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Submitted: 21 Oct 2018

Accepted: 26 Jun 2019

Published: 27 Nov. 2019

[doi> 10.20396/riesup.v7i0.8653730](https://doi.org/10.20396/riesup.v7i0.8653730)

e-location: e021005

ISSN 2446-9424

Anti-plagiarism Check



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## The University Student Leadership in Venezuela: Some Notes on Liberty and the Protests of 2007 and 2014

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### ABSTRACT

The social movements in the dynamics of a country every time gain greater interest in the world democracies, with special attention in Venezuelan, whose democracy is strongly compromised these latest years. The college student leaderships highlight among these movements, assuming themselves during the years 2007 and 2014 as one of the most important cores with major importance in the politic and social dynamics of Venezuela. These groups, that showed up since 2007 associated to the denominated «fights for the defense of liberty» have got such an importance to receive the recognition of the public national and international opinion. This article emerges from the PhD research Signification of liberty in the university student leadership (2016), and is aimed to represent some ideas on liberty and the protests of 2007 and 2014, led by university student leaders from some of the most important universities of Venezuela. It was developed throughout the experiential-subjective epistemological approach with the phenomenological qualitative research tradition. The concept of discursive technology was developed to take the experiences of the very subjects involved. The results suggest that liberty is strongly rooted to processes of political and social participation in the country, developing an extra university approach for the development of the actions. This approximation to liberty is energized by the constituted power, family, language, ethics and moral, and projected towards the actions executed for the transformation of the country, either in students pro or contra the revolutionary government.

### KEYWORDS

University student leadership. Liberty. Protests. Discursive technology. Social movements.

## La Dirigencia Estudiantil Universitaria en Venezuela: Algunos Apuntes Sobre la Libertad y las Protestas de 2007 y 2014

### RESUMEN

Los movimientos sociales en las dinámicas de un país cada vez cobran mayor interés en las democracias del mundo, con especial atención en la venezolana, fuertemente comprometida en los últimos años. Las dirigencias estudiantiles universitarias resaltan de estos movimientos, asumiéndose durante los años 2007 y 2014 como uno de los nichos con mayor peso en la dinámica política y social de Venezuela. Estos grupos que aparecen desde 2007 asociados a las denominadas «luchas por la defensa de la libertad» han llegado a poseer un protagonismo que le ha merecido el reconocimiento de la opinión pública nacional e internacional. Este artículo se desprende de la tesis doctoral Significados de libertad en la dirigencia estudiantil universitaria, y tiene por objetivo representar algunas ideas sobre la libertad y las protestas de 2007 y 2014 protagonizadas por dirigentes estudiantiles de algunas de las más importantes universidades de Venezuela. El enfoque epistemológico fue el experiencialista-vivencialista, con la fenomenología como tradición de investigación cualitativa. Se desarrolló el concepto de tecnología discursiva para abordar las experiencias de los dirigentes. Los resultados sugieren que la libertad está fuertemente arraigada a los procesos de participación política y social del país, desarrollándose un matiz extra universitario en el desempeño de las acciones. Esta aproximación a la libertad es dinamizada por el poder constituido, la familia, el lenguaje, la ética y la moral, y se proyecta hacia la toma de acciones para la transformación del país, sea desde grupos a favor o contra el gobierno revolucionario.

### PALABRAS CLAVE

Liderança estudantil universitária. Liberdade. Protestos. Tecnologias discursivas. Movimentos sociais.

## A Liderança Estudantil Universitária na Venezuela: Alguns Assuntos Sobre a Liberdade e os Protestos de 2007 e 2014

### RESUMO

Os movimentos sociais nas dinâmicas de um país cada vez ganham maior interesse nas democracias do mundo, especialmente na venezuelana, fortemente comprometida nos últimos anos. As lideranças estudantis universitárias ressaltam destes movimentos, assumindo-se durante os anos 2007 e 2014 como um dos nichos com maior peso na dinâmica política e social da Venezuela. Estes grupos que apareceram desde 2007 associados as denominadas «lutas pela defesa da liberdade» há chegado ter um protagonismo pelo qual mereceram o reconhecimento da opinião publica nacional e internacional. Este artigo desprende-se da tese doutoral Significados da liberdade na liderança estudantil universitária, e tem como objetivo representar algumas ideias sobre a liberdade e os protestos de 2007 e 2014 protagonizadas por dirigentes estudantis de algumas das mais importantes universidades da Venezuela. O enfoque epistemológico foi o experiencial vivencial subjetivista, com a fenomenologia como tradição de pesquisa qualitativa. Desenvolvera-se o conceito de tecnologia discursiva para abordar as experiências dos mesmos lidere estudantis. Os resultados sugerem que a liberdade está fortemente arraigada a os processos de participação política e social do país, desenvolvendo-se um assunto extra-universitário no desempenho das ações. Esta aproximação á liberdade é energizada pelo poder constituída, á família, à linguagem, a ética e a moral, e projeta-se na direção da toma de ações para a transformação do país, seja desde grupos a favor o contra o governo revolucionário.

### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Liderança estudantil universitária. Liberdade. Protestos. Tecnologias discursivas. Movimentos sociais.

## Introduction

In the last years the university students leaderships have shown important roles in the social venezuelan sphere; from the traditional battles to improve the conditions of the university and the processes into them, until the most recent fights for democracy, life but above all liberty, Venezuela probably witnesses a re-edition of those actions from the beginnings of the XXI century, when young students gathered to protest for the closure of the University of Zulia or the University of Valencia (nowadays University of Carabobo) in the Cipriano Castro's presidential period. This social and politic dynamic of a country with one of the youngest and troubled democracies in the world, has exposed the need to discover and comprehend the significations of these fights, taking as the melting point the phenomenon of *liberty*, assuming all several facts to provide contrast about such a phenomenon.

The phenomenon of liberty, from the significations that the university student leaders provide, is key clue that leaded the macro objective of the doctoral these which gave origin to this research paper. It was necessary to initiate actions that lead us comprehend such significations of liberty, considering the representations of the living worlds in which the problem of liberty is involved; its justification as a research affair and some of the conclusions that foster the comprehension of what liberty is for these social subjects, assuming particularly the representations within the context of the venezuelan protests in 2007 and 2014. It was developed a strategy centered in three meetings with deep interviewing in the next sequential schedule: interview –transcription -presentation of the transcribed material -approval by the subject -edition (if needed) and -analysis-comprehension. From these found significations it was possible to take the living experiences by the subject university student leader, assuming that the current times are different to those remembered both in Venezuela and Latin-America with the *Generation of 1928*<sup>1</sup>. From this experiences it was possible to comprehend and initiate some readings about how this concept/experience enables the university student leader to perform with certain actions in the name of liberty, that not only have repercussions on themselves as subjects but in the whole venezuelan society.

This process of researching and comprehending liberty stands out the central value of language as an articulator of the human action. From language it was possible to build a device in order to comprehend how the university student leaders come to develop such as actions in the name of liberty. This furthermore implied the assumption of a contextual-based proposal of discourse, to explain the way in which these subjects create meaning, represented in the concept of *discursive technologies*. Here it is understood that enunciation does not remain in the mere presentation of a chain of expressions of meaning, but also leading us to the discovery of a contextual panorama of meanings, implying a way to look and to talk about a phenomenon like liberty. Then talking about liberty in Venezuela, in the XXI century, with

<sup>1</sup> Venezuelan student movement against the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez. This movement represented a new way to protest, that would eventually lead the liberation of the country.

all the current political, social and economic crisis, will not be the same as it was spoken at the beginning and the end of the XX century, even taking contexts such as Brazil, Argentina, Chile or France.

This paper is presented with introductions in the first person for its phenomenological orientation and because I am the author of the thesis from which it emerged. But also, introduces the third person as I acknowledge e include Ligia Rosa Malavé and Maria Cristina Parra-Sandoval, Venezuelan professors and researchers, who contributed accurately to the development of the thesis source; the first being my director, and the second, an important member of the examining bank. To both my infinite acknowledgement

## The Problem of Liberty and the Acts of Consciousness

The significance that the so-called acts of conscience acquire in the liberty particular task is oriented towards forms of behavior, totally perceived by a subject, and based on deliberate, not predetermined acts; a set of these acts can be associated to voluntary acts, not coerced by external force. In this case, total assumption of generated consequences is expected from the subject that chooses a path from several possibilities. Acts of this type were deployed twelve years ago, when before me the possibility of assuming political roles within a university student leadership stratum was presented by the university student wing of *Primero Justicia*<sup>2</sup> political party. If I were accepted to participate in that student leadership team in 2004, quite possibly my story would have been different, and most likely today I would have been writing about other situations. Who knows if it would be the same.

By October of 2004, elections were organized for the Student Center in the School of Education from which I was a student since October 2001, and at 20 I was perhaps not mature enough to have accepted the proposal to go as a Recording Secretary, position with certain symbolism, since judging by my introversion, I did not imagine myself in a position of greater exposure. The decision also meant that I was responsible for what was to come after that election. I did not accept the proposal, and I graduated in five years, just as I had planned. I have accepted today the consequences of not having accepted something that I would have been proud of today.

With such events, what can be said about graduating in a prudent time and acting with caution when not involving myself in organizations that would surely generate confrontation with academic authorities? I always saw the student leader meaning from a combative discourse, sometimes incendiary, but above all with a very high level of absenteeism from the classrooms; I was always fleeing from that, trying to be faithful to the moral judgments and social expectations of the environment to which I belonged. Today I know that it was not so much, not because I could not reach that standard, but because reaching that standard would have been the discovery of one of my true natures. Here the dynamisms in my subjective

<sup>2</sup> Centered-right-wing political party of Venezuela

reality may have acted to prevent this role, as they certainly influenced the decisions of university student leaders whose experience was studied, understood and presented in the doctoral research from which this article emerges, specifically the cases of the subject of the University of Zulia<sup>3</sup> (LUZ) and that of the Bolivarian University of Venezuela<sup>4</sup> (UBV).

