generally for two aspects – its focus on the presentation of new policies, political processes that have developed political concerns as well as the new Government's plans, and its reference to the institutional and political failures of previous governments, specifically related to corruption.

From the field of macroeconomics (code 1), the speech is mainly based on a critique of the previous neoliberal economic model which has caused the economic crisis in Ecuador. It also states the economic revolution approach to solve the crisis. From the field of foreign policy (code 19), the speech calls for regional integration and building a nation made up of the states of South America. See figure 3.

Figure 3. Correa's Policy Agenda
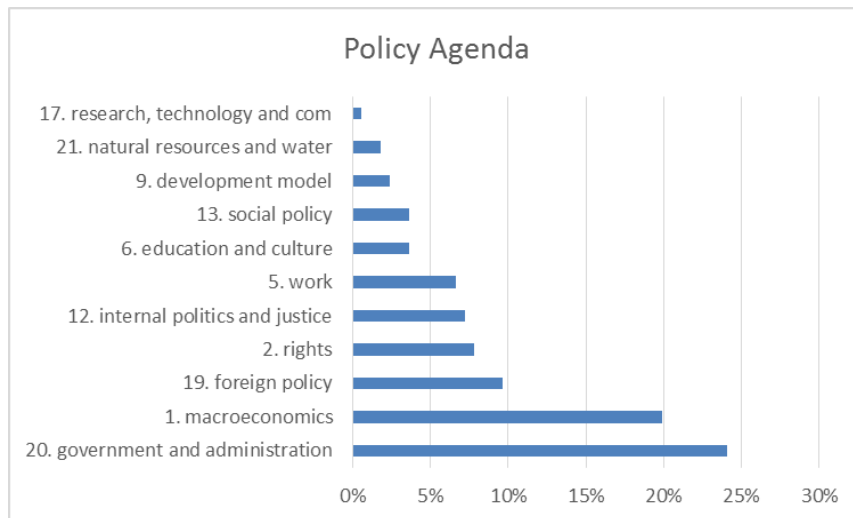
Elaborated by the author

4.6.2. Evo Morales's speech

Evo´s speech has a high percentage of government and administration (code 20) - firstly, because it refers to the failed political processes until he arrived and secondly, due to the fact that he proposes MAS in order to generate a change in the country.

From the field of rights (code 2), this speech has a high percentage because it narrates the historical discrimination and marginalization of Bolivia's indigenous people and the promotion of those rights to promote equality. In the field of foreign policy (code 19) the discourse considers regional integration as one of the possible solutions of the various problems of Bolivia and it mentions the need of support from the international community. See figure 4.

Figure 4. Morales's Policy Agenda
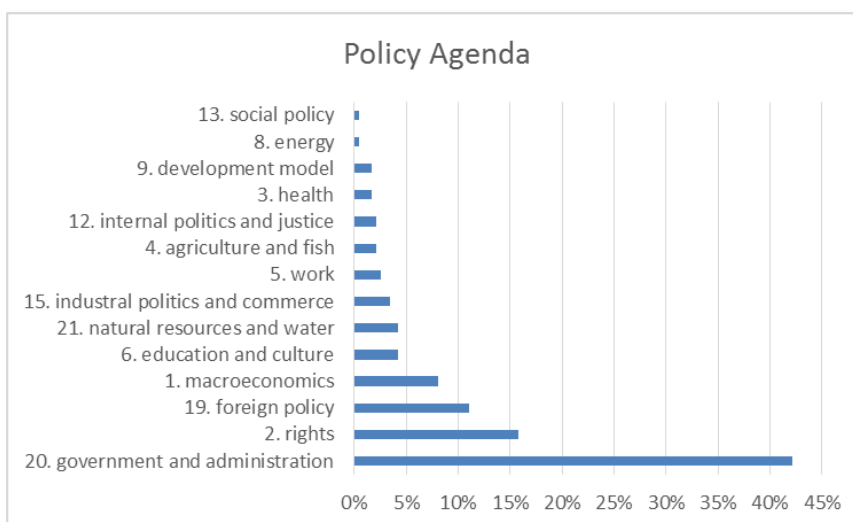
Elaborated by the author

4.6.3. Hugo Chavez's speech

Chavez's speech has the highest percentage of government and administration (code 20). Primarily because it involves an exhaustive critique of governments that preceded the new government. Also, because it determines what changes the government are proposing, particularly through the preparation of a new constitution and it relies heavily on the cultural memory of Bolivar and the independence process.

From the macroeconomics (code 1), the speech mentions the failure of the economic system, unemployment and extreme crisis. It also describes the new economic policy proposals to solve difficulties in this area. On the subject of foreign policy (code 19), the speech reflects on international order and suggests a multipolar order which in Latin America has to begin with the formation of one nation, following Bolivar's thinking. See figure 5.

Figure 5. Chavez's Policy Agenda
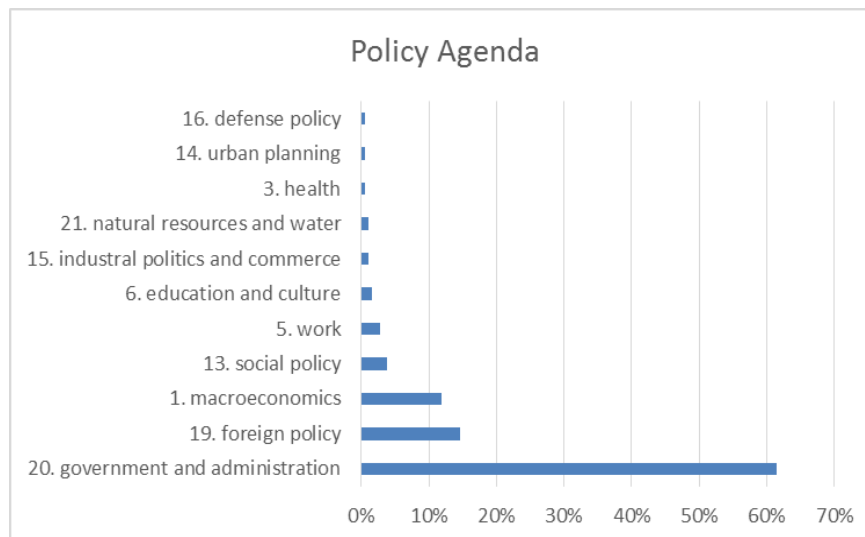
Elaborated by the author

4.6.4. What message is framed?

Considering the three presidential speeches, two fundamental things can be emphasized here, agenda with issue prioritization and policy convergence. Regarding the agenda, the Presidents put their emphasis on certain issues. This focus is not random, it is calculated to be related to the context that is common in public opinion. This implies that these issues have greater attention from the civil society. While developing the speech referring to the economy, government, administration, integration and rights, there is a strategy to respond to the needs arising from the context and public opinion, allowing the Presidents to immerse in the political agenda and evoke a speech consistent with the national reality. Another thing which can be discerned here, considering the 'issue ownership theory', is that the Presidents discuss topics they are knowledgeable about or where they have more legitimacy. For example, President Correa, being an economist, has a wide range of formal education through which he could relate everything to the economy and give response

from that perspective. Similarly, Morales did the same based on his long political history with the indigenous movements, making his speech inclusive with all contextual aspects that may arise. In the same way, Chavez performs on the Bolivarian political struggle that generated since his appearance in the political arena, especially naming himself as great expert of the figure Bolivar. These issues relate to the concept of legitimacy which will be developed later.

Regarding policy convergence, similarities and divergences in the prioritization of issues among countries and policy areas have been identified. Thus, the two fundamental issues that are shared by the three Presidents are Government and Integration. This is consistent with their extensive critique of the previous neoliberal governments, and the existence of solutions with new Socialist governments, as well as with the ideological premise of the necessity of a supranational bloc. The importance of economy was shared by Correa and Chavez, while Morales gave more emphasis on the rights because in his given context discrimination is a root to other issues.

In conclusion, speeches have been embroiled in different contexts to develop them in a coherent, inclusive and more effective way. This is demonstrated in the frequency of word-phrases as base of magnitude and the consideration of context as base of greater cultural resonance. Both within procedural framing. Furthermore, the convergence of the identified political agenda determines that the three governments share topics that are developed in discourses. In fact, there is a supranational discourse that frames the context but with a particular binary form of problem-solution, for example. Therefore, the particular way in which these contents are transmitted will be analysed in the next chapter as substantive framing where content and policy analysis form the framework to understand it

Chapter 5
Interconnecting Presidents of the 21st century Socialism through Framing

"... My story is true to reality or, in any case, to my personal memory of reality, which is the same. The incidents occurred recently, but I know the literary habit is also the habit of intercalating circumstantial features and accentuating the emphasis ... "

- J. L. Borges - "Ulrica"

This chapter will analyze the representations of political reality through the inaugural discourses of the Presidents and will explain the identified procedural and substantive frames in the different speeches. From this point on, the Presidents' *speech-statements* will be in italics, in order to enable the reader to identify the discursive pieces being analyzed.

