3-23-2015

Resistance Performances: (Re)constructing Spaces of Resistance and Contention in the 2010-2011 University of Puerto Rico Student Movement

Alessandra M. Rosa
Florida International University, aless12@gmail.com

DOI: 10.25148/etd.FI15032135

FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

RESISTANCE PERFORMANCES: (RE)CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF RESISTANCE AND CONTENTION IN THE 2010-2011 UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO STUDENT MOVEMENT

A dissertation in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of the

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

GLOBAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL STUDIES

by

Alessandra M. Rosa

2015

To: Dean Michael R. Heithaus
College of Arts and Science

This dissertation, written by Alessandra M. Rosa, and entitled Resistance Performances: (re)Constructing Spaces of Resistance and Contention in the 2010-2011 University of Puerto Rico Student Movement, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for your judgment.

We have read this dissertation and recommended that it be approved.

_____
Caroline Faria

_____
Andrea Queeley

_____
Mark Padilla

_____
Dionne Stephens

_____
Jorge Duany, Major Professor

Date of Defense: March 23, 2015

The dissertation of Alessandra M. Rosa is approved.

_____
Dean Michael R. Heithaus
College of Arts and Sciences

_____
Dean Lakshmi N. Reddi
University Graduate School

Florida International University, 2015

DEDICATION

A tod@s l@s estudiantes en pie de lucha por una educación pública accesible y de calidad para el pueblo.

A mi pupa que llego a mi vida en el momento perfecto, cuando menos lo esperaba y quizás más necesitaba.

¡Gracias!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge my friends, family, colleagues, secretaries, and professors without whose support, both emotionally and academically; this dissertation would not have been possible. I must recognize the unconditional support provided by my family and friends during these academic years. In particular my mother, who instilled in me the desire for knowledge in addition to the faith and perseverance needed to achieve your dreams.

To my colleagues, secretaries, and committee members who have become my academic family, I will be forever grateful. The amount of enthusiasm and dedication shown by you all inspired me to push my limits and challenge myself in more ways than one. My unreserved appreciation goes to Dr. Caroline Faria who has supported me from the inception of this study and gave me the insight that I needed to trust in myself. Her thoughtful feedback and suggestions made this work achievable and the writing process bearable. I hope everyone can be blessed to have a mentor like her. Dr. Jorge Duany has been an asset to my committee since his arrival and his encouragement of my creative ideas during the writing process helped me to understand my positionality as an activist researcher. He is a true inspiration for me as a critical scholar. Dr. Andrea Queeley imparted to me her commitment to go above and beyond academic duty with her detailed comments that only made this work stronger. Dr. Mark Padilla provided me with insights on successfully conducting a critical ethnography through his own work. Dr. Dionne Stephens has encouraged me to be an insightful scholar not only with my research but as a professor as well.

There are numerous other people dispersed globally that have made valuable contributions to this study. Unfortunately, it would be impossible to mention and thank them all here. Thank you, Dr. Justo Méndez Colón, for all of our tertulias over coffee and for making me believe in myself as a sociocultural anthropologist. Dr. Maritza Stanchich at the University of Puerto Rico has been a mentor and role model as an ardent advocate in favor of the student movement and the right to an accessible public higher education of excellence. I am indebted to Lucia Baez and her mother, Stella Buenaventura, who bestowed on me their love, blessings, and contagious energy during the normal solitary writing process.

Similarly, this dissertation was made possible by the generous financial support I received during different stages of the process. I am thankful for FIU's Teaching Assistantships and Fellowships obtained from our Department of Global and Sociocultural Studies and the College of Arts and Sciences. In particular, I am grateful for receiving the Dissertation Year Fellowship (DYF) as well as the Morris and Anita Broad Research Fellowship during my writing process in order to fully delve myself into my research.

To the student activists who accepted me as comrade in the struggle for an accessible public higher education as a right and not a privilege, I am humbled and full of gratitude. I hope that my work is truly worthy of our cause!

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

RESISTANCE PERFORMANCES: (RE)CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF RESISTANCE AND CONTENTION IN THE 2010-2011 UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO STUDENT MOVEMENT

by

Alessandra M. Rosa

Florida International University, 2015

Miami, Florida

Professor Jorge Duany, Major Professor

On the night of April 20, 2010, a group of students from the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Río Piedras campus, met to organize an indefinite strike that quickly broadened into a defense of accessible public higher education of excellence as a fundamental right and not a privilege. Although the history of student activism in the UPR can be traced back to the early 1900s, the 2010-2011 strike will be remembered for the student activists' use of new media technologies as resources that rapidly prompted and aided the numerous protests.

This activist research entailed a critical ethnography and a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of traditional and alternative media coverage and treatment during the 2010 -2011 UPR student strike. I examined the use of the 2010-2011 UPR student activists' resistance performances in constructing local, corporeal, and virtual spaces of resistance and contention during their movement. In particular, I analyzed the different tactics and strategies of resistance or repertoire of collective actions that student activists used (e.g. new media technologies) to frame their collective

identities via alternative news media's (re)presentation of the strike, while juxtaposing the university administration's counter-resistance performances in counter-framing the student activists' collective identity via traditional news media representations of the strike. I illustrated how both traditional and alternative media (re)presentations of student activism developed, maintained, and/or modified students activists' collective identities.

As such, the UPR student activism's success should not be measured by the sum of demands granted, but by the sense of community achieved and the establishment of networks that continue to create resistance and change. These networks add to the debate surrounding Internet activism and its impact on student activism. Ultimately, the results of this study highlight the important role student movements have had in challenging different types of government policies and raising awareness of the importance of an accessible public higher education of excellence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION 1
Present Research Focus 4
Background of the Study 5
Site Description: University of Puerto Rico (UPR) 7
Río Piedras: Ciudad Universitaria 8
The Río Piedras Campus (UPRRP) 9
About the Selected Media 11
"El Nuevo Día" 11
"El Vocero" 12
"Estudiantes de la UPR Informan" (EUPRI) 13
"Desde Adentro" (DA) 14
"Radio Huelga" (RH) 15
Outline of the Study 16
Purpose of the Study 19

CHAPTER II: THEORIZING THE RESEARCH 21
Rites of Passage: Entering the Field 21
Social Movement Theories 24
Framing Theory and Frame Analysis 25
Collective Identity and Network Analysis 27
Media Practices 30
Traditional Media 32
Alternative Media 35
Student Activism 43
In Theory 52

CHAPTER III: DESIGNING THE RESEARCH 54
Mi Casa Es Tu Casa: Home as the Field 54
Methodology 55
Applied Research Method 68
Participant Observation 68
Archival Research and Critical Discourse Analysis 69
The Interviews and Audience Reception 71
Key Participants 74
Rank-and-File Participants 75
Opponent Participants 76
University Administration Participants 76
Other Participants 78
The Surveys 78
Administering the Surveys 79
Reflecting About My Fieldwork 80

In Praxis ……81

¿QUÉ SIGNIFICA LA UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO PARA TI?.....83

CHAPTER IV: A BRIEF HISTORY OF UPR STUDENT MOVEMENT …...……86
Nunca Olvidar, Queda Prohibido Olvidar ……..87
The 1900s-1920s: From Escuela Normal Insular to UPR ……89
The 1930s: The Development of UPR as an Academic Icon ……...94
The 1940s: Reforming UPR as La Casa de Estudios ……...97
The 1950s: UPR as a Converging or Meeting Space ……..102
The 1960s: Student Protests against Militarism and the Vietnam War ……..105
The 1970s: Student Protests Continue against the ROTC and Colonization …..111
The 1980s: The Academic Revolution ……115
The 1990s: Stoppages and Non-violent Protests ……120
The 2000 – 2009: Defense of UPR from Privatization ……...124
In Précis ……..130

EXCERPT OF THE STRIKE'S CHRONOLOGY ……..132

CHAPTER V: UNA UNIVERSIDAD TOMADA: CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF RESISTANCE ..……...……...……134
La Toma de los Portones ……134
Tactics and Strategies: Protest Camps and Internet Activism ……138
The Layout of the Camps ….....……140
Living in the Camps ……..142
Coordinating the Camps ……145
Reporting from the Camps ……152
Una Victoria Efímera ……..159

EXCERPT OF THE STRIKE'S CHRONOLOGY ……..163

CHAPTER VI: UNIVERSITY UNDER SIEGE: (RE)CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF RESISTANCE.……... 170
Emociones Encontradas con la Entrada de la Policia al Recinto …..…..……170
Tactics and Strategies: Emotional Narratives and Internet Activism ……174
The Second Wave of the Strike ……..181
High Tide: Tipping Point ……186
Ebb and Flow ……..191
Las Vallas Siguen Rotas ……...……..196

¿CÓMO DESCRIBIRÍAS, CON UNA PALABRA O FRASE, LA HUELGA ESTUDIANTIL 2010-2011 DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO?.....199

CHAPTER VII: THE BATTLE FOR PUBLIC OPINION……201
Let's Get Ready to Rumble ……201
Tactics and Strategies: Media Dynamics and Practices ……..203
Mediatization: Student Strike as Media Spectacle ……..208
Collateral Damage: Waning of the Student Strike? ……217
Sticky Space: (Re)claiming Networks ……228
Área de Expresión Pública …….……231

EN PIE DE LUCHA …….234

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSIONS ……..236
Seguimos …….236
Legacy and Lessons of the UPR Student Movement ……..240
Limitations of the Study ……..247
Areas for Continued Research ……248

BIBLIOGRAPHY …….250

APPENDICES ……..280

VITA …….316

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

Figure 1.1 The Puerto Rican map highlights the eleven UPR campuses and the city in which they are located…..……..8

Figure 1.2 Map of downtown Río Piedras ……9

Figure 1.3 Map of Río Piedras campus ……...10

Figure 1.4 Map of Río Piedras campus from the Office of Student Learning Evaluation 11

Figure 2.1 Photo I took of the clown police (left) and singing nuns (right) as they began their performances ……22

Figure 2.2 Having dinner with the student activists after the presentation …….23

Figure 2.3 The main concepts of my study and their relationships ……46

Figure 2.4 Resistance performance …….51

Figure 4.1 Don Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of the Nationalist Party ……101

Figure 4.2 Violent confrontation between the students and the riot police ……..112

Figure 4.3 Alejandro Roberto addresses the students ……...116

Figure 4.4 Banner used during the 2005 student strike ……126

Figure 4.5 Around 250,000 people participated in the National Strike held on October 15, 200…….127

Figure 4.6 Students from the CAED practicing civil disobedience between the protesters and the police force ……..128

Figure 4.7 Banner hung at one of the Law School buildings ……129

Figure 5.1 Students taking over the Río Piedras campus ……..135

Figure 5.2 An example of a barricade ……...136

Figure 5.3 Map of the protest camps inside the Río Piedras campus ……...142

Figure 5.4 A compilation of photos reflecting brinca verjas (on the top) and rompe huelgas (on the bottom)..……144

Figure 5.5 A compilation of photos taken by student activists during their occupation ……145

Figure 5.6 A photo taken during one of their meetings ……147

Figure 5.7 A compilation of photos of some of the student activists' artistic manifestations ……...149

Figure 5.8 Collective Indi.gestión places plates of dog food and a sign in front of police officers at the main gate ……150

Figure 5.9 Impromptu march to the Capitol building ……...151

Figure 5.10 Sign indicating Desde Adentro's newsroom ……155

Figure 5.11 First transmission of Radio Huelga ……...156

Figure 5.12 Members of the CNN walking out of the court with copies of the final signed agreement! ……160

Figure 5.13 The taken university ……..162

Figure 6.1 Arturo Ríos addressing the crowd as the police took over the campus ...172

Figure 6.2 Designated areas of public expression ……179

Figure 6.3 Student activists and Papel Machete giving parrandas at local communities (left) and mall (right) ……...185

Figure 6.4 Still image of the campaign video Once Uno Once ……186

Figure 6.5 Photo of a female student activist being arrested in a sexually inappropriate manner 187

Figure 6.6 Photos of two arrests made during the pintata ……189

Figure 6.7 Flyer disseminated for the vigil ……...190

Figure 6.8 Images from the march Yo amo a la UPR ……...191

Figure 6.9 Clusters of the most frequent emotions mentioned by rank-and-file participants in the surveys regarding the 2010-2011 UPR student movement 195

Figure 6.10 An example of an emotional narratives used during the second wave of their strike via Internet activism, which reflects student activists' outrage towards the fee and the police inside the campus ……198

Figure 7.1 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right) …...……203

Figure 7.2 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right) ……...……205

Figure 7.3 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right) ……...……208

Figure 7.4 Snapshots of UPR President, José de la Torre's message to the country ……..……210

Figure 7.5 Snapshots of CNN's message to the country ……..212

Figure 7.6 Headlines of El Nuevo Día (left) and El Vocero (right) for February 24, 2011 …..……...214

Figure 7.7 One of EUPRI's posts on February 23, 2011 ……..216

Figure 7.8 One of DA's blogs on February 24, 2011 ……...216

Figure 7.9 One of RH's posts on February 23, 2011 ……216

Figure 7.10 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right) ……...……217

Figure 7.11 Snapshots taken from the live news coverage of Wapa TV …...……...220

Figure 7.12 Some examples of headlines of El Nuevo Día (left) and El Vocero (right) depicting hooded protesters ….……..221

Figure 7.13 Snapshot taken from the live news coverage of WapaTV …...…….223

Figure 7.14 Headlines of El Nuevo Día (left) and El Vocero (right) covering the attack on Chancellor Guadalupe ……...225

Figure 7.15 Some of EUPRI, DA, and RH's posts of the attack on Chancellor Guadalupe …….226

Figure 7.16 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and

2010 (right) ……...……228

Figure 7.17 Sample of videos and photos from the World Day Solidarity with the UPR ……...229

Figure 7.18 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right) …...……230

Figure A. On February 10, 2011 the students hung from the University Tower a banner that stated: “We will always overcome” ……...234

Figure B. Two years later, in 2013, some of the students that participated in the 2010-2011 student strike took this photo holding a banner that stated: “We won”, after they were able to prevent the $800 tuition fee for the fall semester…...235

Figure C. Currently, in 2014, students from the Frente Estudiantil por la Educación Pública y Accesible (FEEPAC) [Student Front for a Public and Accessible Education] are organizing a 24-hour stoppage due to a possible increase in tuition …..……235

Figure 8.1 Mural that student activists and members of Unión de Juventudes Socialistas (UJS) made to commemorate their strike and support the Chilean student movement ……...……..247

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AEPE	Asociación de Estudiantes Pro Estadidad (Pro Statehood Student Association)
APPU	Asociación Puertorriqueña de Profesores Universitarios (Puerto Rican University Professors Association)
BEOG	Basic Educational Opportunity Grants
CAAE	Comité de Acción de Administración de Empresas (Business Administration Action Committee)
CAAM	Colegio de Agricultura y Artes Mecánicas (College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts)
CABA	Comité de Acción de Bellas Artes (Fine Arts Action Committee)
CAE	Comité de Acción de Educación (Eductaion Action Committee. Before it was known as CEDEP)
CAEC	Comité de Acción de Estudiantes de Comunicaciones (Communication Students Action Committee)
CAED	Comité de Acción de Estudiantes de Derecho (Law Students Action Committee)
CAEG	Comité de Acción de Estudios Generales (General Studies Action Committee)
CAEP	Comité de Acción de la Escuela de Planificación (School of Planification Action Committee)
CACN	Comité de Acción de Ciencias Naturales (Natural Sciences Action Committee)
CACS	Comité de Acción de Ciencias Sociales (Social Sciences Action Committee)
CAFI	Comité Asesor de Finanzas Institucionales (Advisor of Institutional Finances Committee)
CAH	Comité de Acción de Humanidades (Humanities Action Committee)

CC	Comisión Coordinadora (Coordinating Commision)
CCAM-PNLU	Comité Contra el Alza en las Matrículas y Pro Nueva Ley Universitaria (Against Increase in Tuition Committee and Pro New University Law)
CCHD	Comité Contra la Homofobia y el Discrimen (Against Homophobia and Discrimination Committee)
CEDEP	Comité de Estudiantes en Defensa de la Educación Pública (Students in Defense of Public Education Committee)
CEF	Comité de Eficiencia Fiscal (Fiscal Efficiency Committee)
CEFI	Comité de Estudio de Finanzas Institucionales (Study of Institutional Finances Committee)
CEN	Confederación Estudiantil Nacional (National Student Confederation)
CES	Consejo de Educación Superior (Higher Education Council)
CEUP	Comité de Estudiantes de Universidades Privadas (Students of Private Universities Committee)
CGE	Consejo General de Estudiante (General Student Council)
CGH	Comité General de Huelga (General Strike Committee)
CN	Comité Negociador (Negotiating Committee from the Río Piedras campus)
CNN	Comité Nacional Negociador (National Negotiating Committee from the 11 campuses)
CONARU	Coordinadora Nacional de Recintos Universitarios (National Coordinator of the University Campuses)
CONAPU	Confederación de Asociaciones de Profesores Universitarios (Confederation of University Professors Associations)
COPRODE	Comité Pro Derechos al Estudio (Pro Right to Study Committee)
CPMAE	Comité de Padres y Madres en Apoyo con los Estudiantes de la UPR (Fathers and Mothers Supporting UPR Students Action Committee)

CPRDV	Comité Pro Rescate y Desarrollo de Vieques (Vieques Pro Rescue and Development Committee)
CPT	Colectivo Pro Teatro (Pro Theater Collective)
CPMSR	Comité Pro Mejoramiento de la Seguridad en el Recinto (Pro Improving the Security on Campus Committee)
CRASMO	Comité de Resistencia al Servicio Militar Obligatorio (Resistance to Obligatory Military Service Committee)
CRE	Comité de Representación Estudiantil (Student Representational Committee)
CRU	Comité Reforma Universitaria (University Reform Committee)
CRVE	Comité de Reivindicación Estudiantil (Student Revindication Committee)
CSE	Consejo Superior de Enseñanza (Higher Teaching Council)
CUC	Centro Universitario Católico (University Catholic Center)
CUCA	Comité Universitario Contra el Alza (University Committee Against the Tuition Increase)
DOT	División de Operaciones Tácticas (Tactical Operations Division)
EUPRI	Estudiantes de la UPR Informan (UPR Students Inform)
FASyL	Frente Amplio de Solidaridad y Lucha (Wide Front of Solidarity and Struggle)
FAU	Frente Anticomunista Universitario (Anticommunist University Front)
FCP	Frente Contra la Privatización (Front Against Privatization)
FNE	Federación Nacional de Estudiantes (National Student Federation)
FUA	Frente Pro Universidad Abierta (Pro Open University Front)
FUDE	Frente Universitario por la Desmilitarización y la Educación (University Front for Desmilitarization and Education)

FUE	Fraternidad de Universitarios Evangélicos (University Evangelist Fraternity)
FUPI	Federación Universitaria Pro Independencia (University Federation Pro Independence)
HEEND	Hermandad de Empleados No-Docentes (Non-Teaching Employee Union)
IC	Instituto Caribeño (Caribbean Institute)
ICP	Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (Institute of Puerto Rican Culture)
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
JCS	Junta Coordinadora de Seguridad (Security Coordinating Board)
JFS	Juventud del Frente Socialista (Youth Socialist Front)
JIU	Juventud Independentista Universitaria (Pro Independence University Youth)
JS	Junta de Síndicos (Board of Trustees)
LGBTTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transvestite, Transsexual, and Intersex
LS	Liga Socialista (Socialist League)
MAI	Matriculada Ajustada al Ingreso (Tuition Fee Adjusted to Income)
MPI	Movimiento Pro Independencia (Pro Independence Movement)
MSCHE	Middle States Commission on Higher Education
OSI	Organización Socialista Internacional (International Socialist Organization)
PIP	Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (Puerto Rican Independent Party)
PNC	Política de No Confrontación (Non-confrontational Agreement)
PNP	Partido Nuevo Progresista (Pro-statehood Party)
PPD	Partido Popular Democrático (Commonwealth Party)

PRRA	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Agency
ROTC	Reserve Officers' Training Corps
ST	Sindicato de Trabajadores (Workers Union)
SWAT	Special Weapons And Tactics law enforcement unit
TQM	Total Quality Management
UD	Universitarios por la Desmilitarización (Students for Desmilitarization)
UJS	Unión de Juventudes Socialistas (Socialist Youth Union)
UPR	Universidad de Puerto Rico (University of Puerto Rico)
UN	United Nations
US	United States

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Los jóvenes tienen el deber de defender su Patria con las armas del conocimiento.

[The youth have the duty of defending their Country with the weapons of knowledge.]

Don Pedro Albizu Campos

On the night of April 20, 2010, following an initial forty-eight hours stoppage, a group of students from the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) met at the Río Piedras campus to organize an indefinite strike. They did so in response to the University administration's proposed new austerity measures affecting the tuition waivers (Certification 98) and the possibility of a tuition increase. Through phone calls, text messages, emails, social networking sites, and word of mouth members of the student action committees spread the news to others to meet at two specific locations within the campus at 5:00 am. Once the two groups were formed, they coordinated via text messages to meet on the main road of the campus. To the astonishment of the initiators the number of people that showed up was three times more than expected and they were able to take over the campus from within by closing down its six gates. By using protest camps, physical barricades, and alternative media, such as the Internet, the students constructed spaces of resistance that initiated a lock-down of ten out of the eleven UPR campuses. Thus, on April 21, 2010, the students of the UPR officially announced the beginning of a strike that quickly broadened into a defense of an accessible public education of excellence as a fundamental right and not a privilege.

During the sixty-two days that the first wave of student protests and occupations lasted, traditional and alternative media covered the events until it ended with a mediated agreement between the Students' National Negotiating Committee (CNN) and the University's administration in a seeming victory for the students. However, in retaliation the government quickly increased the number of members of the Board of Trustees to gain the majority vote within the University's decision making. This ploy effectively allowed the University's administration to breach the agreement, suspend students from the CNN by accusing them of leading and organizing the strike, and hastily impose an $800 student fee active in January 2011 (to be $400 per semester thereafter). For students at the UPR, this increase meant a more than 100% hike in tuition which would prevent about 10,000 students from continuing their studies for lack of economic resources and opportunities.[1] The administration's steadfast refusal to negotiate the tuition increase initiated the second wave of student protests, which began on December 14, 2010. Prior to this, the administration had removed some of the university's main campus gates and welded others open in order to prevent students from controlling the campus again. The administration also requested the police force including: mounted police, snipers, K-9 unit, Riot police, and the SWAT team to occupy the university and enforce the gag law prohibiting student demonstrations on campus premises. The presence of the police force inside the UPR main campus violated the "non-confrontational agreement" that was established to promote peaceful dialogue after the violent

[1] This estimate was calculated by the UPR administration, and was born out after the fee was imposed.

incidents during the 1981 UPR student strike. As a result, students (re)constructed their spaces of resistance by using emotional narratives, organizing nonviolent civil disobedience acts at public places, fomenting lobbying groups, disseminating online petitions, and developing alternative proposals to the compulsory fee. The protests continued until March 2011, when it came to a halt after the traditional media overstressed a violent incident that involved physical harassment to the University's chancellor, Ana Guadalupe, during one of the student demonstrations.

The vignette above not only articulates a brief synopsis of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike, but more importantly it demonstrates the students activists' use of Internet activism and alternative new media technologies in rapidly prompting and aiding their movement. Internet activism allowed the UPR student activists to raise the stakes in the politicization of their strike by becoming part of the international student movement to guarantee the accessibility to a public higher education as right and not a privilege. In the present study, I define social movement as a network of diverse social actors who share a collective identity and consciously perform in a sustained manner cultural and/or political acts of resistance. Thus, critically analyzing the student activists' construction of spaces of resistance and contention offers important intellectual insights into the role of media, protest camps, participatory democracy, and emotions during social movements in Puerto Rico. However, prior to analyzing the intricacies that occurred during the aforementioned strike, this introductory chapter serves as a way to situate the strike being studied within the Puerto Rican sociocultural context. I begin by presenting the research focus and key contributions of my study, followed by the background of the study, the site

description, and information about the selected media. Finally, I conclude with an outline of subsequent chapters and the purpose of my study.

Present Research Focus

The 2010-2011 UPR student movement dominated the national media throughout the strike including press conferences, special edition news sessions, headline news, photograph pieces, polls, and individual letters. Simultaneously, the UPR student activists inundated social media to raise awareness and spread news of their struggle. As such, my study explores several questions related to the (re)presentations of student activism during the 2010-2011 UPR student strike. How did the student activists frame their collective identities? How did the university administration counterframe the student activists' collective identity? In what ways was the UPR student strike represented in the media? Specifically, what events, images, and discourses were considered newsworthy and why? How did the student activists use the media in constructing offline and online spaces of resistance and contention during the strike? Moreover, what effect(s) did the traditional and alternative news media coverage and treatment have on the student movement?

My study not only breaks new ground but also provides a case study for social movement theory and Internet activism in the Caribbean by adding much-needed historical context and insight into the current crisis of the UPR. Continued study of the UPR student movement, and in particular the use of Internet activism by student activists, is important for several reasons. First, the UPR student activism's success should not be measured by the sum of demands granted, but by the sense of community achieved and the establishment of networks that continue to create

resistance and change. Second, there is a distinct absence of Puerto Rico in the research concerning social movements and Internet activism. Third, as of yet there is no thorough analysis of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike, its implications, and how the university community currently perceives it. Further, by elaborating on the concept of *resistance performance*, I illustrate how both traditional and alternative media (re)presentations of student activism can develop, maintain, adjust or change the students' collective identity(ies). In exposing how student activists constructed and (re)constructed spaces of resistance and contention during their strike, I challenge the myths surrounding youth's apathy towards political engagement and the general stereotype in Puerto Rico of student activists as *pelús, revoltosos, y socialistas que no quieren estudiar*[2] [hairy socialist rebels that do not want to study]. The networks established by student activists add to the debate surrounding Internet activism and its impact on student movements. Ultimately, the results of my study highlight the important role student movements have had in challenging different types of government policies and raising awareness of the importance of an accessible public higher education of excellence. By challenging governmental policies in Puerto Rico, student activists demonstrated the underlying power of resistance and solidarity by active citizens in developing a participative democracy.

Background of the Study

The initial concept for my study was simple I was interested in developing a proposal that focused on the topics of education and national identity in Puerto Rico.

[2] Data gathered from newspaper *Primera Hora*, which is owned by Grupo Ferré-Rangel the same owners of *El Nuevo Día*. http://www.primerahora.com/entretenimiento/farandula/nota/musicosuniversitariosrealizaronunasonoramanifestacion-388345/

As the spring 2010 semester ended, I went back home for the summer in order to establish and foster new connections for my research. Starting at the beginning of May, while I was in the *Borders* bookstore coffee shop editing my proposal, I overheard two people adjacent to me talking animatedly about the UPR student strike. Having arrived recently to Puerto Rico, I did not know much about the current strike since I had not watched the local news or knew anyone participating in it. Being an anthropologist (and curious by nature), my next move was to turn around and ask them about it and we began a discussion. Before leaving, they explained how the UPR students were advocating for an accessible public higher education and what the impact of their struggle meant for our national identity. I thanked them and as the effect of this casual meeting began to sink in, I continued to think about the frame of the current strike while reflecting on the little knowledge I had of past ones. Ironically, I remembered Arcadio Díaz Quiñones's (1993) claim that the colonial situation of Puerto Rico led to a denial of our historical past or as he calls it "memoria rota" [broken memory]. As a result, our conversation initiated the exploratory phase of this study. My inner activist gravitated towards the students' cause and I began investigating the UPR student strike and seeking out its participants through social media (e.g., Facebook). The initial research allowed me to obtain information about what was going on directly from the student activists involved, as well as participate in many of the manifestations supporting the strike. So how did I make sense of the huelga estudiantil or student strike taking place at the UPR?

Upon returning to FIU to commence fall 2010 semester, I found myself being physically present in Miami but emotionally still drawn back home. I was anxiously

connecting to my laptop during my free time, frustrated with the entire student situation, having reached a mediated agreement with the University administration that was later breached, and thinking about the possible revival of the strike. Without realizing that I was becoming an activist researcher, I engaged in Internet activism determined to investigate, participate, and serve as an advocate for the cause. My decision led me to begin an intense research of social movement theories and Internet activism and realized the invisibility of Puerto Rico in both literatures. The evident gap fueled the development of my research questions and methodology, while simultaneously still investigating the second wave of the UPR student strike and its participants that extended until March 2011.

In this regards, rather than just profile the 2010-2011 UPR student strike, my study also exposes the history of the UPR student movement illustrating the ways student activists have (re)constructed spaces of resistance and contention during their respective strikes. In this way, my study has become more revelatory by providing different perspectives in order to best situate the current strike and challenge our national broken memory regarding the UPR student movement.

Site Description: University of Puerto Rico (UPR)

The University of Puerto Rico was founded in 1903. It is the oldest, most complete, and competitive system of higher education in Puerto Rico. It is composed of 11 campuses spanning the island; with around 5,300 professors and researchers and around 64,511 students prior to the strike. For the purpose of my study, I focused on the Río Piedras campus.

I specifically chose this location, as it was given the most, and almost exclusively, traditional media coverage as the leading campus of the university.

Figure 1.1 The Puerto Rican map highlights the eleven UPR campuses and the city in which they are located.

Río Piedras: *Ciudad Universitaria*

Founded in 1714, Río Piedras was a separate municipality until 1951 when it was incorporated as a district of the San Juan municipality. Prior to the annexation to San Juan, Río Piedras earned its city nickname for including many universities such as the Polytechnic University of Puerto Rico, the Interamerican University of Puerto Rico Metropolitan campus, and the main campus of the University of Puerto Rico.

Even though the University of Puerto Rico is located outside the casco urbano or downtown Río Piedras, the history, housing, and economic development of this city has been, and continues to be, greatly influenced by the University of Puerto Rico.

Figure 1.2 Map of downtown Río Piedras.

The Río Piedras campus (UPRRP)

The Río Piedras campus is considered the flagship campus of the University of Puerto Rico. The 289-acres campus is located in the central region of the capital city of San Juan, in the district of Río Piedras. As shown in the maps below, it is easily accessible through public transportation.

With around 18,000 students (14,065 undergraduates and 3,467 graduates), UPRRP is the biggest campus in the Caribbean. On the basis of the most recent statistics, the profile of students enrolled consists of 14,927 full time students and 2,612 part time students from which 36% are men and 64% are women. About 71% of its students receive some type of financial aid.[3] Its academic offerings range from baccalaureate to doctoral degrees in various fields, with 70 undergraduate programs and 19 graduate programs. The campus incorporates the following Schools,

[3] Statistics were obtained from: http://www.cappex.com/colleges/University-of-Puerto-Rico-Rio-Piedras.

Departments and/or Academic Programs: Social Sciences, Business Administration, Humanities, Law, Architecture, Education, Natural Sciences, Communications, Graduate Planning, Graduate Information Sciences and Technologies, Military Sciences (Army ROTC), Aerospatial Sciences (Airforce ROTC), and the Division of Continuing Education and Professional Studies. It is classified as an Intensive Doctoral/Research University by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, placing it among the leading public universities of the United States and the only one in the Caribbean and Latin America.

The UPRRP campus was selected as the site for my study because it is the main campus of the University of Puerto Rico and, as shown in chapter IV, for its well-known history of student strikes.

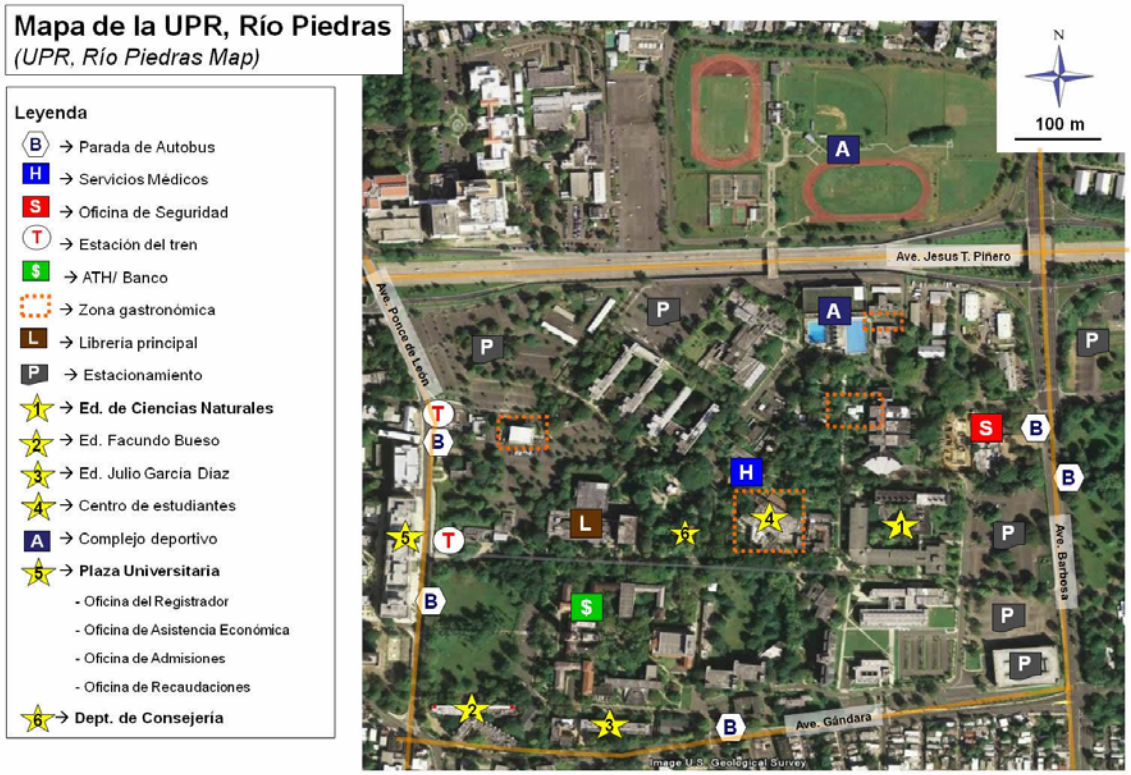


Figure 1.3 Map of Río Piedras campus.

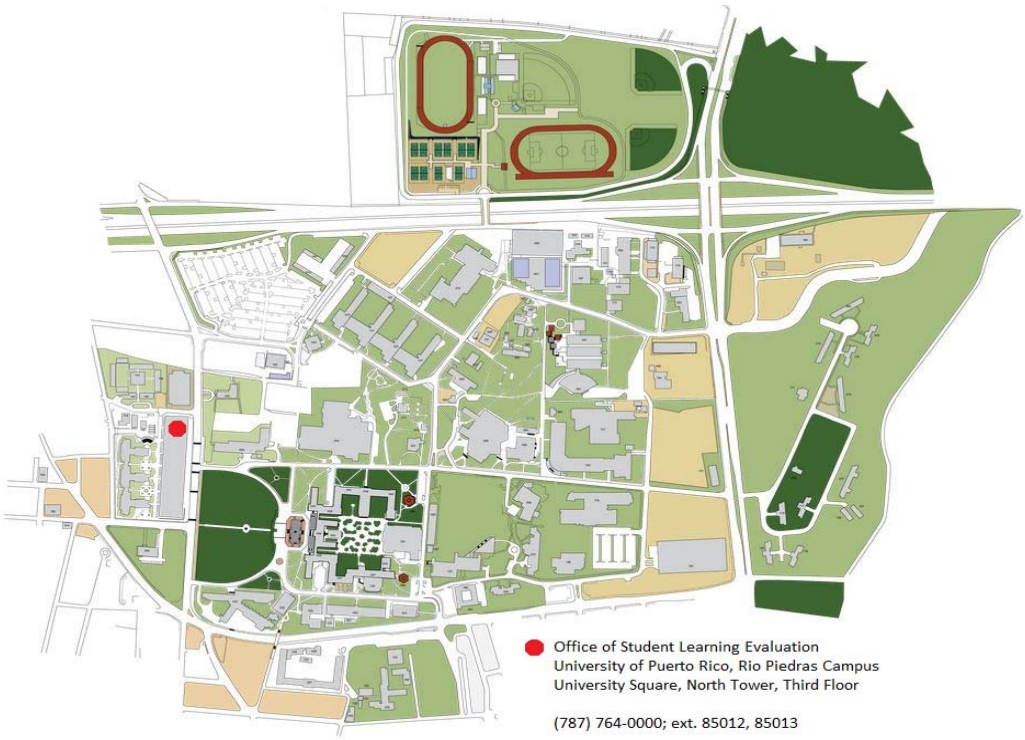


Figure 1.4 Map of Río Piedras campus from the Office of Student Learning Evaluation. A more detailed map is available at: http://www.uprrp.edu/rectoria/mapa_recinto.php.

About the Selected Media

El Nuevo Día

Guillermo V. Cintrón founded the earlier incarnation of *El Nuevo Día or The New Day* in 1909 in the city of Ponce under the name *El Diario de Puerto Rico.* By 1911, the name was changed to *El Día* and in 1948, it was acquired by Luis A. Ferré.[4] Once Ferré was elected governor of Puerto Rico for the Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP), his eldest son, Antonio Luis Ferré, bought the newspaper from him. In 1970, two years after the purchase, Antonio Luis decided to move the newspaper to the city of San Juan and renamed it *El Nuevo Día*. After 16 years, the newspaper was moved to its current location in the city of Guaynabo. It became known for its political

[4] Information obtained from: http://www.gabitos.com/PuertoRico/template.php?nm=1260218022.

reporting adhering to its motto: *"Periódico político defensor de los ideales de la Unión de Puerto Rico y de los intereses generales del país."* [The political newspaper that defends the ideals of the Puerto Rican Union and the general interests of the country].[5] Currently, it is still owned by the Ferré-Rangel family and it is the most widely circulated newspaper in Puerto Rico, with a daily circulation around 155,000.[6] In terms of sales, its main competitor is *El Vocero*.

El Vocero

El Vocero was founded by Gaspar Roca and has been published in San Juan since 1974.[7] Initially it was the fourth leading newspaper in Puerto Rico behind *El Nuevo Día*, *El Mundo*, and *The San Juan Star*. However, during the 1980s it became the second largest. In 1985, it became owned by Caribbean International News Corp. Although it is known to be more of a sensationalist tabloid-oriented newspaper, during the early 2000s it broadened its coverage from mainly violent news to including political, business, and entertainment news as well. In 2012, *El Vocero*

[5] *Union de Puerto Rico* in this context is referring to the Union party founded in 1904 that advocated for more self-government in the island. Although it was successful in the elections of the 1930s, its members became divided between favoring independence and statehood.

[6] Information was obtained from: http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90070179/.