Likewise, the university student leadership - with the roles demanded by it - implied different situations for me: graduating in ten years (or possibly never), being seen as a lazy person before public opinion, earning me the reserve of the authorities, among other things. I decided to see it from a negative plane. This adjoins even in a nuclear situation regarding our choices: the duality at the source of our actions. In this sense,

hay dos escuelas de reforma social; una de ellas se basa en la noción de una moralidad que brota de una libertad interior, algo misteriosamente alojado dentro de la personalidad. Sostiene que la única forma de cambiar las instituciones es que los hombres purifiquen sus propios corazones y que, cuando esto se haya logrado, el cambio deseado vendrá por sí mismo. La otra niega la existencia de tal fuerza interior y, al hacerlo así, piensa que ha negado también toda libertad moral. Sostiene que el hombre es como es, debido a las fuerzas del medio que lo rodea, que la naturaleza humana es meramente maleable y que nada podrá hacerse hasta que se modifiquen las instituciones [...] Hay una teoría para no quedar acorralados entre estas dos teorías. Podemos admitir que toda conducta es el resultado de una acción recíproca entre elementos de la naturaleza humana y el medio natural y social que la rodea. Veremos entonces que el progreso procede en dos formas y que la libertad se encuentra en aquella clase de acción recíproca que mantenga un medio ambiente en el que el deseo y la elección humana tengan alguna significación. Hay en verdad, fuerzas internas en el hombre, como las hay fuera de él (DEWEY, 1975: p. 20-21).

The foregoing contextualizes theoretically some dynamic situations that I considered negative and that I avoided assuming my liberty within a student organization. What I thought is not different from what many others think today about the university student leader. I don't feel regret for it. However, part of the story points to the fact that the exercise of liberty implies commitment and responsibility, and in Dewey's opinion, also moral. At that time when I did not recognize that there were legitimate intentions in my colleagues who were student leaders, I certainly found myself in a dynamic environment in which the notion of liberty seemed to be the exercise of actions by social pressures, in an environment composed of students, by the headships and academic directions, the deaneries, the vicerectorates, from political parties also, a whole microstructure of power, to refer to myself in terms of Michel Foucault. What was behind all this environment of leadership, rather than motivate me, intimidated me and I went after a pretense of which me myself knew prisoner: I wanted to be a teacher of the School of Education of which I was part and in which I was trained.

<sup>3</sup> One of the five most ancient and autonomous macro-universities, whose central campus is located in the city of Maracaibo, Zulia state, in the west of Venezuela.

<sup>4</sup> University created under the order of former President Hugo Chávez in his first term, founded on Bolivarian postulates, with a popular orientation and ideologically opposed to the structure and foundations of Venezuelan autonomous universities.

All this also entered into another dynamism, particularly by the way, an was that of a student coming from a home whose mother was the one who paid the bills and struggled to provide education, food and security to three kids, of whom I was the middle one. In addition, a context of separated parents was breeding ground for a myriad of conditions that would expose me to a scenario, in which it was nonsense to distract myself in student leaderships. In this case, the family acted and constituted itself dynamism, a concept analogous to force. This strength found in my family modulated the decision making and was part of what until then had as liberty. The contemplation of the authorities of my university, for those times, was also constituted in another dynamism; the university authorities, concerned to the revolutionary government of the day, would not see with pleasure the student leaders who questioned their decisions and were against the great apparatus of power they represented, so that authorities or constituted and instituted power of the university was another force.

This was another great reason that prevented the exercise of a type of liberty. Being an outstanding student, judicious, responsible would make me more inclined to be considered as an aspiring professor, to be one who fought against the bureaucratic apparatus as a leader, eminently combative because the university student leadership was that: combat. Being a student leader threatened to throw this whole moral and professional project overboard.

By early 2005, I was an prepared student, and that was another reason that on the one hand gave me advantages to aspire to a teaching position, but on the other was an activity that did not match with being a student leader; with time dedicated to study and being a preparer or to study and being a student leader (in my case, I thought that as a leader I did have to study and be an example). The political, social and economic situations of 2005 were nothing to those of 2007, or what it was then in 2016, the year in which I dissertated my doctoral thesis; all these situations defined radical changes in the whole social, personal and psychological constitution, not only in me but in a whole society, divided today between speeches of "right-wing" or "left-wing".

Thus time passed, between classes, pre-schools; I graduated as the third of twenty in my promotion in December of 2006, in March of 2007 I entered as a temporal professor of Educational Psychology, and in May of that same year I won in competition of opposition and merits one of the positions for instructor teacher in the curriculum unit of Psychology and Counseling. From there, my vision of a student afraid of accepting his own liberty as if it were a destiny passed to one of professor in an environment with students and professors. I am not saying that I am no longer afraid of liberty, but I am more aware of the commitment and responsibilities that it implies. I had to see how student leaders knocked on my door to raise my students to come out to protest, some respectful, but also other amnesic on courtesy.

So, from 2004 to 2016 what would have changed? What do I consider as liberty in the university student leadership? What is the liberty? Who is the university student leader? Here can enter a question of history. History, as a function of time, would act as a vigilant element of what is or was my liberty in my moments of undergraduate training. The aspects that I related about my family dynamics, and the same power represented by the university



authorities, those two would mainly be embodied in dynamisms, because they were present, as the context of a whole semiosis of liberty. For example, the family dynamism can be enhanced by a historical-temporal dynamism. However, this issue is not me the main protagonist, although to investigate the liberty of university student leaders, I would not have to avoid what I as a subject lived, and I still live around this phenomenon.

Therefore, it did not correspond mainly to me to mean and / or re-signify, but to be part of that process of arriving at the meaning of it; reaching it implied going back to the horizon of the phenomenon, of the life experience of these subjects, positioning myself in that role of leadership with university student leaders, a role from which I have discovered exemplary student leaders who have no reason to wish to be an simple and common student with aspirations of professor in a university besieged by the insufficient budget, the desertion of its members and the intervention of the autonomy.

This positioning of which I speak does not imply a self-teacher but a curious researcher of the subject of freedom, who lived it and continues to live it according to its subjective constitution. From all this, it was up to me to read, start a research process, observe and listen to my colleagues what they thought about the leaders, whom they describe as "lazy", "paid by the political parties", among other qualifiers, and to listen at meetings to the student leaders, read their speeches in newspapers, watch them on television programs, even get into their conversations when using the bus routes of the university. I had decided to enter the core, being the closest thing to them. In 2016 I saw myself carrying a briefcase with a history totally different from that of 2004.

For example, it has been found that under the name of liberty, a series of conceptions and meanings have been historically erected, being able to attribute in the first instance those related to capacity to execute actions that have their origin in the neurobiological functions that characterize us as human beings, position called "determinism". This position places the individual in a passive position, in which they are respondent subjects to external stimuli. However, experience has shown me that not always what we do (motor actions) is necessarily consistent product or representation of our will, our capacity to do according to our being. It's about to speaking of an instance that transcends any observable, measurable external process and quantifiable, and that gives value to our subjectivity, loaded with beliefs, values, thoughts and feelings, to say: the spirit.

I came to experience strong shock; with training in hardest behaviorism in the Master's degree in Behavioral Counseling of the Psychiatric, Psychological and Sexological Research Center of Venezuela, talking about issues such as "being" or "spirit" might have meant my trial for heresy. The subjects, instead of responding passively, make judgments about what is considered good or bad, being that:

la moral interviene en toda actividad en que se presenten otras posibilidades, ya que, donde quiera que éstas entran, surge una diferencia entre lo mejor y lo peor. Reflexionar sobre una acción significa que existe la incertidumbre y la necesidad consiguiente de una decisión acerca de cuál curso es el mejor. El mejor es el bueno,

el óptimo no es mejor que el bueno sino simplemente el bien descubierto; los grados comparativo y superlativo sólo son indicios del grado positivo de la acción (DEWEY, 1975: p. 254).

This exhibition then placed me in at least two perspectives and different situations; On the one hand we can have actions that are carried out and that are in congruence with our being, what we are internally, like our identity and our history, which I will call "dynamisms of liberty", and that have a subsequent ontological foundation mediated by the will, but on the other hand we can perform actions that are not always a representation of our being; which I will call "determinism", as ways in which it responds by neurobiological programming to external stimuli, without giving importance to our own perception and experience of the facts. In this sense, in a summarized way, liberty would be able to do according to our will. I became interested in a position by Habermas (2008), p. 12 with whom I found that:

si el acto de «decidir libremente» significa que el agente «vincula mediante razones» a su voluntad, el factor de apertura de la decisión no excluye su condicionalidad racional. El agente es libre cuando quiere, como resultado de su deliberación, sobre aquello que tiene por correcto. Solo experimentamos como no libre una acción impuesta desde fuera, que nos obligue a actuar de un modo distinto de como nosotros, según nuestro propio criterio, queremos obrar.

So I think that if people can exercise actions according to their cognitive and physical abilities, the scenarios and environments that they would encounter could be as varied as what they would have if they went in search of the identification of the personality of each individual in an institution, for example, a university. Thus, remembering all the power of the context of the School of Education, and all the university environment in general, gave me ideas to reflect on an aspect in Gabás (2000), from whom I take that "de acuerdo con Nietzsche, la vida psíquica está condicionada en buena medida por la coacción ejercida a través de los procesos de trabajo y de las instituciones " (p.190).

Also, the contribution of Habermas then places freedom as a dynamic phenomenon, which does not simply respond to a stimulus from abroad, to which "reasons" must be applied, and from there generate elections. It is then a phenomenon that puts the subject in a privileged position as the entity responsible for their choices, not implying that there are only programmed responses in their memory. Each response people give would be mediated by their will. With this we can infer that whatever the decision is, what is more important is not why people did it but how and what of the experience with the acceptance or not of the responsibilities. It was then necessary to see how this process has occurred in the Venezuelan university student leaders.

Given this scenario, the meanings of liberty can acquire different values and considerations. Therefore, concerns about how people build their own idea of liberty may arise. This was a question that I discovered not in 2004, but some time later, around 2011. These concerns could be grouped around what elements are associated with the meaning of liberty that people have, how they build their own liberty, if it is a phenomenon of which the same individual has consciousness as a builder, and how that meaning is a guide or reference of their actions, or how such actions that the student leader makes are a reference to their liberty.