5.1. Cultural Resonance and Magnitude

Correa's speech has the highest percentage of procedural framing in the area of cultural resonance compared to other functions of substantive framing as problems, solutions among others. It involves citing the actions undertaken by previous governments, relevant Ecuadorian historical data such as the economic crisis of 1999 that caused migration, mentioning historical figures such as Simon Bolivar or Eloy Alfaro and the use of emotive language. This can be evidenced in the following example stated in the discourse, "*Two hundred years have passed without the Bolivarian dream being realized*".

Morales' speech also has a higher percentage of procedural framing in the area of cultural resonance compared to other functions of substantive framing. It involves citing the actions undertaken by previous governments, relevant Bolivarian historical data such as discrimination of indigenous people for centuries, mentioning historical figures such as Tupac Amaru, Tupac Katari and Che Guevera, and the use of sensitive language. This can be evidenced in the following example stated in the discourse, "*To remember our ancestors through you Mr. President of the National Congress, I ask for a minute of silence for Manco Inca, Tupac Katari, Tupac Amaru, Bartolina Sisa, Zarate Villca, Atihuaiqui Kicksey, Andres Ibañez, Che Guevara*"

In the case of Chavez, the speech has a higher percentage of procedural framing in the area of cultural resonance compared to other functions of substantive framing and is also the highest in relation to other Presidents. It in-

volves mentioning the actions executed by previous governments, relevant Venezuelan historical data such as the ethical crisis as well as mentioning historical figures such as Simon Bolivar and the use of emotional language. This can be evidenced in the following example mentioned in the discourse, *"It is reasonably to give reason to Pablo Neruda, that big figure of us, of our property, when he sings to Bolivar and saying "he wake up every hundred years when the people wake up".* See figure 6.

To determine the magnitude, both the quantitative content analysis done previously, which determines the frequency of use of words and phrases and the policy convergence and issue prioritization are consider. In the first aspect the three Presidents have a high magnitude in the speech. In the second aspect, integration and government issues are prioritized and most repeated.

5.2. The Problem

The problem is important also in the speech. Correa in his speech mentions all the difficulties that the country has in economic, political and social spheres, the various crises, national emergencies and all institutional problems that Ecuador has faced. This can be evidenced in the following example: *"All this led us to the dollarization of the economy".* Correa focuses more on problems compared to other Presidents' speeches.

Morales also makes sufficient room in the discourse to mention all the complications that the country has in economic, political and social domains, mainly the historical discrimination of indigenous people. This can be evidenced in the following example: *"Ex-presidents understand this cannot be done, you do not "marginalize", you fight; you work for all."*

The problem is also significant in Chavez's speech, he mentions all the difficulties that the country has in different fields the various emergencies and all formal problems that Venezuela has faced. This can be evidenced in the following example: *"July 5th of 1975. It began to smell something "bad" in Venezuela. Ethical crisis began."* See figure 6.

5.3. Moral evaluation

Moral evaluation is preponderant in the speeches, considering both the positive and the negative assessments. The orator rewards and punishes within the text. In the case of Correa, negative assessment is greater than the positive. During positive framing generally he enhances the actions of the new government such as when he said, *"It is time to understand that the main goodness that our societies demand is the moral good".* In case of negative framing, he usually attacks the problems and the producers of them in the past. This can be seen in phrases like *"perverse system that has destroyed our democracy, our economy and our society."*

Morales has higher positive assessment than negative. In case of positive framing, he generally defends the actions of the indigenous people and the new movement of the government. For example he says, *"Here you can see that the original indigenous movement is not exclusive".* In case of negative framing, he usually attacks the discrimination and producers of them in the past. This can be seen

in phrases like, *"it is not possible that some people keep looking for how to plunder, exploit and marginalize."*

The negative and positive assessments are relatively equal in Chavez's speech. In case of positive framing, he amplifies the actions of the new government like when he says, "*One of my main tasks, dear friends and I assume this, is to tell the truth in which I believe, because the truth, the real truth, we Catholics know that God has it*". In case of negative framing, he usually looks at the problems and producers of them in the past. This can be seen in phrases like, *"have to face a situation inherited, terrible, a deficit of almost 9 points in the Domestic Product."* Moral Evaluation is almost similar in percentages among the Presidents. See figure 6 and 7.

5.4. The Solution

Correa develops this framing when he proposes projects, programs and actions that will be started by the new government to bring change. This can be seen in phrases like, "*the fundamental instrument for this change is the National Constituent Assembly*". Morales presents this framing when he proposes plans, agendas and activities that the new government is going to implement to transform structures. This is seen in phrases like, *"as the parliament you have a huge responsibility, as the parliament you have a task to fulfill: the clamorous request of the Bolivian people, which is the Constituent Assembly to refound Bolivia"*. Chavez produces this framing when he proposes responsibilities, outlines and activities that will begin with the new government to change the political system. This is seen in phrases like, *"that is the fundamental objective of the Constituent Assembly."* Solution is almost similar in percentages among the three Presidents. See figure 6

5.5. Causes

There are many causes for Correa, as can be seen when he refers to the producers of the aforementioned problems. For example, he mentions *"bankers"* when he says, "*we will never forget corrupt bankers that broke us*". Morales finds causes in the agents who are responsible for problems such as discrimination. For example, he uses the word *"enemies"* when he pronounces, "*I want to say that there are still remnants of those people who are enemies of indigenous peoples*". The framing of cause can be found when Chavez refers to the creators of social crisis. For example, when he says that all have to recognize a part of responsibility for the country's crisis, he states, *"I call and this is my first call as President of Venezuela, to recognize all our faults as we do in the Church*". Causes, as framing, is almost similar in percentages among all the Presidents. See figure 6

Figure 6. Procedural and Substantive Framing of speeches
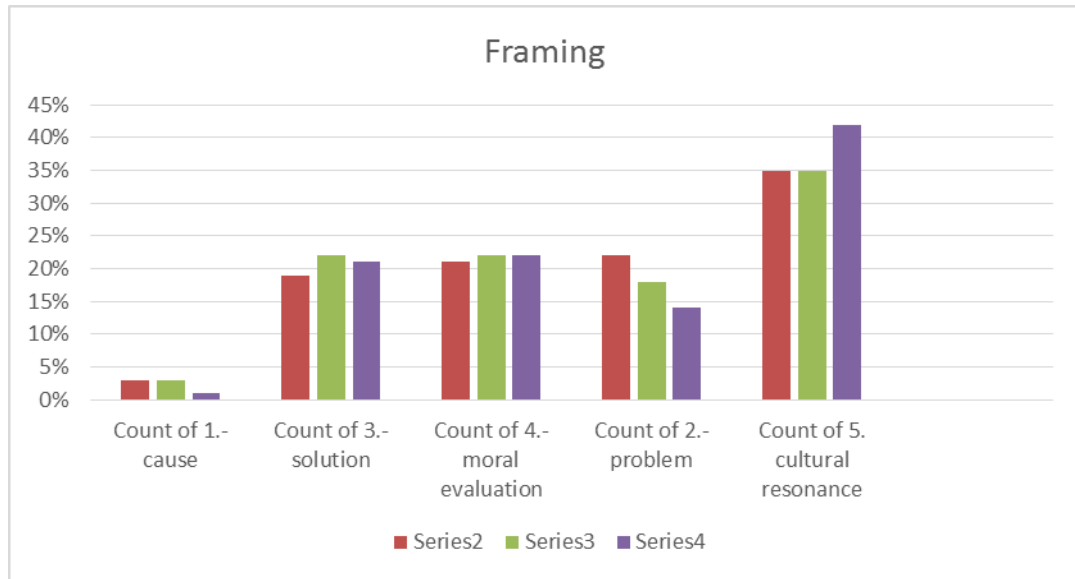
Framing