[7] Information was obtained from: http://www.puertadetierra.info/noticias/vocero/35años.htm.

became the first free daily newspaper in Puerto Rico[8] and it initiated a newspaper war in which Grupo Ferré-Rangel (owners of *El Nuevo Día*) accused *El Vocero* of being financed by the government. Both newspapers investigated each other and published articles claiming that they had used government funds to finance their newspapers. Consequently, Grupo Ferré-Rangel developed its own free daily newspaper called *Indíce*. By 2013, *El Vocero* declared bankruptcy and was bought by Publi-Inversiones and Edward Zayas became its General Director and Publisher.[9] With a circulation of 166,300 newspapers, it is still considered to be aligned ideologically with the Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP).[10]

***Estudiantes de la UPR Informan* (EUPRI)**

As described in chapter V, *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan* (EUPRI) was created by Omar Rodríguez on April 17, 2010 as an alternative to the university administration's webpage in order to provide information from the students' perspective under the slogan: *¡Hablemos con la verdad y defendamos la educación pública!* [Lets speak truthfully and defend our public education!]. During the interview, Rodríguez narrated that throughout the strike he attempted to maintain a

[8] Information obtained from: http://dialogodigital.upr.edu/index.php/La-nueva-prensa-gratuita-¿Nuevos-periodicos-nuevos-periodistas-nuevos-lectores.html#.VFxMC76F7KA.

[9] Infromation obtained from: http://noticel.com/noticia/148380/el-vocero-en-quiebra-tendra-nuevos-duenos-y-sigue-publicando.html.

[10] Infromation obtained from: http://www.estado51prusa.com/?p=18296.

neutral stance and cover the events as objectively as possible, but he encountered many problems from participants on both sides of the movement. Some student activists accused him of *estar choteando* or giving away too much information, while others accused the page of being biased towards the student strike. Nevertheless, he continued to report the events and by November 15, 2011 the Facebook page had more than 40,000 likes/followers. Learning from his mistake as he was covering the strike by himself, he added more collaborators to report news on the page and broadened the range of topics. Currently, as of this writing, it has 81, 296 likes/followers.

***Desde Adentro* (DA)**

As described in chapter V, student activists realized they needed to produce and distribute information of what was going on during their strike from their perspectives in order to garner support for their cause. In view of this, on April 26, 2010 Aura Colón Solá and other student activists organized a press collective and decided to create their own online newspaper called *Desde Adentro* (DA) [From the Inside] to cover the events from within the student barricades. Valuing freedom of the press and socialization of information, DA evolved into a nonprofit organization whose vision was to educate students about the importance of critically informing themselves in regards to news. The collective developed its own blog page

(www.rojogallito.blogspot.com) and a YouTube channel (www.youtube.com/user/PrensaEstudiantil) in order to provide a space for student activists to express themselves and *mantener al pueblo informado* [keep the people informed] about their strike defending an accessible public higher education.

***Radio Huelga* (RH)**

As described in chapter V, student activists developed another way to facilitate communication and disseminate information during the strike, inspired by Free Radio Berkeley. Ricardo Olivero Lora, in collaboration with other student activists, created the first student radio station called *Radio Huelga* (RH). From the CGE office inside the Río Piedras campus, *Radio Huelga* connected national and international audiences to their resistance via 1650AM and their livestream webpage on Ustream: http://www.ustream.tv/channel/radiohuelga.[11] Although the collective did not include media professionals, what began as a radial experiment on May 2, 2010, became an effective alternative news media, cited as a primary source by traditional news media coverage. Its varied agenda depended on the creativity of its student activist collaborators and included news programs, music programs, athletic coverage, and even a radio soap opera, *Amor de Barricada* [Barricade Love] inspired by gossips from the camps. *Radio Huelga* was essential in gathering, constructing,

[11] *Radio Huelga's* slogan was *¡Conéctate a la Resistencia!* [Connect to the Resistance!], inviting audiences to support the strike for an accessible public higher education of excellence.

administering, distributing, and maintaining power to raise consciousness about the strike from the student activists' perspectives. It continues to transmit via its online mainstreaming.

Outline of the Study

The chapters and "in-between" sections in this dissertation have been organized in order to materialize the 2010-2011UPR student movement from the perspectives of the people involved. The layout of the chapters and sections is designed so that each part offers fieldwork data and insights into the development of the concept of resistance performance during the strike. This present chapter lays the foundations of my study and its significance. Since most of the data gathered are in Spanish or Spanglish, I have compiled a separate glossary of terms and abbreviations that contain the translation of the Spanish words and phrases. I have interwoven vignettes from the field within the chapters to further contextualize the work.

In chapter II, I review current and past literatures that provide the framework for the study. I explore theories of Social Movements and Media practices in order to understand how they intersect in student activism. I also introduce how I adapt and define the concept of resistance performance.

Chapter III is devoted to the design of the research methods by focusing on approaches to Social Movements and Media Analyses. I also discuss the importance of situating myself within the text, as a way of exploring how my presence, actions, and relationships with participants while conducting activist research influences the data gathered as well as the writing process. This third chapter exposes the methods I use to gather my data such as critical ethnography, archival research, interviews, and surveys.

Chapter IV presents data on the history of the UPR student movement while situating the discussion against the changing backdrop of the university and Puerto Rico. It sheds some light on the colonial relationship Puerto Rico has had, and continues to have, with the United States throughout its military occupation and local ruling political parties[12] with their implementation of capitalist and neoliberal agendas. I offer a chronology that portrays the different tactics and strategies of resistance used by student activists throughout the years. In subsequent chapters, I explore the connections and shared characteristics among the strikes.

In chapters V, VI, and VII, I write in an experimental style that disrupts the present text with past events from chapter IV or images as a way of depicting the dynamic and complicated processes that are inherent in the analysis and understanding of the UPR student movement. This technique allows me to not only analyze the events of the most recent strike but also invoke a continuity of time and

[12] The local ruling parties have consisted of *Partido Popular Democrático* (PPD) and *Partido Nuevo Progresista* (PNP). The PPD adheres to maintaining the status quo colonial relationship in which Puerto Rico's economic, political, and educational systems depends on the United States. On the other hand, the PNP advocates on Puerto Rico becoming the 51st state of the United States.

space in which the past is in the present. More importantly, in chapters V and VI, I narrate the story of the two waves of the student strike respectively, while analyzing certain events in order for us, as scholars, to (re)consider how we write and analyze social movements, since we can arouse or create memories to our readers.

Chapter V explores the first wave of the student strike when student activists occupied the campus. I explore their resistance performances in constructing spaces of resistance and contention such as their use of protest camps and Internet activism. I focus on student activists' tactics and strategies in organizing and coordinating the strike while juxtaposing the university's administration counter-resistance performances of refusing to negotiate with them in order to end the strike.

Consequently, chapter VI examines the second wave of the strike when the police force took over the campus. I analyze student activists resistance performance of emotional narratives in (re)constructing spaces of resistance and contention during the revival of their strike, while exposing the university administration's counter-resistance performances of emotional narratives such as fear-mongering. As such, this chapter deals with notions of emotional dynamics and collective memory providing allusions to the 1981 UPR student strike.

Chapter VII is a complementary chapter that looks at the roles of traditional and alternative media in reporting, producing, and disseminating news about the student strike as a media spectacle. I discuss student activists lay theories or common knowledge about news media in order to explore their media practices regarding the (re)presentations of their strike. I examine notions of (*dis*)information and

encapuchados (i.e., hooded protesters) which serve to provide key understanding of the media dynamics during the strike.

Finally, chapter VIII consists of the conclusions of this dissertation. Here, I synthesize the main ideas gathered from the preceding chapters to establish their contributions to understanding resistance performance during the UPR student strike. I connect these ideas to the wider literature on social movements and Internet activism, while discussing the implications of my study. This chapter also offers my dissertation's limitations and areas for continued research.

Purpose of the Study

Internationally, the year 2010- 2011 will be known for its (re)emergence of student activism, having witnessed numerous protests in different cities across the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean. More importantly, it will be remembered for its rise in Internet activism and activists' use of new media technologies as resources that rapidly prompted and aided the numerous protests. In view of this, it is imperative to consider the role of traditional and alternative media in covering strikes as spaces of resistance and contention.

As such, the purpose of my study is to examine the use of the 2010-2011 UPR student activists' *resistance performances* in constructing spaces of resistance and contention during their movement. I am interested in analyzing the different tactics and strategies of resistance that student activists used to frame their collective identities, as well as the traditional and alternative media (re)presentations of the strike. My study not only makes Puerto Rico visible in the research concerning social

movements and Internet activism; but in addition, it provides resistance performance as a concept to describe the degrees of participation in current social movements.

Moreover, throughout the course of my fieldwork, I made promises to the many people who contributed their experiences that I would share the results of their collaboration with them and others abroad. It is my hope that, in addition to the academic contributions, the findings of this study will bring some much needed attention to the concerns of an accessible public higher education in Puerto Rico, helping to advocate for a University reform created by its own University community.

CHAPTER II

THEORIZING THE RESEARCH

"There is nothing so practical as a good theory"
(Lewin 1951:3).

Rites of Passage: Entering the Field

After the incident at the *Borders* bookstore coffee shop, I decided it was my responsibility to participate as much as possible in the events to support the strike. My first official event was the 24-hour national strike organized by the labor unions on May 18, 2010. I drove to the UPR Río Piedras campus, where the protest was being held with live music and performances. Around 11:00am, I finally found a parking space and began walking toward the campus. On my way there, I passed by the local bookstores[13] on Ponce de León Avenue and had to stop at the light intersection with Gándara Avenue. As I crossed the light and continued walking towards the main gate of the campus, I heard whistling and the sound of kisses. I turned around before jumping to any conclusion. To my astonishment, I noticed that these sexual innuendos were not only directed at me but also coming from the three police officers that I had just passed by standing at the light. I decided to stare at them seriously but not answer back. I figured they did not want to be there and were looking for any excuse to disrupt the event. I continued my way through the crowd, enjoying the energy, live music, and the student activists' resistance performances such as the clown police and singing nuns.

[13] These bookstores were strategic places during the UPR student movement.

Figure 2.1 Photo I took of the clown police (left) and singing nuns (right) as they began their performances.

The next day, as I uploaded the photos shown above and other photos I took from the event on Facebook, I began my engagement with Internet activism and continued posting statuses, as well as links to photos, videos, and blogs in support of the student strike. From this moment on, I actively supported as many marches, meetings, and protests as I could, although my degree of participation varied from one to another. For the time remaining back home, I participated in the summer program sponsored by *Mentes Puertorriqueñas en Acción* (MPA). Mentes Puertorriqueñas en Acción is a nonprofit organization whose mission is to develop Puerto Rican youth as new generations of agents of social change for the island. Through this program, I was able to meet and gain the trust of a couple of students of the UPR Río Piedras campus who became my direct insider connections or principal interlocutors. Establishing these friendships permitted me to not only keep up with the developing events through the Internet by logging on to *Radio Huelga*, *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan (EUPRI)*, *Desde Adentro*, and *La Nación* when I returned to Miami, but also to actively participate in the lobbying campaign trying to prevent the revival of the

strike. Even after the strike came to a halt, I continued my support by presenting at multiple conferences with Dr. Maritza Stanchich, an English professor at UPR. An important moment during my exploratory research phase was precisely during one of these conferences. It was at the Caribbean Philosophical Association (CPA) conference, held at Rutgers University on September 2011 that I had the opportunity to present in front of three student "leaders" or spokespersons during the strike, who were brought as guest speakers. They were Giovanni Roberto, Adriana Mulero Claudio, and René Reyes. I must confess that I had never felt so nervous to present in front of anyone like I did that day. I remember thinking: "I hope they approve of my presentation and feel that I'm doing a good job at representing what they lived." Thankfully they did! As we went for dinner that night, I knew I had just passed my rites of passage and opened the door for the critical ethnography I wanted to conduct once I was formally in the field in 2012.

Figure 2.2 Having dinner with the student activists after the presentation.

In the first chapter, I presented a synopsis of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike, the research focus and background for my study, as well as the site description. As part of my research design, in this chapter, I have combined theory and praxis to discuss the theoretical frameworks that guided my research questions. Paraphrasing what Kurt Lewin expresses in the quote above, a "good" theory connects concepts to their practical applicability. In summarizing and interrelating some of the concepts regarding social movement theory and media practices, I focus on the particular theories and ideologies that are relevant at an empirical level to my study on student activism. Therefore, in this chapter, I first outline the conceptual models of framing theory and frame analysis, as well as collective identity and network analysis as social movement theories. Second, I depict the key role that both traditional and alternative media coverage have had on social movements. Third, I merge social movement theories and media practices to show their intersections in the dynamics of student movements and describe the concept of resistance performance. Finally, I conclude this chapter with my research questions. I point to how in subsequent chapters I draw upon insights from each concept when discussing the 2010-2011 UPR student movement.

Social Movement Theories

Prior to delving into selected social movement theories and with the many existing definitions of social movement within the social sciences, I define social movement as a network of diverse social actors who share a collective identity and consciously perform in a sustained manner cultural and/or political acts of resistance.

Framing Theory and Frame Analysis

Building on the cultural turn in the social sciences, social movement scholars have employed framing theory and frame analysis to explain the dynamic processes of social movements, since both framing/counterframing imply agency, resistance, and contention at the level of reality construction (Snow and Benford 1988; Gamson 1988; Klandermans 1992; Hunt et al. 1994; Coles 1998; Benford 2002, 2005; Benford and Hunt 2003). Similar to the social constructionist perspective, framing theory and frame analysis emphasize the importance of culture and context in understanding society and constructing knowledge about a phenomenon (Derry 1999; McMahon 1997). A key component of the social constructionist perspective is to expose or frame the different ways in which people actively participate and interpret the ongoing and dynamic processes of constructing their reality. A frame is defined as a way of ascribing meaning to interpret events in order to mobilize and gain support of people. It functions "to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective" (Snow et al. 1986:464). A counterframe refers to a "rhetorical strategy that challenges the original frame(s)" (Benford and Hunt 2003:160). It basically attempts to undermine and neutralize the initial framing process.

As shown, framing theory and frame analysis are rooted in both social constructionism and Erving Goffman's concept of frame. According to Goffman (1974), a frame

> refers to an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the "world out there" by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment… [that is] they allow individuals "to locate, perceive, identify

> and label" events within their life space or the world at large. (Goffman 1974, cited in Snow and Benford 1992:137)

As frames "function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective" (Snow et al. 1986:464), a social movement needs to draw upon shared social, political, economic, and cultural understandings of the realities of the participants in order to develop successful frame(s) that are relevant to the movement internally and are able to inform others externally. The process of developing a social movement's frame(s) has been coined "frame alignment" (Snow et al. 1986). According to Snow et al. (1986:467-473), there are four types of frame alignment processes in the development of a movement's master frame: (1) frame bridging; (2) frame amplification; (3) frame extension; and (4) frame transformation. Frame bridging refers to information diffusion by "linking two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue." Frame amplification consists of both value and belief amplifications in which social movements "seek to redefine their public image as serving the best interests of their country." Frame extension refers to when social movements "extend their boundaries of its primary [or master] frame to encompass interests…salient to potential adherents." Frame transformation requires social movements to abandon their initial master frame because it did not resonate with existing lifestyles "in order to garner support and secure participants." Once the social movement's master frame (i.e., the main way of interpreting and dealing with their reality) has been set it can lead the way to collective identity. The collective identity directs activists' collective action frames by defining some aspect of social life as unjust and in need of corrective

actions (Gamson et al. 1982; Klandermans 1984; McAdam 1982; Moore 1978; Piven and Cloward 1977; Snow et al. 1986; Turner and Killian 1987). A collective identity describes an individual's connection with a community. It is a "perception of shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identity, although it may form part of a personal identity" (Polleta and Jasper 2001:285). Thus, taking into consideration the importance of developing a master frame during a social movement, I will now discuss collective identity and network analyses.

Collective Identity and Network Analysis

In an attempt to describe the shift from the conventional class-based perspectives found in previous labor movements, toward the identity-based perspectives found in the plethora of social movements that occurred in Western societies around the 1960s, the "new" social movements (NSM) theory was developed. Though the newness of NSMs has been greatly criticized, it should be recognized as a "theoretical construct [that]… embodied cultural and political visions of theorists" in that socio-historical context (Lee 2007:25). Some examples of NSMs include the anti-war, civil rights, environmental, feminist, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT), and student movements. Being recognized by social movement scholars as identity-based, these NSMs stressed an emphasis on collective identity. Collective identity

> involves cognitive definitions concerning the ends, means, and field of action… it's a network of active relationships between the actors, who interact, communicate, influence each other, negotiate, and make decisions… and there has to be a certain degree of emotional investment, which enables individuals to feel part of a common unity. (Melucci 1995:44-45)

In other words, a social movement's collective identity is a simultaneously static and dynamic process that is socially constructed by its participants' interactions and sharing of narratives. Similarly, Touraine (Della Porta and Diani 2006:21) stated that collective identity "brings a sense of common purpose and shared commitment to a cause, which enables single activists and/or organizations to regard themselves as inextricably linked to other actors in broader collective mobilization." Thus, it facilitates participants to act as collective bodies, "by becoming the product of conscious action and the outcome of self-reflection more than a set of given 'structural' characteristics" (Melucci 1995:50). However, it is impossible to talk about a social movement's collective identity without acknowledging the "tension between the definition a movement gives of itself and the recognition granted to it by the rest of society" (Melucci 1995:48). One of the ways scholars have described this tension is by using the terms framing and counterframing, as previously discussed.

Another emphasis of NSMs was social networks, since a key characteristic of NSMs was their way of organizing themselves horizontally. Horizontal organization consists of "loosely affiliated, informal, anti-hierarchical 'networks of networks' of interpersonal relations, linked to one another and to larger-scale, geographically dispersed social and cultural networks" (Diani and MCAdam 2003:301). Since NSMs are "networks of people who have a common interest or concern and come together" to protest, "then no wonder the Internet has been a useful site for activism" (Gurak and Logie 2003). The use of social networking sites (SNS) like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube have provided NSMs more tools by changing the flow and speed of communication via the Internet into something much more instantaneous in real time

(Friedland and Rogerson 2009). How activists use these tools gave rise to the social network analysis that "seeks to describe networks of relations, trace the flow of information through them, and discover what effects these relations have on people and organizations" (Garrido and Halavis 2003). The evident compatibility between NSMs and new media technologies based on their internal structures notwithstanding, the use of online tools does not necessarily guarantee their stability, continuity, and/or success. Lee Ann Banaszak (1996 cited in Staggenborg 2002:136) argues that the outcomes of NSMs are influenced by different external and internal factors such as the use that each movement makes of its available resources and opportunities, as well as its selection of strategies and tactics of resistance, its frames, values, and networks.

As I have previously shown, both framing and counterframing processes are indispensable when developing a collective identity in social movements. Likewise, these processes are inextricably intertwined with building a sense of community among the participants in order to establish networks. In this manner, grounded in a social constructionist perspective, in subsequent chapters, I draw upon the framing analysis and collective identity to examine the 2010-2011 UPR students' representations, whether internally or externally ascribed, as well as the use of narratives for (re)constructing lived experiences and establishing networks. Having conceptualized selected social movement theories, I now expose the role that both traditional and alternative media coverage have had in social movements.

Media Practices[14]

Throughout the years, social movement scholars have analyzed how activists have used as well as depended on the media's coverage in order to frame their protest. As Michael Barker (2008:n.p.) states, "understanding the relationship between social movements and the media's coverage of their actions is crucial, especially if this increasingly important political resource is to be utilized effectively for progressive social change." However, media coverage includes both traditional and alternative media and I must discuss the distinction between them as a way to conceptualize their usage in my study. Following several authors, I define traditional media as the "old" means or medium of mass communication that existed before the Internet. Traditional media provided filtered information in a unidirectional format where its viewers were often considered passive receivers. Some of these are television, radio, newspapers, and magazines. According to Della Porta and Diani (2006), traditional media are "the main arena for the public expression of opinions and opinion formation" (220). In addition, Gitlin (1980) refers to traditional media frames "as persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (7).

In contrast, and in concurrence with other theoretical frameworks, I define alternative media as the "new or alternate" means or medium of web communication that have developed with the emergence of the Internet and the digital era. Though it might still contain biases like traditional media, new media and its related

[14] Media practices, or utilization, refer "to the whole range of practices that are oriented towards media and the role of media in ordering other practices in the social world" (Couldry 2004:115).

technologies provide information and data instantly to its users with the possibility of a two-way dialogical interactive participation. Some examples of these are smart phones applications, social networking sites such as Facebook, YouTube, and blogs. According to Waltz (2005:2), “alternative media provides a different point of view from what is usually expressed, that cater to communities not well served by the mass media, or that expressly advocate social change.” Likewise, Couldry and Curran (2003:7) define alternative media as “media production that challenges, at least implicitly, actual concentrations of media power, whatever form those concentrations may take in different locations.” Some common terms assigned to alternative media include Downing’s (2001) “radical media” and Rodríguez’s (2001) “citizens’ media,” which are considered more politicized. Though both media have evolved with advances in technology, alternative media have been used by activists to raise awareness, recruit participants, garner support, and challenge existing policies, institutions, and/or governments. It is also important to emphasize the vital role that new media technologies played in assisting recent social movements and revolutions worldwide, such as Tunisia’s and Egypt’s revolutions, which consequently have been labeled the “Twitter Revolutions.” In the same way, new media technologies facilitated the development of collective identities and the construction spaces of resistance and contention during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement.

I proceed to illustrate how both traditional mass media and alternative new media serve as cultural apparati in society or as “a significant social force in the forming and delimiting of public assumptions, attitudes, and moods of ideology in short” (Gitlin 1980:9).

Traditional Media

One of the ways traditional media has been and is still utilized as a cultural apparatus is by producing and reproducing the key ideologies in society. In other words, traditional media help construct a biased version of "reality" that instills the agenda of privileged groups "through the selection of topics, distribution of concerns, framing of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping the bounds of debate within acceptable premises" (Herman and Chomsky 1988:298). Traditional media illustrate Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which refers to the elite's use of ideological control mechanisms (i.e., consent) rather than physical coercion (Dimaggio 2009). In this regards, "no one, no matter how intelligent and skillful at critical thinking, is protected against the subliminal suggestions that imprint themselves on our unconscious brain if we are watching hours and hours of television" (hooks 2003:11).

Scholars such as Edward Said, bell hook, and Noam Chomsky, among others have analyzed mass media and its effects within United States society. Both Said and hooks have emphasized the importance of questioning the (mis)information that is routinely portrayed and played off in mass media as objective truth and knowledge. Their works not only evidence how United States imperialism has constructed the "Other" through a series of oppositions or binaries (i.e., "us" vs. "them"), in which the Orient/East and Blacks were represented as irrational, despotic, static, sexual, exotic, and backward; while the Occident/West was rational, democratic, dynamic, and progressive. By repeating these powerful and negative stereotypes, the United States media served and continues to serve as a cultural apparatus in constructing,

reinforcing, and legitimizing beliefs about "Others." In Chomsky's words, the United States media propaganda model utilizes subtle ways of "manufacturing consent" through the construction (and repetition) of certain discourses and images that privilege the elite over marginalized groups in society. As such, Herman and Chomsky have argued that the media's role is:

> to inculcate and defend the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state. The media serves this purpose in many ways: through selection of topics, distribution of concerns, framing of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping the bounds of debate within acceptable premises. (Herman and Chomsky 1988:298)

All of these scholars' works coincide in advocating a critical understanding of mass media representations and the importance of alternative ways of knowing. In this regard and in order to exemplify the crucial role of traditional media representations of the "Other" for social movement actors, I have selected Todd Gitlin's case study of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) movement in the United States. By focusing on SDS, I show the effects of traditional media on student activism.

Students for a Democratic Society was a student movement that developed in the 1960s and represented the United States' New Left (Gitlin 1980). As Gitlin (1980) has noted, during the first few years SDS was not covered nor did it seek to be covered by major news media. Students for a Democratic Society organizers decided to concentrate on visiting different campuses to explain and hand out mimeographs with their declaration of values, as well as their political perspectives and programs (Gitlin 1980:25-26).

According to Gitlin (1980:26-27), SDS "was 'discovered' after the independent upwelling of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement," but it was not until "the SDS March on Washington on April 17, 1965, that student antiwar protest and SDS in particular became big news." From this point on, the mass media and SDS entered into a tumultuous relationship in which both major news media and SDS needed one another. "The [mass] media needed stories, preferring the dramatic; the movement needed publicity for recruitment, for support, and political effect. Each could be useful to the other; each had effects, intended and unintended, on the other" (Gitlin 1980:24). Though SDS was sometimes able to manipulate mass news coverage by organizing "media events," the major news media frames were not always in their favor. An example of unfavorable media coverage was the split between the Prairie Power, which included newer activists, and the Old Guard, which was part of the initial activists (Gitlin 1980). Here, "the media not only helped produce and characterize this sharp break within SDS, but they proceeded to play it up; in so doing, they magnified its importance both to the outside world and inside the organization" (Gitlin 1980:31). Thus, internal ruptures at the onset of being a mass student organization became its end. Although the SDS dissolved in 1969, its organizational structure based on committees and its discourse on participatory democracy has influenced, to varying degrees, contemporary student activism.

Through the works of Said, hooks, Chomsky and Gitlin's case study, I have underlined the role of traditional media in constructing representations of "Others," whether they are foreign or not, and the profound influence of those images and discourses on its audience (e.g., construction of stereotypes), particularly for social

movements. In subsequent chapters, I investigate the traditional media representations of the UPR student movement to determine if the events and actors were portrayed as "Others," and the influence of such depictions in how the events and its actors are remembered. As Gitlin (1980) points out, "audiences with less direct experience of the situations [or people] at issue were more vulnerable to the framings of mass media" (245). In contrast, the use of alternative media can decrease the "audience" vulnerability to "media" by providing them with a two-way dialogical interactive participation in the production of such. My study shows how student activists' engagement with Internet activism overshadowed and at times even framed the traditional media coverage in Puerto Rico. The interactive participation disrupted the traditional "audience" and "media" relationship, which is why scholars have often regarded alternative media as a modern-day "public sphere" (Soe 2004; Dahlberg 2007; Trenz 2009; Gripsrud 2009).

Alternative Media

Alternative media, such as the Internet, produce social spaces of resistance and contention, where traditional media ideas are constantly reflected, reproduced, but most importantly challenged. "Space of resistance" refers to the contestation of "the hegemonic discourse imposed by the state" (Trakarnsuphakorn 2007:586), while "space of contention" refers to the competition over meaning production as well as a struggle over available resources. Adhering to Lefebvre's (1991) argument, "social space is a social product... [where] the space produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action... in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (Stanek 2011:ix). In the same way,

Habermas (Salter 2003:124) views the "public sphere" as a "social space generated in communicative action that must be protected from systemic imperatives by separation." In other words, the public sphere is "a network for communicating information and points of view" (Habermas 1996:360).

In my study, I follow these scholars by arguing that the Internet (and the technologies that have access to it) serve as a social space for activism and can be considered a modern-day public sphere. As a public sphere, the Internet "facilitates rapid and cheap communication across geographical boundaries; online tools [that] can help social movements disseminate information, recruit participants, organize, coordinate, and make decisions" (Kavada 2010:101). As a modern-day public sphere, the Internet has allowed social movement actors to develop online strategies of resistance such as producing their own newspapers, instantly uploading photos and videos of organized events to ensure their credibility, or even collecting signatures to oppose an issue via online petitions. During the recent economic and political crisis, we have witnessed a rapid rise of social movements all over the world, notably encompassing student activism in Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe, Asia, and the United States, to Egypt and Tunisia's revolutions. One of their shared elements is that they have used, and are using, new media technologies such as the Internet to assist them in organizing and disseminating their protests. Thus, although scholars have been studying Internet as a tool for activism since the mid-1990s, the combination of student activists and new media technologies has resulted in a contemporary boom of the study of Internet activism (McCaughey and Ayers 2003; Van de Donk et al. 2004; and Garret 2006). For example, in one of the organized

nonviolent events during the 2010-2011 UPR student strike called *Calle Conciencia* [Awareness Street] students participated in a *pintata* (which refers to the painting of the main street inside the campus with messages to raise awareness) and were able to instantly record with their smart phones and disseminate photos and videos via social networking sites of the police brutality against the activists. These photos and videos immediately elicited debates, stirred emotions, and garnered support for their cause.

The type of Internet usage described above has been termed Internet activism. Internet activism, also known as cyberactivism, online activism, digital activism, e-activism, and e-advocacy, can be defined as the use of digital technologies, electronic tools, and the Internet in order to communicate, organize, and increase the effectiveness of a political or social change campaign (Joyce 2010). A key element when analyzing Internet activism is to recognize different types of Internet activism. Vegh (2003) distinguished two broad categories: Internet-enhanced activities and Internet-enabled activities. The former views the Internet as an additional broadcast media channel for activities, while the latter views the Internet as fundamental media for the activities to occur. Vegh further specifies whether Internet activities are used for awareness/advocacy, organization/mobilization, or action/reaction. Accordingly, Earl et al. (2010) analyzed the existing literature on Internet activism and categorized it into four types: (1) brochure-ware, (2) online facilitation of offline activism, (3) online participation, and (4) online organizing. Brochure-ware refers to websites that only provide and diffuse information but do not facilitate online interaction to its users (i.e., the Internet is treated primarily as a broadcast channel). Online facilitation of offline activism refers to websites that not only provide and diffuse information but

also facilitate participation in offline events to its users (i.e., the Internet is treated as a space for organizing collective activities). Online participation refers to websites that allow its users to participate in online protest actions like online petitions and email campaigns, among others. Online organizing of protest actions refers to websites that organize all aspects of a protest virtually without face-to-face interactions. As shown, Internet activism can facilitate social movements in disseminating their information quickly, reducing the cost of their internal communication, forging alliances through links to other websites, and reaching a global audience. As Redden (2001) states:

> The fact that it is a decentralized, distributed network… allows for fast one-to-one, one-to-many and even many-to-many communication…But while it is not accessible to everyone [i.e., digital divide],… it does dramatically increase the numbers of people who can…distribute information… In short, it allows individuals and community groups to reduce the influence gap between themselves and wealthier organizations. (n.p.)

Nevertheless, many scholars believe that the value of the Internet is exaggerated and has led to what has been negatively described as slacktivism or simply a "feel-good" measure where a person solely supports a cause or issue online. Consequently, "although the Internet may let groups disseminate information quickly (Myers 1994; Ayres 1999), reduce the cost of online communication (Peckham 1998; Fisher 1998), and/or enhance the ability of groups to create and represent broad online coalitions through links to other websites (Garrido and Halavais 2003), it doesn't change who activists are, what activists do, or how they do it in some more fundamental way" (Joyce 2010:428). In other words, alternative media (and its technologies) can move forward this type of work only in relations to activists' application of them. By the same token, Habermas's (1996) public sphere could only

be effective contingent on people's usage of it. Furthermore, Murdoch (2010) points out that Internet activism can become a double-edge sword since "the Internet's ability to share information, coordinate action, and launch transnational campaigns can also be used for destructive ends," not only via the illegal tactics done by activists but also via corporate manipulation, and government persecutions and imprisonments of activists (137).

As the study of Internet activism has continued to grow, social movement scholars have become divided around the possibility that it could cause changes in activism. The debate centers on whether Internet activism marks a significant change, simply accentuates change, or does not change the applicability of existing social movement theoretical frameworks. Consequently, Earl et al. (2010) classified this debate into the following categories: model changes, scale related effects, and no changes to existing theories. Following Earl's et al. (2010) concepts, Table 1 (See Appendix A) highlights the main points and scholars on each side of the debate. On a similar note, Joyce (2010) developed categories to describe the value of Internet activism for the scholars in each side of the debate as optimists, persistents, and pessimists. According to Joyce (2010), the optimists "believe that [Internet] activism will alter existing political hierarchies and empower citizens"; while the pessimists "believe that the [new media] technologies are just as likely to be used to exert illegitimate authority or encourage chaos" (10-12). As the middle ground, the persistents are not too impressed with the "web exceptionalism." They "believe that little will change and previous political power distributions will 'persist'" (Joyce

2010:13); however, they also agree that the new media technologies provide different degrees of participation for activists.

After presenting the main points surrounding the debate on Internet activism and its possible effects on activism, it is important to keep in mind the "digital divide" regarding access to the Internet and the different types of Internet activism. These types of Internet activism can influence a scholar's inclination toward model changes, scale related effects, or no changes of existing theoretical frameworks of social movements derived from his or her results of the study. If indeed Internet activism marks a change in activism, then new theories or modifications to existing ones should be created and tested in the analysis of future social movements. Regardless of how one views Internet activism, it is not a separate field of study per se, which has allowed for different fields and disciplines to apply their own theories and methodologies in analyzing it as a multidisciplinary social phenomenon. Nevertheless, in order to reveal the key role of alternative media and how it has been used by social movement actors to construct their own (re)presentations, I have selected the first two movements scholars have determined that engaged in Internet activism, the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, Mexico and the anti-globalization movement in Seattle, United States.

According to Ronfeldt et al. (1998 cited in Garrido and Halavis 2003:166), "the Zapatista movement has been called both a model social movement and the first instance of Net warfare." It is the most cited example of a successful social movement that was Internet-based, mobilizing in 1996 around 3,000 indigenous peasants who participated in the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN;

Zapatista National Army of Liberation). What was extraordinary about the Zapatista movement was its social network capacity, which "made [its members] rely or depend less on their internal military organization than on the support they received from individuals and associations that were explicitly not part of the EZLN" (Garrido and Halavis 2003:171). The EZLN was able to diversify the discourse of protest through its "effective use of communication networks that broadened the scale of action for these movements, empowering their struggle internationally and opening new spaces, 'virtual publics'" (Jones and Rafaeli 2000), that move beyond the exchange of information to facilitate shared culture, coordination, and solidarity" (Cleaver 1998; Schulz 1998). In other words, the Zapatista movement "constructed meaning, projects, visions, values, styles, strategies, and identities through deliberate engagement in dialogue with supporters and detractors" (Garrido and Halavis 2003:170). As Melucci (1995) stated the EZLN set the precedent for social movements in the information age.

Another much cited example of the role of alternative new media used by activists can be appreciated through the "Battle of Seattle." The "battle" describes the confrontation in Seattle between the anti-globalization movement and the World Trade Organization (WTO). In 1999 activists from the anti-globalization movement launched the first Independent Media Center (IMC) as a way for activists to evade information gatekeepers (or people in charge of filtering information), in order to produce and control their own autonomous media (Tarleton 2000). They developed IMC as an online tactic right before their encounter in Seattle with the WTO, since they "were well aware of the limitations of depending on the corporate media to

provide coverage, especially the necessary analyses and context for the complex changes threatened by the WTO regime" (Kidd 2003:49). Currently, the IMC is made up of over 170 "autonomously operated and linked web sites" in the United States, Europe, and Latin America, with a smaller number in Canada, Africa, Asia, and Oceania (Kidd 2003). With the merging of social movements' organization structure and new media technologies, the "Seattle organizers created a 'multimedia people's newsroom' with physical presence downtown storefront and in cyberspace on the web" (Tarleton 2000:53). The web allowed journalists, media producers, activists, and citizens from around the world to participate in "real-time distribution of video, audio, text, and photos, with the potential for interactivity through 'open publishing,' in which anyone with access to the Internet could both receive and send information" (Kidd 2003:50). According to Kidd (2003:62), the success of the IMC was the result of the new array of available digital technologies… [and the fact that it] could overcome the limited space and the distribution problems inherent in old media." Similarly, Naomi Klein (2001:83-84) attributed its success in mobilization to the decentralized, nonhierarchical, and web-like structure of such "a movement of many movements."

Both of these case studies illustrate the vital role of alternative new media technologies for social movements by not only granting them visibility but also by allowing them the power to control and disseminate their own information and images about the events taking place. In part through a comparison with the 1981 UPR student strike, I too found that, in the case of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike, Internet activism did in fact mark scale-related effects or accentuated changes in the

UPR student movement. By assessing the 2010-2011 UPR student activists' use of Internet activism in developing spaces of resistance and contention (ultimately mobilization) and how this type of activism also shaped their collective identities, I demonstrate various changes in current student activism from previous UPR student strikes.

Student activists' incorporation of new media technologies to construct spaces of resistance and contention provided support for Kellner's (McCaughey and Ayers 2003:3) point that "activists have always embraced new communications media to circulate information, make statements, raise consciousness and raise hell." Thus, the existing and often contradictory representations found in both the traditional mass media and the alternative new media have created spaces of resistance and contention for social movements to oppose the established powers in society. In order to further indicate the intersections between social movement theories and media practices relevant for my study, I now discuss how they are embodied through student movements.

Student Activism

Although since the 1960s student movements have been considered an example of "new" social movements, the history of student activism can be traced back to the development of the public educational system, particularly in the early days of establishing institutions of higher education. With the incipience of the university as a social institution, student strikes have periodically played a key role in shaping the culture, history, and political policies of many countries; "today, student actions continue to have direct effects on educational institutions and on national and

international politics" (Edelman 2001:3). Consequently, in times of economic and political crises, student activism has served as a vehicle and catalyst for social change. As with any other form of social movement, the characteristics and development of student activism "cannot be understood without reference to the central role of the state… the state is simultaneously target, sponsor, and antagonist for social movements as well as the organizer of the political system and the arbiter of victory" (Craig 1995:3). In other words, the contextual conditions provided by the government impacts the relationship between student movements and social institutions. Any student activism "that aim[s] to alter social institutions and practices have to come into contact with the state [i.e., government], if only to consolidate their claims" (Craig 1995:3).

However, in order for student activism to produce change, students must first develop a collective identity and collective action frames. In this way, students become empowered, allowing them to perform unpredictable and unprecedented protests that not only "rely on centuries-old strategies of defying authority... [but simultaneously] develop new strategies and new ways to resist" (Edelman 2001:248). Secondly, student activism must also "generate power by forming collectives [or networks], and some of the ways they have wielded it recently, range from direct conflicts and physical struggles to eliciting widespread public support for causes and coordinating efforts with other collectives, especially labor" (Edelman 2007:90). In the past, student activism has depended on traditional media to achieve its three main goals: (1) mobilize political support, (2) legitimize or validate the movement in mainstream discourse, and (3) widen the range of their struggles (Barker 2008). The

traditional media coverage and treatment of the events and its actors has influenced their collective identity as well as "how they are perceived in the public eye to the extent that good or bad coverage can help to make or break [the] social movement" (Barker 2008:1). Thus, during the recent, and ongoing, economic and political crisis, student activism has used, and continues to use, alternative media such as the Internet to construct spaces of resistance and contention that reveal the repressive measures of different governments, by providing an inexpensive and direct way of mobilizing support, legitimizing their claims, and widening the range of their struggles. Student activists' use of new media technologies has fostered an emergence of an international social movement to guarantee the accessibility to a public higher education of excellence.

In the current study, I engage the work of James Jaccard and Jacob Jacoby (2010) by incorporating model building skills to create a "mapped specification" in order to visualize the relationships among the main concepts I used. Figure 2.1 depicts the ways in which the main concepts of my study interact. In order to clarify the model, I begin by explaining the relationships among the main concepts found in the black rectangles, and then the spaces that these concepts create when they intersect found in the gray rectangles.