Savater (2003) for example, refers to the poet Pierre Réverdy, who said that there was no love, but evidence of it, so I allow myself to apply such a resolution to freedom, arguing that such thing does not exist. What can be seen is an evidence of it, it is to say that it's about of experiences that account for a phenomenon and not the abstract idea of it. In this sense, (Savater) assumes that "sabemos suficientemente que somos libres, pero no conocemos del todo los meandros por los que transcurre nuestra libertad y los incentivos que la mueven. La segunda prueba, la más copiosa, la constituyen nuestras obras: la libertad humana deja rastro en el mundo" (p.88). From this point it would depart towards a conception of liberty that vindicates its spiritual and ontological origin from the subject that acts, and the conscience of it that knows that it is called to act in making merit to its own decision; an actor who is the subject and author of his liberty, who does what he is.

The discovery, description and understanding of the aspects that are associated with the meaning of liberty of student leaders is a key matter since we cannot speak of liberty in a subject without dwelling on the issues that characterize it as such. For example identity, autonomy, reflection, among others, that is, to who they are, a vision not recognized from the deterministic logic of human events, which postulates, for example, subjects who respond to stimuli, according to neuronal patterns, rather than subjective. The question of identity is presented as a crucial element to understand how people, for example, university student leaders, build their own liberty and give meaning to actions that are "evidence" of it (Author 1, 2013). So I found myself in a complex environment: the university student; I found myself in it in 2004 and I was still in it in 2016 when I dissertated the doctoral thesis.

The university institutions present peculiar realities: unions and teacher associations, for example, which are organizations with members, some without managerial protagonism, and others with management roles (presidents, secretaries, delegates, etc.). But not only in the teaching staff and employees there are organizations in which there are roles of leaders and directed. Venezuelan university students also manage power structures, under the so-called Student Center Federations (in Spanish: Federación de Centros de Estudiantes), in which the university student leadership is exercised.

The university student movement represents one of the social structures with greater influence not only in the university but in society in general. Today reality still affirms it. For some time, the issue of autonomy in universities, the liberties inside and outside these campuses and the student demands have been three of the struggles for which more and better has been identified to the university student leadership, although it was not always so. López (2005), p. 590 collects an interesting fact regarding the genesis of the university student leadership in Venezuela, explaining that:

los movimientos estudiantiles cumplieron un papel importante de primer orden en la historia política venezolana del siglo XX. Desde la gesta de la llamada "Generación del 28" contra la dictadura de Juan Vicente Gómez, hasta las masivas y violentas protestas escenificadas a finales de los años 80, los estudiantes estuvieron en la primera plana de la confrontación política del país. De los liderazgos estudiantiles surgieron los fundadores y principales dirigentes de los partidos políticos venezolanos durante muchas décadas.

Likewise, roughly speaking, Latin American struggles retain similarity in terms of the objectives of their actions. For example, the reality of Chile is driven towards democratization and the right to free and open university education, and in Brazil these struggles are directed towards processes of improvement of the government domain, better management and distribution of finances and punishment of corruption. For Perdomo (2008), p.236,

en este sentido habría que diferenciar movimientos contra normas establecidas por instituciones fuertes en países ricos y, movimientos buscando que existan normas que favorezcan a los estudiantes. Sin embargo, en ambos escenarios se observa una constante: los estudiantes no se oponen a estructuras del capital, pero sí expresan ideas por mejores relaciones humanas, la paz y los derechos civiles. En el caso venezolano y latinoamericano las luchas han girado en torno a mejor democracia, no al militarismo, no a las dictaduras y contra el imperialismo norteamericano, distinguiendo aquí las intuiciones de algunos de sus dirigentes por una mejor educación superior de aquellas en educación básica donde es difícil observar objetivos políticos o gremiales definidos. En la mayoría de los casos el enfrentamiento es contra la policía, no contra la organización política de la sociedad, su protesta es contra la comunidad en general y no contra el funcionariado responsable de pésimas políticas públicas.

In the Venezuelan case, however, since 2007 a diversification of the spectrum of action of the university student leadership has begun, sometimes with thumps that recall the traditional struggles against the dictatorship, but above all, traces that particularize their actions, putting them in a privileged place and with repercussion in the political and social dynamics of the country. Today, university students, some motivated by their student leaders and others by their own independent exercise of liberty, have developed a civic conscience that has not only made them look at the traditional problems they face in their university campuses but their actions have returned to have repercussion in more transcendental areas.

Today a new representative sphere of the university student leadership is visualized; they are not the same struggles for more desks, they are not the same struggles for more and better food for the dining rooms, they are not the same struggles for more bus routes, they are not the same struggles for the student to receive equalitarian attention to the one of a teacher. The student leadership is another, very different from the one I saw in 2004, and which I feared so much. The student leadership is in power, and wants to be part of the active and political construction of the country. If I had seen a university student leadership like today, I would say that I would have fought for a more combative role than that of a record secretary.

I found an illustrative panorama in the impact that the student movements represent in Venezuelan history; The Generation of 28 in Venezuela, for example, had a significant impact on political life in the third decade. Named Generation of 28, this group of university students leaves the classroom for a struggle against the bloody dictatorship of General Juan Vicente Gómez. Many of these students were later the founders of important political parties in this country, for example COPEI and Acción Democrática, among them Rigoberto Lanz, Carlos Blanco, Ludovico Silva and Américo Martín. Tovar Arroyo (2008) manages to collect the destiny that Venezuela is living from the beginning of the XXI century until our most recent years and months, expressing that:

el momento histórico venezolano de principios del siglo XXI no puede ser más dramático y apasionante. Dos Venezuelas se debaten a empujones y mordiscos por la conquista del poder, dos Venezuelas que han dejado de verse al rostro para descubrir que poseen la misma mirada, las mismas arrugas y las mismas heridas, dos Venezuelas que no traban conversación y se entienden a gritos, insultos y vociferaciones, dos Venezuelas que abstraídas en su diálogo de fieras no se han percatado de que hay una tercera Venezuela que atiende con estupor y pena, o mejor, con horror, al circo fraticida (p.119).

This exposed situation projects ideas towards two particular plans; one plan is the student of the world, while the other is the student in the world. The foreground places a student who belongs to a world, who is integrated into it. Here can be seen elements such as the influence that the world has on them, the student as a receiver of things, which transforms and transforms itself from it. From this plan is summarized, what the world does to mediate the processes in which the student exercises his liberty. But on the other side, the second plane has a student who not only belongs to the world but transcends it and it is the world that acquires meaning for him, integrating and triggering interpretations of the interaction. This implies, therefore, an intersubjective process, in which they are with themselves and with others.

It is probably the previous idea that made possible the eruption that triggered the transformation of the traditional Venezuelan student movement as we had seen it for a few decades in one that civically recalled the adventures of the Generation of 28; I do not know what the late Dr. Edmundo Chirinos<sup>5</sup> would think today about the role of our student leadership, but I do not think he falls into error when he says that it is not our student leadership. Goicochea in Tovar Arroyo (2008) firmly expresses that "no es que los jóvenes no tuviésemos sentimientos antes del 28 de mayo de 2007, es que ese 28 de mayo explotó lo mucho que sentíamos. Fue ese día, después de cierre arbitrario de RCTV (canal de televisión más antiguo de Venezuela) que los jóvenes nos encontramos en la calle sin previa convocatoria, como si fuéramos espejos de lo que sentía nuestra gente" (p.7).

Therefore, the comprehension of a meaning, and making it public through the findings of a thesis would not be transcendental as to understand how students construct these networks of meaning, which are associated with their praxis. Today the university student leadership has displayed a facet that impacts the political and social reality of a State, the Venezuelan; hence a nuclear importance because it is necessary to write history from the human sciences, and to represent from what aspects the university student leaders conceive liberty, and how it has repercussion for the political, social and democratic dynamics of the country; we have witnessed that all your actions today aim towards the defense of liberty and democracy.

<sup>5</sup> Controversial professor, psychiatrist, former Rector of the Central University of Venezuela and former candidate for the Presidency of Venezuela in the 80s. He was prosecuted for sexual abuse of patients under sedation, and the murder of one of his patients. His case was reviewed in the book *Blood on the couch of the Venezuelan journalist exiled in the USA Ibeyise Pacheco*. About the youth of the time, Chirinos once said that it was a fool generation. More about the term at <https://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/a66232.html>.

Tovar Arroyo (2008) advances in his work and declares that "estos jóvenes no solo exhibieron un ideario claro y profundo, mostraron con su ejemplo y actividad que su espíritu es humanista, reconciliador y que están dispuestos a sacrificarlo todo por alcanzar sus ideales y sueños" (p.121), while for Acosta (2013) the generation referred to by Tovar "encubre el hecho de que esos jóvenes elitescos, hijos de ricos, no son sino un grupo de representantes de esa élite, de esa oligarquía, que encubre tras su juventud y tras los clichés usualmente asociados a ésta y a la misma condición estudiantil, los interés de las clases dominantes, los mismos que hacen que esos jóvenes derechistas se opongan a este proceso de cambio popular" (p.251).

Thus, the research on liberty from which this article emerges focused on closing a gnoseological and epistemological gap, since the meanings of liberty that students have are based on aspects of everyday knowledge, so that they act or not according to what they conceptualize of this phenomenon (gnoseology), and in the epistemological aspect, these attributed meanings will be studied from an existentialist-experientialist approach, and under the phenomenological-hermeneutical tradition. Also, by own experience, that of a student of doctoral training until 2016, this research was framed by at least four major focuses of disciplinary attention: first of all from psychology, secondly philosophy, particularly the phenomenological, in third place to sociology, due to the approach of the student leadership as a social group with impact on the social, political and democratic dynamics of the country, and finally, from the point of view of the traditions and qualitative methods that are selected for the development of this company, the understanding of freedom, from the subjective reality of the university student leader. In this case it is the hermeneutic phenomenological tradition that was chosen for the passing of the investigation. As qualitative data collection techniques, the in-depth interview was deployed to achieve a process of intimacy through three meetings between student leaders and the researcher. These meetings were generated a series of texts, which were generated from the transcription, assembly in word processor MS Word, printing to present the subjects interviewed, so that they give endorsement and identify with the transcribed. From these endorsed texts fragments were taken for their exposition and discussion in this article.