Elaborated by the author: Series 2: Correa/Series 3: Morales/ Series 4: Chavez

Figure 7. Moral Evaluation of Speeches

Moral Evaluation
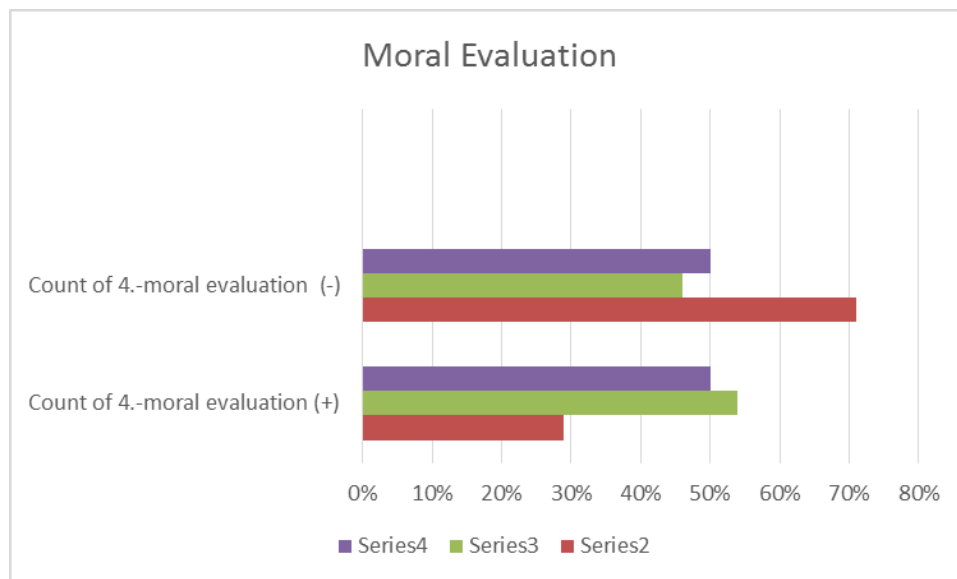
Elaborated by the author: Series 2: Correa/Series 3: Morales/ Series 4: Chavez

5.6. Unpacking procedural and substantive framing

Considering magnitude and cultural resonance as part of procedural framing, Entman (2003:417) said that "The more resonance and magnitude, the more likely the framing is to evoke similar thoughts and feelings in large portions of the audience". In this sense, it is observed that cultural resonance is

used more by the three Presidents in order to influence public opinion through speech with the information they present. As Entman (2003: 417) states, "Those frames that employ more culturally resonant terms have the greatest potential for influence". This is the reason why cultural resonance is preponderant in these speeches.

Entman (2003: 417) said, "Magnitude taps the prominence and repetition of the framing words and images." This is evident in the high frequency of content and in the issue prioritization recognized in the speeches. Moreover, according to Entman (2003:417), "The words and images that make up the frame can be distinguished from the rest of the news by their capacity to stimulate support of, or opposition to the sides in a political conflict. We can measure this capacity by cultural resonance and magnitude". So then, the three speeches have a high capacity through their cultural resonance and magnitude to stimulate two positions. The first position is of support to the new government seeking legitimacy and the second is the position of rejection of everything different from the previous government, giving no legitimacy to them. This also implies that the three Presidents prefer not to focus on rationalization, problem solution logic for example, of the speech, but rather to appeal through cultural issues and repeat these arguments to position the new political vision offered.

From the viewpoint of substantive framing, this is present in the three speeches across all functions - problem, cause, solution, and moral evaluation. As Entman (2003: 418) states, "All four of these framing functions hold together in a kind of cultural logic, serving each other, with the connections cemented more by custom and convention than by the principles of valid reasoning or syllogistic logic. The two most important of these functions are problem definition, since defining the problem often virtually predetermines the rest of the frame, and remedy, because it promotes support of (or opposition to) actual government action." This can be seen as the three Presidents established the political and institutional crisis to emphasize the problem of the previous government and administration, against which they immediately propose their plans as solutions. Similarly, it happens with the economy that has been handled by past governments with a capitalist model, against which they propose an alternative form of development. Even though, it is evident that there has never been a strong supranational integration, which is a problem, the objective of the homeland of Bolívar, a united America as one block is proposed as a solution.

This discursive logic complies with Entman's arguments that from the problem and solution, the other functions of framing are built. For example with the problem, causes are present and moral evaluations which emerge correlate to the problem-solution logic, being negative for the problem and positive for the solution. With the fulfillment of these functions, the framing of discourse is constructed and reinforced, representing a political reality subscribed to these four functions. This influences the reception of filtered information by civil society. In this way, it supports the new government in terms of legitimacy. The latter is the ultimate goal of the Presidents.

This substantive framing is also important since it is chosen as a strategy by the Presidents, as political subjects, to position their message over the counter messages. As Hänggli and Kriesi (2010: 143) point out, "they have to choose one or several substantive frames capable of steering the attention of the media and the public to their own cause and away from the cause of their opponents ("substantive emphasis choice"). However, this frame to position must be strong and can only be strong if it has credibility and is culturally connected." It is evident that the speeches are strong on cultural resonance as has been discussed. Regarding credibility, here appears the issue of legitimacy, which will be developed in the next chapter.

The speeches of the Presidents follow the logic of development of substantive framing: problem, cause of the problem, moral evaluation, solution or remedy. They also meets the requirements of procedural framing with cultural resonance in great magnitude. This implies that the Presidents do not focus on a formal rational logic but a cultural logic to develop the speech, since it has higher influence over public opinion concerning framing effects. Additionally, the framing of the speeches represents an interpretation of reality, which is the political representation of the Presidents. The following chapters will explore how this framing needs legitimacy to position itself and will simultaneously build it through discourse. Besides, framing represents a purposefully biased view of reality that does not exist by itself and is not necessarily a part of the collective experience or history. Framing can hence be compared with the narrative of a myth, where the plot would be formed by framing functions as described above. Following chapters will explore this.

Chapter 6
Interconnecting Presidents of the 21st century Socialism through Legitimation

> "In journalism just one fact that is false prejudices the entire work. In contrast, in fiction one single fact that is true gives legitimacy to the entire work. That's the only difference, and it lies in the commitment of the writer. A novelist can do anything he wants so long as he makes people believe in it"
>
> Gabriel Garcia Marquez

This chapter will analyze the legitimacy, as elaborated by Habermas, and as noted in the theoretical framework, by authority, moral assessment, rationalization and mythopoesis. This information is obtained from the framing and analysis table of presidential discourses.

6.1. Legitimation by authorization

One way of legitimation is by personal authorization. "In the case of undiluted personal authority, legitimate authority is vested in a person because of their status or role in a particular institution" (Van Leeuwen 2007: 94). In this paper we can consider the role or status, as the role of a political person like that of the President of the Republic, and the institutions as the State or government. Thus, we are talking about the three Presidents as heads of government and state. In addition to identifying this legitimacy within the discourses, we consider that "personal authority legitimation typically takes the form of a 'verbal process' clause (Halliday, 1985: 129) in which the 'projected clause', the authority's utterance, contains some form of obligation modality" (Halliday, as cited in Van Leeuwen 2007: 94).

In President Correa's expressions such as *"Ecuador and Latin America must seek not only a new strategy, but also a new concept of development,"* his status as the president can be identified and this allows him to propose this action. However, although such clauses exist, they are not as clear in the speeches of Chavez and Morales. In the case of Morales, he uses expressions like, "*...here should rule reasons, reasons for the poor, reasons for poor people and reasons for indigenous"* Finally, in the case of Chavez, there are expressions like, "*Come, deliver what you took and take responsibility.*" This also is related with cultural resonance and the process of creating myths around Presidents as models.

We can also speak of legitimation for authorization based on expertise. As Van Leeuwen (2007: 95) states "In the case of expert authority, legitimacy is

provided by expertise rather than status. This expertise may be stated explicitly, for instance by mentioning credentials, but if the expert is well-known in the given context it may be taken for granted". Correa does not keep quotes of professionals or experts to substantiate his arguments while presenting various policies. This may be because the President has a long academic career in the field of economics before he entered the 'real politic'. Therefore, he self-legitimates with his expertise. For Morales, however, this kind of legitimation comes from referring to other experts. It is evidenced in phrases like, "*And he told us, as a very didactic teacher, we have put in the balance two powers: the power of consciousness and economic power of sinecure",* where he is alluding to a political scientist who validates the position of the political movement that the Bolivian President belongs to. Similarly, Chavez cites a professional to explain how Venezuela is wasting resources while paying the foreign debt. He states, "*Dr. Uslar said few days ago, a few months ago, a few years ago, here in Venezuela were evaporated 15 Marshall plans."*

Besides, "In the case of role model authority, people follow the example of role models or opinion leaders. The role models may be members of a peer group or media celebrities imitated from afar, and the mere fact that these role models adopt a certain kind of behaviour, or believe certain things, is enough to legitimize the actions of their followers." (Van Leeuwen 2007: 95) This can be evidenced in the speeches of the three Presidents that refer to other leaders to legitimize their discursive position.