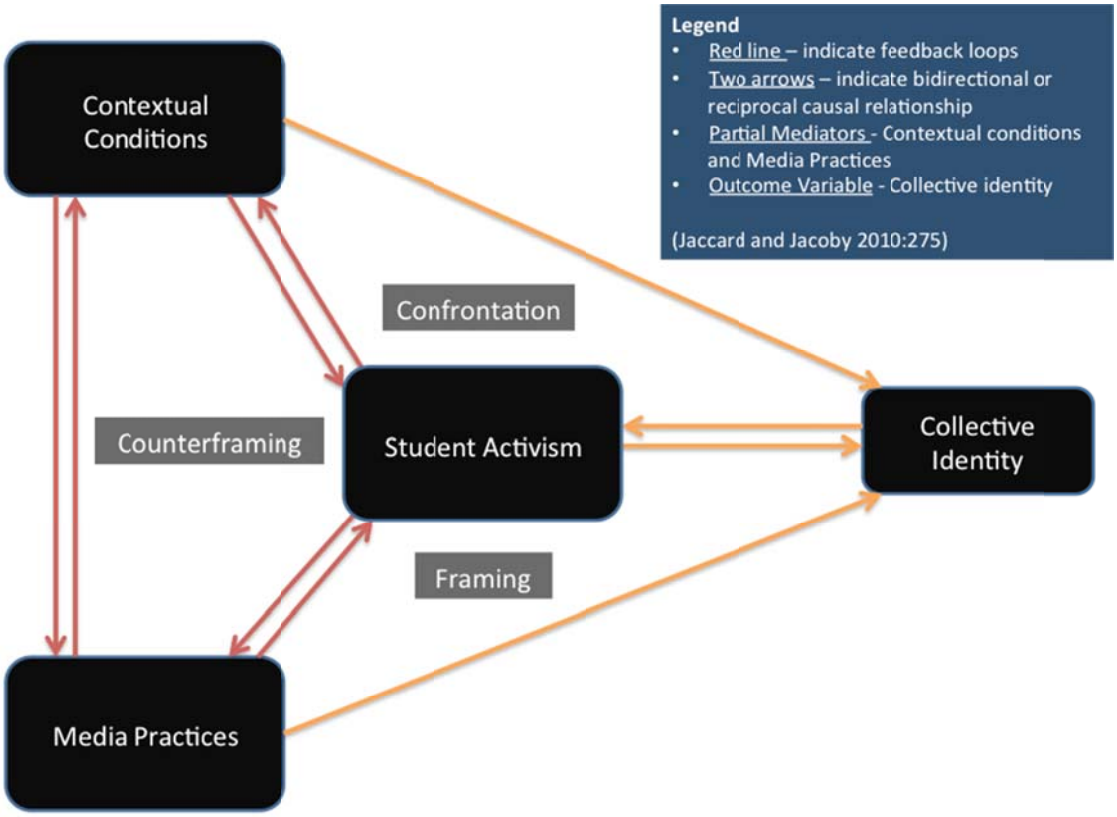


Figure 2.3 The main concepts of my study and their relationships.

Since the purpose of my study was to analyze traditional and alternative new media coverage of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike to understand their influence on the students' collective identities, collective identity was my outcome variable (Jaccard and Jacoby 2010). As stated earlier, not only are collective identity processes essential for social movements in terms of internal cohesiveness and establishing networks, but also in terms of developing an external publicity to gain more participants and garner support. Therefore, collective identity and student activism have a bidirectional or reciprocal causal relationship in which both variables influence each other. However, when we consider the dynamic nature of social movements, this relationship has to include partial mediation and feedback loops.

A partial mediation refers to the relationships between three variables: X, Y, and Z; where "Z partially mediates the effects of X on Y,… but X also has an independent effect on Y that cannot be accounted for by Z" (Jaccard and Jacoby 2010:257). For example, in my study a partial mediation with two partial mediator variables influences the relationship between student activism and collective identity. These include media practices and contextual conditions. Media practices and student activism have a bidirectional or reciprocal causal relationship, and media practices has a direct causal relationship with collective identity. In my study, students' practices of alternative new media constructed spaces of resistance that assisted, maintained, and/or modified the framing processes of their collective identities. Similarly, contextual conditions and student activism have a bidirectional or reciprocal causal relationship, and contextual conditions have a direct causal relationship with collective identity. In my study, the students' physical confrontation with the police force aided in strengthening their collective identities by fostering a sense of imagined community[15] developed from a horizontal comradeship (e.g., "us vs. them") among student activists. A feedback loop refers to the relationship between three or more variables. According to Jaccard and Jacoby (2010), a feedback loop demonstrates that "variable X influences variable Z which, in turn, influences variable Y which, in turn, 'feedbacks' to influence variable X" (269). As the model depicts, student activism has a bidirectional or reciprocal feedback loop with media practices and contextual conditions. In my study, the reciprocal feedback loop

[15] The notion of "imagined community" alludes to Benedict Anderson's (2006:3) definition of a nation, wherein a nation is "an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."

relationship created spaces of contention where the university's administration and government utilized traditional media to counterframe the students' collective identity.

Having explained the relationships among the main concepts in my study, I now shift the focus to explain the origins of the concept *resistance performance.*[16] In 2004, Joshua D. Atkinson coined Resistance Performance Paradigm (RPP) as a critique of Spectacle Performance Paradigm (SPP). According to Atkinson (2010:27), the concept of "spectacle" in SPP followed Guy Debord's (1967) notion that "everything in society is presented to people in the form of images and fable-like narratives that become infused into the fabric of 'everyday life'." Similarly, the concept of "performance" in SPP was based on Erving Goffman's (1956:19) notion that "all activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers." In other words, social interactions were performances that entailed tactics and strategies in order "to draw attention to the performer and gain compliance from observers" (Atkinson 2010:28-29). Although, SPP acknowledged that "life was a constant performance [were] we are audience and performer at the same time" (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998:73); it did not take

[16] I acknowledge a vast literature regarding the term *performance* in Performance Studies, beginning with the works of Richard Schechner, Victor Turner, and Dwight Conquergood, as well as performativity in Feminist Studies with the works of Judith Butler, Peggy Phelan, and Rebecca Schneider, to name a few scholars. However, branching off Atkinson's (2010) RPP, I apply the term "performance" within the context of Social Movement Studies. As such, it differs from cultural, social, and spectacle performances in its purpose of constructing spaces of resistance through self-conscious acts of dissent.

into account the notions of power and resistance in relations to media and audiences. Atkinson (2010) argued that one of the ways to address SPP's shortcoming was to focus on resistance theories. Many communication scholars have shown that "resistance does not occur in a void but in socially constructed context of oppression built through interactions" (Aptheker 1989; Mumby 1997; Clair 1998; Atkinson 2010:33). Thus, when Atkinson focused on audiences that were associated to social movements, he realized that the "spectacle was subordinated to a message of resistance" (Atkinson 2010:33), leading him to coin Resistance Performance Paradigm (RPP). RPP differs from SPP "in that audiences engage in performances that acknowledge the spectacle-laden nature of media and attempt to resist the dominant power structures in society that produce those spectacles" (Atkinson 2010:34). Atkinson (2010) developed RPP from five categories: (1) Critical Worldviews, (2) Alternative Media Interactions, (3) Communicative Resistance, (4) Intercreative Capacity, and (5) Narrative Capacity. Through these categories, RPP centers on how audiences make sense of their world through alternative media content and integrate performances in socially constructing their realities when applied to social justice movements (Atkinson 2004; Atkinson and Dougherty 2006).

As a result, I elaborate on the concept of resistance performance to analyze student activists' framing of their collective identities by constructing of spaces of resistance and contention during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement and their establishment of networks. Through a modification of resistance performance, I offer an innovative way to examine the presentation of self (individual or collective) in the development of the activists' collective identities by looking at the intersections

between their local, corporeal, and virtual strategies of resistance. Thus, resistance performance provides a different way "of tracing protest behavior and understanding the ties, motivations, and identities of both individual protesters and the structure of their actions" (Van Stekelenburg, Roggeband, and Klandermans 2013:xix).

In the present study, I use resistance performance to refer to when an individual (or collective self) is aware of the existing power relations and consciously participates, to different degrees, in public/private acts of dissent for an intended and sometimes unintended audience. When considering the possible repertoire of tactics and strategies of resistance, I agree with Augusto Boal's (1979) notion of the *poetics of the oppressed*, in which theater or performances are used as weapons for liberation. The degrees of participation in these performances can range from not crossing the picket line and posting an online status to physically mobilizing as a collective and occupying a place. Through these acts, activists raise awareness, facilitate organization of events, discuss different tactics and strategies (or collective actions), and establish networks of trust and reliance. Throughout my fieldwork, I found that these acts depended on many internal and external factors, such as the level of urgency and crisis perceived, the emotions aroused and maintained (e.g., hope, anger, indignation), the level of engagement with the cause, a sense of responsibility and duty, if you are member of an active network or have a friend already participating, how much risk is involved (violent/non-violent), the role of parents (who may give/deny permission or the activists are parents themselves), accessibility to transportation, money, disability, studying and/or working abroad, and creativity.

Figure 2.3 depicts how resistance performance serves to assess the degrees of participation and collective identities of student activists.

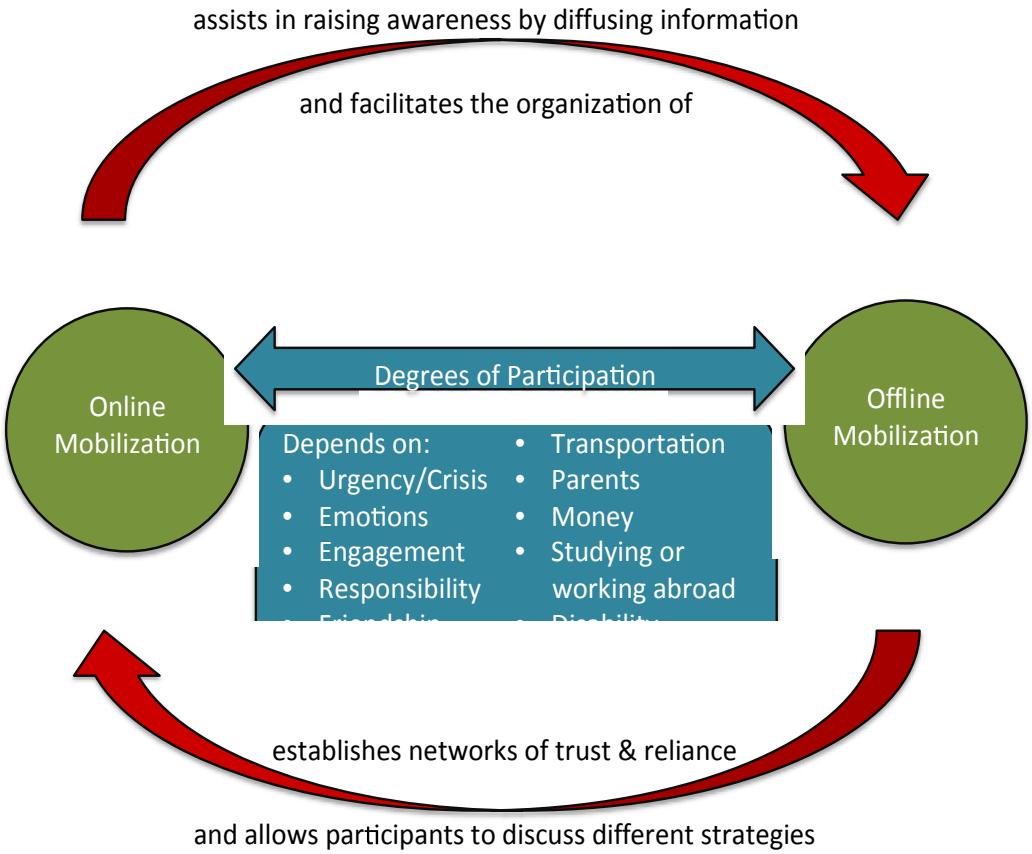


Figure 2.4 Resistance performance.

In subsequent chapters, I analyze the 2010-2011 UPR student activists' tactics and strategies in constructing spaces of resistance and contention during their strike. Through their resistance performances, student activists were able to not only frame their collective identities and establish networks, but also challenge and become a threat to the university's administration and government such that the police force had to be used to restore law and order.

In Theory

In this chapter, I reviewed the social movement theories used in my study and discussed the role of media coverage in social movements, particularly in student movements. I argued that the framing/counterframing of social movements and its events have an effect on activists' collective identity and identification. As Stuart Hall (1997) reminds us, "representation has consequences: how people are represented is how they are treated" (cited in Soyini 2005:4). As an activist researcher, it is also important to remember that an ethnographic "fieldwork embodies a politics of representation" (Hyndman 2001: 263).

Consequently, with the inevitable entanglement of social movements and media practices, in particular Internet activism, my study furthers knowledge by bridging interdisciplinary gaps. By analyzing student activists' resistance performances in framing their collective identities by constructing spaces of resistance and contention during their strike, I merge the fields of Social Movements, Communications, and Internet activism. Through a modification of resistance performance, I offer an innovative way to examine student activists' different degrees of participation by looking at the intersections between their local, corporeal, and virtual strategies of resistance. Since I am interested in analyzing the different tactics and strategies of resistance that student activists used to frame their collective identities, as well as the traditional and alternative media (re)presentations of the strike, my study answers the following research questions:

1. How did student activists' resistance performances construct spaces of resistance and contention during their strike?

a. What tactics and strategies did they use to frame their collective identities? To establish networks?

b. How did the student activists' occupation of the campus impact their movement?

2. How did student activists' resistance performances (re)construct spaces of resistance and contention during the revival of their strike?

a. What tactics and strategies did they use to (re)frame their collective identities? To maintain networks?

b. How were student activists' feelings and expressions enforced and altered, and how did these affect their movement?

3. What kinds of traditional and alternative media were used, how, and by whom?

4. What role did traditional and alternative news media play during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement?

a. How were student activists and events (re)presented in the selected media?

b. Did media coverage have any influence on the development, maintenance, and/or modification of the student activists' collective identities?

In the following chapter, I present the research methods employed in my study in order to evaluate these questions and fully understand the dynamics of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement.

CHAPTER III

DESIGNING THE RESEARCH

"There is nothing so theoretical as a good method"
(Greenwald 2012:1)

Mi Casa Es Tu Casa: Home as the Field

Upon becoming a doctoral candidate during the spring 2012 semester, I moved back home to Puerto Rico to begin my fieldwork. Since I was born and raised in Puerto Rico, I already had a good understanding of the political and economic context in which the 2010-2011 UPR student strike had developed especially with the *Partido Nuevo Progresista* (PNP) or pro-statehood party in power. However, I did not yet possess extensive historical knowledge about the UPR student movement. Sharing the student activists' national identity enabled an easy entrance into the field and mobility within it, yet it was my ability to adapt to the different roles I had to play in each of the settings that sustained the privileged access granted by the participants. Among student activists, I was recognized as an insider and simultaneously accepted as an ally. In addition, by actively participating in other protests while I was in the field, I was able to earn respect and develop good rapport with some of them, to the point that they would introduce me as a *compa* or a comrade. In contrast, opponents of the strike and members of the University's administration, saw me as an outsider since I had never studied at UPR and had been living in the United States for quite some time. For them, being an outsider meant that I had no direct affiliation to UPR or an ulterior political motive in conducting the research. My participants' level of

openness and trust in me was facilitated not only by my insider/outsider academic position and outgoing personality, but moreover by my age and gender that gave the assumption that I was unthreatening. As one of the student activists mentioned to me: "Who would refuse to be interviewed by you?" His rhetorical question instantly made me acutely aware of how I was perceived by my participants. Without knowing, he confirmed how I was very much part of the field I was researching and the fact that "doing fieldwork is a personal experience" (Soyini 2005:8).

In chapter II, I presented the theoretical frameworks that guided my research questions. In this chapter, I first discuss an overview of my methodology and the description, emphasizing the strengths and limitations, of the methods I selected to answer my research questions. Second, I reveal how I employed the methods in the field. Finally, I conclude by reflecting on some of the ethical concerns and limitations that I confronted while conducting the fieldwork.

Methodology

The methodological framework that guided my research design and the methods I selected was critical ethnography. A critical ethnographer has an "ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness and injustice within a particular *lived* domain" (Soyini 2005:5). As such, a critical ethnographer has to critique both objectivity and subjectivity by moving from "what is" to "what could be" (Thomas 1993; Carspecken 1996; Denzin 2001; Noblit, Flores and Murillo 2004). The opening vignette serves to highlight some of the methodological issues I encountered, as a critical ethnographer and activist researcher, when entering and participating in home as the field. Through my personal experiences in the field, I incorporated a reflexivity

that led me to engage with the politics of positionality and “situated knowledge” (Haraway 1988). By recognizing my multiple positionalities, I was able to delve into the study as an activist researcher (Kobayashi 2001) and move from an ally to a co-performer, friend, and comrade. Furthermore, my positionalities allowed me to go “beneath surface appearances, disrupt the status quo, and unsettle both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control” (Soyini 2005:5). As an activist researcher, I openly aligned myself with the UPR student activists and served as an advocate for an accessible public higher education of excellence. In addition, being an activist researcher in my home country makes me even more accountable and responsible since I feel like I am writing part of our history and have committed myself to providing open access to my work through a webpage I created for the UPR student movement.

Thus, when I was designing my research, I had to become familiarized with the different approaches to social movement and media analyses in order to choose particular methods for conducting my study. Within the social sciences, researchers have analyzed diverse social movements using different approaches that have been instrumental in understanding the dynamic processes of these social phenomena (Zald and Ash 1966; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996; Amenta and Young 1999; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002). As a result, social movement scholars have been able to gather a remarkable amount of data (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002) that are both opened to criticisms and new approaches in which researchers creatively employ a variety of

methods ranging from micro to macro perspectives, as well as, quantitative to qualitative analysis. Some of these methods include:

> surveys and in-depth interviews, archival studies and participant observation, single case-studies and complex comparative designs, mathematical simulations and protests event analyses, ecological studies of multi-organizational fields and life-history interviews, discourse analysis and studies of narratives. (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002:xii)

A key element for analyzing social movements is that they are culturally situated and must be understood within their social, historical, economic and political context (Fine 1995). In other words, researchers must understand the society in which the movement emerges and its people, "because the place and the subjectivities, identities, and passion that it generates with locals make a difference to the ways in which a movement organizes and articulates itself" (Oslender 2004:958). Della Porta and Diani (2006:5-6) identified four main sets of questions for analyzing social movements: (1) the relationship between structural change and transformations in patterns of social conflict; (2) the role of cultural representations in social conflict; (3) the process through which values, interests, and ideas get turned into collective action; and (4) how a certain social, political, and/or cultural context affects social movements' chances of success and the forms they take.

Similarly, within the social sciences scholars have developed different approaches to analyzing mass media as a socio-cultural phenomenon. Since we live in a media-saturated society, we might take for granted their impact in our daily lives. As McQuail (2000:4) states, the significance of the media comes from "its near universality of reach, great popularity and public character…and these features have profound consequences for the cultural life and political organization of

contemporary societies," and even more so during a social movement. Therefore, media literacy techniques and methodologies are needed to rationally evaluate the constant bombardment of messages; that is, what is made visible and what gets silenced via ads, news, and propaganda. I entwined approaches to social movement and media analyses in order to provide an outline of my critical ethnography and selected the most appropriate methods to collect information about the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. Keeping in mind that all methods have advantages and disadvantages, a combination of methods is intended to offset the disadvantages of one another (Brewer and Hunter 1989). As such, in order to fully understand the dynamics of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement, I employed a mixed methods approach. My research design was divided into several phases. Each phase of the study utilized an appropriate method and built off the previous one, allowing the flexibility for modifications along the way if necessary. The mixed methods I incorporated in my study allowed for the triangulation of data and a more nuanced understanding of the results (Bernard 2006).

As a critical ethnographer and activist researcher, I was more than just a participant observant during my exploratory phase, since participant observation as a method entails the researcher to observe and participate, to *some* degree, "in the action being studied, as the action is happening. Participant-observers study one or more field sites… [which] may or may not have one geographical location" (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002:120). When analyzing a field site, the participant-observer writes field notes that are his or her primary source of data. Field notes "are detailed accounts of people, places, interactions, and events that the

researcher experiences as participant-observer" (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002:121). According to Lichterman (2002), there are different ways of doing participant observation since this method does not adhere as much as other research methods to standardized concepts, instruments, and measures. An important point while doing participant observation is in "deciding how to conceptualize what one sees and hears in the field, and not simply applying a set of 'nuts and bolts' observation techniques" (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002:119). Lichterman (2002) states that participant observation's strength is that "it opens a window on lived experience, on the meanings embedded in everyday life, on motives and emotions… [that is] it produces the most direct evidence on action as the action unfolds in everyday life" (121). However, when analyzing social movements some limitations of this method are the issue of surveillance where participants might view the researcher as a spy or an infiltrated police officer, and also over-identification of the researcher with the participants because he or she sympathizes with the movement's cause and becomes too involved "in the trenches" (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002). In order to downplay these limitations, I followed Dwight Conquergood's (1982) work on dialogical performance, which is an ethical necessity when conducting a critical ethnography. Conquergood (1982:12-13) states that "the power dynamic of the research situation changes when the ethnographer moves from the gaze to the distance and detached observer to the intimate involvement and engagement of 'coactivity' or co-performer." Thus, an advantage of conducting activist research is that academic works becomes more integrated into our social reality.

Once I was officially immersed in the field, I began conducting archival research of the traditional and alternative media coverage during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. As I developed a chronology of the events that preceded and happened during the strike, I was able to foresee certain challenges I was going to confront while conducting my study. Archival research consists of:

> materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator. (Pearce-Moses 2005: n.p)

In archival research, a researcher "analyzes existing documents, statistical sources and other media…data are not created, though a great deal of detective work may be required to generate the necessary information" (Bryman 2003:156). It is considered a nonreactive method of inquiry since it examines preexisting documents that are held in an institutional archive or in the custody of an individual or group that has kept them. When conducting archival research, a researcher must know and adhere to certain guidelines upon entering and exploring in an archive. Caroline Brettell (1998 cited in Bernard 2013:385) appropriately describes this process as doing "fieldwork in the archives". Archives contain primary and secondary sources, as well as oral and documentary sources that can be either historical or recent documents. Primary sources are "materials that contain firsthand accounts of events and that was created contemporaneous to those events or later recalled by an eyewitness" (Pearce-Moses 2005: n.p). Secondary sources are "works that are not based on direct observation of or evidence directly associated with the subject, but instead relies on sources of information" (Pearce-Moses 2005: n.p). Oral sources are "the memories of people

who lived through a historical moment, as related out loud, usually to an interviewer some time after the event" (Seale 2004:250). Documentary sources are "written sources personal letters, diaries, scrapbooks, memoirs, legislation, newspaper clippings, business accounts, marriage contracts. These might have been produced at the time of the events described, or some time later" (Seale 2004:250). As I was conducting archival research, I analyzed the intertextuality (Atkinson and Coffey 1997:55) or "hidden" connections among the sources to determine their credibility. However, one of the challenges I confronted as a critical ethnographer was to reflect upon the availability and accessibility of the documents found in the archive, since an archive is "intimately connected to forms of power" (Seale 2004). I drew upon David Silverman's (1993:61) work regarding archived documents and in particular official files:

> Like all documents, files are produced in particular circumstances for particular audiences. Files never speak for themselves. The ethnographer seeks to understand both the format of a file (for example, the categories used on blank sheets) and the processes associated with its completion.

The reflection regarding the intertextuality of the sources found during my archival research was intimately tied into why I choose to employ a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of both traditional and alternative media coverage of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. CDA is not only a research method used in the social sciences but also a transdisciplinary field of study. It "sees language as a social practice" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997) and considers the "context of language use to be crucial" (Wodak and Meyer 2010). CDA is used to analyze different communication structures that relate discourse, perception, and society in our

everyday life. It deals with notions of power, hegemony, class, race, gender, reproduction, and resistance among others. Therefore, CDA allows researchers

> to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; [as well as] to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power. (Fairclough 1995:132)

In other words, as Faria (2008:43) states, CDA "connects analysis of discourses, texts, signs and symbols with everyday experiences, social injustices and inequalities, and political and economic materialities." One of the strengths of CDA is that it "investigates critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized… by language use" (Wodak and Meyer 2010), which is very useful in analyzing social movements as situated context. For example, CDA can allow researchers to analyze the language used in media to identify the power relationships between the social movement and the State. Another strength of CDA is that it requires researchers to become aware of their own positionality within their study, given that their discourse is also embedded with social, economic, and political motives (Van Dijk 2003). It "entails careful systematic, self-reflection at every point of [the] research and distance from the data which are being investigated" (Wodak and Meyer 2010). Donna Haraway (1988) has labeled such awareness as "situated knowledge," in which the researcher admits to his/her situated-ness by localizing, historicizing, and pluralizing his/her knowledge claims. A limitation of CDA is that some scholars may consider it too "linguistic" for social movements since it privileges discourses over practices. Yet

the discourse used to frame/counterframe a social movement is crucial when determining how it would resonate with a larger audience.

Concurrently, I drew from Rubin and Rubin's (1995) notion of "conversational partners" when conducting the interviews for my study. As a co-performer, the interview process became more fluid and consisted in generating "active thinking and sympathetic listening" (Soyini 2005:32). I began with open-ended questions in order to see what and how the participants remembered the strike. An interview is defined as a guided conversation with the purpose of eliciting specific kinds of information (Denzin 1989; Lofland and Lofland 1995; Berg 1998; Blee and Taylor 2002). When conducting an interview, both the "interviewer and interviewee are in partnership and dialogue as they construct memory, meaning, and experience together… the interview is a window to individual subjectivity and collective belonging" (Soyini 2005:25-26). As such, it has been one of the basic methods for gathering information in the social sciences (Denzin 2001), as well as "central to social movement research as a means of generating data about the motives of people who participate in protest and the activities of social movement networks and organizations" (Blee and Taylor 2002:92). There are two broad types of interviews: structured or semi-structured. According to Blee and Taylor (2002) a structured interview "uses a pre-established schedule of questions… with a limited set of response categories, and asks each respondent the same set of questions in order to ensure comparability of the data" (92). In contrast, a semi-structured interview "relies on an interview guide that includes a consistent set of questions or topics, but the interviewer is allowed more flexibility to digress and probe during the interview"

(Blee and Taylor 2002:92). Consequently, in social movement analyses, the open-ended guide and the flexibility of semi-structured interviews constitute this method's main strengths. They provide a window into the dynamics of social movements by allowing researchers to scrutinize meaning while making "it possible for respondents to generate, challenge, clarify, elaborate, or recontextualize understandings of [their participation in] social movements" (Blee and Taylor 2002:94). There are four types of semi-structured interviews that are used in social movement analysis: oral history interviewing, life history interviewing, key informant interviewing and focus group interviewing (Blee and Taylor 2002:102). Oral history interviews focus on historical events from the perspective of those who lived them; while life history interviews focus on understanding the activist's experience through a personal narrative (Connell 1995; Rubin and Rubin 1995). In contrast, key informant interviews focus in gaining "access to insider understandings of a social movement" (Lofland and Lofland 1995:61). Similarly, focus group interviews focus on "discussions between a small group of participants guided by a moderator to obtain information about a particular topic" relevant to the social movement (Blee and Taylor 2002:107). Regardless of the selected type of semi-structured interviews, some of the limitations are that they do not allow for the observation of everyday life interactions, "are generally based on a fairly small number of interviews" (Blee and Taylor 2002:110) and the results cannot be generalized unless combined with other methods.

To engage with Kobayashi's (2001:57) work on "committed scholarship" (i.e., going beyond the critical), I ended the interviews with a PowerPoint presentation that contained both photos and videos of the strike as a way of triggering the participants'

memory through both their visual and auditory senses. This technique allowed me to apply audience reception techniques to their answers. Audience reception, also known as audience analysis or reception analysis, is a research method that explores how audiences (or consumers) interpret media. Audience reception analysis is usually done by conducting ethnographic participant observation, interviews, focus group sessions, or surveys and opinion polls (Davis and Michelle 2011). The foundation of this method has been credited to Stuart Hall's (1974) encoding/decoding model of communications. Hall argues "that in the communicative exchange we need to pay attention to the production of media message(s) by media professionals and examine the subsequent readings that audiences place upon such messages" (Devereux 2003:82). Hall's model acknowledges that mass media communications are a structured activity in which a specific code has been incorporated into the message, but yet the message can be decoded in different ways by the audience. His model introduces the notion of an active viewer that engages in and interprets media messages, while considering that the reading will depend on the viewer's social, cultural, economic, and political background. As a result, the encoding/decoding model "outlines four main codes that are utilized in the production of meaning… These are the dominant/hegemonic code, the professional code, the negotiated code, and the oppositional code" (Devereux 2003:83).

Since coordinating some of the interviews was taking longer than expected, I decided to overlap the different methods and begin administering the surveys to UPR students at the Río Piedras campus. Survey research is one of the most common methods used in the social sciences, which involves asking questions to participants

in order to study a social phenomenon (Trochim 2006). According to Klandermans and Smith (2002), survey research is a powerful tool frequently used to analyze social movements for descriptions of participants, potential supporters and opponents. The building blocks of survey research include "designs, sampling techniques, questionnaires, and statistical analyses" (Klandermans and Smith 2002:7). However, before conducting a survey research, the researcher must decide on the unit of analysis for the study depending on his or her research questions. Once that decision has been made, the researcher can then select the appropriate sampling strategy. It is essential for the researcher to select an unbiased and representative sampling frame that takes into consideration the costs, response rates, nonresponse bias, and time frame for a study. For example, if a researcher only samples a social movement's participants during a specific event, his or her data can be biased and unrepresentative since the kind of activity influences who participates (Klandermans and Smith 2002). Focusing on survey questionnaires, the researcher "must pay close attention to whether the questions address controversial issues appropriately, whether they reflect comparable levels of specificity, and whether they are ordered in such a way as to avoid undue influence on a respondent's answers" (Klandermans and Smith 2002:22). Therefore, when survey questionnaires are used for analyzing social movements, they usually:

> encompass a mixture of questions regarding knowledge, opinions, and attitudes about the movement and its goals; reported participation in movement activities in the past and intended participation in the future; perceived costs and benefits of participation; ideology and identity' affective components such as commitment to the movement; and demographic characteristics. (Klandermans and Smith 2002:23)

Some of the strengths of survey questionnaires are that no matter whether they are completed by mail, face-to-face or via the Internet, in comparison to other methods, they can gather significant information in a shorter amount of time. Nevertheless, it is important for the researcher to pretest the questions, guarantee the participants' confidentiality, as well as, make the results available (Klandermans and Smith 2002). Considering these steps, Klandermans and Smith (2002) state that survey questionnaires, when designed and employed carefully, can assist researchers in answering certain questions about social movements but the data provided are "often constrained by the practical limitations to obtaining preferred sampling frames and implementing effective surveys" (26). Some limitations are: 1) the logistics of a questionnaire which is generally more complicated than other methods; 2) questionnaires are less effective in documenting crucial details of social movements; and 3) questionnaires depend on the participants' written responses (Klandermans and Smith 2002; Trochim 2006).

Thus, as my discussion of my methodology has exposed, the merging of approaches to social movement and media analyses throughout my critical ethnography enabled the conceptualization, exploration, and decoding of traditional and alternative media coverage and treatment during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement, as well as the perceived (re)presentations of the students' collective identity(ies). This combination of methods allowed me to address the research questions and state my positionality as an activist researcher who was both an insider being Puerto Rican, as well as an outsider since I had never studied at the University of Puerto Rico. I now present how I applied the discussed methods in the field.

Applied Research Method

The research took place over a period of 16 months of continuous fieldwork, commencing officially in June 2012, when I began archival research to organize a brief chronology of the main events during the strike that had appeared in the media. From August 2012 to October 2013, I conducted 60 semistructured interviews with key participants, rank-and-file participants, opponents of the strike, and members of the university's administration. During this time, I also collaborated with the "smArt Action" exhibition, which displayed some of the student activists' protest art in Puerto Rico and New York City. Lastly, I administered 30 survey questionnaires to a sample of students in the UPRRP campus during spring 2013. These instruments were designed to gather information regarding the participants' personal experience and perspective of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. I now present how I gathered my data through each method in the order that I applied them in the field.

Participant Observation

As explained above, participant observation is used for analyzing live action and although the 2010-2011 UPR student strike had already ended when I conducted my fieldwork per se, the method was still relevant to my study for accessing the field. During my exploratory phase, I was able to be more than a participant observant, I was a co-performer in some of the events and committee meetings throughout the 2010-2011 UPR student strike. Unfortunately, because of certain incidents of *infiltrados* or intruders, I did not risk entering the occupied campus during the first wave but rather participated in other events that were coordinated outside the campus and online. Prior to the second wave, I lobbied politicians with student activists to

prevent the revival of the strike. I even changed my plane ticket so that I could participate in the massive march *Amor por los Globos Rojos* [Love for the Red Balloons] alluding to the 10,000 students that would be "left in the air" because of the 800 dollars tuition fee. Attending the events and meetings was valuable for observing the student activists' construction of spaces of resistance. Learning and participating in their strategies of resistance further sparked my interest in investigating the strike's media coverage and its influence on the development, maintenance, and/or modification of collective identities during the protests. Through my co-performance, I gained the trust and respect of student activists establishing contact networks and possible participants that were vital for later conducting my study. Ultimately, my personal experiences as a co-performer influenced my decision of becoming an activist researcher. As an activist researcher, I was able to obtain "deeper and more thorough empirical knowledge…as well as theoretical understanding that otherwise would be difficult to achieve" (Hale 2001:13).

Archival Research and Critical Discourse Analysis

Although one of the critiques of archival research is that the archives miss or silence much information, this method was still useful for my study when gathering local information about the traditional media coverage of previous UPR student strikes. During my archival research in the *Colección Puertorriqueña* at the *Biblioteca José M. Lázaro,* I was assisted by Marilí Rodríguez García and Miguel Vega. With their help, and following a subject-based research guide completed by librarian María E. Ordóñez, I devoted many long weeks to the systematic examination of secondary sources and any other miscellaneous data related to the 2010-2011 UPR

student strike. In the process, I made many changes to the guide in relations to errors on specific dates and news, which I promised to edit and update for future researchers. I was able to collect secondary written and visual texts of the coverage given to the 2010-2011 UPR student strike by the national newspapers *El Nuevo Día* and *El Vocero.* I was also able to analyze the same newspapers from the 1981 UPR student strike, preserved through *filmina* or microfilm. By using a tablet, I was able to scan the articles into a portable document format (PDF) and take the data home with me. In addition, I explored the video archives found in *Radio Universidad* [Radio University] and thanks to Osvaldo Rivera I was able to analyze the documentary *Prohibido olvidar: Luchas estudiantiles 1948-1992 en la UPR*, which covers the history of UPR student strikes from 1948 to 1992. Subsequently, I collected primary written and visual texts from student activists' alternative media sources such as their online newspaper *Desde Adentro*, their Facebook page *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan* (EUPRI), and their own radio station mainstreamed online *Radio Huelga*. I compared and contrasted all of the data collected by employing critical discourse analysis (CDA) in order to identify the student activists' *framing* and the university's administration[17] *counterframing* of the major events. Critical Discourse Analysis allowed me to examine the discursive productions in both traditional and alternative media coverage of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike. The documents, photos, and videos selected were from the most widely distributed media outlets. Questions related to the discourse production (i.e., who produced the text or image), the

[17] When I mention the university administration, I am referring to members of the Board of Trustee and the President of the UPR.

discourse itself (i.e., through what medium and its corresponding timing), and the audience (i.e., for whom it is intended) were taken into consideration. As such, I document in subsequent chapters how traditional and alternative media (re)presentations of student activism can develop, maintain, adjust, or change students' collective identities. Consequently, it is through historical sources, mainly secondary, found by archival research that I demonstrate in chapter IV that student activism in Puerto Rico is not a new phenomenon.

The Interviews and Audience Reception

For the purpose of my research, I conducted 60 face-to-face, semistructured interviews. These oral history and key informant interviews usually lasted between one to three hours, from August 2012 to October 2013, almost two years after the strike had ended. The interviewees included 48 students (both graduate and undergraduate), two professors, four members of the university's administration (including the President of the UPR), a police officer, a lawyer, a news reporter, and three participants in the 1981 UPR student strike. I utilized both purposive and snowball sampling designs in order to access the "different levels of activism or participation in different factions of a movement, rather than because their experiences are representative of the larger population" (Blee and Taylor 2002:100). In all of the interviews, I used open-ended questions to guide, focus, and probe on the basis of the interactions with the interviewees during the sessions. The questions were structured around four overarching themes: Media/Technologies, Collective Identity/Actions, Emotions, and Student Activism, in particular regarding the history of the UPR student movement. In addition, I combined audience reception techniques

toward the end of the interviews as a way of refreshing each of the interviewees' memory by showing photos and videos of events during the strike organized in a PowerPoint presentation. At the end of the interviews, I thanked the interviewees for their participation and made sure to let them know that as soon as I finished my dissertation, my work would be available to them as a way of ensuring their trust in my accountability. These research techniques and ethics assisted in producing a well-rounded vision of the UPR student movement from four different perspectives: its key participants, its rank-and-file participants, its opponents, and members of the university's administration in order to comprehend the (re)presentations of the movement in the media and how it is currently remembered.

In order to conduct my interviews, I used alternative media to contact possible participants.[18] When the participants agreed to be interviewed, I made sure to send a follow-up message prior to the interview to remind them and confirm the time and place. All of the participants I met during my participant observations, as well as other participants I had met through Facebook while investigating the strike and gathering data, agreed to be interviewed.[19] To those I knew, I informally let them know that I was beginning the interview process and that I would like to interview them, and to the rest of the participants I sent a formal message to introduce myself and the reason I was contacting them. Any communication I initiated with all of the participants was done in Spanish; however, during the interview sessions some of the

[18] The alternative media I used to contact the participants included sending a formal or informal message through Facebook, emails, and/or text messages. (See Appendix B)

[19] Unfortunately, one of the opponents of the strike, after initially agreeing to participate, did not answer my confirmation message or the subsequent follow-up messages to re-schedule the interview.

interviewees occasionally switched between Spanish and English and I followed their lead. As new names of people I had to interview were suggested during the sessions, I repeated the same process to contact them, some of whom refused or simply ignored my message. All of the interviews were conducted in safe and comfortable locations such as inside the campus, nearby coffee shops, or even at the participant's home, depending on each participant's accessibility and preferred place. All of the participants' real names were used to identify them when granted permission.[20] Similarly, all interviews were digitally recorded when granted permission and they were also transcribed, translated from Spanish to English, and coded. Guided by the work of Luis Nieves Falcon et al.[21] on the 1981 UPR student strike and their analysis of traditional newspapers coverage of the events by coding for themes and frequency, I analyzed the current traditional newspapers in a similar manner, which not only helped in organizing the data but also in facilitating the comparison between both UPR student strikes.