## Discussion

One of the most distinctive characteristics that has been found in living organisms can be seen in their ability to communicate, so the dynamisms through which they communicate to another will be the spur responsible for understanding the expressed intentions, without forgetting the ways in which these communication products are understood. Therefore, a linguistic dynamic should be considered desirable in which the message is understood by as many actors involved in the discursive situation as possible, since assuming that in human beings this ability to communicate is presented from the language, and more specifically through discourses. In such dynamics, many aspects have to be considered, among which, for example, the discursive production processes and the context would stand out (LEAL & MALAVÉ, 2016). Hence it was necessary to assume a dynamism that would help to understand not only the meaning of freedom but a means by which it is externalized, in addition to behaviors: discourse.

The discursive dynamics for the meaning were taken from the three elements pointed out by Verón (1998): production, circulation and consumption, however, it is the production and circulation stages that took on the main interest in the investigation of the meaning of freedom. For example, the case of discursive production was considered simultaneously with the conditions that were given for this discourse-product to emerge, an aspect that was focused on the intentionality of the significant subject and on the aspects that they used to achieve such intentionality, aspects that they did not charge into the denomination of "strategy" or "method" of production but rather of discursive technology, a form in which the subject deliberately and skilfully designs a statement, and at the same time an intentional way to chain it to others, with which it would produce a speech. In this sense, technology would be know-how and practice, as the work of man is a fact that originates knowledge (MALAVÉ, 2005).

By assuming it as discursive, a technology is then knowledge, a know-how and practice from and with discourse, not only knowing and issuing statements, but also implying the existence of knowledge of the technique of doing and being with discourse. Thus, Navarro (2006), p.29, comes to express that:

el sujeto concebirá el conocimiento como sabiduría de verdad y como saber del ser dentro de la técnica. Los griegos entendían el vocablo en un sentido completamente distinto. Para nosotros técnica es un hacer, para los griegos es un saber hacer cosas. El concepto de técnica pertenece al orden del saber, hasta el punto de que, a veces, Aristóteles aplica ese nombre a la sabiduría misma...

The discursive technology is closely linked to the stage of discursive production. A sample of the concept of discursive technology, as presented in this research, is the notion given by the meaning.

The process of discovering and understanding the technologies of discourse in the meaning of liberty of the university student leader then required the taking of a natural attitude with which one could identify and understand this process of meaning, the intentions that are held - on behalf of the student leader- to employ this or that discursive technology, and especially to link these with the degrees of understanding of the phenomenon of freedom in an existential situation, from the language-discourse. Foucault (2009) reflects on the discourse and the power that is attributed to discourse from the institution, "no hay por qué tener miedo de empezar; todos estamos aquí para mostrarte que el discurso está en el orden de las leyes, que desde hace mucho tiempo se vela por su aparición; que se le ha preparado un lugar que le honra pero que le desarma, y que, si consigue algún poder, es de nosotros de quien lo obtiene" (p. 13).

As indicated, six discursive technologies were found: metaphor, analogy, perspective, presupposition, implication and time. These six technologies compose a discursive dynamism for the meaning of liberty, finding meanings between acts of giving meaning and acts of fulfilling meaning (ROSSI, 2013). Each one of them involves an intention, since if there were no difference, they would not be employed or only one or two would be used, at most in their speeches. These technologies go beyond discursive adornment; they involve subjective and intersubjective experiential marks, because in the case of metaphor, for example, there must be shared knowledge.

The use of these discursive technologies implies a situational or contextual awareness by means of which relationships are woven from the discursive subject that produces a chain of senses, the recipient of these discourses and the lived experiences that are represented in such enunciations, from both platforms of enunciation (the producer and the recipient). For example, in the use of metaphor and analogy there is a persuasive relationship through fictitious or real situations. In the use of metaphor in the discourse of these subjects, an expression that breaks with the logical chain of causes that is expressed with the interest of meaning in particular an idea or phenomenon. Here the metaphorical expression is not for interpretation and literal understanding, but extrapolation between two statements, through resources alien to a current situation, but that there is a shared knowledge of what that expression means, establishing the relationship with the meaning of freedom that you want to present.

With the analogy, the relationship that is woven is one of emulation with an expression that, not being fictional as metaphor is in fact, resembles what it is meant to mean. This is used to generate the connection, and enable the understanding and understanding of the expression of freedom, apparently unknown to the recipient.

Perspective represents a discursive technology but from the way of enunciating, rather than with a particular type of enunciation such as happens with metaphor and analogy. The relationship that is woven in this technology is that of positioning from a discursive platform, in which the subject -from ways of producing discourse- reveals the plot from which he builds his discourse, which can be official (government) or of opposition. This fact is capital because it sets the tone for the meaning of liberty, which on the one hand can be that of a liberty granted and protected by the current government and another liberty threatened by the current government, to defend on the street.

The presupposition and implication are two ways of enunciating as well. They are technologies because they are used with the intention of stimulating a behavior. Its identification is found in what does not appear explicit within what has been said. First, in the presupposition a link is established with the metaphor; they both start from the assumption that there is shared sociocultural knowledge about the worlds of which they are spoken and from which they are enunciated. In the discourses studied, it was found that both discursive subjects assume that whoever interviewed them handles their frame of reference, assuming that they already know and are within the logic of sense displayed. In implication, on the other hand, there is the idea of moving from superficial structures to deep structures. Here we can mention, for example, the theory of the speech acts of Austin, that although it does not fully explain how and for what the discursive subject uses the implication instead of the literal explanation, an explanation emerges from the intentions.

The implication in this case, is presented as deep discourse, because the superficial structures - what is manifested, what happened - is the stimulus for a type of statement to emerge, which in turn will activate a new understanding of the idea of intentionality of the subject. Example of this thesis, the fallacies. When an official discursive subject associates the university student leaders with opposition leaders with ongoing criminal cases, it is intended to imply that the latter support such crimes, whether or not they are proven.



The dynamism represented in time is change. During all the discursive dynamics, the use of expressions of temporality was associated with a break in the lines of time in which the actions of the university student leaders have passed, including from the reformist movement of Córdoba, (Argentina) in 1914 or in on May 68 in Paris (France). The experience of lived time is reported even as reinvention.

Below, some samples of these technologies in the discourse of the two university student leaders (FR = LIGHT; OD = UBV) addressed:

[1] Dicen que Ricardo<sup>6</sup> fue construido de ese dinero que aportaban César Pérez Vivas<sup>7</sup> y Manuel Rosales<sup>8</sup>; está el caso de Stalin González, una persona que admiro mucho, no dudo de su capacidad de lucha, de su constancia, de sus buenas intenciones, pero ¿realmente es el mejor ejemplo que un estudiante deje de estudiar para ocupar un cargo político? No creo que por allí vayan los tiros de lo que nosotros necesitamos para el país. Ricardo Sánchez tampoco se graduó. Está el caso de Jon Goicochea<sup>9</sup> que sí se graduó, y ahorita bueno desapareció de la palestra política pero está en Estados Unidos haciendo un postgrado. Está el caso de Freddy Guevara que sí se pudo graduar, David Smolanski<sup>10</sup>. Bueno, digamos que toda esa generación, no podemos meterlos a todos en el mismo saco, pero de cierto modo hubo aciertos y desaciertos, pues (FR, 2015).

[2] Nosotros nos encargamos con el ministro de eso, nosotros le planteamos todo ese escenario, lo que pasa es que yo te lo he dicho muy someramente, pero con láminas y todo las tenemos, se lo planteamos al vice ministro Merendes Fernández, para que el vice ministro nos dé – si Dios quiere el lero de mayo en un momentico, en cinco minutos- la oportunidad de hablar con el ministro y le soltemos ese tiro. Estamos seguros que el ministro nos va a comprar esa idea, y vamos a ser el primer estado en avanzar en el tema socioproductivo desde lo micro a lo macro (OD, 2015);

[3] Ahora de aquel momento a este momento hay una diferencia abismal. Nuestros estudiantes hoy en día van hasta la OEA, caso Lorent Saleh<sup>11</sup>, estuvo en la OEA. Estuvo con un aspirante de oposición ahorita, un aspirante de oposición a diputada a la Asamblea Nacional. ¿Y quién es Lorent Saleh hoy en día? Un detenido. ¿Acaso los videos de Lorent Saleh eran montados por la izquierda? Él mismo se echó a agua (OD, 2015)

<sup>6</sup> Ricardo Sánchez. Former Deputy of the National Assembly. Personage and ex- important student university leader of the Central University of Venezuela, participant of the manifestations in 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Former opposition member of the COPEI party.

<sup>8</sup> Former Governor of the State of Zulia and former candidate for the presidency of Venezuela in 2006 for the party Un Nuevo Tiempo.

<sup>9</sup> Politician and Venezuelan lawyer. One of the main members of the Venezuelan Student Movement in 2007, key in the defeat of the consultation for the Constitutional Reform of 2007 promoted by former President Hugo Chávez,

<sup>10</sup> David Smolansky, former university student leader, journalist and leader of the Venezuelan opposition party Voluntad Popular. Even in functions as mayor of El Hatillo municipality in Caracas-Venezuela for the period 2014-2018, had to leave the country, before the arrest warrant issued by the government of President Nicolás Maduro for alleged charges of sedition.