President Correa, for example, refers to a liberal President whom he cites throughout his speech. This serves many goals. One such goal is to establish himself as a follower of his words, "*Fortunately, as General Eloy Alfaro said, the darkest hour is nearest the dawn, and the disastrous neoliberal cycle has been finally overcome by peoples of our America."* President Morales, on the other hand, refers to his binomial and expresses, "*as our Vice President said in a conference call: we want to change Bolivia not with bullets but with votes".* Finally, in the case of Chavez, the legitimacy is generated taking into account political leaders. For example, he said, "*Senator Luis Alfonso Davila said in his words, it is the dream of the Congress of Panama, of the Panama that Bolívar saw as the Greeks saw the Isthmus of Corinth; the Isthmus of Panama to us, as Corinth was for the Greeks".* This also is related with cultural resonance and myth.

On the other hand, impersonal legitimacy can be understood as legitimacy from laws, rules and regulations. Van Leeuwen (2007: 96) further explains, "The answer to the unspoken 'why' question is then, not 'because I say so' or 'because Dr Juan says so' or 'because Penny Minter-Kemp does it', but 'because the laws (the rules, the policies, the guidelines, etc.) say so.". It can be seen that this is not present in the speeches. One reason could be the fact that the three presidents consider governance changes, including constitutional, legal, regulatory and political, through constitutional assemblies in order to legitimize their actions in the future while delegitimizing any other force or norm.

Another way of understanding legitimacy is by tradition which may be, "invoked, particularly through key words like 'tradition', 'practice', 'custom', 'habit'. Here the implicit or explicit answer to the 'why' question is not, 'because it is compulsory', but, 'because this is what we always do', or, 'because

this is what we have always done" (Van Leeuwen: 2007: 96) For example, Morales not only makes a reference to his ancestors and his normative tradition but also to the antique law. This is a combined legitimation between impersonal and tradition legitimacy, it is present when he says, *"We want to govern with the law that our ancestors have left us, ama sua, ama llulla, ama quella, not to steal, not to lie, not being lazy, that is our law"*. This also is related with cultural resonance.

6.2. Legitimation by Moral Evaluation

"Moral evaluation legitimation is based on moral values, rather than imposed by some kind of authority without further justification. In some cases, moral value is simply asserted by troublesome words such as 'good' and 'bad' which freely travel between moral, aesthetic and hedonistic domains" (Van Leeuwen 2007: 97). The different framing of moral evaluation can be identified the respective speeches of the three presidents. Correa has a negative moral evaluation, Chavez a partial evaluation and Morales a more positive assessment.

Within the moral legitimacy, we can directly consider the evaluation factor. We can reflect on what Van Leeuwen (2007: 98) says, "Evaluative adjectives play a key role in moral evaluation legitimation. However, as Leech (1966) noted in his study of advertising English, many adjectives are at once 'designative' and 'attributive'. They communicate both concrete qualities of actions or objects and commend them in terms of some domain of values: 'praise is mingled with practicality'." It means that adjectives according to the context raise the value system that is being defended in the speech.

Correa uses words like, *"This phrase was the inspiration of a handful of citizens who decided to make free ourselves from the groups that have held hostage the country, and thus undertake the struggle for a Citizen Revolution, consisting of the radical, deep and rapid current political, economic and social system change."* Here, for example, the word '*hostage*' denotes a negative moral evaluation, while words such as '*radical*' and '*rapid*' denote a positive evaluation, implying that slow is negative. In the speech of Morales is evident expressions such as *"And I want to ask the parliamentary of MAS: do not learn the bad habit of blocking"*. Here is a negative evaluation, because '*blocking*' is negative in context of the speech, while in a hypothetical case if any unjust law is going to be enacted, blocking can denote something positive. Hence, the context of the speech is of high importance.

In Chavez's speech, there are expressions such as, *"people who just a month ago referred to the Constituent Assembly as the chaos, an evil work of Satan who was born in Barinas again and walks through Venezuela smelling as sulfur; a plan preconceived by the tyrant Chavez to establish a dictatorship in Venezuela, to destroy democracy; an evil plan. Now, today I see you with joy that say "come the Constituent","* I throw myself to the Constituent *"some have said here in this Congress.* Here, for example, talking directly of the 'evil' has a negative moral evaluation that discredits, and when in the speech he talks about throw to the Constituent, he is talking about the right action to do, and it is a positive moral evaluation.

Within moral evaluation legitimation, we can also speak of abstractions as elaborated by Van Leeuwen (2007:99), "Another way of expressing moral evaluations is by referring to practices (or to one or more of their component, ac-

tions or reactions), in abstract ways that 'moralize' them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values". In Correa's speech, for example, the fight language is used to talk about the start of the new political process, *the fight is just beginning. November 26 was not a point of arrival but was a starting point"*. Morales evaluates the beginning of a new parliamentary term using the discourse of independence and war when he says, *"this parliament will be the army of the struggle for the second independence"*. Finally, Chavez makes a politically moral claim of humility in military terms by saying, *"I will be a soldier, the first of the battle, try to be everywhere"*.

Besides, in the moral side, it is possible to evaluate through analogies as Van Leeuwen (2007:99) shows, "comparisons in discourse almost always have a legitimatory or de-legitimatory function. Here the implicit answer to the question 'Why must I do this?' or 'Why must I do this in this way?' is not, 'because it is good', but 'because it is like another activity which is associated with positive values' (or, in the case of negative comparison, 'because it is not like another activity which is associated with negative values')".

In the case of Correa, it can be seen in expressions such as, *"the disastrous neoliberal cycle has been finally overcome by the peoples of our America, as evidenced by the processes of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile, Nicaragua and now, Ecuador."* Similarly, Morales also draws analogies with phrases like, *"Surely the original indigenous movement, as well as our ancestors dreamed to recover their territory"*. Finally, in Chavez's speech it is evidenced in expressions like, *"The important thing is that we start with a new national engine, a new long-term project"*. It is important to mention that exacerbated analogies and metaphors are used in Chavez's speech. This also is related with analogies and metaphors for constructing myth as we will see in the next chapter.

6.3. Legitimation by Rationalization

As is stated by Van Leeuwen (2007:101), "I will distinguish two main types of rationality. Instrumental rationality legitimates practices by reference to their goals, uses and effects. Theoretical rationality legitimates practices by reference to a natural order of things" In this case and with reference to framing analysis, it is possible to discern that identified functions of framings like solutions and problems come to match with legitimation by rationalization. In fact, as is stated by Van Leeuwen (2007:100), "In contemporary discourse, moralization and rationalization keep each other at arm's length". Generally, this can be perceived in the framing analysis, because every time the orator rationalizes the problem, gives a negative moral evaluation, and when he talks about solutions or grant purposes, he makes a positive moral evaluation.

Now, if we talk about instrumental rationalisation, which is the fulfillment of a purpose with a moral burden, Van Leeuwen (2007:101) explains that, "The question is, are all purposes also legitimations? I believe not. In order to serve as legitimations, purpose constructions must contain an element of moralisation."

In Correa's speech, this is evident in phrases like, *"concerted action by debtor countries is necessary to redefine the criteria of sustainability of debt service, determine the*

external debt as illegitimate ". Here it is clear that the purpose which legitimizes the actions of the new government will be the renegotiation of the foreign debt. However its moral burden is equally important as is manifested when he said that debt is '*illegitimate*', making it unjust and negative. In the case of Morales, it is seen in phrases like, "*create a development bank for the development of the Bolivian people, support these community enterprises, and support these co-operatives and associations of micro small businesses*". Here the purpose is development and the moral burden is to help, which becomes the right action. In the case of Chavez, it is manifested in phrases like, "*it is time to restart the dream of union between us, to ask us a currency for Latin America and the Caribbean for the next decade and look and fight for it; to ask us a confederation of nations of this part of the world*". Here the purpose is a supranational political project and the moral aspect is the union.

Furthermore, Van Leeuwen (2007:103) surmised upon theoretical rationalization saying, "In the case of theoretical rationalization, legitimation is grounded, neither in whether the action is morally justified or not, nor in whether it is purposeful or effective, but in whether it is founded on some kind of truth on 'the way things are'." Correa's speech is largely based on the critique of neoliberal values which he opposes, denying the truth of these values and how they have been operating, rationalizing its illegitimacy. This is seen in expressions such as, "*One of the main reasons for labour exploitation has been the fallacy of competition*". In the case of Morales, his criticism goes in the same direction of Correa. For instance, in expressions such as "*capitalization law, those are auction policies, pillage of our natural resources*". Affirming that the neoliberal policies squander natural resources, delegitimizing the truth of this economic conception.