Initially, I intended to divide the interview process into two rounds. In the first round, I would interview as many of the key participants of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike. That meant that I would interview the student spokespersons and professors who actively participated and supported the strike. Conducting these interviews first would allow me to gain a deeper understanding of the strike in order

[20] Only one of the participants interviewed requested to use a pseudonym. The participant will be identified as police officer X.

[21] Nieves Falcon, Luis, Ineke Cunningham, Israel Rivera, Francisco Torres and Hiram Amundaray 1982 Huelga y sociedad: Analisis de los Sucesos en la UPR 1981-1982. Rio Piedras, PR: Editoriales Edil, Inc.

to modify or refine my questions before starting the second round of interviews. The second round would have consisted of interviewing students and professors who were either rank-and-file participants or opponents of the strike. In the field, the availability of the participants caused both rounds of interviews to overlap, which led to an interesting array of new probing questions and many enlightening follow-up informal conversations.

Key Participants

Taking into consideration that nonprobability sample designs are appropriate for an in-depth study of few cases (Bernard 2006), I used purposive sampling to initiate the interview sessions with key participants. Interviewees discussed their concept of a strike, what it entailed, and the advantages and/or disadvantages of participating in a strike. They enthusiastically narrated different personal stories that showed what and how they remembered the strike more than a year later. As they answered my questions, they described their media usage during the strike as well as their motivation to actively participate in it. It was particularly interesting to notice the love, respect, and pride the interviewees had for their university through both their verbal and nonverbal communication. As I showed them the PowerPoint presentation, they all admitted to being transported back to the events shown. While viewing the photos and videos, all of the interviewees and I laughed and/or cried as they boldly articulated their personal experiences. All interviewees appeared eager to share any information they felt might be useful for my study. Many even admired my methodology for the study, specifically by providing different perspectives from the people who participated in the strike.

Rank-and-File Participants

The information obtained from the initial interviews with key participants guided the purposive and judgment sampling process with rank-and-file participants as well as opponents of the strike. Utilizing a snowball sample design was appropriate for analyzing the "different levels of activism or participation in different factions of a movement, rather than because their experiences are representative of the larger population" (Blee and Taylor 2002:100). As with key participants, rank-and-file participants discussed their concept of a strike, what it entailed, and the advantages and/or disadvantages of participating in one. Interviewees narrated stories that showed what and how they remembered the strike more than a year later. As they described their media usage during the strike as well as their motivation to participate in it, some expressed that they felt guilty for not being able to participate as much as they would have liked during the first wave of the strike, but that made them become more fully engaged during the second wave. Some, on the other hand, conveyed a sense of frustration because of health issues they could not participate as actively during the second wave of the strike. Nevertheless, all interviewees also showed love, respect, and pride for their university through both their verbal and nonverbal communication. As I showed them the PowerPoint presentation, they all admitted to being transported back to the events shown. Similarly to the interviews with key participants, while viewing the photos and videos, all of the interviewees and I laughed and/or cried as they articulated their personal experiences. All interviewees appeared excited to share any information they felt might be useful for my study.

Many appreciated to be interviewed for my study and that I was providing different perspectives from the people that participated in the strike.

Opponent Participants

All of the interviewees who opposed the strike discussed their concept of a strike, the illegality of holding a student strike, and how that affected their personal goals by prohibiting access to their education. Some of their answers sounded prepared in advanced or even rehearsed from the media attention they had received during the strike. Similarly to key participants as well as rank-and-file participants, opponent participants also demonstrated love, respect, and pride for the university through both their verbal and nonverbal communication. As I showed them the PowerPoint presentation, similar to the other interviewees, they all admitted to being transported back to the events shown. While viewing the photos and videos, all of the interviewees, in contrast to key participants as well as rank-and-file participants, expressed anger and disappointment as they told me their personal experiences. Some interviewees were very adamant in narrating their experience of harassment for being against the strike. After the interviews, I made sure to let them know my positionality as an ally of the student movement, which would influence writing about my research. Most interviewees appeared willing to share any information they felt might be useful and did not affect their current position. Many of them even thanked me for having selected this topic and the approaches I was following to complete it.

University Administration Participants

I admit that being able to conduct interviews with members of the university's administration (i.e., members of the Board of Trustees and the President of the UPR),

was an ordeal because of their lack of accessibility and availability. Through my investigation of the strike and interviews with key participants, I was able to obtain many of the administration members' contact information. I sent each a formal email or left a voice message to introduce myself and let them know the reason I was contacting them. I made sure that my messages highlighted my role as a doctoral candidate in sociocultural anthropology and my outsider position for never studying at the UPR. Only four members of the administration agreed to be interviewed. As I conducted these interviews, I realized that being a young woman made them feel more at ease and amicable when sharing their personal experiences. This became evident when I met one of my interviewees and he mentioned he had already heard about *la joven encantadora que está investigando sobre la huelga estudiantil 2010-2011* [the enchanting young woman who is researching the 2010-2011 student strike]. Only one of the interviewees requested not to be recorded as we held the interview breakfast at Denny's restaurant in San Patricio. Similarly to the opponent participants, most of the interviewees discussed their concept of a strike and the illegality of holding a student strike. Their answers were very concise and often echoed the traditional media coverage of the strike. Most interviewees also demonstrated a similar love, respect, and pride for the university through both their verbal and nonverbal communication. As I showed them the PowerPoint presentation, similar to the other interviewees, they all admitted to being transported back to the events shown. However, I noticed that I felt nervous when I was interviewing the President of the Board of Trustees, Ygrí Rivera, and the time came to show her the PowerPoint presentation since there was an image of her depicted sarcastically by the students.

Luckily, she laughed about it and we continued with the rest of the slide show. As with the opponent participants, after the interviews, I made sure to let them know my position as an ally of the student movement. Most interviewees appeared willing to share any information they felt might be useful and did not affect their current position. Many even applauded me for having selected this topic and the approaches I was following to complete it.

Other Participants

In addition, I was able to conduct interviews with other participants in the strike, as well as have many *tertulias* or informal conversations. The three extra interviews included participants who, because of their professions, were involved in the strike. The interviewees were a police officer, one of the lawyers who defended the students when they were arrested, and a news reporter from *Radio Isla* [Radio Island]. As the interviewees narrated their personal experiences, they provided valuable information regarding how people outside the university community perceived the strike. Similarly, through the informal conversations over *un café o una copa* [coffee or a drink], not only was I able to obtain more information necessary to better understand the dynamics of the student strike but, more importantly, I was able to develop good friendships with some of the participants.

The Surveys

The use of survey questionnaires for analyzing traditional and alternative news media coverage during the 2010-2011 UPR student strike allowed me to complement the rich details acquired from the semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with data obtained from a more representative sample in a shorter amount

of time. The interview findings informed the survey (See Appendix C), as well as the pilot study with two UPR students. In piloting the survey, I asked the students if they had trouble answering any of the questions and they said no. However, they both mentioned that the survey was too long. Taking the feedback into consideration, I edited and reduced the number of questions. In the end, the structure of the survey was organized into four sections as a way to measure other students' perceptions of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. The first section included the demographics and media exposure. The second section consisted of a table for the participants to mark the media outlets through which they heard about specific events during the strike. The third section incorporated the most important open-ended questions from the interviews for the participants to write their answers. The last section included the same photos of the strike I used during the interviews. Although this format might not be typical when administering surveys to a convenience sample, I wanted to provide my participants an instrument in which they could freely express themselves although they weren't being interviewed. As such, the answers provided by the 30 selected participants did in fact complement the in-depth information gathered through the interviews.

Administering the Surveys

During the spring 2013 semester, I went on five non-consecutive days to the UPR Río Piedras campus to administer the questionnaires. As I was walking through the campus looking for students, I made sure to walk by each building of the different colleges in order to obtain a representative sample. When I approached students, I asked them if they would like to form part of my research study of the 2010-2011

UPR student strike by completing a survey. When they said yes, I handed them a questionnaire and offered them a pen. I also made sure to stay nearby should they have a question, but also far enough to give them the necessary space to comfortably answer the questions. If they said no, I thanked them for listening and continued walking.

Reflecting About My Fieldwork

Critical ethnographers, feminist theorists, participatory action researchers, grounded theory researchers, and activist researchers have all argued for reflexivity as a more responsible reporting of fieldwork and post-fieldwork activities (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Maxey 1999; Hyndman 2001; Kemmis and McTaggart 2005; Soyini 2005; Charmaz 2006). Thus, acknowledging my positionalities within the field enriched my critical ethnography by requiring me to accept my own power, privileges, and biases when writing up the results from the study and denouncing the existing power structures that were present (Soyini 2005). During the fieldwork I made sure to make transparent my role as an ally and agent of social change by stating "a clear position in intervening on hegemonic practices and serving as an advocate in exposing the material effects of marginalized locations while offering alternatives" (Soyini 2005:6). By engaging in activist research, I made sure to create an atmosphere of collaboration and reciprocity, where I shared common goals with the student activists and also used my skills as a scholar to further the cause of an accessible public higher education of excellence. An important advantage of being an activist researcher is the access to events, meetings, materials, and information from the student activists themselves. For example, after my interview with Waldemiro

Vélez Soto, a member of both the National Negotiating Committee (CNN) and the Student Representational Committee (CRE), he provided me with documents, photos, and videos he had compiled during the process. Some of the disadvantages of being an activist researcher are the *carpeteo* or political profiling, as well as the physical harm from police brutality that one is exposed to for being a co-performer. However, the most profound disadvantage is the emotional rollercoaster I experienced during the strike, during the fieldwork, and even now as I am writing the dissertation.

As with any investigation, I faced several limitations and frustrations in the field. For example, some participants would arrive late from work to the appointment. Although I did not mind since I had anticipated the generalized timeliness of my culture and traffic congestions, this sometimes limited my time to conducting only one interview per day. Similarly, I found it frustrating when some participants would simply deny participating in an interview because the 2010-2011 UPR student strike was *una cosa del pasado* [a thing of the past].

In Praxis

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the methodology, the research methods employed in my study, and brief reflections on my fieldwork. As shown, throughout my critical ethnography, I merged approaches to social movements and media analyses. The merging of theories allowed me to assess traditional and alternative media as spaces of resistance and contention in constructing and presenting the main actors in the student movement and the ways in which the university community currently perceives them. Conducting a critical ethnography permitted me to delve into the strike as an activist researcher aware of my

positionality as both an insider and outsider. By acknowledging my multiple positionalities, I recognized that my study grants a partial view into the dynamic processes of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike. It is only one story, my own story, derived from my personal experiences and research analysis of the strike. Nevertheless, by elaborating the concept of *resistance performance* in subsequent chapters, I incorporate different voices and perspectives making public an invisible side of student activism. Publishing the results of this study will not only provide readers with a better grasp of the student movement in order to mediate this type of conflict in the future efficiently, but also serve as an advocate for an educational reform, as (re)developed by the university community itself.

In the following chapter, I draw upon the history of the UPR student movement to expose the student activists' construction of spaces of resistance during their protests, as well as to indicate the key role of the media in covering the events. It was important for me to have an overall view of the background in which the 2010-2011 UPR student movement emerged and its student activists, because, as stated previously, "the place and the subjectivities, identities, and passion that it generates with locals make a difference to the ways in which a movement organizes and articulates itself" (Oslender 2004:958).

¿QUÉ SIGNIFICA LA UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO PARA TI?

[WHAT DOES THE UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO MEAN TO YOU?]

"…pues…la Universidad de Puerto Rico ha formado una parte fundamental, o ha sido una parte fundamental de mi vida… La Universidad significa… la UPR significa vida, y esto suena bien trillado, pero, significa vida…ahí fue donde me expuse a un montón de experiencias que quizás no las hubiese hecho sino hubiese estado relacionado a la Universidad".

["…well…the University of Puerto Rico has formed a fundamental part, or better yet it has been a fundamental part of my life… The University means… the University of Puerto Rico means life, and I know that sounds cliché, but it means life…it was there where I was exposed to many experiences that maybe wouldn't have happened if I wasn't related to the University…"]

Iván Chaar-López

"…para mí, ahora mismo, la Universidad de Puerto Rico lo es todo… Quizás suene como muy idealizada, pero yo le tengo un gran respeto…y es algo que me apena mucho ver lo que está pasando con la educación en el país…cómo se trata más como un mercado… No me puedo imaginar este país sin la Universidad de Puerto Rico…y es una pena que aquí no la valoren…".

["…for me, at this moment, the University of Puerto Rico is everything… Maybe it sounds too idealized, but I have profound respect for it…and it saddens me to see what is happening with the education in our country…treating it like a market… I cannot imagine this country without the University of Puerto Rico…and it is a pity that people here do not value it…"]

Verónica Muñiz Soto

"…mira… La educación es el camino para resolver absolutamente todos los problemas que tenemos… La Universidad tiene un rol social…la Universidad del estado tiene un rol con la sociedad…de ella se forma el país…".

["…well… Education is the path to solve absolutely all the problems that we have… The University has a social role…the State university has a role with society…it's the one that advances the country…"]

Omar Ramírez

"…mi alma mater…donde estoy formándome como profesional…donde espero que mi hermanito estudie, mis hij@s estudien…".

[“…my alma mater…where I’m developing as a professional…where I hope my younger brother studies, where my kids study…”]

Alexandra Olalla

“…a nivel personal: historia de vida…acceso a conocimiento… Básicamente, mi formación en muchas áreas de bien…que pueden ir desde lo intelectual, académico y profesional…”.

[“…on a personal level: history of life…access to knowledge… Basically, my formation in many areas of good…areas that range from the intellectual, academic and professional…”]

Luis Javier del Valle

---

*“…para mí,…caos, si lo fuese a describir con una palabra… Caos no necesariamente es malo…*it’s a little bit of everything: love, hate, agony, happiness…mixed feelings, *pero a la misma vez es la IUPI…mi alma mater…”.*

[“…for me,…chaos, if I was to describe it with one word… Chaos is not necessarily a bad thing…it’s a little bit of everything: love, hate, agony, happiness…mixed feelings, but at the same time it is la IUPI…my alma mater…”]

Emily Irrizary

“…mira… La Universidad de Puerto Rico es lo mejor del país, es lo que tenemos, es lo que posiblemente nos saque de cualquier crisis que tengamos porque nosotros no tenemos petróleo, no tenemos diamantes, no tenemos oro…tenemos recursos humanos, tenemos gente, tenemos pensamientos y conocimientos…”.

[“…well… The University of Puerto Rico is the best of the country, it’s what we have, it’s what possibly gets us out of any future crisis because we do not have petroleum, we do not have diamonds, we do not have gold…we have human resources, we have people, we have thoughts and knowledge…”]

Jorge Farinacci

“…mi casa, es mi casa,…o sea, por eso a mí me frustra cuando [la administración] toma estas medidas… Y, no es solo mi casa…es que la Universidad enamora…y es la gente, y son los libros, y las discusiones…”.

[“…my home, it’s my home…and that is why it frustrates me when [the administration] decides on such measures… And, it’s not just my home…it’s the fact that the University makes you fall in love with her…it’s the people, it’s the books, it’s the discussions…”]

María Soledad Dávila

"…la Universidad de Puerto Rico ha sido, es, y seguirá siendo, a mi juicio, el mayor proyecto que tiene este país… Es un proyecto de equilibrio social, económico…es el proyecto del progreso del país, de creación del capital humano… Ha servido de intercambio cultural, diplomático…de una agenda internacional en un estatus colonial como el nuestro… La Universidad de Puerto Rico nos ha permitido estar en un estado de prominencia…ha dado la cara por el intelectualismo puertorriqueño, por la puertorriqueñidad…ha adelantado el país…"

["…the University of Puerto Rico has been, is, and will continue to be, to my judgment, the greatest project that this country has… It's a project of social and economic equilibrium…it's a project of progress for this country, of creating human capital… It has served as a cultural and diplomatic exchange…it has been part of an international agenda within the colonial status that we are under… The University of Puerto Rico has allowed us to be in a prominent status…it has stood for Puerto Rico's intellectualism, for what it means to be Puerto Rican…it has advanced the country…"]

Carlos A. Pagán

CHAPTER IV

A BRIEF HISTORY OF UPR STUDENT MOVEMENT

In this chapter, I provide a brief history of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) student movement in order to stimulate discussions about student activism in Puerto Rico, considering that "critical works about the UPR student movement are lacking in the English language" (Chaar-López n.d.:3). Through the use of archival research of mainly secondary sources, I demonstrate that student activism in Puerto Rico is not a new phenomenon as a consequence of the traditional collusion of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) with the United States military and threats to the privatization of higher education. Ever since it was founded, the UPR has been "a key battleground in producing as well as contesting knowledges about the state of the nation" (Chatterjee and Maira 2014:7). Thus, a chronological review serves to illustrate how UPR student activism has and continues to serve as a catalyst for social, cultural, economic, and political change on the island. Up until the seventies, the UPR student strike movement was greatly influenced by the political left in the island protesting issues such as right to teach classes in Spanish, against the Vietnam War, removal of the Reserve Officer's Training Corps (R.O.T.C.) from campus, and repudiation of our colonial status in relations to the United States. From the eighties onward, although there were some political inclinations among protesters, the issues evolved around academic concerns such as hike in tuition fees, cancellations of classes, police brutality, lack of transparency of university funds, and modification of tuition waivers among others.

Throughout the chronology, I underscore the student activists' construction of spaces of resistance during their protests and strikes as a way to emphasize the movement's continuation to the present. Although for analytical purposes, I have divided the (re)presentation of the main events of UPR and its student movement by decades, "the continuity of time and the flow of events and their effects do not occur in tight periods of ten years each one" (my translation of Arbona 2005:255), but rather the transitions overlap across decades.

Nunca Olvidar, Queda Prohibido Olvidar

> *¿Necesita Puerto Rico una Universidad del estado? ¿No es acaso una institución peligrosa, donde se insinúan ideas subversivas, las imaginaciones crepitan, la duda religiosa se cultiva, el estudiante se politiza, y se pone en riesgo la salud moral del país? Alguno pudiera argüir que la Universidad ha sido necesaria porque es peligrosa, y ha sido peligrosa porque es necesaria.* (Picó 2005:2)
>
> [Does Puerto Rico need a State University? Is it not a dangerous institution where subversive ideas are insinuated, imaginations crackle, religious doubts are cultivated, and the student becomes politicized jeopardizing the moral health of the country? Some might argue that the University has been necessary because it is dangerous, and it has been dangerous because it is necessary.]

In Puerto Rico, student activism is not a new phenomenon; in fact, there has been a long and constant tradition of student strikes (Medina 2013). The student movement on the island can be traced back to the early 1900s, during the initial stages of the university. As such, UPR student movement has always been implicated in the broader United States and Puerto Rico power relations in which the institution has been, and still is, embedded in. Founded in 1903 as part of the campaign to "Americanize" Puerto Ricans, UPR initially served as an ideological state apparatus

(Althusser 1970) to transmit and reproduce the dominant values and traditions of the United States. According to Louis Althusser, there are eight different "Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISAs). One of them is the educational ISA, which allows the ruling class to exercise its hegemony over the rest of the population by reproducing its dominant ideology via the school system. At the same time, hegemony always reproduces resistance. Thus since its beginnings, UPR quickly became an important arena for analyzing, resisting, and challenging the issues of the country, as the historian Fernando Picó states above: "the University has been necessary because it is dangerous, and it has been dangerous because it is necessary." However, the university has also been, and continues to be, a victim of national partisan politics, lacking autonomy from political parties and internal participative democracy. It is where "debates about national identity and national culture shape the battles over academic freedom and the role of the university in defining the racial boundaries of the nation and its 'proper' subjects and 'proper' politics" (Chatterjee and Maira 2014:7). If we consider that one of the missions of UPR is to form the future leaders of the island, I deemed it of utmost importance to narrate the history of its student movement and its implications as a way to better understand the recent student strike studied in my dissertation.

Therefore, this section serves to depict the trajectory of student activism in Puerto Rico by locating it within UPR's institutional development. I weave together parts of the history of UPR in order to provide context for my discussion of student activism at this institution, while highlighting the student activists' construction of spaces of resistance. It is organized as a chronological account of the most important

events related to the history of the UPR student movement. I have (re)presented the incidents according to the texts and timelines that were purposefully chosen as a way for us to *nunca olvidar* [never forget].

The 1900s-1920s: From "*Escuela Normal Insular*" to UPR

> *No hay historia universitaria sin los estudiantes. Desde su fundación en 1903, éstos han desempeñado un papel destacado en la UPR. No ha habido reforma universitaria alguna en la que los estudiantes no hayan tenido una participación decisiva*. (Navarro 2000:14)
>
> [There can be no university history without students. From its foundation in 1903, the students have played an essential part in UPR. There hasn't been a single university reform that the students haven't had a decisive participation.]

In 1900, two years after the Spanish-American War in which Puerto Rico became a colony of the United States, the Federal government passed the Foraker Act. The law deemed it necessary to establish a centralized public education system in Puerto Rico. Under this law the *Escuela Normal Insular* [Normal School] was established to train local teachers for the public school system on the island and to develop agricultural experimental stations.[22] Its first instructors were military men, who were later substituted by female teachers from the United States (Enciclopedia n.d.). The *Escuela Normal* was originally founded in Fajardo following the provisions of a land-grant college, but because of its distant location it was moved in 1901 to Río Piedras, which was closer and more accessible to the capital city. Once it was established in *La Finca Convalescencia* and the *Escuela Modelo* [Model School] was inaugurated, the new Commissioner of Public Instruction, Samuel McCune Lindsay,

[22] In the early 1900s, private companies in the United States began assembling agricultural experimental stations as a way to foster modern agricultural practices (Gil 2005:24).

presented the law project[23] to set up the *Escuela Normal* as an institution of higher education (Gil 2005). In 1903, the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) was founded under the organic law that was in effect until 1917 (Navarro 2000). The law spelled out the mission and composition of the government of the institution, subject to the United States Congress. Thus, the UPR's governance resided in the Board of Trustees, which included the Governor, the Commissioner of Public Instruction, the Attorney General, the Secretary and Treasurer of Puerto Rico, the speaker of the House of Representatives, and five other members nominated by the Governor. The law specified that the Board had the power to "dictate ordinances, statutes, and rules for the governance of the university. Such authority also included the appointment of professors as well as the terms and conditions of their contract" (my translation Navarro 2000:20). It also centralized the power of approving all lectures, lessons, budgets, and materials before being imparted to the Commissioner, who functioned as both the president of the Board and Chancellor of the University.[24] Therefore, United States colonial officials largely defined and controlled the institution as an ideological state apparatus and envisioned it originally as a "Pan-American University." According to Lindsay, the University "would contribute largely to making the Island better known, not only in the United States, but in Latin America and Europe" (Gil 2005:37). In August 1903, the University began with 173 students enrolled.

Around 1910, the first amendments to the University Law emerged to alter the composition of the Board of Trustees by eliminating the Governor and the Attorney

[23] The law project was titled: "A Bill to Establish the University of Porto Rico".

[24] The Commissioner of Public Instruction was designated by the President of the United States and as such responded directly to him and not the Governor of Puerto Rico.

General from its members (Abayarde 2011a). Throughout the following decade, UPR ceased operating as a school geared solely for training local teachers, and became an institution of higher education with a broader curriculum (García 2005). In accordance with this new undertaking, in 1911, the College of Agriculture was established in Mayagüez as *Colegio de Agricultura y Artes Mecánicas* (CAAM), while a Department of Military Services was established in Río Piedras. By 1913, UPR had commissioned its own neo-classic seal and went on to create the Department of Pharmacy and Law School (accredited in 1916 by New York's Department of Education). During 1917 and 1918, with the passing of the Jones Act and the granting of United States citizenship to Puerto Ricans, came obligatory military service, and the instituting of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program in both the Río Piedras and Mayagüez campuses. That same year, the University High School (UHS) was created next to the Río Piedras campus as a way to offer supervised practice to students training to become teachers. With military service having been made mandatory for the men[25] and with the prohibition of displaying the Puerto Rican flag on University ground, various student protests favored freedom of expression and were against the United States intervention in Puerto Rico. The students' defiant act of hoisting the Puerto Rican flag inside the campus not only denoted their national pride but also served to scorn the United States. During this time, some students were suspended and even expelled for critiquing in the newspapers the United States military presence on the island as well

[25] The emphasis of the military training at the time consisted of both obedience and discipline "necessary in school and so helpful in after life…" (Garcia 2005:61).

as Governor E. Montgomery Reilly. Since Puerto Ricans were now United States citizens, the Federal government did not readily like that Puerto Rican students were getting involved in politics, in particular with the independence movement, and began surveilling them.[26] The United States' surveillance gave way for the local government to implement its own "*carpeteo*" or political file system for keeping tabs of student activists and anybody believed to favor independence.

By 1923, UPR had 1,500 enrolled students and 250 classes were being taught daily. With this growth, another amendment to the University Law modified its governance structure and funding. Law Number 67 seperated UPR from the Department of Education, established the Board of Trustees as the governing board, and created the Chancellor's position. Hence, the new Board would be composed by the Commissioner of Public Instruction, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and six members nominated by the Governor with the approval of the Senate (Navarro 2000). The new Board created a committee to search for the new Chancellor. In 1924, a group of students refused to attend classes in protest of what they deemed as offensive and imperialistic demeanor by Dean Charles W. St. John (Navarro 2000). The symbolic action of skipping classes was not to be tolerated and St. John reacted by expelling a student and suspending another 200. The same year Thomas E. Benner was chosen as Chancellor, the Legislature assigned $100,000 dollars toward developing the institution's infrastructure, and the Tropical Institute of Medicine was also inaugurated (Aponte 2005).

[26] The Commissioner of Public Instruction, Paul Miller, demanded that Dean Charles St. John give him a list of the students who were involved with the independence movement.

In 1925, the Legislature passed Law 50, known as *Reorganización de la Universidad* [University Reorganization], which intended to grant the university's autonomy by establishing a formula to finance the institution. According to Antonio R. Barceló,

> *Mediante la Ley Universitaria de 1925 se creó una contribución especial sobre bienes raíces y personales para sostener el proyecto de una universidad que…"debe ser…ha de ser, ante ambas Américas y ante el mundo, el mejor y más brillante alegato de la capacidad puertorriqueña."* (Aponte 2005:86-87)
>
> [By means of the 1925 University Law, a special contribution was created on real estate to support the university as a project that "should be...must be, before both Americas and the rest of the world, the best and most brilliant allegation of the Puerto Rican capacity."]

Although this law was supposed to reduce, if not eliminate, the government's interference with UPR, it actually increased it through its control of the Board of Trustees. During the following years, the School of Business Administration, the Hispanic Studies Department, and the Division of Continuing Education were established, as well as the first female dormitory on Río Piedras campus, called *Carlota Matienzo*. In 1928, hurricane San Felipe struck the island and seriously damaged the Río Piedras campus. It caused the university community to band together for the first time in the cleaning and reconstruction of their campus following the disaster.

Despite all the advancements UPR had made, at this point in time, its curriculum was still taught in English and it did not include a single class about Puerto Rico or Puerto Rican issues. In the 1930s, these realities did not resonate well with its students and professors who expected and demanded that the university

function as “a space [were one is] able to study, differ, and engage in the debates of Puerto Rican society” (my translation of García 2005:63).

The 1930s: The Development of UPR as an Academic Icon

> *La productividad intelectual, sin embargo, siempre se ha visto retada por las exigencias del ambiente político. Es en los 30s, que la cultura universitaria empieza a verse como problemática… el sentido de misión de la universidad se fragmenta.* (Picó 2005:7)
>
> [The intellectual productivity, however, has always been defied by the demands of the political environment. It is in the 30s that the university’s culture begins to be seen as problematic… its sense of mission starts to fragment.]

By 1929, Benner was no longer the UPR Chancellor and its students voted in an assembly that the next designated Chancellor should be Puerto Rican. A year later, the old University Law was amended to reorganize the institution’s administration and grant it more fiscal autonomy. In 1931, the Board selected Carlos Chardón, a Puerto Rican, as the new Chancellor. The students used traditional media, such as the newspapers *La Democracia* and *El Mundo*, to critique the university administration’s decision of firing employees for political reasons. The newly elected Chancellor quickly suspended 138 students he deemed responsible for the critical publications. These suspensions initiated a student strike and Professor José M. Lázaro resigned in protest. The following year, student activists created the *Federación Nacional de Estudiantes* (FNE), which included both university and high school students. With the tensions rising, students continued their acts of resistance to protest the colonial situation of the island, demanding autonomy and more participation of students and professors in the governing of the university. Students in Mayagüez confronted the police (Abayarde 2011a).

In 1935, a year after hurricane San Ciprián and after 10 years of having the Plan Parsons designed for the University's infrastructure, President Franklin D. Roosevelt assigned $1.4 million dollars for the construction of the buildings. President Roosevelt also established the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Agency (PRRA) program as Executive Order 7057 and named Chardón as the director. This became know on the island as *Plan Chardón* or Chardon's Plan (Arrigoitia 2008:292). The plan led Nationalist Party leader Pedro Albizu Campos to denounce Chardón, the UPR's deans, and the Liberal Party, as traitors or agents of the United States in a political meeting broadcasted over the radio (Arrigoitia 2008:305-306). As a result of the accusation, a group of students who supported Chardón held a student assembly outside and declared Albizu Campos as *persona non grata* or "Student Enemy Number One." Acknowledging the presence of pro-Nationalist Party students, the Chancellor requested the protection of armed police officers in order to prevent the situation from turning violent. Notwithstanding, during the assembly, the police managed to kill four pro-Nationalist Party students in what became known as the Río Piedras massacre. Using the legal structures established within the university, pro-Nationalist students held an assembly in which the *Juventud Liberal* asked for the elimination of the ROTC and its military practices. By 1936, the increase in repression led students and professors to demand that President Roosevelt guarantee their civil rights.

From 1937 to 1939, the buildings that form the historic plaza in the Río Piedras campus were built according to a decidedly Pan-American ideology or the notion of being the bridge between both of the "Americas" and Europe. These

buildings include the tower and the theater of the university. In 1938, Augusto Rodríguez and Franco Arriví composed UPR's anthem. Many waves of student protests responded to the university administration's authoritarianism and emphasis in transforming UPR into a Pan-American University. In Mayagüez, the campus administration ordered the police to repress the student strike protesting its authoritarian decisions. The students intensified their use of UPR campuses as spaces of resistance to conduct their protests. While in 1939 the historic plaza in the Río Piedras campus had not yet been built, its main façade was completed with the installation of a chiming clock in the Tower, a Theater, and the majestic gate that made it look like a brand new University, inviting all to come hither (Vivoni 2005). The construction helps to explain why in that year enrollment at the Río Piedras campus peaked to 5,000 students.

Although the 1930s were characterized by many student protests and strikes, their main demands were not new and these continued throughout the 1940s, with some prolonging themselves in recent strikes. The demands were to have university autonomy, active participation of students and professors in the university governance, the use of Spanish as the official language of instruction, cultural exchange programs with Spanish-American countries, an improvement in the quality of the professors, and financial assistance to students lacking economic resources. Nonetheless, these protests did not prevent students from enrolling at UPR since the Río Piedras campus represented a way to "graduate from misery through education and knowledge" (my translation of Vivoni 2005:130).

The 1940s: Reforming UPR as *La Casa de Estudios*

> *Va a ser "Junto a la Torre" donde el joven rector de los 1940, Jaime Benítez, intentará dictar la re-significación de la universidad-vitrina, donde el estudio y la investigación progresan a pesar de las presiones externas*. (Picó 2005:7)
>
> [It's going to be "Next to the Tower" where the young chancellor of the 1940, Jaime Benítez, tries to dictate the re-signification of the university-as-a-showcase where study and research progress despite external pressures.]

The 1940s were marked by World War II, with Nationalist leader Albizu Campos still in prison, the *Colección Puertorriqueña* [Puerto Rican Collection] finally organized as the principal archive of documents related to Puerto Rico (Ordoñez n.d.), an election for the Legislative Assembly in which the new *Partido Popular Democrático* (PPD), under Luis Muñoz Marín, had just won a majority, and the implications these events had in the island and the University. According to Rodríguez (2005:135),

> *Ningún otro periodo, anterior o posterior, registrará con igual intensidad la energía de sus acuerdos y desacuerdos, de voluntad de cambio y de intervención social, de sentido de proyecto, como estos años. Ningún otro apostó, probablemente, con igual riesgo, a imaginar y hacer una Universidad diferente*.
>
> [No other period, before or after, will register with such intense energy its agreements and disagreements, of change in will and social intervention, of sense of project, like these years. None other gambled, probably, with such risk, to imagine and construct a different University.]

From 1941 to 1945, the ROTC was suspended because of the World War II in order to establish military training programs. It was finally in 1941 that the first General Student Council (CGE) was formed. The CGE allowed students legal representations to voice their opinions and concerns to the UPR administration. Its President was Yamil Galib, Vice-President Marcos Ramírez, and among its appointed

members was Ricardo Alegría. In 1941, while students, professors, and prominent political leaders such as Vicente Géigel Polanco affirmed that UPR had to be redefined as a Puerto Rican university, Rexford G. Tugwell was named as the Chancellor. The appointment of Tugwell led students and professors to condemn his election and protest inside the campuses, while Senate President Luis Muñoz Marín supported him. Forty-nine days later, Tugwell had to resign since he was appointed Governor of Puerto Rico. The incident became known as *la crisis de la Cancillería* [the Chancellery crisis]. The following year, in 1942, professors Margot Arce and Antonia Sáez asserted once more that the university had to be first of Puerto Rico and so must its Chancellor. Thus, under the "University Reform Bill" Jaime Benítez was named Chancellor. University Law Number 35 amended the previous act by changing the mission of the institution, as well as the name and composition of the Board of Trustees to the *Consejo Superior de Enseñanza* (CSE). The new mission of the UPR was to "study the fundamental problems of Puerto Rico, extend the benefits of culture to the people of Puerto Rico, and prepare the future public officials of Puerto Rico" (Rodríguez 2005:149). Its council would now be composed of the Commissioner of Public Instruction, two prominent educators, and four resident citizens of Puerto Rico. Both the educators and resident citizens were to be nominated by the Governor and approved by the Senate. Although the purpose of the reform law was to "unbind" the university from local politics and allow it to have its own bureaucracy, "the only change in personnel was the elimination of representation of the Puerto Rican Legislature in the governing body of the University, and minor changes in stipulations for selecting other members" (Reynolds 1989:3). Additionally, the law

established the University's Retirement System and ratified one of the students' demands of implementing Spanish as the preferred language of instruction, considering that by this time, the majority of the professors and teachers were Puerto Rican. It also created the position of the Vice-Chancellor to be chosen from one of the Deans of the Mayagüez campus. Benítez named Professor Joseph H. Axtmayer as the new Dean of Science in Mayagüez and then made him the Vice-Chancellor. The students reacted by striking inside the campus for six months to protest his appointment since Axtmayer was a professor from the Río Piedras campus and was simply transferred to Mayagüez to be the Vice-Chancellor. In reaction to the student strike, Chancellor Benítez threatened to inform the Military Services that student activists were not exempt from the obligatory military service, which was then enforced because of the World War II.

In 1943, Chancellor Benítez announced the creation of the General Studies Program and the division of the College of Arts and Science into separate colleges of Humanities, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences. The following year, Cuban university leaders Aracelio Azcuy and José Luis Massó were invited by the CGE "to give a series of lectures on how Cuba had achieved her independence" (Reynolds 1989), but were deported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States, which declared that they had entered the island illegally. Though in the end the students were able to hear them speak in an impromptu meeting organized by the Student Council,[27] the university administration's action of informing the Immigration

[27] The Student Council decided to hold the assembly the same day that Azcuy and Massó were being deported at 8:00am at the UPR Theater. In order to ensure the participation of the majority of the

and Naturalization Service of the United States did not sit well with the students. By 1945, UPR had 7,300 enrolled students. The following year, 1946, President Harry S. Truman vetoed the Puerto Rican Senate project that established Spanish as the official language of the public education system. UPR students and professors reacted by protesting the decision and held a student assembly in which they voted for a 48 hours *paro* or stoppage of academic activities. Chancellor Benítez had to declare that UPR was not an agitation center but rather *La Casa de Estudios* [the House of Studies]. The commander of the American Legion in Puerto Rico, Oscar L. Bunker, advised Benítez to surveil the "communists" in the University. According to Bunker, "It is about time that the competent authorities initiate a detailed investigation of the work that the enemies of democracy have been developing within our first educational center" (Picó 2005:3). Regardless of the protests, that year UPR was finally accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools.

By 1947, the students developed their own alternative media such as student newspapers: *Patria*, *El Universitario*, and La *Vanguardia*, organized by Juan Mari Brás; Noel Colón Martínez and Efrén Bernier; and José Gil de Lamadrid, respectively. Concurrently, the University Press was founded. It was during that year that students Juan Mari Brás, Jorge Luis Landing, and José Gil de Lamadrid were expelled for hoisting the Puerto Rican flag at the University Tower. During that same year, the government of Puerto Rico had implemented *Operación Manos a la Obra* [Operation Bootstrap], an economic development program, as well as the Center for

---

students, the Student Council "visited every classroom, announcing the meeting being held… and inviting the students to attend it" (Reynolds 1989:14).

Social Research (CIS) at UPR, which was incorporated into the College of Social Sciences.

In 1948, the United States allowed Puerto Ricans the right to democratically vote for their own governor and Luis Muñoz Marín was elected. In addition, the Nationalist leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, was finally released from prison in the United States and returned to the island. As a way to welcome him back, president of the CGE, Juan Noriega Maldonado, arranged for Albizu Campos to address the university community. Given the escalating friction that had existed between the students and the university administration, the students were denied permission to carry out the event. This caused the students to go on strike and protest the university administration's refusal to allow Albizu Campos to lecture in the theater (Navarro 2000). It was particularly startling to the students to have Chancellor Benítez forbid the use of the theater for Albizu's speech infringing on the institution's mission. As the strike unfolded, violent confrontations with the police ensued and the Chancellor decided to close UPR. Consequently, the students decided to explore other public spaces to stage their resistance and initiated a University Crusade across the island by driving caravans of cars with loudspeakers. This strategy "met with splendid success in bringing the entire island a better understanding of the student's problems and positions" (Reynolds 1989). In the 45 years of the university's existence, this was reported as the most severe strike with more than 60 students suspended, 400 students expelled, four

Figure 4.1 Don Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of the Nationalist Party.

student leaders arrested, and many professors fired. It also led the Chancellor to discontinue students' newspapers and ban political activities inside the Río Piedras campus. Students responded by requesting the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to visit Puerto Rico and investigate the possible violation of civil rights at the university. Chancellor Benítez used his connections in the government to avoid the ACLU from coming and he succeeded (Navarro 2000). In addition, the Legislature of Puerto Rico passed Law Number 53, known as *Ley de la Mordaza* [Gag Law], which limited the civil and political rights on the island. It allowed the university administration to amend the University Law of 1942, augmenting the powers of the Chancellor and eradicating all student participation and representation in the institution's governance, such as the elimination of the CGE. The law delegated in the UPR and in the CSE the authority to accredit other institutions of higher education in Puerto Rico. In 1949, the School of Medicine was inaugurated and began its classes the following year.