<sup>11</sup> Lorent Enrique Gómez Saleh, former Venezuelan university student leader and founder of the NGO Operation Libertad. Since 2011, Saleh had participated in several activities in defense of human rights until in 2012, after exiling in Colombia fleeing an arrest warrant, he was deported by order of President Juan Manuel Santos to Venezuela, where he would answer for alleged charges of sedition, paramilitarism and terrorism. He was recently released after a 4-year captivity at the headquarters of Venezuela's Bolivarian Intelligence Service (SEBIN), and banished to Spain. More on Saleh in the review available at: <http://efectococuyo.com/politica/quien-es-lorent-saleh-su-excarcelacion-y-destierro-en-seis-claves/>

The fragments [1] and [2] present a point, reality or metaphorized different situation, with a different ideological context. For example, in [1] the idea of taking a subject as a product of a "construction" through the intervention of others throws an implication: the leadership of money produced by pacts, a very common aspect in dirty Venezuelan politics networks. However, striking is the fact that FR as an opposition student leader presents himself as a traitor to another former student leader of the Central University of Venezuela, initially (2015) deputy of the National Assembly for the Bureau of the Democratic Unity, at the moment one of the most faithful deputies of the revolutionary proposal of government. In this sense, two other metaphors are used for the case of this type of leadership, that of "the path of the shots", which refers to the indication of path, orientation, tendency of a body or object towards something, while in the metaphor of "not putting in the same bag", the idea of considering each case as unique, without generalizing or extrapolating a situation to other members of the opposition student leadership is pointed out.

In the other case, the fragment [2], "release the shot" does not indicate the idea of attacking the life of a minister or any other subject, nor does "buying that idea" imply a commercial exchange of forms of transform society. The first expression is associated to give news, to expose a topic that may be novel, shocking or controversial. While the second implies the idea that the minister agrees with the approaches presented by this segment of university student leadership. In this case, the two metaphors used by the subject OD, a student leader with clear support for the revolutionary government, are related to the participative character that these leaders have in the governmental issues of the current management, observing a dynamics of adhesion both in discourse as a hegemonic community. This aspect indicates that liberty can have a powerful association with the aspect of participation; insofar as these groups of students are allowed to take part in the conduct of the country, to that extent they can have built-in meanings of liberty.

In the fragment [3] another metaphor is used although with an implication of meaning different from what is commonly known as "throwing oneself in the water". For the Spanish of Venezuela this expression indicates "to marry". However, in this opportunity, OD employs it implying or meaning "to act with actions that affect oneself, to fall into the very tricks that one orchestrates for others". In this fragment, it refers to an opposition student leader (Lorent Saleh), who was identified by paramilitarism and sedition for the 2012 residency in Colombia, and associated with former Colombian President Álvaro Uribe Vélez.

In these three fragments, the metaphor as a technology to signify is associated with the phenomenon of liberty in at least two situations; in the case of FR, the issue of the ethical expression of behavior in society and in the collective of the university student leadership, specifically the opposition. The point made in the case of Ricardo Sánchez is taken as a signal of treason and unethical and amoral behavior, as the doubt of his constructed leadership is assumed, far from having germinated from his own organizational merits, propitiated by negotiations and monetary investment by third parties. In the case of OD, a subject openly aligned with the revolutionary government proposal, the metaphorical technology used in his speech could also be associated with a statement of the behaviors that should not be incurred

by student leaders. However, this expression adheres to a hegemonic enunciative sphere, that of governmental discourse, although it does not reveal the ethical and moral significance in the ways in which the conduct of the ruling subject, that is, his liberty, is conducted. In both subjects, the metaphor brings the speaker closer to others through the establishment of common figurative worlds, as the theory puts it, with the intention of persuading.

The analogy occurs around two situations and - unlike the metaphor - in this technology the relation of enunciation or expression is given by similarity between something known to the interlocutors and something little known to what is necessary to arrive, being the known the resource of understanding, and the unknown, a possibility for misunderstanding or non-understanding. Otherwise we have in the metaphor in which the relationship of understanding is given by substitution using a different statement, strange, though perhaps more simply, than originally had been used.

In Foucault (2012) there is a description of the concept of analogy as

viejo concepto, familiar ya a la ciencia griega y al pensamiento medieval, pero cuyo uso ha llegado a ser probablemente diferente. En esta analogía se superponen la convenientia y la aemulatio. Al igual que ésta, asegura el maravilloso enfrentamiento de las semejanzas a través del espacio; pero habla, como aquélla, de ajustes, de ligas y de conjeturas. Su poder es inmenso, pues las similitudes de las que trata no son las visibles y las macizas de las cosas mismas, basta con que sean las semejanzas más sutiles de las relaciones. Así, aligerada, puede ofrecer, a partir de un mismo punto, un número infinito de parentescos (p.39).

It prepared the lines between the analogy and metaphor. Analogy is a technology in which the discursive subject presents an idea, or an intentionality, protected in the context of something known, closer to the other or to the others. What both technologies seek is to bring the other closer to a world of understandable life, a world constituted by experiences and intentions in which the understanding can be given from the language as an intentional experience, "aquella que posee una dirección hacia un objeto, una referencia, una tendencia dirigida hacia algo; esta «dirección», esta «referencia», esta «tendencia» es justamente la «intención» de la vivencia" (ROSSI, 2013: p.17).

The fragment [4], of FR, will show the participation category associated with the acts of freedom, whether to give meaning or fulfill it. Thus, FR refers to his intention at that time as "motor", a word with which he expresses his desire to act as part of that community. The word motor itself implies the idea of movement, of an intention towards movement, towards the deployment of behaviors of a subject who very timidly initiates his actions within his organization, and who at that time was also a newspaper columnist for the region of Falcon. on the subject of national policy. Later on in other fragments you can see how liberty is meant as participation. Thus, to the extent that these leaders are allowed to do and be within their organizations, to such an extent they will represent their experience of liberty.

[4]Y realmente me estaban mostrando una parte muy positiva, algo que yo no conocía, algo de lo que nunca me habían hablado, y para mí fue todo un descubrimiento. A lo mejor tenían tiempo haciéndolo, pero yo nunca lo había visto,

y me llamó obviamente poderosamente la atención. Obviamente me gustó, comencé a preguntar, comencé a involucrarme más. Quería ser yo el que entregara ya las guías del estudiante, es decir ya quería como que ser el motorcito del grupo. Sin embargo, siendo sincero, no tenía esa confianza como para proyectarme como líder de ULIGHT<sup>12</sup>. En ningún momento, en esa etapa, pensé que iba a ser el líder de ULIGHT, primero porque cuando llegué ya había unos líderes bien consolidados dentro de la universidad, y me veía más como personal de apoyo, por así decirlo (FR, 2015).

On the other hand, perspective is not an exclusive discursive property of metaphor or analogy; its presence is not subordinated to the use of these two technologies, but rather proceeds as an approach in the process of meaning production, more if we assume a contextual thesis in this process. The perspective in the discourse of these subjects is assumed not only from a sphere of spatial and temporal enunciation but also from an ideological or thematic one; its presence indicates the position from -and also towards- which the university student leader is addressing as a discursive subject. Here, for example, the experience of liberty points to a process of unrest -to be aware of- and to seek learning in a peer community, where there is attention to hierarchies. It is assumed then that the sign that sets the pattern for this subject to draw a panorama of liberty is movement, liberty is associated with a process of movement and constant change, at least from the perspective of a student leader whose post of training experience as a leader has not been a ministerial institution but a university. In this respect, in Van Dijk (2013), p.264-265 the perspective:

es una de las maneras clásicas en que se pueden describir los eventos en relación a los hablantes o destinatarios y, por lo tanto, controlados por las variables del contexto. De esta manera, en las explicaciones mediáticas de una acción policial en contra de una manifestación, la posición del periodista puede señalar que está «con» la policía o «con» los manifestantes y, por lo tanto, dar origen a una descripción de la policía en términos de «ir» o «venir» hacia los manifestantes, respectivamente... aunque la perspectiva y el punto de vista no son solo espaciales, sino que también metafóricos, es decir, basados en variaciones de opiniones personales (modelos mentales), actitudes o ideologías socialmente compartidos, una restricción contextual que tiene que describirse en otros términos, concretamente como las formas de cognición social del participante.

This concept can materialize in the past or current events in which the university student leadership has acted before the public opinion. For example, on the issue of liberty, for a university student leader identified as a sympathizer of the revolutionary government, the student or opposition student leader will be a "mercenary paid by the ultra-right-wing or the CIA" or a "guarimbero"<sup>13</sup> paid by US imperialism». While the opposition student leaders, would call themselves «defenders of liberty». A similar case was observed in the media in 2007. While in the state channel, Venezolana de Televisión, in television programs such as La Hojilla, led by Mario Silva, the ruling student leaders would be "heroes of homeland", While for the television plants with editorial line critical of the government, these would be

<sup>12</sup> Universitarios con Liderazgo Organizado para la Transformación. Organización estudiantil de la Universidad del Zulia.

<sup>13</sup> Subject that forms guarimbas. Guarimba was a denomination that the government gave to the opposition protests in which streets were blocked, burning tires and other types of alternative actions were used to generate chaos.

"students manipulated and blinded by the revolutionary government" or "Plugged in"<sup>14</sup>, at least in the most incendiary opinion programs such as *The Interview*, which he directed at the time the journalist Miguel Ángel Rodríguez<sup>15</sup> of RCTV or *Aló Ciudadano* by Leopoldo Castillo broadcasted by Globovisión<sup>16</sup>.

In the ideas highlighted in the fragments [5] and [6] it can be seen how the qualification for the opposition student leader varies from enunciator to enunciator, or from an enunciator opposed to the government and one in favor of it. For example, in [5] FR does not dare to point categorically to deputy Ricardo Sanchez as a traitor leader to the opposition cause, but he does not show it as a clear example, even implying that the way in which he comes to have the leading role what you have is not ideal for a university student leader. In this case, it is questioned, in the opinion of FR, that being a student leader has remained so many years in the university, and that he arrived at the National Assembly without having graduated. Once again, liberty acquires an ethical and moral meaning.

In the case [6], the situation varies considerably, because OD employs Ricardo Sánchez, or his experience, as a projectile to point out the form -from the official- petty and sectarian in which opposition leaders see their own colleagues when they say different. In this case, OD is leveraged in the famous case of the Executive Order that the President of the United States of America, Barack Obama<sup>17</sup>, signed against Venezuela in 2015 declaring it as an exceptional threat to the interests of his country, an action that was not rejected by the group of parliamentarians of the Bureau of Democratic Unity, with the exception of deputy Ricardo Sánchez who spoke against.