Finally, in the case of Chavez, it is seen in phrases like, "*it is very hard to believe that with combination of factors, all positive, the result is negative.*" Here, he refers to the fact that although Venezuela has all positive factors to be a developed country with large supplies of natural resources and excellent geographical position, the result is poverty. This is a truth that has been fulfilled over time and discredits previous governments' actions and of course legitimises new proposal for change by Chavez.

6.4. Legitimation by Mythopoesis

"Legitimation can also be achieved through storytelling" Van Leeuwen (2007:105). Indeed, the plot of the three presidential speeches have some common features, which is consistent with previously identified functions of framing (solution, problem, cause and moral assessment) and cultural resonance.

The storytelling could be divided into four parts. First, there is a main cause of all economic, legal, social and political problems in each of these country, which is the previous government, both understood mythically as evil difficulties of villains. Second, the solution to the previous problem is a radical new change that recasts each country in a completely new way, trying to solve all the problems of various categories in a concrete form. It basically arises with the initial approach of a constituent assembly. This pro-active solution is

carried out by the new government, mythically understood as a good solutions by heroes.

Third, here is a bipolarity always present in the discourse of good versus bad, old versus new. Within the plot, it is rated as good or virtuous all new action and bad or vicious every old plan. Within the mythopoesis we must remember here the interdependence between moral legitimation and rational legitimation, as is stated by Van Leeuwen (2007: 105), "In moral tales, protagonists are rewarded for engaging in legitimate social practices, or restoring the legitimate order". Therefore, understanding what has been defended until here, there will be a reward for the government and the society if the proposed new plans continue to the end. This is evident in the relationship of framing solutions and positive moral evaluation.

Moreover, as is stated by Van Leeuwen (2007: 106) "Cautionary tales, on the other hand, convey what will happen if you do not conform to the norms of social practices. Their protagonists engage in deviant activities that lead to unhappy endings". In this case, it is corroborated by the negative moral assessment to the framing of the problems, where it is stated that if the actual and old system continue, which is not in accordance to the new rules proposed by the new government, problems will continue, and, therefore, negative consequences. So far, before considering the cultural resonance as a symbolic element that serves to build legitimacy, we can speculate that the framing raised is also building the myth around the Presidents in real time.

Fourth, the cultural resonance that covers the whole storytelling is huge, and this is also the biggest framing. There are quotations from historical figures, mythical events, traditions and emotional language, among others. Here, the issues are beyond institutional, rational or practical, for example, the issue of problem-solution relationship which has already been described. As is stated by Van Leeuwen (2007: 106), "Stories may also be used as symbolic actions, specific actions that can nevertheless represent more than one domain of institutionalized social practice, and so provide a 'mythical model of social action'." On this fourth point, generally we can demonstrate that in the invocation the three presidents make to the historical figure of Bolivar in order to announce mythically a model of social action, of which they are successors. This point will be detailed in the next section, analysis of myth.

6.5. Why the presidents seek legitimation?

The political view is that when a new government comes into being, a key aspect determining its success is the grade to which it can create legitimacy among the general population. As Gibson (2004: 289). suggests, "In a new political system few resources are more coveted than political legitimacy. Legitimacy is an endorphin of the democratic body politic; it is the substance that oils the machinery of democracy, reducing the friction that inevitably arises when people are not able to get everything they want from politics. Legitimacy is loyalty; it is a reservoir of goodwill that allows the institutions of government to go against what people may want at the moment without suffering debilitating consequences" For this reason, the three Presidents try to build legitimacy through the opening speech, to create a source of it.

The Presidents want to legitimate themselves and their thoughts. Tyler (2006:378) builds on legitimacy and legitimation as he further elaborates, "A legitimating ideology is a set of justifications or "legitimising myths" (Major 1994, Sidanius & Pratto 1999) that lead a political or social system and its authorities and institutions to be viewed as normatively or morally appropriate by the people within the system". Therefore, it means, that presidents legitimate justifications of representations of what they consider reality, as framings, and also, they legitimate myths, as signifiers that are filled with a particular meaning. This is the connection between legitimacy, framing and myth.

To conclude this chapter, it is important to mentions that presidents have multidimensional legitimation. It means rational, authority, moral and mythopoesis legitimation. These are appropriate taking into account both the functions of framing and myth making. This also indicates that the speech of the Presidents itself has a particular framing, a representation of reality, and that legitimacy itself is also a myth under construction that adds new element to the political reality as new role models that have to be respected.

Chapter 7
Interconnecting Presidents of the 21st century Socialism through Myth

> Would it be once again these times of revolutionary crisis during which charismatic leaders uses the spirits of the past, borrow their names, war slogans, their clothing, for, with this venerable old age costume and this borrowed language, represent the new scene of world history?

Marx about Napoleón III

This chapter will analyze Myth, following Barthes, and as cited in the theoretical framework, by considering analogies and metaphors and also myth as a speech. This information is obtained from the framing of cultural resonance in presidential discourses and legitimation by mythopoesis.

7.1. Analogies and Metaphors

In Correa´s speech, there are various events that allow him to build myth. For example, he cited General Eloy Alfaro, hero of liberal Ecuadorian revolution, to justify his revolution. In another instance he invokes God to generate a positive reaction from Christian people. It is evidenced when he says, "*I will devote all my effort, with the help of God and under the libertarian shadow of Bolívar and Alfaro, to fight for my country*" In other examples he quotes Neruda to show who the liberator Bolívar was and, how he himself is a liberator too; or, he quotes Luther King to explain the dreams that he has and though he is in a deprived position, he is going to get it; he also quotes Benjamin Carrion to speak about recovering homeland in a cultural form.

Morales positions himself as a native indigenous who stands for the indigenous resistance by asking for a minute of silence in the very beginning of his speech, for all heroes who fought through indigenous resistance such as Tupac Amaru, Guevara and others more contemporary. One of the main ways he develops myth in his speech, in relation to the wealth Bolivia has, is through comparison. For example, when he says, "*Switzerland, I wonder, what it has? It does not have any natural resources but lives well. They buy raw materials from Latin American countries, they industrialize them and sell to us. And why can we not sell industrial products to Europe or to other countries?* "He sets the myth of development using this analogy.

Finally, in Chavez's speech, there are countless quotes from historical figures such as Bolivar and Martí, as well as the use of Christian principles and military language for building myth. For instance, when he says, *"we need a national map, we need a compass, we need a helmsman. Here I am, trying to be helmsman"* Here he refers to himself as the captain who makes the final decision and plans everything for the boat, development of his country.

7.2. Why the Presidents refer to Myths?

The political myth can be directed to those who do not constitute a political society or who do not engage in these activities. In fact, those who have no interest in politics appropriate concepts and political projects in a more subtle way through myth, as long as they feel part of the group who is addressed. The myth will always belong to a particular group, indeed, it must refer to the collective memory of that group (Tudor 1972).

The application of myth in policy explains the circumstances of life of the group of people to whom it is directed. It helps them understand the condition in the present and future consequences or rewards. It is like watching a drama being projected on a screen. The protagonist here is not an individual but a collective, sometimes represented by a character who embodies their values, ideals or social and political projects (Tudor 1972).

Hence, the three Presidents, talk in first person plural to generate an inclusive message for all sectors, embodying the respective political projects they present. They try to be idolized speakers through different aspects. For example, trying to emulate historical figures like Bolivar and Che by underlining the political, economic and social crisis, along with the villains that caused them, and presenting themselves as heroes who will solve the crisis as Presidents; acquiring for themselves nonpolitical values as Christians by naming God to construct themselves as pure characters; and by themselves with the marginalized people and the discrimination they face. Presidents also do this trying to legitimate themselves, as Brown (1994:863) explains "Symbolic action and myth making are important means by which individuals and groups seek to legitimate their privileged power relations and actions."

Moreover, the myth in government communications is their strategic orientation, while incremental actions are tactics. Myth has the aptitude to transform politics into a public issue every day for the consumption of citizens. (Elizalde et al. 2006: 61). In this sense, the speech presented by the Presidents, through myth allows the mystification of political narrative within the framing, speech for Barthes, which become public matter to be digested by people. This process can be understood through what is proposed as autopoiesis in the speech, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Few examples have been considered in this study regarding the metaphors and analogies since the idea is simply to exemplify how the myth around these rhetorical figures is constructed as an empty discourse, like Barthes expounded. However, it should be noted that more examples match the cultural resonance within the framing which has been quantified, and the construction of myth can be seen transversely in the analysis of legitimacy like when considering tra-

dition, role model or mythopoesis. It can be seen here that speeches of Presidents have a regular structured story that have been identified as framing and have a logic of legitimacy. The contemporary myth may have a structure like any myth of the past. In fact, it is imperative to state that the Presidents legitimate their speeches with the use of myth and also communicate the framing selected that has a dual function, being a narrative of the new myth that is offered and also contain other myths within cultural resonance for instance.