As a result of the Gag Law, the following decade became known as the "era of silence" and UPR students as *la generación estudiantil silente de los años 50* [the silent student generation of the fifties] (Acevedo and Serrano 2008:61).

The 1950s: UPR as a Converging or Meeting Space

> *Si la década de los cuarenta se caracterizó por una intensa legislación social y económica, no será sino en las décadas siguientes cuando se verá un incremento significativo en lo cultural, sobre todo a partir de la Constitución de 1952, de la cual Jaime Benítez fue uno de sus autores como presidente de la Comisión de la Carta de Derechos de la Convención Constituyente de 1951*. (Rodríguez 2005:145)
>
> [If the decade of the forties was characterized by intense social and economic legislations, it is not until the following decades when there will be a

> significant increase on the cultural front, specially after the Constitution of 1952, of which Jaime Benítez was one of the authors as president of the Bill of Rights Commission of the Constituent Convention in 1951.]

All through the 1950s, Puerto Rico functioned as the ideal case study or laboratory for the United States to test the economic, political, and cultural aspects of the theory of modernization (Duany 2005). One of the ways in which they did this was through Operation Bootstrap, which made the island experience a rapid change from an agrarian-based economy to an industrialized-based economy. At the same time, another change was happening with the return of Albizu Campos to the island. Upon his arrival in 1950, the growing militancy of the independence movement ultimately led to the National Party Revolts in which many students participated. The uprisings occurred in various towns such as Peñuelas, Mayagüez, Naranjito, Arecibo, Ponce, Utuado, and Jayuya (Rovira n.d.). In Utuado, the police massacred the nationalists; in Jayuya, the nationalists attacked the police station killing the officers and declaring the "Free Republic of Puerto Rico." Two nationalists attempted to kill President Truman in Washington, D.C. The attempt made Truman recognize the urgency of settling Puerto Rico's status and he supported the plebiscite two years later. Meanwhile, at UPR, the School of Social Work was established. This school, along with the other Social Sciences, was inextricably linked to the social changes brought about by modernization, especially during these years.

In 1952, under Public Law 600, the United States approved the Constitution of Puerto Rico signed as an *Estado Libre Asociado* (ELA). The constitution stated that Puerto Rico was a Free Associated State or Commonwealth, in which the United States maintained ultimate sovereignty over the Island, yet allowed its people some

degree of autonomy. A year later the United Nations (UN) declared ELA a form of non-colonial association with the United States. The commonwealth government also permitted the United States to continue expanding its control in Puerto Rico through military services. For example, the University's ROTC established a program on Aerospatiale Studies and inaugurated a new Library.

From 1954 to 1958, Nationalists protested repeatedly against the island's colonial status. One of the most important uprisings happened in 1954, when Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Andrés Figueroa Cordero entered the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., and fired gunshots injuring five Congressmen. The following year the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP) was founded as an autonomous institution from the University, which as Alegría stated was "dedicated to the conservation, enrichment, and diffusion of national culture". Two years later the Caribbean Institute (IC) at the Río Piedras campus was established.

A year after the Gag Law was repealed as unconstitutional, in 1957, a group of pro-independence students from UPR organized themselves and created the *Federación Universitaria Pro Independencia* (FUPI). Even with the ICP functioning to preserve and diffuse Puerto Rican culture, still by 1958 the UPR's academic catalogue only included approximately ten courses about the island in its curriculum (Duany 2005). A year later the Museum of History, Art, and Anthropology was inaugurated at UPR. It was the first building purposely built to house a museum on the island.

In part as a consequence of modernization, the 1950s was a decade of relatively little student unrest at UPR. However, the following decades stirred and inspired "the biggest confrontations ever seen in all of the Puerto Rican University's history" (my translation of Paralitici 2005:20-21).

The 1960s: Student Protests against Militarism and the Vietnam War

> *Desde el comienzo, el planteamiento de la reforma universitaria en la década de los sesenta estaba envuelto en las contradicciones inherentes a las percepciones de las funciones de una universidad en alguna sociedad dependiente colonial, y en las luchas políticas que emergen en esa sociedad.* (Anderson 2005:210)
>
> [Since the beginning of the 1960s, the demand of a university reform was swathed in its inherent contradictions due to the different perceptions regarding the functions of the university in a colonial dependent society and in the political struggles that emerge within that society.]

In contrast to the 1950s, the 1960s featured agitation and confrontations that both impacted and restructured UPR. Through the development of the "University Reform" movement, students demanded a more democratic university administration (one that allowed their participation), and opposed the obligatory military services and the ROTC program within the Río Piedras campus (Acevedo and Serrano 2008). For example, in 1960 the students protested in front of the ROTC building, demanding that the ROTC program become voluntary. In addition, FUPI launched an intense campaign against the presence of the ROTC inside the campuses. These demonstrations pressed Chancellor Benítez to recommend that ROTC classes be considered electives[28] (Paralitici 2005), as well as later on to request police protection for student cadets during their exercises. On a similar note, these demonstrations also

[28] Chancellor Benítez also recommended that the ROTC program honor both the Puerto Rican flag and anthem.

led the University Board of Trustees to pronounce the ROTC program as voluntary with Certification Num. 2, Academic year 1960-61. The next two years, UPR inaugurated different buildings, programs, and regional colleges such as the Student Center, the new Female Dormitory, the Honors program, the Student Exchange program, *la Tuna de la UPR* [UPR student music group], and the Regional College in Humacao. Concurrently, student writers founded the literary magazine called *Guajana* and Chancellor Benítez published *Junto a la Torre*.[29]

During the years 1963 and 1964, many pickets and counter-pickets were held by pro-independence students and pro-statehood students. One violent confrontation between them occurred when the *Frente Anticomunista Universitario* (FAU) protested the arrival from Cuba of Professor José María Lima, because he had confessed to being a Marxist-Leninist. The incident escalated to the point where both the police force and riot police had to enter the Río Piedras campus as a way of guaranteeing law and order (Acevedo and Serrano 2008). Another violent confrontation occurred between FUPI and FAU in 1964 when pro-independence students tried to march from the plaza in Río Piedras and enter the Río Piedras campus. Since the police had blocked the main entrance by the museum, the students improvised another peaceful strategy and used sit-ins to continue their protest demanding a university reform (this was the first student protest to do so since 1948). The police intervened by assaulting the students, who, amidst the shootings and tear

[29] Benítez had a fascination with the University Tower. "It was the site of his swearing-in ceremony, where the negotiation of the 1942 University Reform took place and where the educational policy of House of Study was formalized. It also was the name given to the official magazine of the Río Piedras campus from 1939 and to the series of essays that Benítez published in 1962" (my translation of Rodríguez 2005:141).

gases, reacted by burning a police car. Completely disregarding these protests, between 1965 and 1972, Chancellor Benítez signed a new contract with the ROTC.[30] This decision augmented student activism in favor of a university reform and against both obligatory military service and the Vietnam War. In clear violation of existing university regulations, the university administration refused to give the professors of the University of Puerto Rico Committee permission to hold an educational marathon on campus, hence "the professors were obligated to hold the event outside the Río Piedras campus" (my translation of Acevedo and Serrano 2008:63). This same year the press released information that the ROTC was teaching military tactics.

Finally in 1966, a new University Law was created. Law Number 1 restructured the institution into three main campuses[31] and the university administration of existing regional colleges, as well as the possible creation of future ones under one President. Chancellor Benítez became the first UPR President and Abraham Díaz González was designated as the new Chancellor of Río Piedras campus. The new law substituted the old CSE with the *Consejo de Educación Superior* (CES). The new law also permitted the reinstatement of the *Consejo General de Estudiantes* (CGE) and modified the university regulations to allow extracurricular activities on the campuses, although marches, pickets, and political activities were still prohibited. Throughout the year, this did not impede more confrontations to occur between pro-independence and pro-statehood students.

[30] This UPR-ROTC contract is still in effect.

[31] The three main campuses were Río Piedras, Mayagüez, and Medical Sciences.

By 1967, the School of Architecture was founded and two new regional colleges were added: Arecibo and Cayey.[32] Since violent confrontations continued between FUPI and the *Asociación de Estudiantes Pro Estadidad* (AEPE),[33] the Dean of Studies, Pedro Muñoz Amato, with the support of the Dean of Students, Samuel Polanco, suggested the removal of the ROTC from the Río Piedras campus. President Benítez declined the suggestion. More pickets and confrontations occurred between pro-independence students, pro-statehood students, ROTC student cadets, and the police. The event resulted in the death of Adrián Rodríguez (a taxi driver), many people injured, 10 professors fired, 72 students suspended, and damages to university buildings such as the General Library and the Banco Popular branch inside the campus. As a way to provoke media coverage of what was happening at UPR, in the middle of the confrontations, a bomb was found in the Tower and the ROTC buildings. Meanwhile in Mayagüez, for political reasons its first Chancellor, José E. Arrarás, a loyal adherent of Benítez, supported the permanency of the ROTC within the campuses.

In 1968, the *Partido Nuevo Progresista* (PNP) won the elections, which represented the first change of political parties on the island since 1940. It was not until this year that the UPR General Student Rulebook was finally approved and the CGE was officially reinstalled under the presidency of David Noriega. The same year the CES informed that it would concede academic credits for ROTC classes. In

[32] Thereafter, other regional colleges would be founded Ponce in 1969, Bayamón in 1971, Aguadilla in 1972, Carolina in 1973, and Utuado in 1978.

[33] This confrontation led to the suspension of the ROTC parade and the intervention of the riot police. As a result four students were hurt and 52 suspended.

response, another bomb was found in the ROTC building.[34] A year later, in 1969, student activists made national headlines again by attacking and setting on fire the ROTC building, as well as the United States' flag. The event paved the way for more violent confrontations among pro-independence students, ROTC student cadets, and the police. It resulted in four firefighters being hurt, many professors sanctioned for participating, and 22 students members of the *Liga Socialista* (LS) accused of starting the fire. The police also searched the houses of Juan Antonio Corretjer, Consuelo Lee Tapia, and José "Pepito" Marcano, among other members of the league. Consequently, classes were suspended after the *Comité de Resistencia al Servicio Militar Obligatorio* (CRASMO)[35] raised the stakes by mobilizing thousands of students to march to the San Juan Federal Court in support of the student, Edwin Feliciano Grafals, for refusing to participate in the obligatory military service (Rodríguez 1972). The massive march was covered in the news and ended with the suspension of 11 students and charges to more than 20 (Díaz 2002). The event inspired José Miguel Pérez, President of the *Juventud Independentista Universitaria* (JIU), to organize a hunger strike that lasted 28 days and included students from the *Centro Universitario Católico* (CUC) and the *Fraternidad de Universitarios Evangélicos* (FUE) (Silva nd). In order to capture media attention, a counter-picket march was held by the parents of ROTC student cadets supported by Senator Juan A. Palerm, which resulted in a violent confrontation as they passed Central High School in Santurce. In the middle of this incident, supporters of the ROTC attacked the

[34] It is important to highlight that the student protests that took place at UPR against the presence of the ROTC and the Vietnam War coincided with other international movements.

[35] CRASMO was a direct successor of the *Comité Alvelo* (Rúa 1988:28).

Colegio de Abogados [Bar Association], the *Comité del Movimiento Pro Independencia* (MPI), and the *Comité del Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño* (PIP). As a result, opponents of the ROTC burnt a uniform and attempted to assault President Benítez. In the end, more than 25 people were injured and nine were arrested. As a way to prevent more violent confrontations, Chancellor Díaz González, requested that the ROTC exercises within the Río Piedras campus be suspended.[36] The Academic Senate approved Certification Number 20, which agreed to discontinue the ROTC program. However, since the CES had the final decision, it not only refused Certification Number 20, but passed Certification Number 31, which determined that the ROTC program stay on campus with some improvements made (Acevedo and Serrano 2008). Some students and professors expressed their discontent and rejection of the CES decision, and Chancellor Díaz González requested that the CES reassess their decision. This caused the CES to remove Díaz González from his position as Chancellor.

As evidenced, the 1960s was a decade packed with student activism, which led to violent confrontations among pro-independence students, pro-statehood students, ROTC student cadets, and the police. These incidents ended with a reform to the University Law, a new government on the island, and the unexplained destitution of Chancellor Abraham Díaz González, proving once more UPR's lack of autonomy.

[36] Both the former Governor of Puerto Rico, Roberto Sánchez Vilella, and the President of the *Colegio de Abogados* reinforced the Chancellor's decision.

The 1970s: Student Protests Continue against the ROTC and Colonization

Cuando la justicia se encallece…no hace otra cosa que nutrir la rebeldía.[37] (Rodríguez 1972:56)

[When justice is silent…it does nothing than to fuel rebellion.]

The 1970s began with the CES designating the UPR President, Jaime Benítez, as the Interim Chancellor of the Río Piedras campus. The decision increased the existing tension and confrontations within the campus. Student protests continued to intensify and a second attack was made to the ROTC building, which resulted in a violent clash with ROTC student cadets. As Interim Chancellor, Benítez requested the police force and riot police to intervene and establish order on campus. It caused the conflict to continue along the streets of Río Piedras, where a tragic incident occurred. Because of the disturbance, some students began to look out their windows and balconies to see what was going on. From their apartments they saw police officers beating a student on the ground and yelled: "¡*Asesinos!*" [Murderers!]. In the middle of this situation, one of the police officers shot a bullet that ended up killing bystander Antonia Martínez Lagares. She became both a martyr of the student strike and a symbol of police brutality. At the end of the day, classes were suspended for six days, more than 54 people were injured, and more than 20 were arrested (Acevedo and Serrano 2008). In retaliation for Antonia's death, a group of students attacked a couple of United States marines, killing one of them. In light of the difficult situation at UPR, the CGE decided to use the legal structures and hold a referendum to gather

[37] In 1967, Chancellor Abraham Díaz González stated these words in reaction to the sentencing of pro-independence students.

the student body opinion regarding university reform, whether Benítez should resign, and the removal of the ROTC from the Río Piedras campus (Rodríguez 1972). The results were in favor of the university reform, of Benítez to remain in office, and of the removal of the ROTC. Afterwards, the CES finally selected Pedro J. Rivera as the new Chancellor of UPR (Nieves et. al 1971). The same year, during the graduation ceremony, the students found creative ways to express their discontent. For example, both President Benítez and Chancellor Rivera were booed for their positions regarding the ROTC and the student, Carmen Noelia López, slapped Benítez. Meanwhile, at the Mayagüez campus, a confrontation during an ROTC march on Veteran's day ended with 25 injured people.

In 1971, another violent incident occurred as a group of students were celebrating an activity to honor the memory of Antonia by naming after her the plaza in front of the theater. Another violent confrontation took place among pro-independence students, ROTC student cadets, university guards, and riot police. The shootings and *pedradas* [throwing stones] resulted in "3 deaths, 62 people injured, more than 70 students arrested, serious damage to property, and the suspension of academic activities for a month by decision of the academic authorities".[38] In light of

Figure 4.1 Violent confrontation between the students and the riot police.

[38] The three deaths included one ROTC student cadet, the police officer Miguel Rosario, and the Chief of the Riot Police Juan B. Mercado (my translation of Acevedo and Serrano 2008:77).

the media coverage, Chancellor Rivera suggested that the ROTC be relocated from the Río Piedras campus to the *Estación Experimental* [Experimental Station] in Río Piedras. The Academic Senate agreed with his suggestion, but the CES decided to finally move it to Barbosa Avenue where it still stands. As a result, bomb threats were made to the *Colegio de Abogados* and the *Ateneo Puertorriqueño* [Puerto Rican Athenaeum]; Humberto Pagán and Miguel Hudo Ricci were arrested and accused of the death of the police officers; Florencio Merced and José "Pepito" Marcano[39] were arrested, accused for the Molotov bomb inside the ROTC building; 30 pro-independence students and two Law School professors, Rubén Berríos and Eulalio Torres, were suspended, and the graduation ceremonies were cancelled. Prior to reopening the campus, the university administration decided to install cameras for safety, among other measures (Arbona 2005). The university began to offer courses about the military history of the United States and Puerto Rico.

As a measure to lessen the existing tension at UPR and to continue to be seen positively in the media, in 1972, Governor Luis A. Ferré created a committee to analyze student participation at the university. The committee gave the CES recommendations to amend the University Law in order for it to permit student participation *con voz y voto* [with voice and voting power] in departmental meetings, faculty meetings, Academic Senate, Administrative Board, and University Board (Acevedo and Serrano 2008). The same year, Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG) and Pell Grants were extended to Puerto Rico, the first dormitory for male

[39] At the time, Florencio Merced was the President of the FUPI and José "Pepito" Marcano was a member of the *Liga Socialista*.

students (Torre Norte) was created, and the Medical Sciences campus was moved next to the Medical Center. The CES finally recognized the *Hermandad de Empleados No Docentes* (HEEND) as a labor union. A year later, the *Unión de Juventudes Socialistas* (UJS) was created; in addition, the UPR President and the Chancellors of Río Piedras and Mayagüez resigned. Arturo Morales Carrión became the new UPR President and Ismael Rodríguez Bou became the new Chancellor of Río Piedras. Between 1973 and 1976, many student protests and confrontations with the police took place, but most of them in support of the labor strikes held by the HEEND. While academic activities were paralyzed, the students explored peaceful alternatives such as developing proposals and organizing teach-ins in front of Torre Norte. However, in 1973 pro-statehood students (including Cuban exiles) placed a bomb inside the social sciences building destroying the entire fourth floor, yet no one was charged of this incident.[40] In 1975, a student strike occurred at the Humacao campus and the riot police intervened, arresting six pro-independence students. Two years later, Carlos Romero Barceló, from the PNP, became Governor of Puerto Rico. Under his administration, in 1978, police ambushed two pro-independence students at Cerro Maravilla, in what became known as the "Cerro Maravilla massacre." Just like Antonia, both Carlos Enrique Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado Torres became martyrs and symbols of the pro-independent student movement. As a way to deviate media attention from the cover-up investigations, the UPR administration announced

[40] Data gathered from: http://www.cubadebate.cu/opinion/2007/03/08/terrorismo-de-derecha-en-puerto-rico/#.VDKYcL6F6zA (Alzaga 2007).

the approval of the University General Rulebook and the installation of UPRENET, a communication system to connect all the campuses. By 1979, UPRENET had been set up.

The 1970s could be described as the climax of the student protests that began in the sixties, not only in Puerto Rico but in the rest of the world as well. As Biondi stated, "militant students disrupting normal campus procedures and making 'demands' to a 'frightened' faculty became the archetypical sequence of events at American campuses in 1969" (2012:120). In Puerto Rico, however, many faculty members sympathized with student activists' claims. During these two decades, the UPR community became immersed in national issues as a way of forging a worthy future for Puerto Rico. The decade was, without a doubt, "one of the most dramatic with a student activism that contributed to mend its separation" from the university's broader community (my translation of Arbona 2005:255).

The 1980s: The Academic "Revolution"

¡Decimos no, no"	[We say no, no
no nos pararán!	we will not be stopped!
¡Decimos no, no	We say no, no
no nos pararán!	We will not be stopped!
Y el que no crea	And to those who do not believe
que haga la prueba.	do try to test us.
¡No nos pararán![41]	We will not be stopped!]

The 1970s augmented the process of *puertorriqueñizar la Universidad* or "Puerto Ricanizizing the University," which continued into the 1980s. It meant that the University was not just *La Casa de Estudios* nor a military service-training site,

[41] This *consigna* [chant], written and sung by students during the 1981-82 UPR student strike, has become one of the most popular protest songs of the UPR student movement.

but rather a space to converge, to study, to discuss, and to debate about national issues with the intention of changing them (Arbona 2005). The first four years of the 1980s were very controversial and pivotal for UPR. On the positive side many important writers and professors, such as Carlos Fuentes, Mario Vargas Llosa, Manuel Puig, and Jorge Luis Borges visited the university. However, it was particularly "the confrontation that occurred during the 1981-1982 academic year and the events following it that generated crucial changes for the student movement and for the Institution" due to its wide media coverage (my translation of Cabán cited in Acevedo and Serrano 2008:82).

In 1980, Radio Universidad [University Radio] (WRTU) was established as a public radio station at the Río Piedras campus and served as a practice center for students in the School of Public Communication. The same year the CES increased the salary of the President and Chancellors of UPR by 40%, and afterwards stated that the university's budget was in deficit (Nazario 2005). As a result, rumors started to spread about a possible rise in the tuition fee.


Figure 4.3 Alejandro Roberto addresses the students.

By 1981, under the PNP government of Romero Barceló, the CES announced that it would indeed increase UPR's tuition fee (Picó et. al 1982). Without hesitation the students organized the *Comité Contra el Alza en las Matrículas y Pro Nueva Ley Universitaria* (CCAM-PNLU), opposing the intended *aumento uniforme* [uniformly increase] and supporting a *matrícula ajustada*

a los ingresos [tuition fee adjusted to income]. The CGE held a General Student Assembly, where students voted to go on a *paro definido* [stoppage] for five days and created a *Comisión Coordinadora* (CC) as a way to establish a dialogue with the university administration. Given past precedent, the media was already expecting violent confrontations to occur on campus. In response and as suggested by the Academic Senate, Chancellor Antonio Miró Montilla created a Mediating Committee.[42] Afterwards, he also implemented a moratorium prohibiting meetings, marches, and pickets inside the Río Piedras campus, as well as supported the *Comité Pro Derechos al Estudio* (COPRODE) developed by students associated to the PNP. In an attempt to resolve the problem, the Mediating Committee reached an agreement with the CES; however, the students doubted the agreement made and voted in an assembly to reject it and go on a *paro indefinido* [strike] (Nazario 2005). Since the media portrayed the incident as the student activists' refusal to negotiate, it broke any attempt at dialogue between the parts involved and gave the Chancellor justification to enforce *la mano dura* [an iron fist]. Some of the immediate consequences were: (1) the suspension of the student leaders for violating the moratorium and a restraining order prohibiting them to enter the Río Piedras campus; (2) the suspension of 4,000 students who had boycotted paying the tuition fee; and (3) the Río Piedras campus occupation by the police force, riot police, and SWAT (Picó et. al 1982). The campus occupation led to violent confrontations between students and the riot police, followed by the arrest of four student leaders – Roberto Alejandro, José Rivera

[42] The Mediating Committee was composed by the Chancellor Miró Montilla, the Dean of Business Administration Francisco Girona, and professors Milton Pabón and Fernando Picó.

Santana, Ramón Bosque and Iván Maldonado – and the suspension of two professors: Francisco Jordán and Arturo Meléndez. UPR student strike attracted all the national headlines. Taking into account that these confrontations were worsening, the CES emitted Certification Number 52 to supposedly end the strike. As the students gathered in an assembly to discuss the certification, the riot police violently intervened and dissolved the meeting (Nazario 2005). The incident led the students to ratify the strike in the next assembly and the police to reoccupy the Río Piedras campus. In order to turn media coverage to their side, students began a hunger strike in front of the university and held another assembly, wherein they ratified three demands. Since the CES rejected them, the strike was extended over the Christmas holidays until January 1982, when the students held another assembly, which finally ended the burnout strike. It was the first strike to be widely televised and considered as

> *un "issue" universitario que, por su carácter apolítico y su especificidad estudiantil, logró que muchos estudiantes superaran las suspicacias que les causaba la asociación del movimiento huelguista con la izquierda. Señalan, por ejemplo, que la integración de estudiantes cristianos a la protesta se debió al carácter universitario de la controversia sobre la matrícula. Pero también podría pensarse que, precisamente porque se definió el asunto del alza como uno de justicia social para los estudiantes pobres.* (Nazario 2005:278-79)
>
> [a university "issue" that, because of its apolitical character and student specificity, was able to arouse many students to overcome the suspicions caused by being associated to the leftist student movement. They point out, for example, that the integration of Christian students to the protest was due to the academic character of the controversy surrounding the tuition. But it can also be thought to have been due to the framing of the tuition increase issue as a cause for social justice in the name of underprivileged students.]

In 1984, Rafael Hernández Colón, from the PPD, was elected as the new Governor of Puerto Rico. The same year, at the Mayagüez campus, an ROTC student cadet died in an initiation rite of the Panthers Special Operations Squadron. This led the Academic Senate to approve Certification Number 30, as a way to investigate the ROTC program and its contract with the University (Paralitici 2005). The following year, the CES selected Fernando Agrait as the new UPR President. In accordance with the University Law, Juan R. Fernández was chosen as the new Chancellor after he was one of the six people recommended by the Search Committee, then interviewed and nominated by President Agrait, and finally approved by the CES. Consequently, the new university administration began to demonstrate a "compromise by creating a climate of dialogue, concord, and respect among the different sectors of the University" (my translation of Bravo and Ramos 2008:127) by restructuring existing offices and creating new organizational units to facilitate the academic processes. The gradual changes implemented at the university came to be known as the *Política de No Confrontación (PNC)* [Non-confrontational Policy]. A good example was the *Comité Pro Mejoramiento de la Seguridad en el Recinto* (CPMSR), composed by members of different sectors of the university community, which not only restructured the *Guardia Universitaria* [University Guards] as the *Oficina de Seguridad* [Security Office], but also created the *Junta Coordinadora de Seguridad* (JCS).[43] In 1989, Hurricane Hugo struck the island and damaged the Río

[43] The purpose of the JCS was to ensure the safety of all the members of the university community by mediating the conflicts that emerge.

Piedras campus. The University community quickly organized a *jornada de limpieza* [cleaning day] to tidy up after the disaster.

Although the 1980s began with a violent student strike that caused division within the university community, the decade ended with the implementation of the PNC that helped fix the broken trust between the university community and administration. Thus, to an extent, "the strike was an outcry of 'NO MORE' and 'ENOUGH' of an important sector of the Puerto Rican youth in light of both the hypocrisy and oppression that were being reproduced in our society" (Nieves et. al 1982:258), and were reflected throughout the university.

The 1990s: Stoppages and "Non-violent" Protests

> *La PNC parte de una visión de la Universidad donde se promueve la unidad desde las diferencias. Se fundamenta en una cultura académica que privilegia la libertad de pensamiento, de expresión y la búsqueda racional de respuestas a nuestros problemas. Sus principios se asumen en la acción. Por lo tanto, la PNC es una construcción diaria en la que se demuestra la convivencia pacífica mediante sus principios. Este proceso de formación y educación puede transformar la manera en que nos relacionamos y contribuir a una cultura de paz en el país*. (Rivera 2008:249)
>
> [The PNC (for its Spanish initials) is part of the University's vision that promotes unity within differences. It is based on an academic culture that privileges freedom of thought, expression, and the rationale search of answers to our problems. Its principles are assumed in praxis. Therefore, the PNC is a daily construction in which peaceful coexistence is demonstrated through its principles. This process of formation and education can transform the way in which we relate to one another and contribute to a culture of peace for the country.]

After all the violent confrontations UPR went through in the last three decades, the implementation of the PNC during the mid-1980s was a way to demonstrate the new administration's willingness to maintain an academic atmosphere open to dialogue, respect, and negotiation. Nevertheless, since 1992 when

Pedro Rosselló, from the PNP, became the new Governor of Puerto Rico and José M. Saldaña was chosen as the new UPR President, various efforts were made to eradicate the PNC. With the change in government, the rest of the 1990s became an attempt to incorporate both the island and the university in the discourses of globalization, neoliberalism, and the information society by developing new ways of administering both of them (Colón 2005).

From 1990 to 1992, many conflicts affected different sectors of the university community. In 1990, the *Sindicato de Trabajadores* (ST) [Workers' Union] held a march to demand new contract adjustments. The following year, the HEEND led a stoppage and threatened to go on an indefinite strike if its members' medical insurance was not adjusted. Then in 1992, the ST and the HEEND initiated negotiations for a collective agreement with the administration. With the support of students and professors, the labor unions went on strike for ten days when an agreement was signed (Bravo and Ramos 2008).[44] Concurrently, during 1991-1992, students held various assemblies and 24-hours stoppages to protest another tuition hike. In one of the assemblies, confrontations emerged between the different positions of the three main student groups: CGE, COPRODE, and *Comité de Reivindicación Estudiantil (CRVE)*; however, they decided to form a Negotiating Committee to communicate with the administration (Bravo and Ramos 2008). In 1992, the CGE organized a *pintadera* [painting event] along the main road of the Río Piedras campus in front of the Biblioteca José M. Lázaro, as a way to use public space and raise

[44] During the ten days of the strike, the police stayed outside the campus, adhering to the PNC.

awareness to the student body (Abayarde 2011b).[45] The same year, during one of the stoppages the students spent two nights on campus and formed a security committee. Following the PNC protocol, Chancellor Fernández helped the CGE in the development of a safety plan while the students were there. Consequently, adhering to peaceful protests, the students organized a march to the Capitol, which attracted around 300 students from different campuses. The march motivated Chancellor Fernández to urge the Legislature to increase UPR's *fórmula de ingresos* [funding formula] of the UPR. As a result, the Senate approved a 9% increase to the fiscal formula that had been established before (Bravo and Ramos 2008).

In 1993, the *Organización Socialista Internacional* (OSI) was founded while newly elected Governor Rosselló swiftly decreed Law Number 12. The new law changed the CES to a Board of Trustees and endorsed *una reforma silenciosa* or a silent reform for UPR, given that "it dissolved intellectual knowledge and academic reflection into statistics, missions, visions, strategic plans, checklists, certifications, announcements, and procedures" (Colón 2005:294). The following year, President Saldaña applied the business management concept of Total Quality Management (TQM) to UPR and initiated a collaboration program with MIT to develop the *Tren Urbano* [Urban Train] (Colón 2005; Álvarez and Rodríguez 2005). In 1995, the new Chancellor Efraín González Tejera designated a committee to develop the *Proyecto de Reconceptualización del Bachillerato* [Project to Reconceptualize the Baccalaureate] (Colón 2005).

[45] In future student strikes, the *pintadera* became known as *pintata* of *Calle Conciencia* or the painting of Awareness Street. Student videos of the event are posted on Youtube and Facebook.

As a result of the political and economic agendas that the government and administration were implementing, between 1995 and 1996, student organizations such as FUPI, UJS, OSI, and *Juventud del Frente Socialista* (JFS) reinitiated their protest against the ROTC and in favor of a university reform that included a *Matrícula Ajustada a los Ingresos* (MAI) (Abayarde 2011b). In the next two years, both Governor Rosselló and Secretary of State Norma Burgos visited the Río Piedras campus and their presence triggered violent confrontations between students and the riot police. As a consequence of the incidents, the media was used to justify the university administration's attempt to eliminate the PNC. The students reacted by quickly organizing an event protesting the entrance of the police force to protect the Governor and Secretary of State under the slogan *Nunca Más* [Never Again].[46] In 1998, Governor Rosselló removed "$40 million dollars from the funds destined for the UPR in order to finance the Law of Educational Opportunities" (Álvarez and Rodríguez 2005:365); while simultaneously developing megaprojects such as the construction of Plaza Universitaria, the restoration of the theater, and a multilevel parking lot, which would cost a lot of money to the institution unless they were privatized. Students responded by holding an assembly and creating the *Frente Contra la Privatización* (FCP). The FCP not only organized stoppages at UPR but also participated in the *Huelga del Pueblo* [People's Strike] against the privatization of the Puerto Rico Telephone Company. The press portrayed the protesters negatively and labeled the students as *los ruidosos y agresivos* [loud and aggressive ones], among other labels (Abayarde 2011b). Toward the end of this year, hurricane George

[46] The first time students' organized the event *Nunca Más* was in 1992 under the same government.

caused major damages to the Río Piedras campus. In 1999, the press was already growing tired of the students' fight against the militarization and did not pay much attention to their march against the ROTC. Subsequently, Chancellor González Tejera was removed from his position.

Despite the neoliberal measures implemented at the university by the Rosselló administration, the 1990s also served as the backdrop to "other intellectual projects of utmost importance for the development of ideas in the country" (my translation of Colón 2005:308). As a resistance to the changes at UPR and in contrast to the Y2K apocalyptic discourse, three academic journals operated *desde los márgenes* or from the margins as a way to break the rules. These were *Postdata*, *Bordes* and *Nómada* (Colón 2005). Each of them, in their particular way, dealt with the past, present, and future of Puerto Rico in the context of the new millennium.

The 2000 – 2009: Defense of UPR from Privatization

> *Quizás la pregunta no sea entonces, cómo puede seguir la Universidad imaginando o produciendo el futuro, sino en qué medida el futuro cuenta con su permanencia*. (Ríos 2005:320)
> [Maybe the question is not then, how can the University continue to imagine or construct the future, but rather in what way can the future count on its permanency.]

As the 21st century began, UPR still found itself as a political bastion entwined with its turbulent past. UPR "was established as an institution under the colonial services of the United States… and to this day has not been able to surpass its colonial origins" (my translation of Navarro 2000:12).

By 2001, the government changed again and Sila María Calderón, from the PPD, was elected as the first woman Governor of Puerto Rico. Subsequently, Antonio

García Padilla was designated as the new UPR President and Gladys Escalona de Motta became the first woman Chancellor.[47] Throughout the first few years of this decade, protests against the ROTC and militarization intensified, with many students participating in the struggle against the United States Marine, popularly known as *La Marina* in Vieques (Álvarez and Rodríguez 2008). The media not only assisted in this struggle in boosting the national consciousness, but also in fostering a commitment to *lucha y sacrificio* [struggle and sacrifice] among different sectors of society (Paralitici 2005). For example, at the Mayagüez campus, students created the *Frente Universitario por la Desmilitarización y la Educación* (FUDE) to protest against the ROTC. Meanwhile at the Río Piedras campus, confrontations between pro-independence students and ROTC student cadets continued, this time regarding the United States invasion of Afghanistan (Abayarde 2011b).

In 2002, FUDE occupied the ROTC building in the Mayagüez campus stopping all of its services; while another group of student at the Río Piedras campus made two soldiers exit the university for wearing their uniforms.[48] By 2003, FUDE established a civil disobedient camp[49] and *Universitarios por la Desmilitarización* (UD) was created to support FUDE (Yudkin et al. 2005). The CGE from the Río Piedras campus, among other student groups, approved a resolution in support of FUDE and protested the privatization of the multilevel parking lot, the food

[47] It is important to note that the previous UPR President, Norman Maldonado, had suggested the implementation of a technology fee that would take place in 2005 (Abayarde 2011b).

[48] As part of the PNC, military uniforms were not allowed to be worn inside the campus (Paralitici 2005).

[49] The camp lasted for six months.

concessions at the *Centro de Estudiantes*, as well as the expenses of President García Padilla, who became known as *el presidente de los buenos gustos* or the president with expensive taste (Abayarde 2011b:3-4). A student collective developed a blog, CMI-PR or Puerto Rico indymedia.org, as an alternative media to broadcast news. This year, 2003, marked the centenary of UPR. The following year, President García Padilla, supported by the Board of Trustees, announced that ROTC programs would continue, to avoid economic repercussions of breaking the established contract.

In 2005, Aníbal Acevedo Vilá, from the PPD, was elected as the new Governor of Puerto Rico. The same year, students went on strike caused by the implementation of a 33% increase in the tuition fee, in addition to the technological fee. The students organized *comités de base* [base committees] and the *Comité General de Huelga* (CGH) [General Strike Committee], which later joined to form the *Comité Universitario Contra el Alza* (CUCA) to protest the rise in tuition.

Figure 4.4 Banner used during the 2005 student strike.

Unfortunately, since its beginnings this strike was not widely supported by the media because *el liderato estudiantil lo asumió un grupo que no era el CGE* [the student leadership was assumed by a group of students that were not part of the CGE], the organization which has the legal power to represent the student body (Rivera 2008:244). Nevertheless, the group of students who protested the tuition increase organized the *Comité de Estudio de Finanzas Institucionales* (CEFI) under the direction of economics professor

Waldemiro Vélez (Abayarde 2011b). By 2006, the university administration had created a similar committee called *Comité Asesor de Finanzas Institucionales* (CAFI), in charge of justifying the tuition increase in 2008. This same year, the *Foro Social* [Social Forum] was celebrated at UPR theater and students from *el Colectivo Pro Teatro* (CPT) interrupted the red carpet activity to protest its privatization.

Around 2007, the Puerto Rico Statehood Students Association (PRSSA) opened a chapter at the Río Piedras campus to promote the admission of Puerto Rico as the United States 51st state.[50] The PRSSA is known for having helped in the coordination of absentee voting, which assisted in the electoral victory of Luis Fortuño as Governor of Puerto Rico and the government change to PNP ruling in 2008. This same year the university administration implemented a 12% increase in tuition and, despite opposition to the hike, students complied by using the *prórrogas* [payment plans] negotiated in the strike of 2005, as well as the guarantee that no student would see an increase in his/her tuition charges (Abayarde 2011b).

Since 2009, students held many assemblies and massive stoppages to protest the implementation of Law 7, as the economic recovery plan for Puerto Rico. The fiscal emergency law not only reduced the public workforce by around 12%, and declared null and void all

Figure 4.5 Around 250,000 people participated in the National Strike held on October 15, 2009.

[50] Some of the other UPR campuses that also have a PRSSA chapter are: Mayagüez, Bayamon, Humacao, Arecibo, Carolina, Ponce, and Utuado.

public sector labor contracts for three years; it also reduced the established formula for funding UPR from 9.6% to 8.1% of the government's General Funds. In other words, Law 7 primarily laid off around 30,000 public employees and cut around $200 million dollars or 25% of UPR's nearly $1 billion dollars annual budget. In addition, later this year a violent confrontation on University Avenue took place, when police officers unexpectedly attacked students for consuming alcohol in the street. A General Student Assembly was held, where students voted to create student action committees for each school as a way to organize themselves and inform others in preparation of what was yet to come. The initial student action committees were *Comité de Acción de Ciencias Sociales* (CACS), *Comité de Acción de Estudiantes de Derecho* (CAED), *Comité de Acción de Humanidades* (CAH), *Comité de Estudiantes en Defensa de la Educación Pública* (CEDEP),[51] *Comité de Acción de Ciencias Naturales* (CACN), and *Comité de Acción de Comunicaciones* (CAC).

In less than a month, the action committees made their debut by joining the one-day national strike led by the unions and opponents to Law 7, with about 250,000 participants. The event captured all the national headlines. During this event, the protesters closed down Highway 52, a major toll road, which led to a stressful standoff with police. Students from the CAED

Figure 4.6 Students from the CAED practicing civil disobedience between the protesters and the police force.