[5]Vemos el caso de Ricardo Sánchez, te lo comentaba la vez pasada; jóvenes dirigentes que fueron contruidos a base de dinero. Por el mismo roce que tenemos con algunos partidos políticos, entre ellos mismos lo dicen. Dicen que Ricardo fue construido de ese dinero que aportaban César Pérez Vivas y Manuel Rosales; está el caso de Stalin González, una persona que admiro mucho, no dudo de su capacidad de lucha, de su constancia, de sus buenas intenciones, pero ¿realmente es el mejor ejemplo que un estudiante deje de estudiar para ocupar un cargo político? No creo que por allí vayan los tiros de lo que nosotros necesitamos para el país. Ricardo Sánchez tampoco se graduó. Está el caso de Jon Goicochea que sí se graduó, y ahorita bueno desapareció de la palestra política pero está en Estados Unidos haciendo un postgrado. Está el caso de Freddy Guevara que sí se pudo graduar, David Smolanski. Bueno, digamos que toda esa generación, no podemos meterlos a todos en el mismo saco, pero de cierto modo hubo aciertos y desaciertos, pues (FR, 2015);

[6] Nosotros recordamos muy bien cuando el camarada Chávez llamó al movimiento de oposición a sentarse, ejemplo de democracia en nuestro país -que eso no lo vas a ver jamás en ningún país- los muchachos que estuvieron en la Asamblea Nacional, que se fueron disfrazados, camisas rojas y de repente, cuando

<sup>14</sup> Expression used and made viral by the former candidate for the presidency of Venezuela in 2013, Henrique Capriles Radonski, and with it designates subjects who receive benefits from the revolutionary government, in addition to knowing the immoral nature of said benefit.

<sup>15</sup> Venezuelan journalist, openly opposed to the revolutionary government.

<sup>16</sup> Venezuelan private television channel, specialized in news.

<sup>17</sup> [https://www.bbc.com/mundo/ultimas\\_noticias/2015/03/150309\\_ultnot\\_eeuu\\_venezuela\\_sanciones](https://www.bbc.com/mundo/ultimas_noticias/2015/03/150309_ultnot_eeuu_venezuela_sanciones)

estaban en la Asamblea Nacional, se la quitaron, el caso de Jon Goicochea, el compañero Ricardo, que es un ejemplo muy palpable. Este compañero Ricardo, él estaba en la UCV, y hoy en día es diputado en la Asamblea Nacional. Ah, pero este compañero hoy en día no saltó la talanquera<sup>18</sup>, el compañero fue el principal y el único de la oposición que levantó las manos a favor del nacionalismo, cuando nos impusieron los Estados Unidos el documento este. ¿Y qué hicieron con este compañero, que fue líder estudiantil, y que fue importante en esa lucha reivindicativa cuando comenzó todo, y que estuvo de papel importante allí en la Asamblea nacional con Jon Goicochea y otras compañeras más? Nada, es satanizado. Es tan satanizado que hace tres semanas le quemaron la camioneta, allí en la UCV. Entonces ¿de cuál democracia nos hablan? (OD, 2015);

In fragments [7] and [8] a perspective position of the subject is observed. In [7] it is observed how from the enunciative sphere of FR one speaks of a dictatorial regime adapted to the characteristics of today, as would be expressed in Foucault's writings on the (regulatory) technologies of the ego. This aspect is presented as an important element for the meaning of liberty; the consideration of the mechanisms of power from the national government permeate how the university student leaders mean liberty.

The resistance to the government becomes in turn a flag from which the subject states his particular experience of liberty; they assume that there is a dictatorship even though these students have not been deprived of his liberty for expressing himself against the current government, as was the case in the traditional dictatorships of the XX century in Venezuela. For him, we have a dominated state, and each time more limited and devoid of freedoms, because this judgment would be associated with tenure (rights, powers, permits, etc.). In this sense, all this semiosis that represents loss of freedom materializes in the discourse of FR under the discursive form "limits". Thus, freedom sees its antithesis in the limit of expression; Freedom is being able to move without being imposed greater limits than those that occupy the mind of the subject, as will be seen later.

The other perspective on the same subject of freedom is observed in [8]. Again, the participation category emerges as a sign of freedom. Here we take the word "the (deictic that refers to the opposition student leaders) we have invited to discuss here" (deictic referring to the headquarters of the Bolivarian University of Venezuela in Paraguaná<sup>19</sup>) as a representation of freedom, view in promotion of participation, at least from the perspective of OD, official student leader. Therefore, while liberty for FR is constrained by means of a systematic restriction or limitation on the powers of citizens, for OD it is materialized in the opportunities for participation that from its post of leadership are offered, and that it's the trial is rejected by the opposition student leadership. In addition to the deictic we present not only the adherence of OD to its community of students but that it transcends to be located in a subject that is also an important part in the governmental management. We are again associated with participation.

<sup>18</sup> Expresión metafórica empleada con frecuencia en el argot político venezolano, para señalar el acto de pasar de un bando político a otro radicalmente opuesto.

<sup>19</sup> Peninsula of Paraguaná, located to the north of Venezuela, in the Falcón state.



[7] Y te lo vuelvo a decir, la libertad en Venezuela -independientemente del régimen dictatorial- sí considero que estamos en una dictadura, lo que pasa es que obviamente se adapta al tiempo en el que estamos. Esta dictadura no es una dictadura parecida a la dictadura de hace 50 años en Cuba, ni a la dictadura de Juan Vicente Gómez, o sea no son parecidas, son otros tiempos, pero sí es dictadura. Cuando ya te empiezan a limitar, cuando te dicen a ti que no puedes desarrollarte como ser humano, o que lo que tú pienses puede atentar contra el objetivo de la patria. O sea, ahí ya comenzamos en un debate mucho más profundo pero ni siquiera nos han explicado qué es la patria. Entonces ya por ahí vemos cuáles son los problemas de país, ¿no? (FR, 2015);

[8] Nosotros hemos invitado acá a debatir, le garantizamos toda la seguridad, y no vienen, nunca vienen. Entonces, decir que no hay libertad de expresión, para ellos, es mentira, es una farsa. Y la visualización que tienen de un proyecto de país es totalmente distinta, pues. Nosotros hoy en día, ¿qué estamos visualizando, por lo menos en el caso la UBV, y que con modestia desde acá estamos nosotros avanzando en otras universidades porque entendimos la situación del país? Nuestro país tiene un problema, y eso todos lo sabemos. Nosotros decimos que estamos en una guerra económica, estamos siendo víctimas de una guerra económica... (OD, 2015).

In this entire discursive plot within a social semiosis, in addition to the perspective, the properties presupposition and implication have a presence in the discourse of the university student leader when it means freedom. This element is presented as technology because its use is established to generate a connection with the interlocutor, as if it were something that did not require extension or argumentation, something of a certain form common to everyone's world (in the case of the presupposition ) while in the case of implication, a non-explicit situation is presented. This in a certain way is done assuming that the causes or the previous contexts of such situations are of knowledge and understanding of the other. Van Dijk (2013), p.270 has come to hold as essential to the meaning of discourse to presupposition and implication. In terms of this theory,

sabemos que el discurso jamás es completamente explícito. Como hemos visto en el caso de las estrategias epistémicas, los usuarios del lenguaje presuponen que los destinatarios cuentan con vastas cantidades del conocimiento socio-cultural general y conocimiento profesional más específico e interpersonal (por ejemplo, comunicados en encuentros anteriores). El uso del lenguaje puede señalar presuposiciones de muchas maneras, por ejemplo, por medio de cláusulas con que en primera posición («Que no podamos confiar en Juan es un gran problema para el proyecto»)... Asimismo, el discurso tiene muchas implicaciones semánticas que el hablante o escritor no expresan explícitamente, que no se expresan explícitamente, pero que no se expresan porque se pueden inferir fácilmente mediante el conocimiento socio-cultural compartido o porque son irrelevantes.

However, as in all discursive phenomena, there is the possibility of misunderstanding when taking into account properties such as these two described; one by supposing that something is known, it is known, and the other by introducing meanings through non-explicit means. Concepts such as "tacit agreement" or "sensus communis" in the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer (2013) are related to the possibility of misunderstanding and misunderstanding in a linguistic situation. Thus, speaking of "sensus communis" would be to introduce the idea of speaking or saying well in the community sense, of the common between speaking subjects, so "the" to speak well "el «hablar bien» ha sido siempre una fórmula de dos caras, y no meramente un ideal retórico. Significa también decir lo correcto, esto es, lo verdadero, y no

solo el arte de hablar o decir algo bien" (p.49). From this idea in Gadamer two aspects can be highlighted: saying the right thing and speaking / saying something well, two aspects that will be conditioned to the understanding and understanding of the discursive subjects with the others. Here in this technology, I would then apply the idea of saying the right thing, instead of saying it right. There are three examples of implication in the fragments [9], [10] and [11].

In [9], FR proposes the implication of the generalized idea of what the university student leadership is and a paradoxical way of fighting for liberty: blocking the streets. An idea of liberty, of responsibility, is touched in this sense. However, when expressing the criticism of going beyond the protests, to be located in the generation of proposals, is establishing a turning point in what should be the university student leadership. This maneuver of action occurs with evaluation processes, taking the idea of influencing and awakening consciences, through learning and training processes, as a meaning of liberty under the category of civic innovation. The distinction is made here between a conventional student leader that "throws stone", "blocks streets", that is "combative", "explosive", etc., and one of advanced: proactive, civic, autonomous, responsible and reflective.

In [10] the government thesis is renewed that the leaders and university students of the opposition are "sifrinós", from wealthy sectors and private university education institutions. This expression comes from OD. However, what is introduced here is also the idea that these students, due to their sine qua non condition, would support the release process of political opponents, which the current government considers as criminals, as in the case of the political leader and founder of the Voluntad Popular party Leopoldo López<sup>20</sup>, who was sentenced in September 2015 to almost 14 years in prison for crimes associated with the guarimbas of February 2014 in Venezuela. Here again, a sign of liberty emerges, that of the political participation of university student leaders.