Chapter 8
A new perspective of Autopoiesis

"Your knowledge shows us the world or denies it, because it is the story of your acts, because if you awake your imagination you will change it"

Humberto Maturana

Considering the concept of "autopoietic organization" by (Varela et al. 1991:560), that is applicable to all living beings and consequently to any system or social phenomena. Taking into account that these living things are influenced by their own structures, where everything that happens in them occurs within their certain structures, due to the fact that self-produced living beings are possible because they produce their components based on their own structures and also based on what they take from the environment which reconstitutes them (Collazos 2009: 83). Seeing this, the concept of autopoiesis is applied to understand the discourse of the 21st century Socialism in a different way.

Applying autopoiesis, the relational components that come to build the structure of the speech are framing, legitimation and myth. These are interdependent as previously discussed, for example, framing not only allows to set the types of legitimacy but also determines the narrative of the new myth; the myth is the discourse that seeks legitimation through a framing; and legitimation pursues mechanisms to constitute itself as myth and framing. However, each of the elements that form part of the framing, legitimation or myth are taken from the environment. Which in this case is the context, as long as the structures of discourse permit it. Here the speaker decides what is permitted. For example, the speech takes the functional problems from the context to form a strong substantive framing and legitimizes discourse and builds myths by referring to the appropriate historical figures, as long as the discourse structures allow it. This happens in the speaker's thinking process. For Maturana and Varela (as cited in Collazos 2009: 81), cognition is a deep-rooted experience in desire and emotions, which occurs in a historical context and is reproduced as a theory from 'the continued coincidence of our existence, our doing and our knowledge.

In this kind of speech, the myth may be collected from back to front and not be established essentially in the past, breaking the classification of past, present and future and considers a permanent continuity. In response, its historical reference to the mythological construction may not only refer to events, characters and narratives of the past, but instead can build on facts, characters

and narratives of present and future trough framing, like the Presidents do. Based on this continuous process, legitimation is immediately born for present and future action. For example, Correa cites Eloy Alfaro and through him builds his legitimacy, presenting the narrative where he is the heir of Alfaro, who proposes various actions and political plans. This happens thrice. The past time when Alfaro is used, the present where Correa becomes myth, and the future, where the coming action is mythological better. This myth can be etiological and eschatological at the same time, legitimizing the different actions. This is the autopoietic perspective.

Hence, this means that the manifestation of a myth depends on the archetypes respected in an environment that we have chosen and which are used to legitimize an action, such as hero-versus-villain. However, considering the autonomy of the speaker and his discursive role, the orators not only have a referential role, but also generates the myth, becomes the myth, for example, when the speaker self-proclaims himself as successor to something, or tells his own story that extrapolate his actions. This is the autopoietic perspective, where the speaker and discourse have autonomy.

Nonetheless, if we speak of autopoietic discourse and the components on which it is based that are internalized by the speech itself which builds the new myth, framing and legitimation, the context is aside. The autopoietic speech does not need it, it departs from the structure itself and take from environment what is useful, no more. For example, in 2006 there were various events in Ecuador to talk about, but Correa did not take all of them into account. Why? Because they are not part of the legendary production required to build the myth of Correa. To examine the usefulness of an event in myth building, we can, for instance, look at the fact that the presidential discourse did not mention that Correa was Minister of Economy, why? It was not useful, although it could have been used to say that Correa had experience in the civil service, it did not serve to form the myth of the new politician without a political past over him. Consequently, autopoiesis involves the agency-structure tension in the speech as discourse structure-environment relation. The agency of speaker determines new myths that must be taken into account in the environment and build new myths through framing to achieve legitimation.

Therefore, the speech as a living organism would say what disturbs it and what triggers it to have greater influence on public opinion. This is the autopoietic discourse, taking from the environment what is necessary and what is allowed by components of structure, which also define what is useful and what is not in a given time and space. This utilitarian identification occurs in the presidential speeches. Then, because it is legitimate, one speaks, but one speaks because the environment gives him elements, and if one speaks, one speaks with a certain frame and myth. The environment has affected the structure of the speech to decide what is fair to talk about until the structure of speech allows it. For instance, the myth that it is good to talk against a bad situation as a hero considering that discourse itself always contains a hero figure. And from that basis one speaks, but at the same time legitimates what one means and affects the political environment creating a new representation of reality through the new myth.

To conclude this chapter, it is necessary to say that with an autopoietic discourse the myth is neither as discontinuous nor unstructured as Barthes suggests, nor would it be just a cluster of messages in a speech, nor would it refer only to the past. In fact, the contemporary myth in autopoietic discourse may be a construction with a particular framing as parallel narrative to ancient myths, for example the hero-villain myth. Additionally, its use would not have a certain temporality. In fact, myth would be continuous in an autopoietic discourse, where speech is a living organism and where the orator uses myths taken from the environment and creates a myth of himself legitimizing his own interventions and actions through framing. Autopoietic discourse is not defined by the three elements (framing, legitimation and myth) in a separate way but by the relationship produced by them.

Chapter 9
Concluding remarks
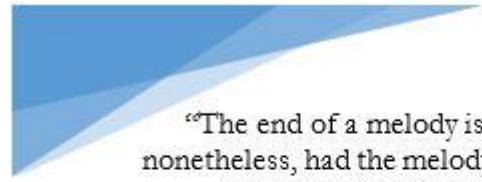
"The end of a melody is not its goal: but nonetheless, had the melody not reached its end it would not have reached its goal either. A parable."

Friedrich Nietzsche

Recalling the old myth of Plato's cave from chapter one, everything that we see are shadows projected by the puppeteers of the cavern where we live. Shadows are the frames that contain the information that puppeteers want us to know. Shadows constitutes the myth itself that at the same time through framing uses images, stories and other myths to underpin the given framing and construct the representation that the only existing reality is the darkness of the cave and not the outside light. Puppeteers are the speakers, such as the Presidents, who want to legitimate themselves as the only ones who can build correct shadows, in order to maintain their political position and support one political point of view as the truth.

This study had aimed to analyse the initial language approach of legitimation of Presidents of the 21st century Socialism. In this sense, this paper has found that the three Presidents share a substantive and procedural framing that form a new myth around them and that coincides with a multidimensional legitimation strategy, all in order to position their representation of political reality through speeches. In fact, this paper established an interconnected analysis between framing, myths and legitimation, proposing an original toolkit and methodology for doing so, and even more importantly, proposing autopoiesis as a new standpoint applied to discourse, as a living system, to understand the unceasing framing of myth making in order to legitimate initial discourses of Presidents Morales, Chavez and Correa.

To understand autopoiesis in the selected speeches, we can take a metaphor as a reference. If we consider one subway train with three wagons whose driver has the discretion to accelerate or decelerate or to stop for passengers at every station of a metro line, keeping in mind the transport system rules. He has two options - one, he can superimpose his will and rebel against the system not having a single passenger and traveling alone, or two, he can partially collaborate with the system to the extent that he receives the exact passengers for each wagon that he believes is appropriate in terms of effectiveness and efficiency while he maintains his autonomy. Therefore, the same applies to the autopoietic discourse, where the driver is the speaker; the three wagons are the framing, legitimation and myth; the stops are the spaces in the environment where components, can be collected for the construction of the speech; and,

the passengers are issues awaiting to be raised or hidden in the speech depending on its benefit to the speaker. This will depend on whether the speaker wants to defend something alone or articulate something that is shared by more people. This allows us to comprehend how a speaker in a speech can use the context, considering speech structure, to his discursive will to create a mythical reality that legitimizes him that can be defended by public opinion, getting the necessary support for actions that the speaker wants.