[51] CEDEP's name was later changed to *Comité de Acción de Educación* (CAE).

decided to practice civil disobedience and formed a “sit-in” line between the participants and the police as a way to protest peacefully. Figure 4.6 illustrates one of the photos that went viral in the student activists’ social media, in conjunction with videos documenting their experience during the national strike. The protesters and the police force finally dispersed only after negotiations were held. Formal political prisoner Rafael Cancel Miranda was also brought to the site to persuade the students to avoid a violent clash with the police.

After the national strike, the student action committees deemed it their responsibility to continue mobilizing as a student network. Thus, the student action committees carried on their activism inside UPR by holding assemblies and manifestations at each of the schools. In conjunction with the *Consejo General de Estudiantes* (CGE), the student action committees fostered active participation from the entire university community. For example, the CAED hung a banner stating *Razones sobran para luchar* [There are many reasons to fight] from one of the university’s buildings in protest of the austerity measures being implemented by the government and the university administration.

Figure 4.7 Banner hung at one of the Law School buildings.

The first decade of the 2000s foreshadowed the polemic years that the student movement would confront under Fortuño’s government. To the extent that the neoliberal agenda implemented under Fortuño’s government was applauded by

members of the Tea Party in the United States who visited *La Fortaleza*[52] in 2010 and these policies were only worsen by the government's use of the police force as their right hand during the student movement. As a microcosm of Puerto Rico, "UPR cannot avoid reflecting the crisis situations that surround it" (my translation of Nieves et al. 1971:3).

In Précis

As stated earlier, the purpose of this chapter was to depict the origins and development of the UPR student movement in order to understand the foundations for the recent strike. By reviewing the chronology, I revealed how UPR student activism has served, and continues to serve as a catalyst for social, cultural, economic, and political change in the island. Moreover, I highlighted the student activists' construction of spaces of resistance during their protests as a way to emphasize the movement's continuation to the present or "social movement spillover" (Meyer and Whittier 1994:291), as well as the key role of the media in covering the events. I chose to end the chronology in the year 2009, because it provides the background needed for my research on the 2010-2011 UPR student strike. When considering the events that took place during this student strike, Arturo Torrecilla (2011:23) labeled UPR as *el* "theme park" *del intercambio imposible* [the theme park of the impossible exchange]. Torrecilla based his argument on Jean Baudrillard's concept of the "impossible exchange," meaning that "the uncertainty of the world lies in the fact that it has no equivalent anywhere; it cannot be exchanged for anything. The uncertainty of thought lies in the fact that it cannot be exchanged either for truth or reality"

[52] Data obtained from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lFvBSQ8HUYU.

(Baudrillard 2001:3). However, as I will elaborate in the following chapters, I disagree with this claim because, by (re)constructing spaces of resistance and contention, the 2010-2011 UPR student strike provided the "possible exchange" of fostering hope and awakening consciousness at a time when the country greatly needed both. The following chapter assesses the student activists' strategies in constructing "offline" and "online" spaces of resistance and contention during the strike.

EXCERPT OF THE STRIKE CHRONOLOGY

January 3, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students march in protest to Governor Fortuño's austerity measures.
March 8, 2010	A group of students surprise the President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre while he is eating with his wife at Magno's Pizza. Some students talk with de la Torre while others hold signs and chant protest songs. This intervention is able to negotiate and sign an agreement that guaranteed that there would be no privatization of any of the eleven campuses, elimination of tuition waivers, nor increase in tuition. Additionally, they agreed to work together to find the necessary funds for the summer classes.
March 11, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students hold a protest in front of the University Tower before the scheduled meeting between the Academic Senate and the President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre. The meeting was rescheduled for the 18th.
March 18, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the Academic Senate and the President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre, meet to initiate the search for the new Chancellor of this campus.[53] After the meeting, two students, Waldemiro Vélez and Miguel Lozada, invite de la Torre to participate in an open debate with the student action committees as a way to elaborate alternative proposals to the fiscal crisis of the UPR. Prior to the meeting, a group of students from the action committees sold homemade food inside the Student Center as a way to protest the high prices and poor quality of the food that is being sold there.
April 13, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the General Student Council (CGE) holds a General Student Assembly in which the students name a Negotiating Committee to negotiate academic issues with the University Administration. The original issues include the repeal of Certification 98 (which attempted to reduce tuition waivers for athletes, musicians, honor students and offspring of university employees), as well as any tuition increase, and fiscal transparency by opening the UPR's budget books. The students approve a 48-hour stoppage, followed by an indefinite strike if negotiations failed.

[53] The Board of Trustees has the ultimate power to name the Chancellor.

April 17, 2010	Facebook page *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan* (EUPRI) is created by student Omar Rodríguez as an independent news source for University-related updates, eventually reaching more than 30,000 members.
April 19, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students hold a 48-hours stoppage with many cultural events to express their demands. For example, students from the *Centro de Autogestión Estudiantil para la Investigación Audiovisual* (CAEIA) organize a "*Cine paro*" [Stoppage Cinema].
April 21, 2010	Countering to the UPR students' 48-hour stoppage, the *Rectora* (or Chancellor) of **Río Piedras** campus, Ana Guadalupe, orders an indefinite recess or *cierre* (closure) of academic and administrative operations, instead of negotiating with the students.

***** For the extended chronology of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement (See Appendix D).

CHAPTER V

UNA UNIVERSIDAD TOMADA:

CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF RESISTANCE

Perdonen los inconvenientes; estamos construyendo una universidad pública.

[Excuse the inconveniences; we are constructing a public university.]

L@s estudiantes (2010 protest)

La Toma de los Portones

It is just before dawn and the campus lights irradiate through the darkness as they do every weekday morning inside the Río Piedras campus, before the normal hustle begins. The campus definitely has an enigmatic allure to it, especially to those who know its particular history. However, the morning of April 21, 2010 is not a routine weekday morning. As the emblematic University clock tower marks 5:00am, the place becomes witness to another student strike. Members of the student action committees spread the news chiefly through phone calls, text messages, emails, social networking sites, and word of mouth to meet at two specific locations on campus. Rapidly, groups of students show up, interrupting the reverie of the morning flow. Once the two main groups are formed, the initiators coordinate, again via text messages, to congregate on the main street of the campus. Much to the astonishment of the initiators, the number of students who have gathered is more than three times the number expected, and as a collective they begin to vocalize *la iupi es nuestra* [the UPR is ours]. With the groups united, the students stridently and confidently march to shut down the campus. The air is electric, and the students seem to be fueling this

with energy and determination. Some of them decide to *encapucharse* or cover their faces, and hold shields fashioned from cut-up plastic traffic barrels, just in case they encounter hostility from the security guards. Others decide to chant protests songs such as, *¡Lucha sí, entrega no!* [Fight yes, surrender no!], while they close the gates with chains and locks. In a couple of hours, the students take over the campus from within by locking down its six gates. Only one gate, the security entrance or gate 6.5, remains open but guarded. Immediately after celebrating for having secured the campus, the students organize themselves by their action committees to guard their respective gates. Each action committee is further divided into smaller clusters to construct the barricades utilizing anything they can find such as desks, pieces of wood, branches, and trashcans, as well as to set up their protest camps and their *alacena* or food storage. Now that the campus occupation is completed, a sense of uncertainty circulates accompanied by the question *¿Y ahora qué?* [And now what?].

Figure 5.1 Students taking over the Río Piedras campus

All in all, the students' campus occupation went rather smoothly, aside from the confrontation to force the campus security guards to abandon their posts. Nevertheless, this account demonstrates how through the use of resistance performances, in particular protest camps, street art/theater acts, and Internet activism, the students initiated and implemented their strike by constructing spaces of resistance and contention in defense of an accessible public higher education of excellence as a fundamental right and not a privilege.

Figure 5.2 An example of a barricade.

It is instructive in highlighting the experience of student activists' taking over the Río Piedras campus. As Iván Chaar-López (n.d.:3) stated, "most of the recent literature on the encampments, occupations, and protests of 2011 rarely pay attention or even mention the student strikes of Puerto Rico despite the fact that many of those students had relationships with or were actually involved in OWS in New York City." This initial strategy of the *universidad tomada* [the taken university] led to a systemic lock-down of nine more UPR campuses in less than a month. However, as I stated in chapter I, this study focuses on the UPR Río Piedras campus. The current chapter

explores student activists' resistance performances in framing their collective identities by constructing spaces of resistance and contention during their occupation of the Río Piedras campus for 62 days. I also intertwine the university administration's counterframing of student activists' collective identity. Building on the analysis of the "infrastructure of protest camps" (Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013), I center the present chapter on student activists' tactics and strategies in the development and maintenance of their protest camps and Internet activism. I begin by focusing on the layout of their protest camps, followed by how they lived and coordinated events from the camps. Then, I look at how they reported events, in particular through Internet activism, from the camps. Through selected events, I demonstrate how student activists' resistance performances assisted in their establishment of networks nationally and transnationally. By constructing both "offline" and "online" spaces of resistance and contention, I argue that student activists' resistance performances, embodied in this chapter through their use of protest camps and Internet activism, marked scale-related effects (Earl et al. 2010) to existing theoretical frameworks on social movements. That means that new theories are not necessarily required, but rather modifications to existing ones (Myers 1994; Fisher 1998; Foot and Schneider 2002; Bennet 2004; Earl 2007). Moreover, the storytelling writing style used in this chapter is part of my own resistance performance as an activist researcher and advocate for an accessible public higher education of excellence. I designed black boxes to "interrupt" the present text with excerpts from past events referenced in chapter IV, as a way of depicting the dynamic and complicated processes that are inherent in the analysis of the UPR student

movement.[54] The interruptions allow me to not only analyze the events of the most recent strike but also invoke a continuity of time and space in which the past is in the present.

Tactics and Strategies: Protest Camps and Internet Activism

Student movements are both a product of and subject to the social, historical, political, economic, and media contexts (Feignbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013) they are embedded in. Therefore, to understand the development of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement, it is necessary to look at the events that led to its occupation of the main campus. Following Jeffrey C. Alexander's (2011:x) words, the analysis of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement can benefit from an exploration of "what did it mean to those who participated in it, and how did they project those internal meanings to the outside." In this chapter, I will analyze the student activists' resistance performances in framing their collective identities by focusing on their tactics and strategies. I will do so by exposing how they constructed "offline" and "online" spaces of resistance and contention vis-à-vis the challenges they faced while obtaining control of the campus and the dynamics that occurred *bajo la nueva administración* [under the new administration].

The decision to lock-down the Río Piedras campus did not emerge out of thin air; this possibility materialized after the General Student Council (CGE) held a student assembly on April 13, 2010 to discuss Certification 98, recently approved by the university administration. The certification placed a moratorium on the

[54] In her book, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*, Grace Cho (2008) utilized this style of writing in order to create an unconventional non-linear text and described it as a traumatized text. Although I do not describe my text as traumatize, I use this style in order to create an unconventional non-linear text as well.

concession of *nuevas exenciones de matrícula* or new tuition waivers,[55] requested a justification of existing ones, and standardized the requirements for receiving and maintaining them. However, prior to the assembly, a rumor circulated in the Río Piedras campus about the intention of the certification to eliminate tuition waivers. As a result, around 3,000 students present at the assembly voted to have a 48-hours stoppage followed by an indefinite strike if the university administration did not negotiate with them about the tuition waivers. The student activists' initial strategy of holding a stoppage did not obtain the desired response from the university administration and adhering to the decree passed in the assembly, the action committees began to organize for an indefinite strike. One of their tactics was to occupy the campus.

2002 ... Student activists, members of the *Frente Universitario por la Desmilitarización y la Educación* (FUDE), occupy the ROTC building in the Mayagüez campus...

2005 ... Student activists, members of the *Comité Universitario Contra el Alza* (CUCA), close the Río Piedras campus for 20 days protesting a 33% tuition hike...

The introductory vignette narrated the success of the student activists' occupation strategy, leading to the development of their protest camps and barricades. Although the use of protest camps as a strategy of political contention has gained more media attention since 2011, it is not a new phenomenon. Protest camps rose alongside the development of the so-called "new" social movements in the 1960s, as a place "where people came together to imagine alternative worlds and articulate

[55] Tuition waivers are based on a merit system. At UPR, tuition waivers are given to students that are student athletes, student musicians, those in the top 5% grade point average of their schools, and if they have a parent or spouse working at the university.

contentious politics, often in confrontation with the state" (Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013: 2-3). As a social movement strategy, protest camps worked as a focal point to organize and reinforce the activists' collective identity. A protest camp has been defined "as a place-based social movement strategy that involves both acts of ongoing protest and acts of social reproduction needed to sustain daily life" (Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013: 12). It is a space of and for multiple political, economic, and social collective actions. The protest camp serves as a strategy in itself and a laboratory for activists to explore new tactics and experiment with old tactical repertoires (Tarrow 1998). Once the protest camp has been set, activists move on to decide on their internal organization or infrastructure for the sustainability of the protest and the activities.

The Layout of the Camps

When students discussed the tactic of an occupation, they realized that in order for them to secure and keep control of the campus, they needed to divide themselves among the action committees and organize a security committee to do night shifts. When interviewed Fernando Espinal, a member of CAED and the security committee, he explained the importance of organizing *los turnos de seguridad* [security shifts] to establish a safe environment during their occupation. In subsequent conversations, he also mentioned how they decided on the layout of the six main protest camps according to the school closest to an entrance, so that each action committee had a respective gate to guard. Each of the six protest camps had a distinct name to represent the "personality" of the student activists who were in it. The names were the following: Vietnam, *La Tribu* [The Tribe], *Medio Oriente*

[Middle East], Disney, Beverly Hills, and Sparta. The self-ascribed names of the protest camps are an example of how the student activists' resistance performance serves to frame their collective identities during the strike or what they labeled "*las huelgas dentro de la Huelga*" [many strikes within the Strike]. The map of the Río Piedras campus, reproduced in Figure 5.3, shows where each protest camp was located and the action committees that lived there. Vietnam was composed of the Humanities action committee and was set at the main gate of the campus, where most of the confrontation happened, hence the name. La Tribu was composed of the Education action committee and was supported by the University High School (UHS) students across the street. Medio Oriente was composed of both the Communication action committee and Fine Arts action committee, who used their barricades as artwork. Disney was composed of both the Natural Sciences action committee and the Architecture action committee alluding to their "it's a small world after all" song attitude. Beverly Hills was comprised of the Law School action committee, alluding to the fact that they were eating sushi and paella, and even playing video games during the strike. Sparta was comprised of the Social Sciences action committee, alluding to their preference for direct action. The diversity among student activists not only enriched the strike's appeal to recruit more students but also led to occasional internal divisions while living together.

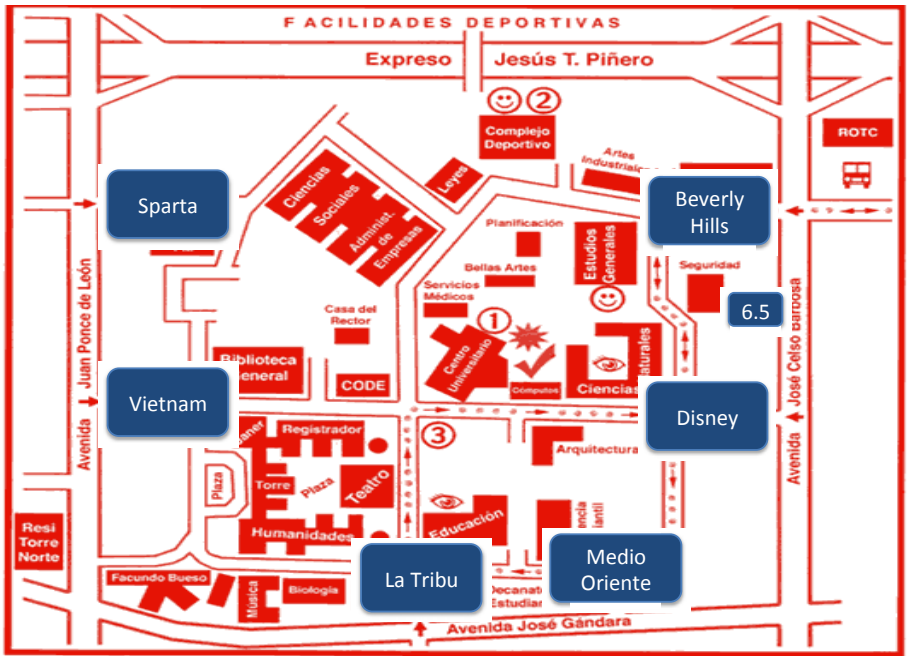


Figure 5.3 Map of the protest camps inside the Río Piedras campus.

Living in the Camps

Despite these divisions, living inside the campus for 62 days helped student activists strengthen their collective identity by experiencing liminality or a sense of betwixt and between. According to Victor Turner (1969), liminality occurs during the second phase of a ritual process in which the participant, having been separated from the normal structures of society, undergoes a form of "liberation" and redefines his or her identity. When experienced in a collective, the liminal phase cultivates a sense of *communitas* or solidarity among its participants. During social movements and in particular during an occupation, activists experience liminal conditions, such as those that are "characterized by freedom, egalitarianism, communion, and creativity" (Yang 2000:383). The student activists' resistance performances, while immersed in liminal conditions, aided their establishment of networks by fostering a sense of imagined community ("us vs. them") that led to two specific binary oppositions: (1) student

activists versus authority figures (i.e., the university administration, the local government, and the police), and (2) student activists versus students opposed to the strike. The dynamics of these polarities empowered student activists to develop proposals for a university reform and build blueprints *para un Puerto Rico diferente* [for a different Puerto Rico].

1973 ... Students develop proposals and organize teach-ins...
2005 ... Students develop *Comité de Estudio de Finanzas Institucionales* (CEFI) to analyze economic alternatives to the tuition hike...

Figure 5.4 portrays aspects of the polarization within the student body during the campus occupation. The student activists interviewed referred to such divisions as a contrast between *brinca verjas* (the in-group) and *rompe huelgas* (the out-group). The division further served to frame the student activists' collective identities. *Brinca verja* alludes to the student activists having to jump the fence of the campus to get in and out, while *rompe huelga* alludes to the opposing students breaking the picket line. The dichotomy served to reveal the political influence behind the opposing students or *mayoría silente* [silent majority] represented by the *Frente Pro Universidad Abierta* (FUA) and the *rompe huelgas'* decision to participate in counter-resistance performances aligned with the political party in power.

Figure 5.4 A compilation of photos reflecting *brinca verjas* (on the top) and *rompe huelgas* (on the bottom).

Alongside the "battle atmosphere" caused by the strike was a "festive atmosphere" among student activists living inside the campus, which created an exceptionality still difficult to capture (Ducombe 2007; Grindon 2007; Feignbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013). An example of the festive atmosphere was the concert *¡Que vivan l@s estudiantes!* [Long live the students!], held on April 28, 2010. In this event, many national and international artists voiced their solidarity with the student activists by either attending the event or sending a personal video compiled by René Pérez Joglar, the leading member of the popular music duo Calle 13. The concert not only served to validate the strike but also motivate student activists to continue their occupation. Each protest camp developed its own set of rules and organized its food

storage, sanitation system, cleaning duties, security schedule, and daily agenda. All of the agendas developed by the action committees were shared during their meetings to coordinate the dynamics of their strike. Thus, through the use of horizontal deliberation and alternative media technologies, student activists coordinated and communicated with each other, inside and outside the campus. Figure 5.5 depicts how the students coordinated their daily living inside the campus.

Figure 5.5 A compilation of photos taken by student activists during their occupation.

Coordinating the Camps

In their contemporary form, protest camps have intentionally employed an internal organization from the bottom up that has been recognized as participatory democracy. Participatory democracy refers to a type of governance characterized by decentralization and a consensual horizontal decision-making process (HDM)

(Bookchin 1995; Harcourt 2013). Horizontal decision-making has enabled large groups of activists to manage their camps by adhering to the notion of "power with" and not "power over" (Cornell 2011; Feignbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013). Upon settling in to their protest camps, UPR student activists implemented the spokes-council or "leaderless" model of decision-making. The student activists' horizontal organization incorporated their collective identities in the construction of different spaces of resistance and contention.

> Aura Colón: …No habían líderes. Por ejemplo los casos en el tribunal por eso fue que prosperaron. [La Administración] demandó a las figuras que ellos veían pero se podía demonstrar que lo tumbabas a él, hay otr@ más y hay un montón más detrás de ell@s. Por eso los plenos eran tan largos y tan grandes… fue un esfuerzo colectivo y de diálogo…
>
> […There were no leaders. For example, the cases taken to court were unsuccessful. [The Administration] sued the student public figures they saw, but it was proven that if you knocked him/her down, there was another person, and many more after them. That is why the meetings were so long and big… it was a collective effort and based on dialogue…][56]

First, the student activists held *reuniones de base* or base-camp meetings within each of their action committees. In these meetings, student activists developed an agenda of daily activities and possible strategies. Then, each action committee selected a rotating *coordinador/a* or "spokesperson" to meet with the rest of the *coordinadores/as* to discuss each committee's agenda and organize a summary of the issues. The *coordinadores/as* would then report back to each action committee where a decision would be made. When needed, they held *plenos multisectoriales* or

[56] Data gathered from my interview with Aura Colon on August 28, 2012.

multisectorial meetings. For example, during one of the *plenos*, student activists discussed the CGE's composition and how it did not represent everyone participating in the strike. Hence, they voted to create a negotiating committee with representation from each of the action committees including members of the CGE, to meet with the university administration. The committee's role was to "negotiate" with the University administration but they could not sign an agreement or make a decision without consulting the action committees. As more campuses joined the student movement, the negotiating committee from Río Piedras campus became the national negotiating committee (CNN), with representation from all of the 10 UPR campuses on strike. Despite the CNN's support by student activists, the university administration refused to meet and negotiate with the CNN because it was not the legal representation of the students, but the CGE.

Figure 5.6 A photo taken during one of their meetings.

1941 ... The General Student Council (CGE) is established allowing the students legal representation to voice their opinions and concerns to the UPR Administration...
1948 ... Chancellor Jaime Benítez retaliates against the UPR student strike, by eradicating the CGE...
1966 ... The CGE gets reinstated under the new University Law...

In addition, the university administration had requested the assistance of the police force to surround and surveil the campus as a way to ensure *ley y orden* [law

and order]. The police presence served to reinforce the activists' collective identity, inspire their creativity, and garner more support from the public. From different banners hanging around the fence of the campus, new protest songs and chants like *¡Somos estudiantes, no somos criminales!* [We are students, not criminals!], numerous street art/theater acts, to their own alternative media outlets, student activists expressed their resistance performances and coordinated their strike. The student activists' different degrees of artistic participation contrasted sharply with the imminent threat of police repression. As Lowel Fiet (2010) indicated, UPR student activists combined different artistic strategies to attract public and media attention. What had initially began as a strike to repeal Certification 98, in the process became the right to an accessible public higher education. Thus, the student activists' master frame and resistance performances not only resonated with the public and artists but also captivated massive support from the *Asociación Puertorriqueña de Profesores Universitarios* (APPU), the *Confederación de Asociaciones de Profesores Universitarios* (CONAPU), labor unions, and religious groups, to mention a few. During the interviews, all of the student activists smiled as they remembered with excitement some of the performances that originated during their strike such as the *payasos policías* [clown police], the *monjas cantando* [singing nuns], and the *marionetas de Fortuño* [puppets of Governor Fortuño], among others.

Me:	¿Cómo me describirías las diferentes manifestaciones artísticas durante la huelga?
José "Manuela":	En general, utilizamos tantas y tantas estrategias, tan buenas y tan diversas, que para mí cada una tiene su

valor… Y reflejaron la capacidad que nosotros y nosotras tenemos.[57]

[Me: How would you describe the different artistic manifestations during the strike?

José "Manuela": In general we used so many strategies, they were good and diverse strategies, that in my opinion each one had its own value… And they reflected the capacity that we have.]

As evidenced in José's statement, it is not a surprise that student activists referred to this wave of the strike as the *huelga creativa* [creative strike] or *huelga hippie* [hippie strike] due to the diversity of their resistance performances.

Figure 5.7 A compilation of photos of some of the student activists' artistic manifestations.

However, drawn into the spontaneity and the energy of the occupation, one act performed by the student collective *Indi.gestión* did not sit well with the opponents of the strike, in particular with the police force. The event, which took place on April 27, 2010, consisted of students placing dog food and a sign that said *Cuidado con el*

[57] Data gathered from my interview with José "Manuela" García on February 7, 2013.

perro [Beware of the dog] in front of the police officers standing outside the gates. This resistance performance was covered negatively by traditional news media to the extent that two years later during the interviews, it still stirred resentment among the opponents of the strike because they all mentioned it and said it was a sign of disrespect.

Police officer X: …Teníamos que hacer turnos de 12 horas, no te podías ir hasta que te sustituyeran… a ti te paraban ahí y los estudiantes te gritaban, te escupían y se iban, no todos pero algunos,… después hasta nos pusieron la comida de perro… como puedes exigir respeto si no lo das… lo más brutal es que muchos de nosotros estábamos de acuerdo con la huelga pero no como se estaba llevando.[58]

[…We had to do 12 hours shifts, you couldn't leave until you were replaced…you were placed there and the students would yell at you, spit at you, and then leave, not all of them but some… then they even placed us dog food… how can you expect respect if you are not giving it?... the weird thing is that many of us agreed with their strike but not as they were doing it.]

Figure 5.8 Collective *Indi.gestión* places plates of dog food and a sign in front of police officers at the main gate.

At the time, despite the adverse effect of this event, the action committees cleverly used alternative media to coordinate and mobilize thousands of students from the 11 UPR campuses in a massive march held on May 7, 2010. The route was from the main gate of the Río Piedras campus to the Botanical Gardens, the site of the

[58] Data gathered from my interview with Police officer X on January 31, 2013.

Presidential offices. As the student activists continued their resistance performances, it began to rain and they improvised a new chant that represented their passionate determination: ¡*Enchumba'os, enchumba'os, pero nunca arrodilla'os!* [We're soaked, we're soaked, but we're not kneeling down!]. Another unforgettable event that student activists mentioned during the interviews was the General Student Assembly held at the Puerto Rican Convention Center on May 13, 2010. Initially, many student activists feared that the assembly convened by the President of the CGE, Gabriel Laborde, was a strategy of the university administration to revoke the strike after reaching some *entendidos* or tentative agreements with the negotiating committee. Nevertheless, the action committees managed again to coordinate and mobilize around 3,000 students to participate in the assembly. Much to the surprise of the university administration, the majority of the students present voted to ratify the strike. Driven with a boost of collective confidence, the action committees organized an impromptu march to the State Capitol while chanting: *Si ésta es la minoría,¿dónde está la mayoría?* [If this is the minority, where is the majority?]. In retaliation and as a measure to obtain court orders to evict student activists from the campus, Chancellor Ana Guadalupe announced another administrative closure until the end of July. The next day, the police force was mobilized to surround and open the Río

Figure 5.9 Impromptu march to the Capitol building.

Piedras campus by cutting the chains that student activists had placed to lock the gates. In addition, the San Juan police superintendent, José Figueroa Sancha, submitted an order to prohibit food, water, and medicine deliveries to the protest camps, while water and electricity were cut off from the campus. Student activists used alternative media, in particular Internet activism, to instantly spread the news about the repressive measures being implemented by the university administration. Through social media sites they reported and disseminated images on YouTube, Facebook, *Desde Adentro*, and *Radio Huelga* regarding an incident of police brutality against Luis Torres, father of one of the student activists, who was beaten and arrested while trying to pass food over the fence. The vast diffusion of the news made traditional media cover the events. The immediate coverage of the abusive actions provoked thousands of supporters to break the police blockade by creating a human chain that "hugged" the UPR and tossed food and water over the fence to the student activists.

Reporting from the Camps

Before the "Arab Spring," Spain 15-M, and the Occupy Movement in the United States, UPR student activists used their protest camps as "media hubs, combining the 'old' media approach of print production with video-making and a range of social media practices including the use of Facebook, Twitter, and livestream" (Feignbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013:104). Student activists' use of Internet activism allowed them to instantly report the daily events and manifestations that took place inside and outside the campus, provide information about the strike, and also entertain themselves. Through the floods of comments, photos, videos,

articles, and proposals they posted (and were reposted) online, student activists were able to create a positive public image of themselves gaining support from a national and international audience. According to Mohamed Ben Moussa (2013 cited in Berman 2013:23),

> the interactive and iterative character of online newsgathering where links may be shared among social networks, and where citizens can easily assume the role of journalists by posting original text and video content illustrates perhaps most clearly the process by which consumers of common news can form collective oppositional identities and networks crucial to the practice of collective action.

During the campus occupation, student activists deployed different alternative media strategies of resistance and contention for the development, maintenance, and modification of their collective identity. Subsequently, in chapter VII, I will provide a critical discourse analysis of the coverage of events by student activists' alternative media in comparison to traditional media. Here, I focus on the development of their *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan* [UPR Students Inform] (EUPRI) Facebook page, their online newspaper *Desde Adentro* [From the Inside], and their radio station *Radio Huelga* [Radio Strike], which was livestreamed online. These tactics not only served to inform, recruit, and motivate student activists, but also provided others with information about what was going on directly from the events without being filtered by the traditional media, if they were covered.

Since 2009, some of the student actions committees utilized Facebook to inform and encourage their students to become actively engaged in the discussions regarding the effects of the austerity measures implemented by the government. Similarly, the university administration's press office created a Facebook page on

March 24, 2010 called *UPR informa* [UPR informs] to provide an official page about issues pertaining to the university. In response, Omar Rodríguez, created *Estudiantes de la UPR informan* (EUPRI) on April 17, 2010 as an alternative initiative to provide information from the students' perspective under the slogan: *¡Hablemos con la verdad y defendamos la educación pública!* [Lets speak truthfully and defend our public education!].

Arturo Ríos: …me acuerdo que Omar fue el que creó EUPRI, él tenía una preocupación porque toda la información que salía de las páginas oficiales de la UPR pues no daban la información completa ni expresaban los puntos de vista de los estudiantes en sí…Y él trató de aglutinar a distintos estudiantes, especialmente de Río Piedras, para que se llevaran los mensajes y para informar de los acontecimientos que estaban ocurriendo en los distintos momentos. Me parece bien chévere ese ejercicio que hizo él, fue bien importante y le dedicó mucho tiempo…[59]

[…I remember that Omar created EUPRI because he was worried that all of the information posted on the UPR official pages was either incomplete or did not include the students' perspectives… And he tried to agglutinate students, especially from Río Piedras, to take the messages and inform of the events that where taking place at different times. I find that the exercise he did was really good, it was very important and he dedicated a lot of time into it…]

Many of EUPRI's contributors were members or former members of the CGE and received first-hand information. As Arturo stated, its role in the strike as a go-to site for trusted information became palpable to student activists, especially when in less than a year EUPRI had more than 40,000 followers mostly from San Juan area and ages 18-24.

[59] Data gathered from my interview with Arturo Ríos on September 24, 2012.

Once the strike had begun, student activists realized they needed to construct a positive image to break the negative stereotypes associated with the student movement. In view of this, on April 26, 2010 Aura Colón Solá and other student activists organized a press collective and decided to create their own online newspaper called *Desde Adentro* [From the Inside] to cover the events from within the barricades.

1947 ... Students develop their own newspapers: *Patria*, *El Universitario*, and *La Vanguardia*...

The collective developed a blog page (www.rojogallito.blogspot.com) and a YouTube channel (www.youtube.com/user/PrensaEstudiantil) in order to provide a space for student activists to express themselves and *mantener al pueblo informado* [keep the country informed] about their strike defending an accessible public higher education. During the occupation, student activists had their own newsroom inside the campus. Having earned its reputation as a credible news source, *Desde Adentro* (a.k.a *Rojo Gallito*) became a nonprofit organization dedicated to teaching about journalism and promoting access to information.

Figure 5.10 Sign indicating *Desde Adentro's* newsroom.

Inspired by Free Radio Berkeley[60], student activists developed another way to facilitate communication and disseminate information during the strike. Ricardo Olivero Lora, in collaboration with other student activists, created the first student radio station called *Radio Huelga* (RH). From the CGE office inside the Río Piedras campus, *Radio Huelga* connected national and international audiences to their resistance via 1650AM and their livestream webpage on Ustream: http://www.ustream.tv/channel/radiohuelga.[61]

Figure 5.11 First transmission of *Radio Huelga*.

Its varied agenda depended on the creativity of its student activist collaborators and included news programs, music programs, athletic coverage, and even a radio soap opera, *Amor de Barricada* [Barricade Love] inspired by gossips from the camps. The collective did not include media professionals or necessarily possessed "specialized training in media" (Cammaerts, Mattoni, and McCurdy 2013:

[60] For more information about Free Radio Berkeley, log in to www.freeradio.org.

[61] *Radio Huelga's* slogan was *¡Conéctate a la Resistencia!* [Connect to the Resistance!], inviting audiences to support their strike for an accessible public higher education of excellence.

60); however, what began as a radial experiment on May 2, 2010, became an effective alternative media, cited as a primary source by traditional media news coverage. *Radio Huelga* was essential in gathering, constructing, administering, distributing, and maintaining power to raise consciousness about the strike from the student activists' perspectives. Its legitimacy became evident on May 20, 2010, with the student activists manifestation at the Sheraton Hotel in San Juan where Governor Luis Fortuño was holding a party fundraising ceremony.

Ricardo Olivero: …Para RH significó el momento que la comunidad de comunicadores comenzó a respetarnos. Hasta ese momento nos veían como un grupo de chamaquitos jugando con máquinas, todos trataban de decirnos a nosotr@s cómo hacer las cosas. [Nosotr@s] teníamos hasta una consigna: "*¡pa'l carajo los especialistas!,*" vamos a construir esto de cero metiendo las patas... pero esa noche pasó algo interesante y es que cuando comienza la violencia en el Sheraton, allí no habían medios de prensa inicialmente. Nosotr@s estábamos en una reunión del colectivo de RH y empezamos a recibir las llamadas de los propios huelguistas informándonos de lo que estaba pasando. En ese momento, nosotr@s tomamos una decisión inmediata, decidimos dejar lo que estábamos haciendo, sacamos unas listas, escribimos arrestados y heridos. Establecimos que toda información que diéramos al aire la confirmaríamos por una segunda persona y todo lo que nos dijeran tiene que ser que lo vieron. Así empezamos a dar los informes y sacar a l@s compañeros y compañeras al aire. Porque eso fue la gran ventaja que tuvimos nosotr@s, que cada huelguista era un corresponsal en potencia, así que éramos los primeros que recibíamos la información y los que siempre sabíamos, mediante los actores mismos, lo que estaba ocurriendo… y esa noche… logramos hacer un excelente trabajo. Sacamos el listado de los agredidos y arrestados, fuimos los primeros que dijimos lo del "taser" de Osito y logramos movilizar al grupo de abogados para que aparecieran en los distintos cuarteles. También identificamos los cuarteles para saber dónde estaban l@s compañer@s presos y se dio

> algo bien interesante. Como el trabajo nos estaba abrumando, se nos ocurre plantear al aire a los chateros de RH que si nos podían ayudar a conseguir los números de teléfonos de los cuarteles… y la gente empezó a darnos esos números de teléfonos por el chat. Así nosotr@s empezamos a llamar directamente a los cuarteles… pero el momento cumbre de esa noche, fue cuando de repente leemos el minuto a minuto tanto de *Primera Hora* y *El Nuevo Día* y ellos empiezan a citar a RH como la fuente de información de ellos: "RH informa que hay tantos heridos." Toda la información que estábamos generando, ellos la estaban citando a través nuestro. Esa noche fue fundamental para nosotr@s y la tengo muy viva en la memoria…[62]
>
> […For RH it meant the moment that the community of communicators began to respect us. Until this moment they would regard us as little kids playing with machines, all of them tried to tell us how to do things… but that night, something interesting happened when the violence began at the Sheraton, since there was no other press initially… our great advantage: every student activist was a potential journalist and that is how we were the first to receive information and the only ones that knew directly from the actors themselves, what was going on… and that night… we did an excellent job. We had a list of the people injured and arrested, we were the first to comment about the use of taser to Osito and we mobilized the group of lawyers to the police headquarters were the student activists were arrested… but the climax of that night was when we read the minute to minute of both *Primera Hora* and *El Nuevo Día* and they cited RH as their information source… They were citing all of the information we aired. That night was fundamental for us and I have very vivid memories of it…]

As Ricardo states, RH was able to instantly report the violent incident between the student activists and the police force. Student activists contacted RH and acted as "citizen journalists" by collecting and narrating on-site information (Bowman and

[62] Data gathered from my interview with Ricardo Olivero on September 6, 2012.

Willis 2003). As such, RH broadcast direct information on who was injured and arrested, as well as the police headquarters where the arrested were taken to in order to mobilize support groups and lawyers. After the incident, police officers made unprofessional comments on their Facebook pages about being happy of *caerle a palos* or beating up student activists. In response, student activists took screen photos of the officers' pages and disseminated them online. In less than a day, the images went viral and traditional media had to cover the news as well, ending in the police officers giving public apologies.

The student activists use of alternative media assisted in their construction of spaces of resistance and contention by complementing their (re)appropriation of a physical public space, the university, with a virtual one (Gerbaudo 2012).

Una Victoria Efímera

The UPR student activists' tactics and strategies provided them the time and space to creatively engage in resistance performances to construct local, corporeal, and virtual spaces of resistance and contention during their strike. The development of protest camps, street art/theater acts, and Internet activism, allowed student activists to frame and report through alternative media about events taking place inside and outside the campus. Their voice became a primary vessel through which they challenged the existing power dynamics. They also developed strategies for interacting with traditional media to determine the elements that would be covered to gain public interest through media representation of their protest camp life (Feignbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013). Both protest camps and street art/theater acts not only embodied a geographical space of resistance and contention during the

strike, but also became part of their resistance performance in itself by disrupting the daily activity of the campus. By experiencing liminality and creating history together, student activists strengthened their collective identities and established networks of support both nationally and internationally. As a result, on June 16, 2010 after five days of court-mandated mediation with the retired judge Pedro López Oliver, the university administration (i.e., the Board of Trustees) voted nine to four in favor of an agreement with the CNN. The negotiation agreed for Certification 98 to be amended, no reprisals to any of the student activists, and for the planned fee to be evaluated by a committee. The student activists interviewed referred to this agreement, although it was short-lived, as a *¡Victoria para la historia!* [Victory for history!].

Figure 5.12 Members of the CNN walking out of the court with copies of the final signed agreement!