Today's student leadership has become in ways that transcends traditional struggles; students who were acting against the power apparatus of the university now act against the power apparatus that is erected in the state, with the specific characteristic for OD, from the discursive platform of the government, these student opposition groups would be "mercenaries of the politics". Here again the element "power" appears as an important dynamism that can differentiate the experience of freedom in the university student leader.

Finally, in [11] again OD enunciates from the governmental discursive platform. It has links with [10] regarding the accusations against political prisoners. This fragment of the OD speech implies that the opposition student leaders do not recognize the crimes or corruption in their political partners. Here he makes an apology for the imprisonment of opposition politicians, expressing that in Chávez's administration there was very little imputation to opposition political leaders, a different case in the current management of Maduro, in which not only imputed and imprisoned politicians but also student leaders with open judicial proceedings, product of the guarimbas of 2014. This idea legitimates in a certain way that the government is imprisoned and prosecute opposition politicians who are presumed to be corrupt or involved in criminal acts.

<sup>20</sup> Today is under substitute measure of freedom, serving sentence at home.

[9] Entonces hay muchas cosas que nos tocaron evaluar, y llegamos a la conclusión que nuestra responsabilidad como dirigentes estudiantiles va mucho más allá de hacer una protesta, sino de generar propuestas; va mucho más allá de trancar una calle, sino más bien de despertar conciencias; va mucho más allá de ser ese estudiante tira piedra, sino más bien ser ese estudiante emprendedor, que le diga más bien a sus compañeros, que le exprese desde la universidad a las comunidades de que sí, estamos en crisis, de que sí, estamos viviendo un momento histórico desesperante –de alguna manera, por describirlo de alguna manera-, un momento histórico que lamentablemente nos ha llevado a un nivel de descomposición social bastante preocupante, pero que el país depende de cada uno de los ciudadanos, y en la medida en que nosotros nos convirtamos en el ejemplo de cada una de nuestras comunidades, en esa medida va a cambiar el país (FR, 2015);

[10] En la vida, y con modestia lo puedo decir porque yo recorrí toda Suramérica, en la vida usted va a ver estudiantes de educación privada, levantando banderas de algo, no lo van a hacer. Solamente en Venezuela ocurre ese fenómeno. Solamente en Venezuela los estudiantes salen a pelear por un delincuente. Solamente en Venezuela salen a pelear por personas que mandan a asesinar personas y piden la libertad por ellos. Eso, no podemos decir que son los movimientos estudiantiles, jamás podemos pensarlo, lo que son es mercenarios de la política, son mercenarios de la política porque ellos reciben dinero para hacer una serie de cosas. De nuestro lado, con toda responsabilidad yo no lo voy a decir, de nuestro lado también hay factores negativos, pero nosotros tenemos un proyecto de país (OD, 2015);

[11] En el proceso del Comandante Chávez, ¿Cuántos presos hubieron de corrupción, y de la oposición? Podemos contarlos hasta con las manos, las dos manos, y creo que nos alcanzan los dedos, ah bueno entonces, veamos cuántos presos hubieron. Nicolás, yo creo que es un presidente que de verdad quiere echarle pichón, y por eso lo acompañamos hasta la vida. Primero, porque el Comandante Chávez, no es que seamos un Dios, ideologizados por Chávez, no. Pero sabemos que Chávez era un estratégico y Chávez dijo entre miles de hombres, hombres y mujeres que estaban en su entorno, “Es Nicolás”. Algo vio Chávez en ese hombre (OD, 2015).

Finally, the dimension that suggests time in the process of production of meaning of the discourse of the university student leader is of central character since temporality, directly associated with phenomenology, can be understood as changes both in circumstances in which the university student leaders as well as the same changes they report as lived over periods of time. Thus, the use of temporary marks may have as an intention to express a position of ownership in what is expressed, aware of the time in which various events occurred, and in which experiences were lived. Within this order,

las expresiones deícticas de tiempo específicas, como «moderno», «anticuado» o «retrógrado», no sólo expresan o implican relaciones de tiempo relacionadas con la posición temporal del hablante o el escritor, sino que también una evaluación y, al mismo tiempo, una posición ideológica del autor. Entonces, por una parte estos atributos de valoración expresan las opiniones subyacentes del modelo (semántico) personal o las actitudes socialmente compartidas que tiene el autor de las personas a las que se refiere (VAN DIJK, 2013: p.266).

In the fragments [12], [13], [14], [15] and [16] the discursive technology oriented to signify liberty from temporality is presented. In [12] we present the first stage of a university student who begins his training without being very interested in military student movements. The intentionality here is focused on representing the process of initial and even circumstantial interaction of a student leader, which would later become his total adherence to the movement of which he is a part, ULIGHT de LUZ. In this case, FR would not have been

able to develop free behavior without first having undergone a process of formation and maturation of about three years. In fact, a clear aspect is immaturity and what this circumstance would imply for a student leader, assuming of it the challenges he faces, and where family support and influence emerge as an important dynamism, as stated in [13].

Family experiences are at the heart of this process of meaning of freedom because they shape and characterize the action or behavior potential of FR, for example. A story associated with the oil strike of 2012, and with it the dismissal of his father, a worker of the Paraguaná Refining Complex who joined the strike. "Wanting the best for the country" and "being aware of the reality of the country" are taken as an act of meaning (ROSSI, 2013), because it is thus a motivator or a will that enables free actions.

The awareness of the reality of the country in [13] connects and expands in [14], when FR recognizes for example that the current moment does not lend itself to a violent struggle, characteristic of the events of 2007 or the 2014 guarimbas. This notion of temporality is presented as a justification in the change of intention in the university student leadership, at least from the experience of FR, to move from a combative struggle, to a more civic one in which the character of formation of each leading subject becomes necessary.

[12] Cuando llegué a la universidad, obviamente, no quería tener nada que ver con la dirigencia estudiantil y luego poco a poco, comencé –digamos- a tener cuanto con dirigentes estudiantiles de aquí del núcleo Punto Fijo. Por casualidades o causalidades de la vida –pero- coincidimos en algunas reuniones. Como te había comentado a vez pasada, fui invitado por una prima a una reunión porque venía María Corina Machado<sup>21</sup>; y yo fui a ver a María Corina, pero casualmente estaban ahí los muchachos de ULIGHT, y pude conocer a fundador del movimiento (FR, 2015);

[13] Mira, yo tenía algo bastante claro en ese momento y es que –digamos- que todavía no había tenido un proceso de madurez, o como -te lo vuelvo a repetir-, fíjate, ni siquiera sabía qué quería estudiar, pero obviamente tú quieres lo mejor para tu país. Venía de un papá, o ser hijo de un padre, que trabajó 40 años en la refinería, en el Centro de Refinación Paraguaná, viví la realidad del paro petrolero<sup>22</sup>, digamos que ya venía condicionado por ciertas situaciones familiares, y situaciones del país que me habían afectado directamente y ya me habían sensibilizado, ¿no? Por eso te digo que a pesar de la inmadurez que podría tener por cuestiones de edad, naturales, estaba consciente también de la realidad de mi país, y de qué era lo que yo quería (FR, 2015);

[14] Creo que no nos corresponde ahorita asumir una lucha violenta, o una lucha de confrontación porque –primero- el momento histórico que estamos viviendo es distinto, -segundo- el crecimiento demográfico que hemos tenido ha sido super acelerado y no es la misma población que tenemos ahorita que la que existía en aquel entonces; obviamente los conocimientos, las herramientas, a pesar de que hay una censura en cuanto a la libertad de expresión, en cuanto a los medios de comunicación. Contamos con herramientas como internet, que todavía logran violar

<sup>21</sup> Opposition leader of radical line to the revolutionary government of both Hugo Chávez and the current one with Nicolás Maduro.

<sup>22</sup> General strike of oil workers that began in December 2002 and culminated in February 2003 in rejection of policies implemented by President Hugo Chávez. Among the conveners were Fedecamaras, employees of the management of the state oil company (PDVSA) and the Confederation of Workers of Venezuela (CTV).

ese control absoluto que quiere tener el gobierno. Desde mi punto de vista, considero que nos equivocamos. Para mí las guarimbas fueron una equivocación, sin embargo considero que trajeron cosas positivas, ¿no?, pero reconocemos en este momento, que por lo menos dentro del movimiento ULIGHT, que ese no es el camino (FR, 2015);

[15] Bueno, yo creo la familia es la célula de la sociedad. Y es difícil ser dirigente estudiantil o ser de izquierda en una familia donde es toda derecha, es difícil, pero ¿dirigente estudiantil donde tus padres no te entienden? Tus padres no te entienden que llegues tarde, tus padres no te entienden que tu salgas a veces mal en los estudios, no entienden porque si eres dirigente estudiantil eres la *Pepa el queso*<sup>23</sup> no tienes un buen empleo, es difícil. Ahora cuando la familia está clara en lo que tú estás haciendo y porque lo estás haciendo para uno el ser militante es una razón, es un valor agregado. Un valor agregado a esto, te pongo un ejemplo: mi mamá siempre ha sido chavista, no es como nosotros, mi mamá es una chavista porque se identifica con el gobierno y punto, pero no ha leído, no ha palpado bien. Ella estuvo en Colombia hace 2 semanas, después de las elecciones y todo eso, cuando el 1º de Mayo estaba en Colombia y ella llegó el 3 de mayo y me dice, ¿si es verdad lo que dijeron en la radiotelevisora que nos taban matando nosotros contra los escuálidos? Le dije no, eso es mentira. Y ella poco a poco a raíz de haber salido de país, empezó a ver algunas realidades que yo se las decía, en la radio las veía, la televisora todo eso escuchaba y todo. Pero no las había palpado. Y ella comenzó a cambiar un poco en cuanto su actitud al gobierno. Y completamente ahorita cada día en la mañana... en la mañana le digo, ¿qué paso con Mendoza y Maduro? O sea ella cambió su manera de pensar completamente y no es que la alienaron, sino que se dio cuenta de algunas realidades y te puedo decir desde el momento que ella viajó allá hasta los actuales momentos, hasta hoy en la mañana, yo puedo decir que sí tenía el apoyo de mi familia, hoy en día lo tengo más y eso a nosotros los revolucionarios nos da un valor agregado para seguir avanzando en cuanto a esto, porque nosotros no lo hacemos por nosotros, o sea yo estoy claro, nosotros estamos claros que nosotros no vamos a ver esto, nosotros estamos trabajando en función de una nueva generación (OD, 2015);

In [16] and [17] OD presents his experience of liberty with the theme of temporality, which is linked to an awareness, a "palpating reality" through the experience of the facts. In this sense, in [15] the differentiation of times is established, remembering the genesis of the reformist movement of Córdoba, until bringing it to the current time, in which it affirms that the student movement, as well as being a protest movement, is revolutionary. A revolution implies changes in the ways of conducting oneself in life, a change that RE reports when it states that the needs of the student body are today satisfied by the existence of a revolutionary government. Here he exposes a point of calm in the university student movement, for those same needs met. However, in [16] it does not stop representing the Venezuelan opposition movement. This representation of temporality locates the student leader and allows him to know how he becomes what he is and where he is going. Here OD includes the cases of autonomous university students, such as the University of Los Andes and the Central University of Venezuela, also associated with opposition movements; in this case, private universities and autonomous universities are isotopes of the same niche as subjects: anti-government student leaders, linked to the guarimba category.