Finally, as the author of this paper, I want to conclude with the reflection that everything I have described as a language approach used by the Presidents through myth and framing, is exactly the approach I used to write this paper. In fact, I have used the myth of Plato's cave at the beginning in order to make the reader   anticipate what will follow; I have used the analogy of the living organism (autopoietic system) to explain an idea in the speech from the rationalization of another idea, a biological one. Here we have the use of analogy and metaphor to build myth, as Barthes said; I have used a substantive framing to determine the research problem and its solution through an analytical framework (which is also legitimation by rationalization); and I have used excessive procedural framing, both cultural resonance and magnitude, with the use and repetition of quotations, data and facts (which is also legitimation by authorization), to get more efficiency in the dissertation of this academic argument. Here, we have Entman´s framing and Habermas´s legitimation. Indeed, all of this was done for the legitimation of this paper for its future audience. I am doing what the Presidents did - selling my perspective of reality to you.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Tables of Content Analysis

Table 1. Correa's speech general content table

Number of characters (including spaces) :	30019
Number of characters (without spaces) :	24575
Number of words :	4680
Lexical Density :	34.3376
Number of sentences :	165
Number of syllables :	9787

Elaborated by the author

Table 2. Correa's frequent phrases

Some top phrases containing 4 words. Spanish (Original language) /English	Occurrences
¿acaso no fue corrupción / It was not corruption?	4
lucha contra la corrupción /fight agains corruption	4
servicio de la deuda /service of debt	3
la existencia de corrupción /existence of corruption	2

Elaborated by the author

Table 3. Correa's frequent words

Order	Unfiltered word count. Spanish (Original language) /English	Occurrences	Percentage
24.	País /country	21	0.4487
26.	países /countries	19	0.4060
27.	deuda /debt	18	0.3846
31.	nuestra /our	15	0.3205
32.	política /politic	15	0.3205
33.	corrupción /corruption	15	0.3205
34.	ecuador / Ecuador	15	0.3205
35.	américa /America	14	0.2991
36.	también /also	14	0.2991
37.	social /social	13	0.2778
38.	fue /was	13	0.2778
39.	nuestros /our	12	0.2564
40.	nos / us	12	0.2564
41.	patria / homeland	12	0.2564
46.	sus /your	11	0.2350
47.	nuestro /our	10	0.2137
49.	desarrollo /development	10	0.2137
50.	políticas /politics	10	0.2137
53.	lucha /fight	9	0.1923

54.	nueva /new	9	0.1923
57.	revolución /revolution	9	0.1923
58.	humano / human	9	0.1923
59.	embargo / embargo	9	0.1923
61.	pueblo / people	8	0.1709
62.	pueblos / people	8	0.1709
66.	capital / capital	8	0.1709
70.	ciudadana / citizen	7	0.1496
71.	todos /everybody	7	0.1496
76.	económica /economic	7	0.1496
77.	nación /nation	7	0.1496
84.	estado /state	6	0.1282
86.	integración /integration	6	0.1282
87.	historia /history	6	0.1282
94.	hermanos /brothers	5	0.1068
100.	neoliberal /neoliberal	5	0.1068
106.	latinoamericanos /latinoamericans	5	0.1068
107.	sociedades / societies	5	0.1068
108.	explotación / exploitation	5	0.1068
113.	bolívar / bolivar	5	0.1068

Elaborated by the author

Table 4. Morales's speech general content table

Number of characters (including spaces) :	52581
Number of characters (without spaces) :	43011
Number of words :	8214
Lexical Density :	21.3416
Number of sentences :	362
Number of syllables :	17393

Elaborated by the author

Table 5. Morales's frequent phrases

Some top phrases containing 4 words. Spanish (Original language) /English	Occurrences
no es posible que / is not possible that	7
de los pueblos indígenas / of indigenous people	6
estamos en la obligación / we are in the obligation	5
de la comunidad internacional / of international community	5

Elaborated by the author

Table 6. Morales's frequent words

Order	Unfiltered word count. Spanish (Original language) /English	Occurrences	Percentage
5.	El / the	173	2.1062
21.	Pueblo/people	47	0.5722
23.	Bolivia /Bolivia	41	0.4991
24.	Las /the	40	0.4870
27.	Nuestro /our	34	0.4139
29.	Boliviano /Bolivian	32	0.3896
32.	Nuestros /our	30	0.3652
33.	País /country	30	0.3652
34.	Quiero /want	29	0.3531
35.	Estamos /we are	29	0.3531
36.	Presidente /president	28	0.3409
38.	Gracias / thanks	28	0.3409
39.	Cambiar /change	28	0.3409
40.	Nos /us	28	0.3409
41.	Pueblos /people	27	0.3287
42.	Esta / this	27	0.3287
43.	Tenemos / we have	26	0.3165
44.	Nuestra /our	25	0.3044
46.	Hermanos /brothers	24	0.2922
47.	Internacional /international	24	0.2922
50.	Estado /state	23	0.2800
53.	Movimiento /movement	22	0.2678
56.	Gobierno /government	21	0.2557
58.	Naturales /naturals	20	0.2435
59.	Verdad /true	20	0.2435
61.	Indígenas /indigenous	19	0.2313
62.	Queremos /we want	19	0.2313
66.	Evo /evo	19	0.2313
70.	Lucha /fight	18	0.2191
76.	Bolivianos /Bolivian people	17	0.2070
78.	Constituyente / constituent	17	0.2070
81.	Asamblea / assembly	17	0.2070
82.	Decirles / tell you	17	0.2070
84.	Países /countries	16	0.1948
87.	Nacional /national	16	0.1948

Elaborated by the author

Table 7. Chavez's speech general content table

Number of characters (including spaces) :	67067
Number of characters (without spaces) :	54022
Number of words :	11420
Lexical Density :	22.2417

Number of sentences :	341
Number of syllables :	21995

Elaborated by the author

Table 8. Chavez's frequent phrases

Some top phrases containing 4 words. Spanish (Original language) /English	Occurrences
corte suprema de justicia /supreme court of justice	7
congreso de la república / congress of the republic	4
mi culpa por mi / by my fault	4
ejerza su voluntad absoluta / exercises his absolute will	3

Elaborated by the author

Table 9. Chavez's frequent words

Order	Unfiltered word count. Spanish (Original language) /English	Occurrences	Percentage
5.	El / the	300	2.6270
11.	Los / the	154	1.3485
17.	Yo / I	91	0.7968
24.	Todos / everybody	53	0.4641
26.	Nosotros / we	50	0.4378
27.	Venezuela /Venezuela	47	0.4116
33.	Pueblo /people	42	0.3678
35.	Presidente /president	38	0.3327
36.	Me / me	36	0.3152
44.	Mi /my	30	0.2627
48.	Tenemos /we have	28	0.2452
49.	Congreso /congress	28	0.2452
50.	Mundo / world	28	0.2452
51.	Bolívar /Bolívar	27	0.2364
55.	Estamos /we are	23	0.2014
58.	Crisis /crisis	22	0.1926
59.	Verdad /true	21	0.1839
60.	Vamos /we go	21	0.1839
63.	Nuestra /our	20	0.1751
64.	Señores / gentleman	20	0.1751
65.	Pueblos /people	20	0.1751
66.	Ustedes /you	20	0.1751
68.	Nacional /national	20	0.1751
70.	Nuestro /our	19	0.1664
71.	Proyecto /Project	19	0.1664
72.	Nuestros /our	19	0.1664
73.	República /republic	19	0.1664
74.	Constituyente /constituent	18	0.1576

75.	Estoy / I am	18	0.1576
78.	Gobierno /government	17	0.1489
87.	Podemos /we can	16	0.1401
88.	Decía /told	16	0.1401
89.	Historia /history	16	0.1401
90.	Gran / great	16	0.1401
91.	Nuevo /new	15	0.1313
94.	País /country	15	0.1313
96.	Emergencia /emergency	15	0.1313
105.	Niños /children	14	0.1226
111.	Venezolanos /Venezuelan people	13	0.1138
113.	Referéndum / referendum	13	0.1138

Elaborated by the author

Appendix 2: Codebook

CODE	considerations

CODE	considerations
1. MACROECONOMICS	100. General
	101. Inflation, prices and interest rates
	103. Unemployment
	104. Monetary policy, Central Bank
	105. Budgets, public expenditure
	107. Taxes, tax policy and tax reform
	108. Industrial policy
	110. Price control and stabilization

CODE	considerations
2. RIGHTS, CIVIL LIBERTIES, PROBLEMS RELATING TO MINORITIES	200. General
	201. Ethnic minorities and racial discrimination
	202. Gender discrimination and equal rights. Discrimination against homosexuals and rights of same-sex couples
	204. Discrimination relating to age
	205. Discrimination concerning persons with illness or disability
	206. Rights and questions on voting, participation and political representation
	207. Freedom of speech, assembly. Equality of rights in general
	208. Right to life, privacy and data protection
	209. Activities against the State
	212. Religious freedom in general, Catholic Church and other religions
	225. Human rights
	230. Immigration, migration and refugees including integration
	231. Rights of minorities