In this chapter, I examined how UPR student activists' resistance performances framed their collective identities by constructing both "offline" and "online" spaces of resistance and contention during their occupation of the Río Piedras campus. I also interweaved the university administration's use of counter-resistance performances through the police force, opposing students, and traditional

media to counterpoise the student activists' collective identity and demands, as well as reiterate and exercise their power. Through selected events, I demonstrated how student activists' resistance performances not only aided the establishment of national and transnational networks in support of an accessible public higher education of excellence, but also confirmed that another Puerto Rico is possible. In accordance with Daniel Nina (2010:63), Puerto Ricans can finally say that we had "*Nuestra Primavera Boricua del 2010… podemos hablar que hemos tenido nuestro Mayo*." [Our *Boricua Spring* of 2010… we can say that we had our *May*].

By analyzing UPR student activists' resistance performances during the first wave of their strike, I have demonstrated in the present chapter how this concept serves to move forward social movement theories and Internet activism by analyzing different degrees of participation in the construction of spaces of resistance and contention. The following chapter focuses on student activists' resistance performances during the second wave or revival of the strike. As such, I examine student activists' emotional dynamics in framing their collective identities by (re)constructing spaces of resistance and contention when the police force had the campus under siege.

Figure 5.13 The taken university.

EXCERPT OF THE STRIKE CHRONOLOGY

June 21, 2010	First National Student Assembly takes place in the Pachín Vicens in Ponce. In this assembly the students vote to end the strike by accepting the agreements reached between the CNN and the UPR Administration. However, the students also vote on the possibility of starting another strike if the Administration insists on the tuition hike. Governor Luis Fortuño appoints four new members to the UPR Board of Trustees to secure a voting majority and to impose the fee, breaching the previous strike agreement. In response, students organize for a possible revival of the strike.
June 24, 2010	Middle States Commission on Higher Education (MSCHE) places 10 UPR campuses on probation for not being in compliance with Standard 4 (Leadership and Governance), Standard 3 (Institutional Resources), and Standard 11 (Educational Offerings).[63]
June 29, 2010	Board of Trustees approves Certification 146 (2009-2010) which implements a tuition hike through a fiscal stabilization fee of $800 per year. This fee affects all students regardless of how many credits they take or if they have financial aid. It does not include a specific deadline to remove the special fee.
June 30, 2010	A protest at the capitol building to Senate President Thomas Rivera Schatz's prohibition of the press from entering Senate sessions during budgetary debates turns violent when police indiscriminately attack protestors, including students, professors and community members. Dozens are injured.
July 15, 2010	Members of the *Juventud del Patido Nuevo Progresista*, led by Rolando Meléndez, hold a counterprotest in the Freeway *José de Diego* against the UPR student activists and in support of the Governor and the police force.
July 18, 2010	*Radio Huelga* covers the multisectorial march against abuse under the campaign *"Alto al Abuso y la Represión"*. The route is from the intersection of Muñoz Rivera Avenue and

[63] http://www.scribd.com/doc/33612322/UPR-Rio-Piedras-en-Probatoria.

	Roosevelt Avenue to the General Police Headquarters. This protest is a reaction to the police violence that occurred on June 30th.
July 20, 2010	A group of Puerto Rican athletes protest against the government by displaying a banner during the inauguration ceremony of the Central American and Caribbean games being held in Mayagüez.

Second wave of the strike

August 11, 2010	Governor Fortuño signs Law 128, which establishes direct electronic voting on academic issues for the students of the UPR.
September 21, 2010	Student action committees organize a march around the campus: *"¡Ni un peso más, ni paso atrás!"*
September 22, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students protest the cancellation of a Women and Gender studies program by climbing up to the clock tower and removing the United States' flag.
September 29, 2010	Students from the School of Social Sciences hold a student assembly that interrupts classes.
October 14, 2010	Students from the School of Education hold a student assembly that interrupts classes.
October 19-21, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students interrupt the academic and administrative operations by "occupying" the Colleges of Humanities, Social Sciences, and Education.
October 25, 2010	The Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Fortuño, addresses the country in a *Mensaje sobre la Reforma Contributiva*. He comments about the current issue at the UPR.
October 28, 2010	The CGE holds an Extraordinary Meeting to approve the agenda for the General Student Assembly in November.
November 3, 2010	The Senate President, Thomas Rivera Schatz, passes a law establishing a special fund to provide student scholarships.
	Chancellor Ana Guadalupe announces that the current academic calendar for the **Río Piedras** campus would end on

	January 19, 2011. The new calendar stated that classes would end December 28, 2010, final exams week would be from January 12 – 19, 2011, and grades would be up by January 20, 2011.
November 5, 2010	Chancellor Ana Guadalupe prohibits the use of roller skates, skateboards, and scooters inside the campus for safety reasons.
November 6, 2010	The *Confederación Estudiantil Nacional* (CEN), composed of the 11 campuses student Presidents and their Representatives, holds an Ordinary Meeting at the Aguadilla campus.
November 9, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the General Student Council holds another General Student Assembly at the Convention Center where no decision regarding the strike is achieved because of quorum. However, the students voted on creating a new negotiating committee with members of the Action Committees. In this assembly, the *Comité de Eficiencia Fiscal* (CEF) presented their final report assessing the situation. At the Humacao campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote against any further interruption of their academic session.
November 10, 2010	Both Waldemiro Vélez Soto and Arturo Ríos Escribano present a request for a temporary and permanent injunction against the University of Puerto Rico for the disciplinary measures the University Administration has been enforcing.
November 11, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the General Student Council holds an Extraordinary Student Assembly where the students vote on: having a referendum during November 15-19 to approve or refuse the $800 fee, a national march on November 21 taking the results of the referendum and signatures of students against the fee to the UPR Administration offices, holding a General Student Assembly on November 30, and giving the Administration an ultimatum of a month to eliminate the fee.
November 13, 2010	The President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre, holds a private meeting at his house, *la casa Manrique Cabrera*, with some members of the Board of Trustees, some members of the University community, and some members of the ruling political party. It is understood that the student group, *Frente Pro Universidad Abierta* (FUA), which was against the

"*huelga estudiantil*" and in favor of an open campus originated here.

November 18, 2010 At the Carolina campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote for a 96-hour stoppage to begin during their registration for the next quarter December 20-23, and a strike if any other campus goes on strike. Dates of registration are moved earlier to ensure its process.

November 19, 2010 Middle States Commission on Higher Education (MSCHE) lifts the probation over Standard 11 (Educational Offerings) and continues the probation over Standard 4 (Leadership and Governance) and Standard 3 (Institutional Resources).

November 20, 2010 The Board of Trustees appoints a new Finance Director, Charles Anthony Cordero. Cordero had worked at the *Banco Gubernamental de Fomento* (BGF) or the Government Development Bank under the tutelage of Marcos Rodríguez Ema, the current Governor's Chief of Staff.

November 21, 2010 At the **Río Piedras** campus, students organize a National Student march against the fee and police repression.

November 23, 2010 A *Comité de Representación Estudiantil* (CRE) is formed at the **Río Piedras** campus to negotiate with the UPR Administration to annul Certification 146, which authorizes the $800 fee in January 2011 and $400 per semester thereafter.

Both of the main university professors associations, APPU and the *Confederación Nacional de Profesores Universitarios* (CONAPU), hold an assembly at Caguas where they approve to go on strike, organize a march to the capitol building, and request the resignation of the President of the UPR and the members of the Board of Trustees.

November 29, 2010 At the **Río Piedras** campus, the students hold a forum called: "Political Parties and their proposed University Reforms" with a representative of the different political parties. The representative from the ruling party never showed up.

The CRE publishes online a PowerPoint presentations that explains the fiscal crisis at the UPR and provides alternatives to the tuition fee hike.

November 30, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of student protest and block access to the Chancellor's office in *La Torre* building, demanding to meet with the Board of Trustees. As an alternative to resolve the fiscal crisis of the UPR, a group of professors publish the proposal, "*La Universidad: sumando ganamos todos*". Later, the group holds a press conference, led by Carlos Colón de Armas, to discuss the main arguments of the document such as shared responsibility and certain sacrifices that the entire university community should make.
December 1, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students at another unauthorized student assembly, vote for a 48-hour stoppage on December 7 and an indefinite strike beginning December 14 if the fee is not eliminated. At the Arecibo campus, students at a General Student Assembly approve a 48-hour stoppage starting that same day. The Chancellor of Arecibo announces that operations will continue. At Utuado campus, students at an unauthorized student assembly vote for a 24-hour stoppage starting that day.
December 2, 2010	Marcos Rodríguez Ema publicly states that he would kick out student leaders from the university ("*los sacaría a patadas*") and he would also fire the professors that incite students to go on strike ("*los profesores bandidos que están incitando a los estudiantes a irse de paro*"). This is widely interpreted as sanctioning violent repression and political persecution. At the Mayaguez campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote to oppose the fee and also to go on strike and interrupt their academic session. At the Ponce campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote against an interruption of their academic session. At the Utuado campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote for another 24-hour stoppage starting that day.
December 4, 2010	Due to some internal disagreements regarding a referendum, the President of the CGE, Omar Ramirez, announces his resignation. The next day the CGE reconsiders the motion and its members vote that there will be no referendum.

Consequently, Ramirez withdraws his resignation and continues his duties as President of the CGE.

December 5-6, 2010 The UPR Administration orders that **Río Piedras** campus gates be removed and/or welded opened to prevent another student lock down of the campus. Students that tried to prevent this are arrested violently.

A private firm contracted by the university, *Capitol Security*, provides campus "security," by hiring untrained youths from economically marginalized areas, some armed with sticks and plastic pipes. This situation causes heated confrontations between the newly hired "security" guards and the student activists.

December 7, 2010 At the **Río Piedras** campus, a bomb threat is received at *Plaza Universitaria* complex, where administrative offices processing fees are located. All operations there are stopped until further relocation. The 48-hour stoppage begins with some intense confrontations between Capitol Security and the student activists. This leads the security guards to beat up the student, William Figueroa Ayala, and *encapuchados* or hooded protestors to vandalize some of the security vans. A police helicopter hovers over the campus and drops *comunicados* or flyers stating that the police force will guarantee the normal flow of academic operations.

At the Cayey campus, the Student Council holds a General Student Assembly where the students vote on a 36-hours stoppage starting that same day. The Chancellor of Cayey announces a one-day academic recess and operations proceed the following day.

At the Bayamon campus, the Student Council holds a General Student Assembly where the students vote on a 48-hours stoppage starting the following day. All operations continue.

At the Aguadilla campus, the Student Council holds a General Student Assembly where the students vote on a 48-hours stoppage starting that same day. The Chancellor of Aguadilla announces that the operations would continue.

At the Mayaguez campus, a group of students try to take over the General Library late at night as a way of demanding an extension to the library working hours. In response the

	Chancellor of Mayaguez met with the President of the Student Council and agrees to extend the library's working hours during final exams week.
December 8, 2010	Certification 90 (2004-2005) of the Board of Trustees rejects the obstruction of university facilities as a form of protest. Thus, after the illegal stoppage that occurred at the **Río Piedras** campus on December 7-8, the UPR President requests State Police to occupy the campus. At the **Río Piedras** campus, one of the key student leaders, Giovanni Roberto, gave a heartfelt speech to the hired Capitol Security "guards" letting them know that the UPR students are on strike so that youth like them can have access to public higher education. Due to this, a group of students develop the committee "*Somos comunidad, somos estudiantes*". During the day, a small countermovement protest by members of FUA takes place against the UPR student strike. Participants state that they are against the strike and against the fee but want the university to remain with *portones abiertos* [opened gates].

CHAPTER VI

UNIVERSITY UNDER SIEGE:

(RE)CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF RESISTANCE

La educación no será el privilegio de quienes puedan pagarla y la policía no será la maldición de quienes no puedan comprarla.

[Education will not be the privilege of those who can afford it and the police will not be the curse of those who cannot buy it.]

Eduardo Galeano (interview by Catalonia TV on May 23, 2011)

Emociones Encontradas con la Entrada de la Policía al Recinto

On the night of December 8, 2010, as student activists remove the barricades to culminate their contentious yet effective 48-hours stoppage at the Río Piedras campus, a group of *encapuchados* climb up the University clock tower and display a banner that reads *Venceremos siempre* [We will always win]. This emotional slogan changes the previously tense atmosphere to resilience and determination. Amidst whistles and claps, student activists chant protest songs as they march toward the main gate of the campus, where they had already decided to hold *un piquete* or picket line. During their picketing, members of the *Comité de Representación Estudiantil* (CRE) compel the government to find alternatives to eliminate the $800 tuition fee imposed by the university administration as a way of preventing the revival of their strike on December 14. As student activists continue their picketing, the police force, including mounted police, Tactical Operations Division (DOT), the SWAT team, and snipers enter the campus. Petitioned by the university administration and under direct order of Superintendent José Figueroa Sancha, members of the police force proceed

to situate themselves inside the campus, as they demand student activists to exit. Student activists spread the news chiefly through phone calls, text messages, and social networking sites. The atmosphere becomes tense yet again as more student activists arrive puzzled by what is occurring. The unexpected incident serves to visibly shock, frighten, and anger student activists as they observe and stare at each other deciding what to do. To some student activists, the police presence inside the campus invokes memories of the violent 1981 UPR student strike and confirms the imminence of their upcoming strike. However, in order to prevent *que la sangre llegue al río* [for blood to reach the river] or a violent confrontation with the police that night, student activists start yelling to each other, *¡Vámonos! ¡Vámonos!* [Let's go! Let's go!]. As they get ready to leave, Arturo Ríos gives a powerful speech:

> … Después de 30 años, en donde aquí la policía lo único que ha traído es sangre y muerte. Una vez más un día gris, un día negro para nuestra amada universidad… Esto es lo que quería la administración y no lo podemos permitir. Hay que demostrarle que nosotros somos mesurados, ponderados… y vamos a dar una pelea pero de altura. Una pelea realmente universitaria, porque (alzando la voz) ¡No nos van a parar!"[64]
>
> [… After 30 years, where the police has only brought blood and death here. Once more it is a gray day, it is a black day at our beloved university… This is what the administration wanted and we cannot permit it. We have to demonstrate that we are poised, prudent… and we are going to put up a dignified fight. A fight that represents the university, because (raising his voice) we will not be stopped!]

[64] Data gathered by *Desde Adentro* and uploaded on YouTube as *Policía toma la Universidad* [Police takes over the University]: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jtgptPIpsac.

Figure 6.1 Arturo Ríos addressing the crowd as the police took over the campus.

This opening vignette indicates the use of resistance performances, such as emotional narratives, marches, non-violent civil disobedience, and Internet activism. In this chapter I explore how student activists used emotional narratives to shape their already emotion-laden strike as well as bring forth collective memories from the past strikes. I argue that by engaging in these types of resistance performances, student activists intensified and revived their strike. I track how emotions circulated between the student activists, university administration, the police force, supporters, and opponents depending on the situation or event, in order to understand the emotional dynamics or the role of the emotions involved in the strike. As James M. Jasper (2011:141) states, "the past 20 years have seen an explosion of research and theory into the emotions of protest and social movements;" however, more research is still needed to analyze "how different emotions interact with one another" during mobilizations. In this chapter, I address how student activists' emotional narratives were powerful not only in solidifying internal relationships among themselves but also in resonating with a wider crowd to gain their support. Arturo Ríos's speech highlights the range of emotional dynamics (e.g., angry, proud, hopeful) at play among student activists and supporters as they culminated their 48-hours stoppage and during the moment the police force took over the Río Piedras campus. His speech

was followed by applauses and protest chants, as he triggered the collective memory of the people present of past police brutality against student activists. The police presence inside the campus not only breached the 30-year *Política de No Confrontación* (PNC) or Non-Confrontational Policy, but also brought forth uncomfortable memories of the 1981 UPR student strike. As such, this chapter focuses on the student activists' range of emotional dynamics during the second wave of their strike when the police force had the campus under siege. According to Sara Ahmed (2004), emotions are relational and performative since they involve the coming into contact with other people or things; thus, I argue that student activists' resistance performances assisted them in (re)framing their collective identities by (re)constructing spaces of resistance and contention while immersed in violent confrontations with the police. Throughout the chapter, I also intertwine the university administration's counterframing of the student activists' collective identity by using fear-mongering tactics such as the loss of the academic semester and accreditation. The interweaving permits a better understanding of the range of emotional dynamics that were convoluted during the strike. Building on Ron Eyerman's (2005:53) study that utilized performance theory to analyze the role of emotions in social movements, I center this analysis on student activists' tactics and strategies in the development and maintenance of their emotional narratives and Internet activism. Since emotions are said to show us how power shapes worlds and our lives (Bondi, Davidson, and Smith 2007; Ahmed 2004), by analyzing the range of emotional dynamics in their alternative news media posts, I can track how emotional narratives circulated among student activists and the ways their emotions affected

their behaviors during the strike. I begin by focusing on the second wave of their strike, followed by the high tide or climatic point of their strike. Then, I focus on the ebb and flow until their strike comes to a halt. Through selected events, I demonstrate how student activists' resistance performances continued to assist them in maintaining their national and transnational networks. By (re)constructing both "offline" and "online" spaces of resistance and contention, I argue that student activists' resistance performances, embodied in this chapter through their use of emotional narratives and Internet activism, once more mark scale-related effects (Earl et al. 2010) to existing theoretical frameworks on social movements. As shown in the previous chapter, their use of Internet activism facilitated their movement by opening new spaces of resistance and contention while also expanding their movement's scale to an international level. In view of this, new theories are not necessarily required, but rather modifications to existing ones (Myers 1994; Fisher 1998; Foot and Schneider 2002; Bennet 2004; Earl 2007). My analysis fills a gap found on the literature of emotions and social movements by focusing on the interactions between the emotional narratives used and their effects on the student strike. The writing style used in this chapter is similar to chapter V in order to point to the historical connections that lead to a collective memory.

Tactics and Strategies: Emotional Narratives and Internet Activism

As an essential component of a student movement, emotions are present in every aspect of its development, maintenance, and/or hindrance (Eyerman 2005; Flam 2005; Jasper 2011). Emotions "are understood as social, cultural, and political constructs" (Hochschild 1979; 1990; 1993; Flam 2005:19). In other words, the

emotional experiences of student activists must be understood as both product and subject to the context in which they are embedded. Therefore, in order to fully grasp the range of emotional dynamics involved during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement, it is necessary to look at the events that led to the police force's occupation of the main campus. Building on Helena Flam's (2005:3) argument, this chapter goes "beyond the burgeoning research in this area which mainly treat emotions as merely a mobilization resource or an object of management" by analyzing student activists' resistance performances in (re)framing their collective identities among student activists while simultaneously maintaining their identity as a student body through the CRE. I expose their tactics and strategies in (re)constructing "offline" and "online" spaces of resistance and contention while faced with the reality of police brutality. Some key questions that guide this chapter include the following: What was the role of emotions in student activists' (re)construction of spaces of resistance and contention during the intensification and revival of their strike? How are student activists' feelings and expressions enforced and altered, and how do these affect the movement? This chapter attempts to answer such questions by offering an account of the revival of the strike.

The order for the police force to lock-down the Río Piedras campus did not emerge out of thin air; after the initial victory of student activists the government stepped in to regain control. On June 21, 2010, Governor Fortuño added four new members to the university's *Junta de Síndicos* (JS) [Board of Trustees] and having the majority of the votes, the JS breached the previous mediated agreement. In response, the CGE held a general student assembly on November 9, 2010 to discuss,

among other issues, the implementation of the $800 tuition fee and the creation of a new negotiating committee, called CRE. In this assembly, students once again voted to hold a 48-hours stoppage that would become an indefinite strike if the university administration would not negotiate. In turn, the university administration not only decided to remove and/or weld the campus gates but to also hire Capitol Security, a private security company. Such measures were implemented by the university administration on December 5-6, 2010, prior to the student activists' scheduled stoppage as a way to prevent another student occupation and promote an "open campus" policy. According to Giovanni Roberto, these measures

> …eran algo que preveníamos porque [la administración] venía hablando del "open campus"… [Sin embargo] lo que me chocó fue lo de los chamacos que usaron para hacerlo. Era evidente que todos eran jóvenes. Algunos de ellos, yo diría, que eran menor de edad y eran todos negros… Eso me conmovió bastante, me afectó. Me indignaba que la administración tuviese tan poca sensibilidad, tan poca conciencia, si se puede decir, como para usar a personas que no tuviesen dinero, pobres y desventajadas para ponerlos al servicio de sus planes. Era "shocking"… [65]
> […we were expecting them since [the university administration] had been talking about an "open campus"… [However] what shocked me was the hiring of youngsters to do the job. It was evident that they were all young. Some of them, I would even dare to say, were minors and all Black… That really moved me; it affected me. I was indignant that the university administration would have so little sensitivity, so little conscience, if it can be said, that it would use people without money, who are poor and disadvantageous to carry out their plans. It was shocking…]

As Giovanni Roberto states, the evident problem with the Capitol Security guards was that its personnel did not consist of trained individuals, but of inexperienced youngsters. Many of the student activists mentioned in the interviews that these

[65] Data gathered from my interview with Giovanni Roberto on December 12, 2012.

youngsters were recruited from Loíza and Carolina, two cities known for their underprivileged Black population, given a security t-shirt, and paid $10 an hour to work as guards. Frustrated with the current situation, student activists decided to use an emotional narrative as a tactic. On December 8, 2010, encouraged by other student activists, Giovanni Roberto gave a heartfelt speech about his upbringing to connect with the young guards. He began by stating: *Nosotros no los consideramos nuestros enemigos… Y aunque ustedes hoy estén de ese lado, mañana ustedes deben estar en este lado* [We do not consider you our enemies… And although today you are all on that side, tomorrow you should all be on this side][66]. He continue to talk about how he was raised by a single mother and that they still lacked economic resources but he was able to study part-time at the university while working full-time and he was participating in the strike in order to fight for the accessibility of people like him into the university. After his speech, many student activists also hugged the young guards. Therefore, by expressing empathy and camaraderie, student activists were able to break down the antagonistic barrier forced between them and the young guards. This emotional dynamic led the university administration to remove the newly hired guards and request the police force's presence within the campus. According to Ygrí Rivera, President of the Board of Trustees, the decision to have the police force enter the campus was a risk she was willing to take:

> …Siempre había mucho temor de entrar a la policía… es un riesgo, con cierto cuidado, pero no íbamos a dejar que este relajo siguiera. Esto era un libertinaje, un estado de sitio todo el tiempo y dije se acabó…[67]

[66] Data gathered from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xXzpbYB7Ndo.

[67] Data gathered from my interview with Ygrí Rivera on January 16, 2013.

> […There was a lot of fear in having the police enter the campus… it was a risk, with a lot of precaution, but we were not going to let this joke carry on. This was a debauchery, a situated place all the time and I said it had to be over…]

Roberto and Rivera's actions serve to exemplify the different parallel realities that existed during the strike between student activists and the university administration. Student activist viewed the strike as their right to protest or assemblage; while the university administration viewed the strike as a joke that had gone on for too long. Similarly, student activists used the strike to defend the university and their right to study; while the university administration used the police to end the strike under any measure.

1981 ... Chancellor Antonio Miró Montilla retaliates against the UPR student strike by requesting the police force to occupy the campus. Many violent confrontations occur between students and the police...
1984 ... Under the PPD government, the new UPR President, Fernando Agrait, and the new university administration develop the Non-Confrontational Policy (PNC) as a way to promote peaceful dialogue among the university community.

In addition to having the police force, mounted police, Tactical Operations Division (DOT), the SWAT team, and snipers occupy the campus, the university administration pressured Puerto Rico's Supreme Court to rule that university students did not have the right to go on strike because they were not employees.[68] This ruling allowed the university administration to pass a *moratoria* or gag law, which

[68] "The Supreme Court ruled in *University of Puerto Rico vs. Laborde et al.* (CT-2010-008)… that students had no right to strike. The main argument for this was the 'contractual nature' of students' relationship with the institution. The court claimed that the students had 'purchased' a service contract, which made them 'consumers of education' and therefore not entitled to strike… At the same time, the ruling established that the university administration could determine where and when demonstrations could be held and whether certain activities could take place on campus" (Atiles-Osoria 2013:111).

prohibited any gathering and demonstration within the campus while labeling specific *áreas de expresión pública* [areas of public expression] outside the campus. In response, student activists, professors, and supporters set up a 24-hours/7 days a week "camp" *de huelga* across the street from the main gate of the campus.

Figure 6.2 Designated areas of public expression.

"Critical emotional events" (Yang 2005: 80) such as the hiring of Capitol Security, the entrance of the police force, and the Supreme Court's decision against the strike led student activists to use emotional narratives to transform the dynamics of their resistance performances. Through protest songs and slogans such as *No podemos estudiar en un campus militar* [We cannot study in a militarized campus], *Pa' fuera la policía* [Police get out], *UPR es del Pueblo* [UPR is of and for the people], *Yo amo la UPR* [I love the UPR], *La UPR no se vende* [UPR cannot be bought], and *No a la cuota* [No to the fee], student activists (re)framed their collective identities by (re)constructing symbolic spaces of resistance and contention during their protests. Having participated as an activist researcher in many of the protests, I was able to witness first hand the intense mix of emotions present in the air during the

events ranging from euphoria, excitement, and pride to frustration and anger with the government. By alluding to the violent collective memories of the 1981 UPR student strike, as shown in Arturo Río's speech, their use emotional narratives resonated with a wider audience and assisted in garnering support against the tuition fee and militarized campus. Since emotions and memories are inextricably tied to collective identities and actions (Yang 2000), both have to be considered as meaning-making processes "in the creation of narratives to engage in social protest" (Vélez-Vélez 2013:54). For example, one of the most powerful emotional narratives that moved many student activists to mobilize themselves was *¡Estamos haciendo historia!* [We are making history!].

The introductory vignette narrated the student activists' emotional dynamics as they confronted the university administration's "preventive" strategy of having the police force occupy the campus. Although the use of emotions as a strategy of political contention has gained more media attention since 2011, it is not a new phenomenon. While not explicitly recognized, emotions have been "nonetheless present in many of the concepts that scholars have used to extend our understanding of social movements in recent years" (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polleta 2001:6). Many scholars have defined emotions as "self-feelings that are situational, interactional, and temporal" (Denzin 1984; McCarthy 1989; Yang 2000; 2005: 79). In this sense, UPR student activists' resistance performances serve to (re)construct spaces of resistance and contention that were context-specific and shared an emotional past prior to the revival or second wave of their strike.

The Second Wave of the Strike

The police force's occupation of the campus and the gag law forced student activists to discuss new tactics and strategies for the revival of their strike. On December 14, 2010, student activists began the second wave of their strike at a disadvantage. The presence of the police force raised the stakes for the student movement. No longer did student activists have the "legal rights" or control of the university as a public space to hold their assemblies and coordinate their different events. Moreover, student activists sometimes had to improvise new strategies on the spot as they (re)constructed their spaces of resistance and contention. An example of how student activists' resistance performances (re)framed their collective identities in the (re)construction of spaces of resistance and contention was the *marcha prohibida* or forbidden march. Student activists recorded the event as they marched inside the campus violating the gag law and chanted protest songs and slogans such as *Estudiantes unidos, jamás serán vencidos* [United students will never be defeated] and *No nos pararán* [We will not be stopped].

1981 ... Students chant protest songs such as:

¡Decimos no, no	[We say no, no
no nos pararán!	we will not be stopped!
¡Decimos no, no	We say no, no
no nos pararán!	We will not be stopped!
Y el que no crea	And to those who do not believe
que haga la prueba.	do try to test us.
¡No nos pararán!	We will not be stopped!]

As student activists continued their forbidden march, the police force and riot police began to chase them within the campus. Student activists had to improvise and quickly regrouped outside the campus at the intersection of Gándara and Juan Ponce

de León Avenues. After having effectively defied the university administration with their march, student activists decided to run euphorically from the intersection towards the main gate, where they held a brief picket line with supporters while uploading photos and videos to their webpages (e.g., *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan*, *Desde Adentro*, and *Radio Huelga*). Simultaneously, a group of student activists (including members of the CRE) continued their *cabildeo* or lobbying by meeting with politicians to discuss the proposals they had created with alternatives that would end the strike. Unfortunately, neither the government nor the university administration agreed to negotiate the elimination of the $800 tuition fee, but rather referred to the various financial aid options that students had at their disposal such as *Beca Pell*, *Beca Rivera Schatz*, *Oferta Fortuño "Mano a Mano," Programa Estudio y Trabajo UPR*, and *Préstamos Estudiantiles*. In view of their intransigence, student activists persisted with their different resistance performances and the tension at the university began to rise. The conflict became ever more evident as all the news agencies covered the violent incidents on December 20, 2010, also known as *la encerrona* [the ambush]. During this event, student activists were marching and chanting protest songs[69] inside the campus disrupting the activities taking place and infringing the gag law once more. In response, the police force and riot police not only chased them off-campus where they had begun to form a picket line, but also followed and cornered them into the Plaza Universitaria complex across the street. As the alarm system went off in the building, many student activists found themselves

[69] Some of the protest songs that student activists chanted were: *¡Juventud combatiente, luchando por el futuro y el presente!* [Combative youth, fighting for the future and the present!] and No me llames IUPI, llámame candela. ¡Candela, candela, la IUPI da candela! [Don't call me IUPI, call me fire. Fire, fire, the IUPI brings the heat!]

plunged to the ground and arrested while teargas and screams filled the air. Amidst the turmoil, surrounding student activists shouted with mixed emotions of fear and anger, *¡Lucha sí, entrega no!* [Fight yes, surrender no!] To avoid yet another confrontation, Ian Camilo (a member of CRE) addressed the police to back down as the students ended the event. Once more photos and videos of the event flooded their webpages (e.g., *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan*, *Desde Adentro*, and *Radio Huelga*). The next day, as student activists organized their picket line, Xiomara Caro (another member of CRE), stated:

> Creo que los eventos de ayer calaron hondo y me di cuenta que esta lucha va para largo. Ayer quedó claro, mediante el uso de la policía y la fuerza de choque, que esta es la estrategia principal de la administración y el gobierno de turno para "dialogar" con los estudiantes… Nosotros no vamos a permitir que la violencia del Estado se convierta en la manera en que el gobierno se comunica con el pueblo. Yo me opongo tenazmente a una educación a la que tienes acceso solamente si puedes pagarla y a la calidad de educación dependiendo de cuantos chavos tienes en el bolsillo. Por lo tanto, tenemos una responsabilidad enorme desde el día que entramos por esos portones y nos convertimos en estudiantes de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. Entramos con la responsabilidad en los hombros de defender nuestra universidad…[70]
>
> [I believe that yesterday's events dug deep and I realized that this fight is in for the long haul. Yesterday's incident made clear that the use of the police force and riot police is the main strategy of the university administration and government to "dialogue" with students… We will not let the State's violence become the way that the government communicates with its citizens… I strongly oppose any education that grants access only to those that can pay for it and that the quality of education depends to how much money you have in your pockets. Therefore, we have a huge responsibility from the day we walked through the gates and became students of the University of Puerto Rico. We entered with the responsibility on our shoulders of defending our university…]

[70] Data gathered by *Diálogo Digital* and uploaded on YouTube as *Xiomara Caro habla de la repression policiaca en la UPR* [Xiomara Caro talks about police repression at the UPR]: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=61Ikxx9wmeM.

Xiomara Caro's speech as well as the numerous photos and videos diffused through the Internet regarding the critical emotional and violent event of the ambush, inspired student activists to incorporate local cultural Christmas spirit into their strategies as a way of conducting non-violent civil disobedience acts to spread their message. Although it was during the holiday break, through informal conversations, many student activists remarked on how they knew they needed to stay active as well as gain new supporters in order to keep the momentum going. Some of them even mentioned the famous quote by Pedro Albizu Campos: *¡La patria es valor y sacrificio!* [The homeland is courage and sacrifice!]. According to Goodwin et al. (2001:19), emotions become "obvious in the ongoing activities of the movements. The richer a movement's culture-with more rituals, songs, folk-tales, heroes, denunciation of enemies, and so on, the greater those pleasure." One of their new resistance performances integrated giving *parrandas* or *trullas navideñas*[71] to communities that are adjacent to the university and at Plaza las Americas mall. As student activists performed these events, they mockingly carried the area of public expression sign made by the university administration as they (re)constructed spaces of resistance and contention. Their defiant act of carrying the sign as they marched and chanted protest songs to the rhythm of Christmas songs was a way of re-claiming both physical and symbolic spaces of resistance.

[71] *Parrandas de aguinaldo* or *trullas navideñas* are similar to Christmas carols; however, the songs do not necessarily have religious content and their rhythms are livelier.

Figure 6.3 Student activists and Papel Machete giving *parrandas* at local communities (left) and mall (right).

Another of their new resistance performances included sharing the university experience with the general public as part of a *Universidad sin Paredes* [University without Walls]. This performance consisted of holding classes at different public spaces such as food courts in malls, the Tren Urbano [Urban Train], and city plazas so that other people could form part of the university dynamics. During the Christmas break, student activists continued their resistance performances, particularly through Internet activism, by using emotional narratives such as the campaign *Once Uno Once* [One Eleven One]. In this campaign, student activists narrated in a video the characteristics of the UPR they wanted to construct, meaning a university that is *autónoma, de excelencia, pública, accessible, democrática y solidaria* [autonomous, of excellence, public, accessible, democratic, and solidary]. Toward the end of the video, they (re)framed their collective identities by stating, *Somos muchos, pero somos uno. ¡Once recintos, una UPR! Una Universidad, para un país* [We are many, but we are one. Eleven campuses, one UPR! The University for the country.] while also informing the audience about their ongoing strike.

Figure 6.4 Still image of the campaign video *Once Uno Once*.

High Tide: Tipping Point

Once the Spring semester had officially begun at the Río Piedras campus on January 11, 2011, CRE members urged the student body to use *la prórroga* or partial payment plan to pay their tuition as a stall tactic in order to continue protesting the fee. Some student activists announced via Facebook (e.g., EUPRI) and Twitter (e.g., *Estudiantes Informan*) that the university administration had illegally deducted automatically the $800 tuition fee from their Federal Pell grants. Similarly, on January 22, 2011, *Desde Adentro* reported that student activists' resistance performances *cruzaron el charco* [had crossed the Atlantic ocean] when a group of Puerto Rican students and supporters interrupted with protest chants and flyers a speech that Governor Luis Fortuño was giving at the Law School of Valladolid, Spain. Continuing with their strike and driven by the consistent national and transnational support, student activists cap off their non-violent civil disobedience acts by organizing a sit-in at the Capitol building on February 2, 2011. While this student activists' resistance performance served to (re)construct new spaces of

resistance and contention, it also motivated the government to secure the area with the police force and riot police. As student activists resisted the dispersal warnings, the police force attacked them with pepper spray, tear gas, and rubber bullets. This day's arrests were the most brutal since the police started to apply pressure-point techniques to the neck of the student activists and even groped the breasts of a female student activist who was being arrested. The disturbing images recorded during this event went viral through media dissemination.

Figure 6.5 Photo of a female student activist being arrested in a sexually inappropriate manner.

Following Gillian Rose's (2001) notion of how power operates through visual images, the repetition and diffusion of the visual image shown above elicited powerful emotional reactions that led student activists to improvise various protest condemning sexual harassments committed by police officers against female student activists during the strike. As they protested inside the campus, female student activists began to chant, *¡Mis tetas, mis tetas, las toca quien yo quiera*! [My breasts, my breasts, I decide who touches them!].

As student activists continued their resistance performances inside and outside the campus, more confrontations with the police force were anticipated. However, the climactic point during the second wave of the strike occurred on February 9, 2011. While members of APPU and HEEND held a 24-hour stoppage in solidarity, student activists continued with their resistance performances. Adhering to their non-violent civil disobedience acts, a group of student activists participated in a *pintata* or street painting on the main road of the campus known as *Calle Conciencia* [Awareness Street] held in front of the Lázaro Library.

1991 ... The CGE organizes a *pintadera* or painting on the main street of the campus. The event became known as *Calle Conciencia* or Awareness Street.

While student activists were painting the road, a couple of female police officers started to record them. Student activists did not like being surveilled by the female police officers and told them to leave.[72] During the verbal exchange, more student activists and police officers began to assemble around them. In a matter of seconds, police officers violently interrupted the event using pepper spray and *macanazos* [hitting with the baton] against the student activists. As shown in the multitude of videos recorded, the police force brutally and indiscriminately arrested student activists and bystanders alike, in addition to breaking university property. The violent clash ended with 28 student activists arrested and many injured.

[72] Police officers had been videotaping the protests as a way of identifying and targeting key student activists, seen as part of our history where the government kept files called *carpetas* on pro-independence activists.

Figure 6.6 Photos of two arrests made during the *pintata*

.

However, student activists were outraged and frustrated resenting what just happened, so they decided to do something against the police repression. As student activists marched through the campus chanting, *¡Fuera, fuera! ¡Fuera la policía!* [Out, out! We want the police out!], they came across police officers on motorcycles and took out their anger with them. Although the student movement in general did not condone the use of violence, Waldemiro Vélez Soto (a member of CRE) describes this event as "*usamos nuestro legítimo derecho a autodefensa*" [We used our legitimate right of self-defense!].[73] When visual images of the initial conflict between student activists and the police flooded the media, supporters immediately mobilized to the University clock tower, wearing white shirts to demand the removal of the police from the campus and reestablish the PNC. The emotional effects caused by the event and later on by the visual images serve to portray the dynamics of how different emotions (e.g., some supporting the student activists and others supporting the police) entwine in the process of social movements. Once more the repetition and diffusion of the intense images, led student activists to improvise a *vigilia* or vigil for the university at night,

[73] Data gathered by *Diálogo Digital* and uploaded on YouTube as *Motín en la UPR, 9 de febrero de 2011 (2da parte)* [Riot at the UPR, February 9, 2011 (2nd part)]: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LjBaWESdTjg.

in which professors, members of HEEND, and supporters participated. All of the 11 UPR campuses simultaneously formed part of the vigil. De novo, at the Río Piedras campus, a group of *encapuchados* climbed up the University clock tower and displayed the *Venceremos siempre* banner prompting the crowd to chant, *¡Venceremos, venceremos!*

Figure 6.7 Flyer disseminated for the vigil.

Consequently, the event also led UPR President, José Ramón de la Torre, to write a letter to the Police Superintendent, José Figueroa Sancha, requesting the removal of the police from the campus or he would resign. De la Torre resigned a day later.[74] In the meantime, student activists organized a march under the slogan, *¡Yo Amo a la UPR!* [I Love UPR!] on February 12, 2011. The slogan was designed to arouse an emotional resonance (Gould 2009) with members of a wider audience as a way to inspire them to mobilize and profess their love to the university. More than 15,000 people participated to defend the university by demanding the removal of the police force from the campus. The march's massive outcome led Governor Fortuño to order the partial removal of the police force from the campus and the university

[74] On February 14, 2011, Miguel Muñoz was named interim President and subsequently he was made UPR President.

administration to counterpoise the student activists' effective strategies by threatening with the possible loss of the Middle State Commission of Higher Education (MSCHE) accreditation.