<sup>23</sup> The most important, relevant in some context.

[16] Ante todo yo creo que hay que hacer un estudio histórico. Desde 1918 en Córdoba hasta los actuales momentos, las decisiones de los movimientos estudiantiles han variado muchísimo. Lo que conllevó al nacimiento del movimiento estudiantil revolucionario, porque los movimientos estudiantiles son revolucionarios, fue –bueno– una serie de acontecimientos, pues, de hechos, reivindicaciones, porque básicamente el movimiento estudiantil en lo que se basaba en sus primeros momentos era el tema de las reivindicaciones, el tema del no tener transporte, el tema de mejorar los currículos universitarios, el tema de mejorar la condición o la calidad de la educación, el tema de los espacios físicos, o sea todo lo que tenía que ver con las condiciones propias de un estudiante para poder formarse, ¿no? En la actualidad, en base a lo que estabas comentando ahorita tú, me lleva a mí a pensar algunas cosas. ¿Por qué ahora el movimiento estudiantil hoy en día está un poco, calmado? Porque sencillamente, que a partir –y es una cosa que no podemos negar, pues– hace 15 años aquí llegó una revolución, y desde 15 años para acá se han venido dando reivindicaciones en la parte estudiantil (OD, 2015);

[17] Dicen por ahí que los estudiantes son los que tumban y montan gobiernos; en los años 60, hoy en día no. Y eso fue evidenciado ya automáticamente en las guarimbas. ¿Quiénes salieron adelante de carne de cañón? Los estudiantes. Sencillo, los muchachos de la ULA, otros compañeros de la UCV y tal. ¿Quiénes banderizaban esto? (OD, 2015).

However, FR in [18] will present the dynamism of time from another perspective, similar to some approaches used by Foucault, by exposing that the mechanisms of control and threat to liberty change from era to era, taking into account the concept of visibilities; liberty is now threatened with other control mechanisms or technologies as it was during the dictatorship in Venezuela in the XX century.

[18] Y te lo vuelvo a decir, la libertad en Venezuela –independientemente del régimen dictatorial– sí considero que estamos en una dictadura, lo que pasa es que obviamente se adapta al tiempo en el que estamos. Esta dictadura no es una dictadura parecida a la dictadura de hace 50 años en Cuba, ni a la dictadura de Juan Vicente Gómez, o sea no son parecidas, son otros tiempos, pero sí es dictadura. Cuando ya te empiezan a limitar, cuando te dicen a ti que no puedes desarrollarte como ser humano, o que lo que tú pienses puede atentar contra el objetivo de la patria. O sea, ahí ya comenzamos en un debate mucho más profundo pero ni siquiera nos han explicado qué es la patria. Entonces ya por ahí vemos cuáles son los problemas de país, ¿no? Creo que el mayor problema que nosotros tenemos es que somos un país sin propósito. Nosotros no tenemos un propósito como país. Pregúntale a cualquier venezolano, hazle una entrevista, “¿Para qué te levantaste hoy?” Creo que hay que evaluar la autoestima del venezolano, creo que como ciudadanos estamos fallando, no tenemos autoestima (FR, 2015).

The concept of self-esteem here is linked to the conduct potential of the university student leader. It is assumed from this perspective that what a subject is going to represent as an experience of liberty is a function of how well he feels, how clear he is in terms of goals and self-oriented in what he expects to do. The question towards the purpose reveals the encounter with the category of intentionality, and it will explain why the experience of freedom is related to the intention; the university student leader lives his freedom according to intentions, he is directed towards something.

Unlike other phenomena in research, in the case of liberty we have an idea of epigenesis, all people live and handle ideas about this phenomenon, so that their reason for study not only gains value for the subjects of this, leaders university students, but at the same time it can be limited to people who work, to those who are not employed, to housewives, etc. All those with an awareness of who we are can identify ourselves in a study of this nature.



## Final Reflections

The significance of liberty in the university student leadership is developed in a social semiosis, and within those terms it is necessary to understand it. Those who intend to understand it for scientific purposes, and to make others understand it in a non-deterministic way, imply the idea of approaching it phenomenologically with its contextual variables, variables that dynamize the conglomerate of actions of the subject, and that are grouped according to represent to where, why and how the university student leader reaches a meaning of liberty. In this social semiosis, language -through discursive technologies- is the only dynamism through which this meaning is drawn, the other dynamisms function as means of contrast, as necessary as the living image that one wants to understand. Thus it was understood that liberty in the university student leadership is not a deterministic phenomenon, but rather it is represented from unique experiential dynamics in each subject, in which the will to do becomes the driving force.

In this sense, intentionality in the university student leader, a central category in adopted Husserlian phenomenology, is oriented towards processes of emancipation through participation. The university student leader edifies his freedom by means of action-taking processes, these subjects participate and it is this process that allows him to draw his panorama of liberty; it is not a matter of being allowed to move freely through the streets or from city to city, but participating to be part of something is the measure that allows this process of being free. Here we find ourselves, for example, with the concept of self-concern. This concept is important in the process of understanding the meaning of liberty because it implies the idea of training to advance, to be something and to take charge of the matters that they consider important and transcendental.

This process of formation is nothing more than taking care of oneself, of falling into conscious acts of necessity, and of preparing oneself for something. The university student leader has meant his liberty, beyond the traditional concept of "doing things", or "moving from one place to another without being hindered". This fact indicates the possibility of being, in addition to doing. To the extent that the subject does, and is allowed to do, to the same extent will find recognized his own experience of freedom. These subjects are in social environments of action; some are supporting government efforts while others are doing intellectual work as columnists of newspapers, columns in which they see and represent their complex network of social phenomena.

The Venezuelan case stands out in this semiosis. The process of meaning of Venezuelan liberty to the Chilean, Brazilian or Argentinean is different, three important references. Even the French case is far from what the Venezuelan university student leaders mean as liberty, because all these struggles, protests or demonstrations have a particular moment, a context that acts as a catalyst for action. As indicated by one of the student leaders, it is about other ways of seeing the world, other forms of control. For example, the case of the Venezuelan university student leader transcends the mere intra-university struggle, by placing

himself in a process of participation and transformation of the social apparatus, either from the experience of a subject openly opposed to the current government or from another with clear support for the process revolutionary, even inserted in the governmental apparatus.

This fact implies following the identity processes. The identity in the university student leader exists and allows him to exercise particular actions. The fact that a university student considers that the freedom gained through the revolutionary process led by President Chávez must be defended is a clue to a political identity. And again this quality is associated with liberty because these students have actively participated not only in the processes of struggle in their universities, but also in political and social settings, even reaching seats of popular election in the National Assembly, or simply other positions that although they do not require a popular election, they do require the approval of a representative of the political power or national government.

However, this identity does not only appear in leaders openly in favor of the revolutionary government proposal; Opposition student leaders have also deployed processes from their own qualities for the transformation of the apparatus, by stimulating a social conscience. We then have that liberty is an aspect strongly associated with emancipation, a process that is constructed through vicarious experiences with others, generating exemplary experiences. The idea is to tear down that shadow that suggests that the dynamics of power within university student leaders are tricks of traditional political parties of old in the country.

The experiences of liberty reported in turn have a hermeneutical nuance. The semiosis in which this process of signification occurs implies emphasizing the interpretative -and interpretable- character in each experience, without paying exclusive attention to what the researcher reports; the university student leader interprets and understands the world of life around him, attributing to his actions intentionality. There is sense in each of the actions of these student leaders, although not all report the same importance or the same instrumental value for a larger project. By paying attention to each expression, we realize that these report ways of seeing the world, which are linked symbolic manifestations, reaching the resolution that there is no literal meaning of liberty but representation, signs, which once stripped present a real significance.

The understanding of these meanings, which are linked to intentions, is assumed based on the development of experiences that the subject enunciates. This suggests that the name of experience acquires a somewhat special value. The experiences of the subject, or rather, the way in which these experiences are developed is influenced by dynamisms of power, family, participation, identity and time, which have already been presented. They are not the only dynamisms, but they are found in the meaning of liberty of these subjects. These sets of experiences then require the quality of experience; there cannot be meaning if the signs are not anchored to acts of imagining senses or of fulfilling them, so it is about understanding freedom from subjective acts.

Finally, the process of understanding liberty -retaining initial ideas- is to emphasize the way in which discursive dynamism meant liberty. This process represents going through a double way; on the one hand the form that acquires this meaning, a discursive technology, and on the other hand, the meaning that opens up in each discursive technology, and the part of the world of the meaning of liberty that it suggests. The meaning of liberty will not manifest itself in a literal way, addressing it in that way will involve both methodological and epistemological errors.

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