CODE	considerations
	300. General
	301. General Reforms of the Health System
	302. General questions on coverage, in-

	surance and right to treatment.
	321. Regulation of the pharmaceutical industry and other health services such as dentists
	322. Sanitary facilities, hospitals and ambulances
	323. Waiting lists. Agreements between HS and private companies
	325. Human resources, education and training
3. HEALTH	331. Prevention of diseases, treatment and promotion of health
	332. Infants
	333. Mental illness
	334. Long-term treatment, rehabilitation services, the terminally ill and problems related to aging
	335. Pharmaceutical expenditure, public consumption and drug prices
	336. Coverage of assisted reproduction treatments, dentists, etc. Accessories such as glasses, wheelchairs, etc.
	341. Tobacco
	342. Alcohol
	343. Control of illegal drugs
	344. Generic issues of abuse of illegal drugs, tobacco and alcohol
	398. Research and development in health

	400. General Agriculture
	401. Agricultural exports and imports
	402. Subsidies and regulation in agriculture
4. AGRICULTURE AND FISHERY INDUSTRY	403. Food Inspection and Food Security
	404. Agricultural promotion and marketing
	405. Animal, crop and control diseases
	406. Health conditions and welfare of farm animals

	407. Environmental problems related to agriculture.
	408. Fisheries and hunting policy
	498. Research and development in agriculture and livestock

5. WORK	500. General.
	501. Environment and working conditions, occupational accidents and compensation systems
	502. Active labor policy, training and labor development
	503. Pensions and early retirement. Other benefits derived from the worker
	504. General issues concerning trade unions
	505. General issues on employment policy and collective bargaining
	506. Employment and youth
	510. Social Security. General issues
	511. Issues relating to unemployment and employment in specific industries
	520. Social Security Fraud
	529. Work and immigration

6. EDUCATION AND CULTURE	600. General
	601. University education
	602. Primary and secondary education
	603. Special education for students with social, economic, etc. difficulties.
	604. Vocational training
	606. Special education for students with some type of handicap.
	607. Libraries and actions to improve education
	609. Cultural policy
	610. Sports
	612. Cultural Heritage
	698. Research in education

7. ENVIRONMENT	700. General
	701. Water quality
	703. Disposal of waste and refuse
	704. Problems concerning contaminating substances, fluids and waste
	705. Air pollution, noise and global warming
	707. Recycling
	708. Environmental threats from the interior environment
	709. Protection of animal and plant life
	710. Marine environment, oil pollution, coastal areas and coastal protection
	711. So far as the seafaring and pollution of the land
	712. Territorial Planning
	798. Research and development in the environment

8. ENERGY	800. General
	802. Electricity and Hydroelectricity
	803. Oil
	805. Mines and coal
	806. Alternative and renewable energies
	807. Conservation of energy
	898. Research and development

9. DEVELOPMENT MODEL	900. Development

	000. General
	1001. Public transport and security
	1002. Road construction, road maintenance and safety
	1003. Airports, air traffic and safety

10. TRANSPORTATION	1005. Rail transport and security
	1006. Automobiles: traffic and regulation
	1007. Maritime Affairs and the Shipbuilding Industry
	1010. Public Works and Transport Services
	1098. Research and development on transport issues

12. POLICY AND JUSTICE	200. General issues
	1201. Police and anti-crime authorities
	1202. Financial crime and organized crime
	1203. Crimes relating to drug trafficking and drug use
	1204. Judicial system.
	1205. Penitentiary system
	1206. Juvenile crime and incivility activities
	1207. Child abuse and child pornography
	1208. Domestic Violence
	1209. Control of arms, private security forces and civil protection
	1210. Comprehensive Criminal Code and Civil Actions
	1211. Crime Prevention
	1212. Tax Fraud
	1230. Social revolts
	1260. Terrorism and armed gangs
	1297. Common crime

	1300. General
	1301. Access to food
	1302. Policy to combat poverty and social exclusion
	1303. Policies for the elderly
	1304. Assistance to the disabled and the

13. SOCIAL POLICY	handicapped
	1305. Associations of volunteers and foundations
	1308. Family life and work. Child Care

14. URBAN PLANNING AND HOUSING POLICY	1400. General
	1401. Housing policy in cities
	1403. Urban economic development and general problems in cities
	1404. Housing policy in rural areas
	1405. Rural economic development and general problems of rural areas
	1406. Official housing
	1408. Residences and housing for the elderly and disabled.
	1409. Homeless, indigent people
	1411. Real estate market and urban speculation

15. INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND TRADE	1500. General
	1501. Banking policy
	1502. Stock market
	1504. Mortgages, credit cards and other banking credit systems
	1505. Insurance
	1507. Suspension of payments, bankruptcy and insolvency
	1520. Antitrust legislation
	1521. Problems relating to small and medium-sized small businesses
	1522. Property Rights and Patents
	1523. Planned aid in the event of natural disasters, fires and accidents
	1524. Tourism
	1525. Consumer protection policy
	1526. Lotteries and betting
	1529 Professional colleges and business

	organizations

	1600. General
	1602. Alliances in security and defense policy (UNASUR)
	1603. Military intelligence and espionage
	1604.Ability of the Armed Forces
	1605. Controls on the proliferation of weapons.
	1606. Military aid
	1608. Human Resources of the Armed Forces
16. DEFENSE POLICY	1610. Acquisition of arms and purchase of military equipment
	1611. Military installations, property and buildings
	1614. Environmental problems caused by military actions
	1615. Armed forces and civil protection
	1617. Military contracts
	1619. Direct participation in warlike conflicts.
	1620. Human Rights Violations in Time of War and Denunciations of the Armed Forces
	1698. Research and development in military matters

	1700. General
	1704. Satellites and Other Aerospace Instruments for Commercial Use
	1705. Transfer of scientific technology and international cooperation
17. RESEARCH, TECHNOLOGY AND COMMUNICATIONS	1706. Telecommunication and telephone services.
	1707. Means of communication
	1708. Weather and geological problems
	1709. Computer industry and computer security

	1798. Projects

18. FOREIGN TRADE	1800. General
	1802. Free trade, conflict and regulation agreements
	1803. Export Promotion and Regulation
	1804. Foreign investment.
	1806. Competitiveness and balance of payments
	1807. Imports and import regulations

19. FOREIGN POLICY	1900. General
	1901. Aid for development and international cooperation
	1902. International Agreements Concerning the Environment
	1906. International financial system and international economic organizations
	1907. China, India and Pakistan
	1908. Russia and the Soviet ex-republics
	1909. Eastern countries
	1910. European Union: institutional issues
	1911. Sub-Saharan Africa
	1912. South Africa
	1913. Western Europe
	1914. Central and South America
	1916. USA
	1917. Canada
	1919. Japan, Korea and Oceania
	1920. Middle East
	1921. Southeast Asia
	1922. Maghreb
	1925. Human rights
	1926. International Organizations
	1927. International Terrorism

	1928. International Non-Governmental Organizations
	1929. Diplomacy

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	2000. General
	2001. Intergovernmental relations and local entities
	2002. Efficiency of public administration
	2003. Postal service
	2004. Civil service
	2005. Appointments and Salaries
	2006. Awards and Recognitions
	2007. Public contracts, outsourcing of services and misuse of public resources and corruption
	2008. Privatization of the public sector and nationalizations.
	2009. Finance Administration
	2011. Assembly and Constitution
20. GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	2012. Regulation of political activities, elections and election campaigns
	2013. State and Relationship between the five functions of the state
	2015. Ratings, complaints and complaints against the government, the Public Administration or the current politicians.
	2016. Reform of the Constitution
	2017. Assembly
	2018. Ratings, complaints and denunciations against the government, the Public Administration, groups or political elites outside the government on duty
	2030. Holidays and national holidays
	2040. Issues of transition and consolidation of democracy
	2050. Political independence, decolonization and state building processes
	2060. Political parties and movements as an organization

	2070. Relations between central government and local governments.

21. NATURAL RESOURCES AND WATER MANAGEMENT	2100. General
	2101. Natural parks and protected areas
	2103. Use of natural resources
	2104. Water resources: development, public works and ports

23. CULTURAL EVENTS, ART AND HUMANITIES	2300. General
	2301. Cinema, theater, music and dance
	2302. Publication of books and literary works in general

27. METEOROLOGICAL INCLEMENCES AND NATURAL DISASTERS	2700. General

29. SPORTS EVENTS	2900. General

30. MORTAL EVENTS	3001. Natural Death
	3002. Violent death