Figure 6.8 Images from the march *Yo amo a la UPR*.

Ebb and Flow

With no sign of reaching a negotiation and as more time passed, impatience, stress, and annoyance became expressed through an intensification of violent incidents between student activists and the police force. When I interviewed Adriana Mulero Claudio, a member of the CNN, she stated,

> …una vez que nos damos cuenta que era imposible continuar la huelga de la forma que se había establecido, dado que la huelga es un proceso de desgaste y mientras más pasa el tiempo más difícil es mantenerla… yo diseñé una propuesta que recogía diversos métodos de resistencia. Uno de ellos era realizar un paro como culminación de una etapa que ya estaba a punto de acabar. Y también una serie de actividades artísticas como preparación a otro nivel de resistencia. Por ejemplo, la lectura de Cien años de soledad de Gabriel García Márquez… Pues esta propuesta se sometió a la asamblea y fue aceptada por los estudiantes. El maratón de Cien años de soledad pudo realizarse, no sin enfrentar una serie de contra-tiempos, porque ya había ocurrido el incidente con la rectora Ana Guadalupe y obviamente eso causó un impacto… Leer Cien años de soledad era un acto de resistencia y la resistencia se realiza en los momentos más

difíciles. Si tú te rindes en el momento más difícil, te rendiste… Y Cien años de soledad era seguir sin importar cuán duras eran las condiciones… sin importar la cantidad de gente que participara… Y hubo una gran respuesta por unos estudiantes que insistieron en participar, que se decepcionaban si se daban cuenta que no podían leer algún fragmento de la obra. Se leyó en mandarín, alemán, en italiano, y fue una actividad muy bonita…[75]

[…once we realized that it was impossible to continue the strike the way we had established, given that a strike is a process of exhaustion and the more time passes the harder it is to maintain it… I designed a proposal that incorporated diverse methods of resistance. One of them was to hold another stoppage as the culmination of a stage that was about to end. And also a series of artistic activities as preparation of another level of resistance. For example, the reading of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Gabriel García Márquez… Well, the proposal was submitted at the assembly and was accepted by the students. The *One Hundred Years of Solitude* marathon was able to take place but not without a series of setbacks, because the incident with the Chancellor Ana Guadalupe had just occurred and that of course had an impact… Reading *One Hundred Years of Solitude* was an act of resistance and resistance is done in the hardest moments. If you give up in the hardest moment, then you gave up… And *One Hundred Years of Solitude* was to continue regardless of how hard the conditions were… or how many people participated… And there was a great response by a group of students that insisted in participating and would even be disappointed if they realized they couldn't read a fragment of the book. People read in Mandarin, German, in Italian, and it was a great event…]

As Adriana Mulero Claudio so eloquently expressed, during the revival of their strike and as participation was waning, student activists realized that they had to frequently adjust their resistance performances, in this case their emotional narratives, to (re)construct spaces of resistance and contention. In order to protest the university administration's dismantling of academic programs by placing them *en pausa* or on hold, student activists organized and participated in a 24-hour non-stop reading of Gabriel García Márquez's novel, *Cien Años de Soledad*, on March 9, 2011. This

[75] Data gathered from my interview with Adriana Mulero Claudio on October 1, 2012 and December 3, 2012.

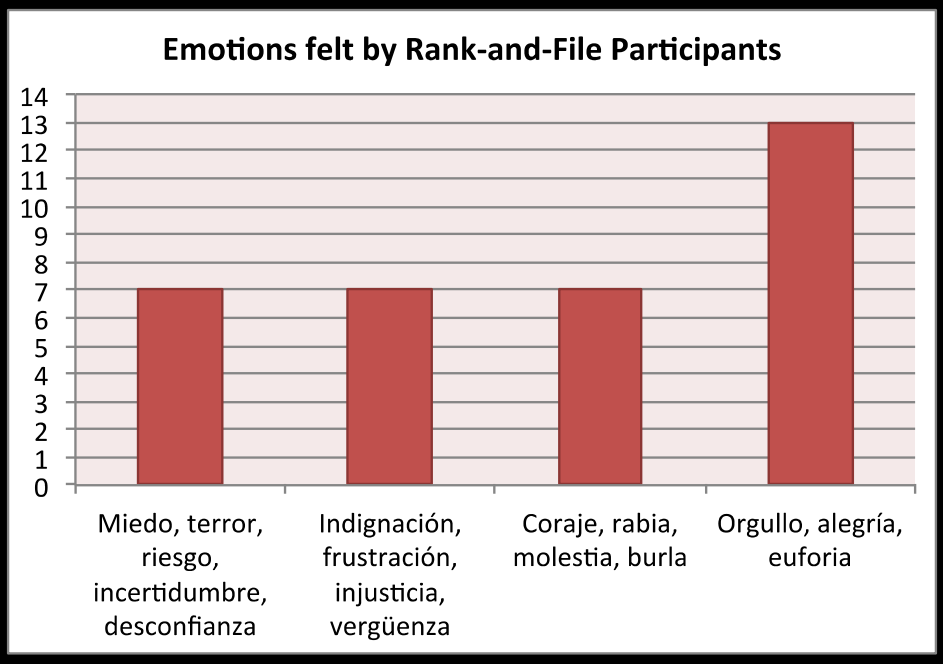
resistance performance, as Adriana Mulero Claudio mentioned, was already approved at the general student assembly but was also used to reclaim some of the support lost in the unfortunate incident involving Chancellor Ana Guadalupe.[76] The reading marathon allowed its participants to freely express themselves as they read or acted out their selected section(s), while engaging the audience to participate in the reading along. In addition, the performance was intended as a historical and cultural strategy of resistance to stimulate discussions about the country student activists wanted to (re)build, seeing the UPR as a metaphor for García Márquez's Macondo. In addition, the event was held at Plaza Antonia in front of the theater, which also aroused the collective memory of the student Antonia Martínez Lagares, who was shot and killed by a police officer during the 1970 UPR student strike.

1970 ... Student bystander, Antonia Martínez Lagares, is shot and killed while standing at her balcony by a police officer during one of the violent confrontations between students and the police force. She becomes a martyr of the student movement and a symbol of police brutality...
1971 ... Students honor the memory of Antonia by naming the plaza in front of the theater after her...

In general, emotions and memories serve as impetus for collective actions (Jasper 1997; 1998; Polleta 1998); however, the more time passes and as the level of risk rises, "the desire to avoid unpleasant emotions…can work against social movement participation" (Norgaard 2006:391). When analyzing the most recurrent emotions felt during the strike by students who took the surveys I administered, out of sixteen only three emotions were clearly positive: *euforia, orgullo y alegría* [euphoria, pride, and happiness]. The remaining thirteen were clearly negative

[76] The incident involving Chancellor Guadalupe will be analyzed in chapter VII.

emotions: *miedo, terror, riesgo, incertidumbre, desconfianza, indignación, frustración, injusticia, vergüenza, coraje, rabia, molestia, burla* [fear, terror, risk, uncertainty, distrust, indignation, frustration, injustice, shame, anger, rage, discomfort, mockery]. In accordance with Eyerman (2005:42), "emotional responses can move individuals to protest and to contend and, once in motion, social movements can create, organize, direct, and channel collective emotion in particular directions, at particular targets." However, not all emotions serve to mobilize or maintain a social movement, on the contrary some emotions (or lack there of) can in fact hinder a movement. For example, some negative emotions such as anger and indignation can serve to motivate mobilization, yet they need to be compensated with positive emotions such as hope to change the situation that caused the negative emotions in the first place. As such, the surveys asked about emotions in order to understand the reason(s) that motivated students to participate (or not) in the strike. If they participated, I asked about their role(s) during the strike and the duration of their participation. These types of questions assisted me in tracking the feelings and expressions of rank-and-file participants.



C

began to hinder student activists' participation and there was a decline in their resistance performances. As fear continued to increase and hope to decrease among student activists, their strike began to fade out and they were unable to achieve everything they wanted. However, through Internet activism (e.g., memes) student activists continued to use humor and sarcasm to express their feelings regarding the situation on the island, which allowed them to sustain a space of resistance and contention long after their student strike ended. As such, their movement's success should not be measured by the sum of demands granted, but rather by the new emotional narratives they created that were inextricably intertwined with their collective identities and were able to maintain national and transnational networks that still create resistance and change in Puerto Rico.

Las Vallas Siguen Rotas[77]

During the revival of their strike, UPR student activists developed tactics and strategies that empowered them to creatively engage and improvise resistance performances to (re)construct local, corporeal, and virtual spaces of resistance and contention. The use and development of emotional narratives in order to organize and coordinate marches, non-violent civil disobedience acts, and Internet activism allowed student activists the flexibility to continue reporting through alternative media about events taking place inside and outside the Río Piedras campus. Once more their voice became a primary vessel to challenge existing power dynamics imposed by the government, university administration, and the police force. Through certain events that occurred and will be analyzed in the next chapter, student activists had to refine their strategies for interacting with traditional media while simultaneously (re)framing their collective identities and actions. Both emotional narratives and collective memories were interwoven and embodied as symbolic spaces of resistance and contention during the revival strike and became part of student activists' resistance performances by inciting repulsion toward the police force's presence on campus. By experiencing the constant threat of a militarized campus while continuing to create history together, student activists reinforced their collective identities and extended their national and transnational networks.

In this chapter, I examined how UPR student activists' resistance performances of emotional narratives served to (re)frame their collective identities by

[77] The title *Las Vallas Siguen Rotas* meaning the gates are still broken, alludes to the title of Fernando Picó et al.'s (1982) book, *Las vallas rotas*, regarding the 1981 UPR student strike.

(re)constructing both "offline" and "online" spaces of resistance and contention during the police force's occupation of the campus. I also interweaved the university administration's use of counter-resistance performances of fear-mongering through the police force, gag law, opposing students, bluff of losing accreditation, and traditional media to counterpoise the student activists' collective identity and demands, as well as reiterate and exert their power. This chapter highlighted emotional dynamics involved in developing two parallel realities through emotional narratives: (1) student activists defending the university for the country, and (2) the university administration using the police force to defend the university from student activists. As Jacqueline Hall (2011:n.p.)[78] stated, "For the students, this struggle was about their right to education and understandable desire not to attend school in a militarized zone. For the government, this was about power." Considering that "most of the work on emotions in social movements remains scattered and ad hoc, addressing one emotion in a single kind of setting. It has yet to be to be integrated into general frameworks for studying mobilization and movement" (Bosco 2007: 548); this chapter portrayed the circulation of emotional narratives and their effects on the strike. Through selected events, I demonstrated how student activists' resistance performances of emotional narratives not only aided the establishment of national and transnational networks in support of an accessible public higher education of excellence, but also (re)confirmed that a participatory democracy is possible in Puerto Rico. In addition, I exposed how intersections of race, class, age,

[78] Jacqueline Hall is a contributor to *The Massachusetts Daily Collegian* newspaper. Her article can be found at: http://dailycollegian.com/2011/02/23/protests-in-puerto-rico-not-reflective-of-u-s-democracy/.

and gender were embedded and improvised into student activists' emotional narratives during their strike, furthering our understanding of how these factors directly impinge on both identities and actions.

By analyzing UPR student activists' resistance performances during the second wave of their strike, I have demonstrated in this chapter, how this concept serves to move forward theories of social movements and Internet activism by analyzing different degrees of participation in the (re)construction of spaces of resistance and contention. The following chapter focuses on the critical discourse analysis of selected traditional and alternative media coverage during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. As such, I examine student activists' discourse and symbols in framing their collective identities by constructing spaces of resistance and contention through Internet activism.

Figure 6.10 An example of an emotional narratives used during the second wave of their strike via Internet activism, which reflects student activists' outrage towards the fee and the police inside the campus.

¿CÓMO DESCRIBIRÍAS, CON UNA PALABRA O FRASE, LA HUELGA ESTUDIANTIL 2010-2011 DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO?

[HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE, WITH ONE WORD OR PHRASE, THE 2010-2011 UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO STUDENT STRIKE?]

"…una esperanza…yo la veo como una esperanza… Hay gente dispuesta a darlo todo…para que la sociedad tenga una sana convivencia…".

["…a sign of hope…I see it as a sign of hope… There is people willing to do everything…so that society has a healthy coexistence…"]

Edwin Feliciano

"ummm… Desinformación y malas decisiones, eso resume la huelga..."

[hmmm… Disinformation and bad decisions, that summarizes the strike…"]

Eduardo Nater

"…yo entiendo que este proceso ha sido uno de los procesos sociales y políticos más importantes en los uúltimos 30 años en Puerto Rico…".

["I understand that this process has been one of the most important social and political processes in the last 30 years in Puerto Rico…"]

Ian Camilo

"…la segunda [parte]: salvajes…mejor irracional… La primera [parte]: razón, racionales…".

["…the second [part]: savages…better yet irrational… The first [part]: reason, rational…"]

Gabriel Laborde

"…la segunda [parte] lo primero que me viene a la mente es: represión, violencia e injusticia… La primera [parte]: los inicios para un proyecto de país…hacia una utopía, por una democracia que personalmente anhelo para mi país…".

["…the second [part] the first thing that comes to mind is: repression, violence, and injustice… The first [part]: the beginning of a country's project…towards a utopia, for a democracy that I personally aspire for my country…"]

Amaris Torres

"…guau, eso está difícil, resumirlo en una palabra… En lo personal…lo describiría como crecimiento… Yo diría que la huelga fue el climax de mi vida…".

[“…wow, it is difficult to summarize in a word…personally…I would describe it as growth…I would say that the strike was a climax in my life…”]

Nerivaliz Villafañe

“…parafraseando la cita del Che que dice:…fuimos realistas, hicimos lo imposible…eso fue lo que nosotros hicimos…”.

[“…paraphrasing a quote from Che that says:…we were realists and did the impossible…that is what we did…”]

Ibrahim García González

“…desastroso para la Universidad…”.

[…a disaster for the University…”]

Michael Ayala

“…dignidad y solidaridad…”.

[“…dignity and solidarity…”]

Eddie López Lugo

CHAPTER VII

THE BATTLE FOR PUBLIC OPINION

Las huelgas, tenemos que recordar, que venden periódicos… venden ratings.

[We have to remember that strikes sell newspapers… sell ratings.]

Margarita Megal (interviewed in *Dos Miradas a la UPR* documentary)

Let's Get Ready to Rumble

In order to examine how the 2010-2011 UPR student activists' resistance performances constructed spaces of resistance and contention via the media and inserted itself in the international student movement, this chapter focuses on the traditional and alternative news media (re)presentations of the movement. I argue that student activists' alternative news media coverage transformed the traditional news media coverage of the strike and its actors. Using framing theory, I carry out a critical discourse analysis (CDA) on selected events published about the student movement by the local newspapers *El Nuevo Día* and *El Vocero*,[79] as well as by *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan* (EUPRI), *Desde Adentro*, and *Radio Huelga* (RH). As stated in chapter III, CDA deals with notions of power, hegemony, class, race, gender, reproduction, and resistance among others. Conducting a CDA allows me to analyze the language (and symbolisms) used in media to identify the power relationships involved in the dynamics between the student movement and the UPR administration. As such, I examine student activists' texts and images and the role they have to frame their collective identities by constructing spaces of resistance and contention through

[79] Although there were other local newspapers that covered the student strike such as The San Juan Star and *Claridad*, I selected the two most widely distributed in the island.

alternative news media (i.e., Internet activism), while contrasting the university administration's role to counter-frame of student activists' collective identity through traditional news media.

As Mattoni and Treré (2014:266) state, more research needs to be done that analyze the intricacies of the

> multifaceted communication processes that characterize present and future mobilizations across the world… also past mobilizations, and the much needed comparisons between the role of media in newest and older protests… looking at the various level at which media and movements interact.

In light of this, the main questions this chapter aims to answers are: In what ways was the 2010-2011 UPR student strike represented in the media? Specifically, what events, images, and discourses were considered newsworthy and why? How did the student activists use the media in constructing offline and online spaces of resistance and contention during their strike? Moreover, what effect(s) did the traditional and alternative news media coverage and treatment have on the student movement? Thus, by comparing traditional and alternative news media coverage, I posit that student activists' different tactics and strategies used to frame their collective identities, particularly their media dynamics and practices, (re)constructed spaces of resistance and contention during their strike. By this I mean that the 2010-2011 UPR student activists framing efforts to present themselves to the public via alternative news media enabled them to mitigate the influence on the public by the university administration's counter-framing representations of them via traditional news media.

Similar to chapters V and VI, the writing style of this chapter consists of "interrupting" the present text with past and present newspaper propagandas or

advertisements paid by the university administration as part of their counter-resistance performances in stigmatizing the student activists. These disruptions serve to depict another part of the media dynamics and complicated processes inherent in the analysis of the UPR student movement. This allows me to analyze the media coverage of events during the most recent strike while also invoking a sense of continuity of time and space in which the past is implied in the present by shaping current perceptions.

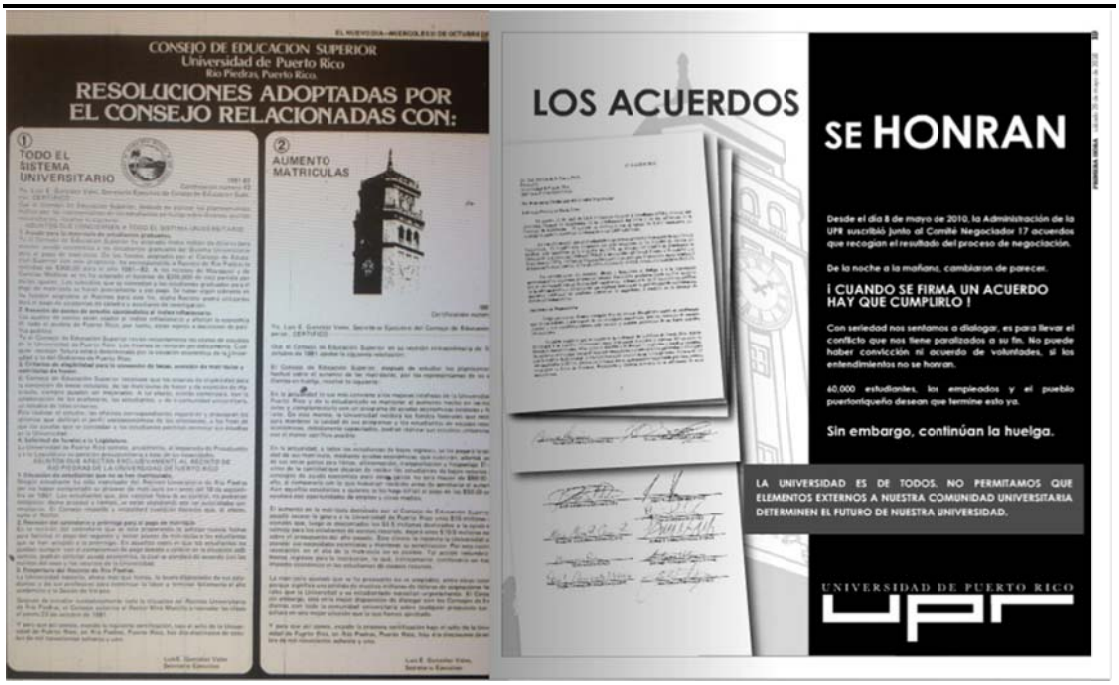


Figure 7.1 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right).

Tactics and Strategies: Media Dynamics and Practices

Los pueblos que no escuchan los reclamos de sus estudiantes corren el peligro de quedarse sin futuro.

[The people who do not listen to the demands of their students, run the risk of being left without a future.]

Eduardo Galeano (Letter addressed to the student activists 2010)

Although many scholars have studied the complex relationship between social movements and media studies (e.g., Bennett and Segerberg 2013; Harlow 2012; Papacharissi and De Fatima Oliveira 2012; Kavada 2010; Downing 2010, 2008, 2001; Stein 2009; Bimber, Flanagin and Stohl 2005; Couldry and Curran 2003; Rodriguez 2001; Ayres 1999; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Gitlin 1980), most of them fall short by focusing on either "the one-medium bias" or "the technological-fascination bias" (Mattoni and Treré 2014:254). According to Mattoni and Treré (2014), the works that have the one-medium bias focus on analyzing (1) how traditional mainstream media cover and influence social movements by often supporting the hegemonic discourse established by those in power; or (2) how a specific alternative media or digital platform is produced and used by social movement actors. On the other hand, works that have the technological-fascination bias focus on the newest technologies and overestimate their role in social movements, while neglecting the relevance of older technologies (Mattoni and Treré 2014). Therefore, in this chapter I address these critiques by analyzing the media dynamics and practices involved during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. However, in order to do so I must first expose the lay theories or common knowledge that informs activists in regards to traditional news media coverage of social movements. According to Patrick McCurdy (2013:62), lay theories of news media

> are theories or understandings, expressed or enacted by social movement actors, concerning the functions and motivations of [traditional] news media, how news media operate, what drives them, and theories concerning how the logic of news influences the representation of reality.

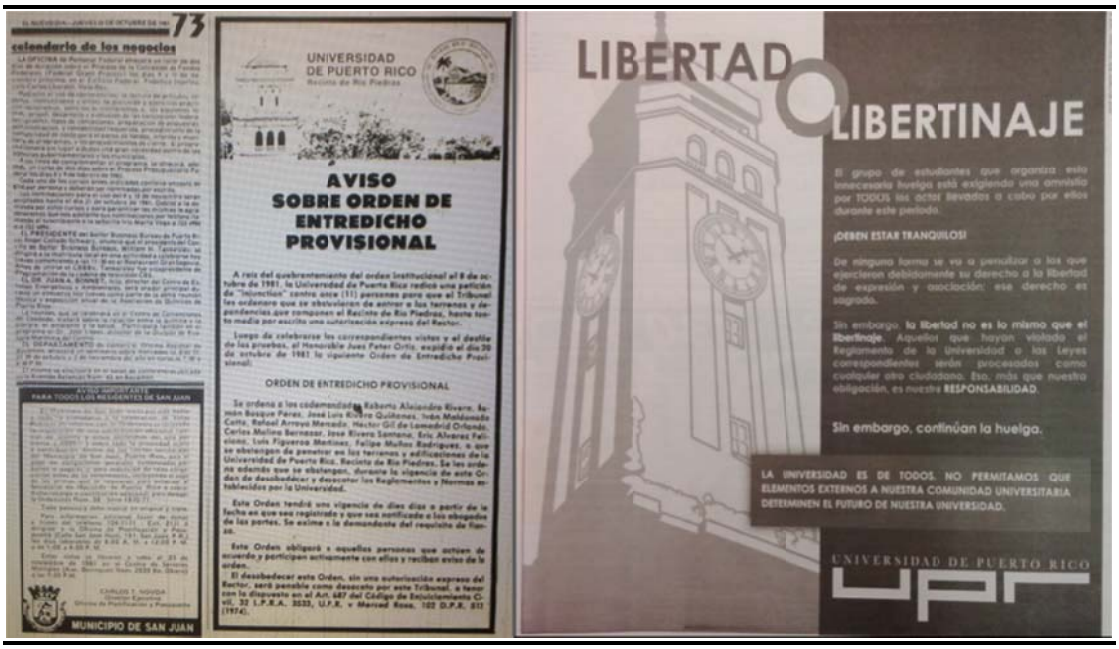


Figure 7.2 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right).

In other words, lay theories are the ways in which student activists understand the roles, motives, and influences of traditional news media on their movement and the selection of their tactics and strategies. Coinciding with McCurdy's (2013:64) study, "a common perception among interviewees was that [traditional] media outlets would not publish stories in a way contrary to their own financial interests or the capitalist system within which they are embedded." In addition, the news that gets published tends to focus on topics such as violence, sex, or have a sensationalist spin to it. Another common perception was regarding the role of gatekeepers (McCurdy 2013; Kielbowicz and Scherer 1986; White 1950) in the process of producing of news. Regardless of the news gathered by journalists and reporters, editors act as gatekeepers and "have the biggest influence over both the content and the shape of news" (McCurdy 2013:65). Editors determine what is newsworthy and what is not, what is made visible and what gets invisibilized. This filtering is a "critical function

of news as a space for understanding the world and as a site of struggle over the ways in which the world is presented and understood" (McCurdy 2013:64; Silverstone 2007; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Thus, the media dynamics involved in the student activists' resistance performances during their strike was mainly twofold: (1) to manage traditional news media coverage of the events to gain public support and (2) to produce their alternative news media coverage of the events to promote their cause. In the former media dynamics, student activists' lay theories of traditional news media instructed and justified their skepticisms, behaviors, and discourses as they strategically presented themselves to journalists and reporters (McCurdy 2013). Some of the student activists' media practices and interactions with traditional news media consisted of acting as representatives of the movement. For example, the constant exposure in the news of certain student activists, whether wanted or not, led people to regard them as being "leaders" of the movement, even when they clarified that they were just spokespersons and could not make any decision without approval from the base camps. The title of "leader" was assigned to these student activists because "media attention, even unwanted attention, can bestow leadership labels and authority on individuals" (Gitlin 1980, cited in Feignbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013:160), as well as make them the target of the opposition, in this case the university administration and the police force. Accordingly, the notion of *protagonismo* or wanting traditional news media attention was mentioned during the majority of the interviews. Many interviewees commented that some people, in favor and against the student strike, were looking to have their "five minutes" of fame in the news. As such, student activists had to learn to keep egos in check while

managing and observing their representations in the traditional news media in order to minimize any negative effect it could have on the audience. In the latter media dynamics, some of their media practices and interactions with alternative news media consisted of gathering, producing, (re)presenting, and consuming news about their movement from their own voices to garner public support (e.g., Internet activism). Past studies have proven that the "web can serve as an avenue for voicing dissatisfaction and, as a new technological medium, it has transformed the mode of interpersonal communication, which has led to changes in how social movements mobilize (Chen and Liao 2014:1; Castells 2012; Anduiza, Jensen and Jorba 2012). Given the horizontal nature of their movement and Internet activism, their media practices included a variety of topics that ranged from informational to entertainment. As such, student activists' resistance performance allowed them to strategically construct online spaces of resistance and contention by developing and maintaining different alternative news media.

Having discussed the foundation of student activists' lay theories of traditional news media coverage, media dynamics, and media practices during their movement, I can now carry out a CDA on certain events involved in the mediatization of the student strike as a media spectacle.

Figure 7.3 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right).

Mediatization: Student Strike as Media Spectacle

La prensa nunca es imparcial.[80]

[The press is never impartial.]

Teresa Córdova

According to several scholars, mediatization "refers to the process of communicative construction of sociocultural reality, exploring the role of multiple media inside that process" (Mattoni and Treré 2014:261; Hepp 2013, 2012; Krotz 2009), as well as the topics the media focus on. In other words, meadiatization looks at the role of the various media in the construction of our reality. A direct effect of the mediatization process on social movements is the role of the media in framing it as a media spectacle. Media spectacle refers to

> media constructs that present events which disrupt ordinary and habitual flows of information, and which become popular stories which capture the attention of the media and the public, and circulate through broadcasting networks, the

[80] Data gathered from my interview with Teresa Cordova on January 24, 2013.

> Internet, social networking, cell phones, and other new media and communication technologies (Kellner 2012: n.p.)

In order to understand the mediatization process of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike as a media spectacle, I carry out a CDA on selected events that highlight the media practices used by both student activists and the university administration. As Fairclough (1992 cited in Cabalin 2014: 489) stated, discourses can be analyzed as (1) texts, "which allows the researcher to observe the vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and structure of the text"; (2) discursive practice, "in which the researcher seeks to understand how the discourse is produced and distributed in society"; and (3) social practice, "which allows the researcher to detect when discourse is being represented and recontextualized in a dialectical relationship with hegemonic discourses."

During the interviews, one of the topics often mentioned in regards to news media coverage was the (*dis*)information in the construction of the student strike as a media spectacle. If media spectacles are often dramatic, involve ritual events, and "feature compelling images, montage, and stories, which engage mass audiences and generate discussion and debate throughout the media" (Kellner 2012:x), student activists must mitigate the negative repercussions and implications that accompany the diffusion of false or fabricated information about their strike and its key actors. Some of these implications can be best exemplified through the media practices, used by both the student activists and the administration, of producing speeches and messages to inform the rest of the country. For example, on May 26, 2010, a month after the strike had initiated, as a counter-resistance performance the UPR President, José Ramón de la Torre addressed the country through traditional news media about

the current situation in the university. As shown below, the video was recorded in De la Torre's office and consisted of an upper body perspective of him (dressed in a suit) standing next to his desk while speaking, as well as a series of close-ups to emphasize certain key points in his message. The decorations in his office consist of dark earthy colors that denote a serious atmosphere to match the seriousness of the message. His body language stays pretty rigid and stern except for occasional hand gestures for emphasis.

Figure 7.4 Snapshots of UPR President, José de la Torre's message to the country.

In his speech, De la Torre referred to the strike as an unnecessary *paro* [stoppage], already belittling the strike by not acknowledging it as a *huelga*, which was organized by a small group of students with leftist political agendas that was costing the university a daily loss of four million dollars. He highlighted both the university administration's good faith in negotiating with the students by enumerating issues that they had "granted" and the students' lack of consistency by changing their demands and negotiators. He warned and instilled fear by threatening that if the strike continued it would mean the loss of the academic semester or even the university's accreditation by the Middle States Association. He concluded his speech by

proposing the following five points: (1) that the students occupying the campus voluntarily move out; (2) that the university begin its functions at 6:00am on Monday, June 7th; (3) that the group of students select only five members to participate in the negotiations; (4) that the negotiations with the selected five students continue over the summer; and (5) that the negotiations be open to the rest of the country via the news media, so that everyone could understand what was being discussed. He added that "*la universidad no puede ser el rehén de nadie*" [the university should not be held hostage by anyone] because it cuts short the rights and future of thousands of students. Finally, he ended by stating that the administration awaited the response from the students and asked for God's blessing for all. Since the traditional news media coverage of De la Torre's message helped portrayed the student activists as being motivated by external leftist political agendas, while the members of the university administration were the most willing to negotiate with them, student activists reacted by using their alternative news media to deconstruct and discuss his message pointing out its (*dis*)information.

In addition, on June 1st and in response to De la Torre's speech, student activists decided to videotape members of the National Negotiating Committee (CNN) as part of their resistance performances to represent the union of the eleven campuses on strike. As shown below, the video was recorded in an empty studio-like room and consisted of an upper body perspective of the different members of the CNN (wearing a white t-shirt that read: UPResunpaís.com) as well as a series of close-ups to identify each of the members and their campus. The final shot shows all of the different members in a full body perspective reiterating their unity. The

simplicity and brightness of the white walls and their white t-shirts contrasts sharply to the dark colors that were present in De la Torre's video. Although the body language of the different members varies, they all exhibit a sense of conviction and pride in their message.

Figure 7.5 Snapshots of CNN's message to the country.

By managing the traditional news media and producing their own alternative news media, the CNN's message was given an unprecedented news media coverage. It was emitted as a message to the country that was simultaneously released through both traditional and alternative news media. This instantaneously transmission blurred the division line between traditional and alternative news media and allowed the students' discourse not only to resonate with a wider audience but to also gain support and even admiration for their message. As a resistance performance, the CNN's message served to complicate the UPR President's message by personifying the diversity and unity within the student movement. Under the slogan *UPR es un país* [UPR is a country], these students explained the reasons for their actions in defense of an accessible public higher education of excellence as a right and not a privilege. The students mentioned the university administration's bad faith and intransigency in the

negotiations by emphasizing that "*han llegado al punto de recurrir a la mentira, la difamación y la violencia"* [the university administration resorted to using lies, defamation, and violence against them]. They clarified that their demands have been ratified in student assemblies and if not met would change the university by affecting students, professors, and workers in the eleven campuses. The students continued their message by enumerating their demands: (1) the repeal of Certification 98, which they were still waiting for the written guarantee from the university administration; (2) no privatization of any of the UPR campuses, which they were also still waiting for the written guarantee from the university administration; (3) no tuition increase or special fee that could affect students' access to their education; and (4) no sanctions to the students who participated in the defense of public higher education for everyone. They concluded by reiterating that they were on strike to guarantee access to the university and excellency in our education. They ended by chanting: *"¡Once recintos, una UPR!"* [Eleven campus, one UPR!]

Another example of (*dis*)information as media practice, but in the print news media coverage, can be seen in the texts and images used for February 24, 2011.

Figure 7.6 Headlines of *El Nuevo Día* (left) and *El Vocero* (right) for February 24, 2011.

The headlines of the selected traditional local newspapers, *El Nuevo Día* and *El Vocero*, covered the strike because of a violent confrontation between Professor James Peter Conlan and students the day before. The confrontation occurred because Professor Conlan decided to cut the chain that locked a pedestrian entrance to the campus and remove its barricade. Since the 24-hour stoppage had been approved in the student assembly, student activists guarding the gate informed him and the other students accompanying him, that there was *un paro* [a stoppage] but if they still wanted to enter the campus they had to do it through the main gate. As one of the student activists tried to lock the gate again, the professor grabbed him in a headlock. Surrounding student activists reacted by pulling and punching the professor so he would let go of their *compa* [comrade]. A closer look at the respective headlines clearly indicates the differing position of the newspapers in relation to the student strike.

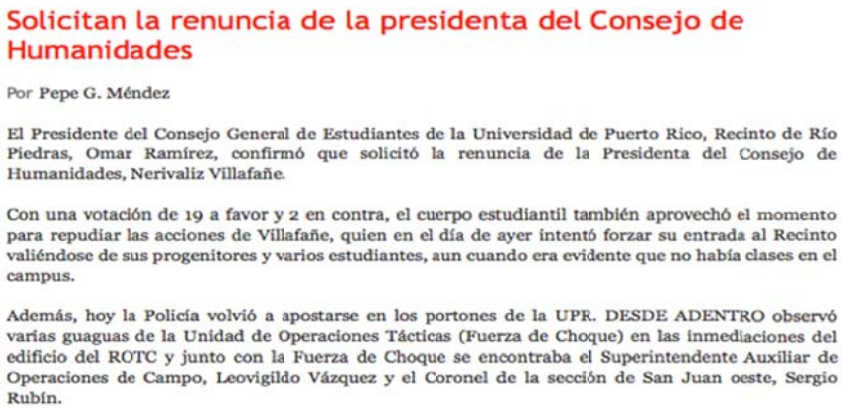
Similar to *El Mercurio* in Chile, *El Nuevo Día* had been and continues to be a political actor in the history of Puerto Rico "tied to a powerful and wealthy family…that has represented the voice of the elite since [early] 1900" (Cabalin 2014:488). Yet because of some internal divisions within the PNP, as shown above, although the cover is shared with other news, the news media coverage of *El Nuevo Día* can be considered to lean in favor of the student strike. In this headline, the choosing of key words to evoke positive emotions in its readers such as *paz* [peace] and *diálogo* [dialogue] as well as a photo, in which student activists appear relatively calm while picketing, demonstrates a sympathetic (re)presentation of the strike. Consequently, when I interviewed Eduardo Náter (leader of the opposition and member of FUA), he stated that excluding WAPA radio, "*la prensa… se inclinó la balanza hacia cubrir más el lado del grupo estudiantil que estaba a favor de la huelga*"[81] [the press… inclined the balance to covering the side of the student activists in favor of the strike]. However, as shown above, the news media coverage of *El Vocero* told a different story. By choosing key words that evoke negative emotions in its readers such as *turbas* [pejorative for mob] and *caen a palos* [beat up] as well as a photo on a black background, in which there seems to be a confrontation among student activists and their opponents, the front page of *El Vocero* features a disturbing and sensationalist (re)presentation of the strike.

In contrast, the alternative news media started to cover the event right after it happened. EUPRI posted about the event on the same day and even provided a video link to watch a recording of the incident, while DA and RH chose to focus their

[81] Data gathered from my interview with Eduardo Náter on September 2, 2012.

postings on the General Student Council's voting decision to repudiate the provocative behavior of the President of the Student Council in the College of the Humanities, Nerivaliz Villafañe, during the violent confrontation.

Figure 7.7 One of EUPRI's posts on February 23, 2011.



Solicitan la renuncia de la presidenta del Consejo de Humanidades

Por Pepe G. Méndez

El Presidente del Consejo General de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, Omar Ramírez, confirmó que solicitó la renuncia de la Presidenta del Consejo de Humanidades, Nerivaliz Villafañe.

Con una votación de 19 a favor y 2 en contra, el cuerpo estudiantil también aprovechó el momento para repudiar las acciones de Villafañe, quien en el día de ayer intentó forzar su entrada al Recinto valiéndose de sus progenitores y varios estudiantes, aun cuando era evidente que no había clases en el campus.

Además, hoy la Policía volvió a apostarse en los portones de la UPR. DESDE ADENTRO observó varias guaguas de la Unidad de Operaciones Tácticas (Fuerza de Choque) en las inmediaciones del edificio del ROTC y junto con la Fuerza de Choque se encontraba el Superintendente Auxiliar de Operaciones de Campo, Leovigildo Vázquez y el Coronel de la sección de San Juan oeste, Sergio Rubín.

Figure 7.8 One of DA's blogs on February 24, 2011.

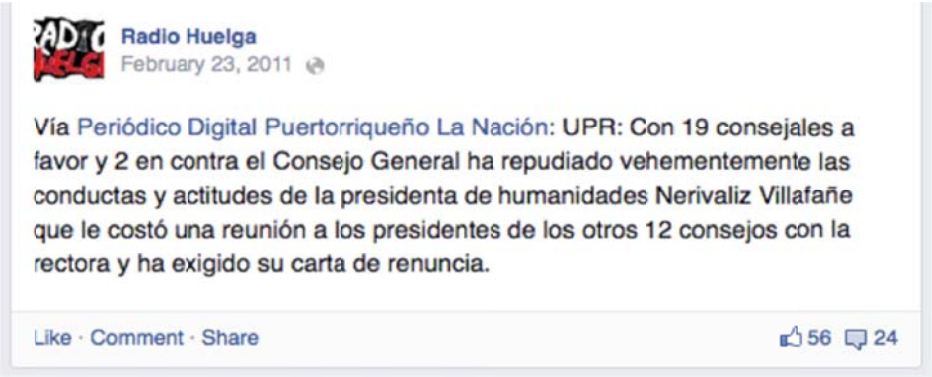


Figure 7.9 One of RH's posts on February 23, 2011.

EUPRI's post narrates the incident without taking any sides but letting the reader know that the professor initiated the confrontation and encouraged its audience to watch the video link from *Noticias 24/7* (a local public television station). DA's blog chose to discuss some of the implications of the incident, which included the General Student Council's decision to request a letter of resignation from Nerivaliz Villafañe and the return of the police force to the university. Similarly, RH's post chose to cite *La Nación* (which is another student-run newspaper via Facebook) and their focus on the General Student Council's repudiation of Nerivaliz Villafañe's actions during the incident. The student activists' linking of other news sources is a media practice to validate the information they post.

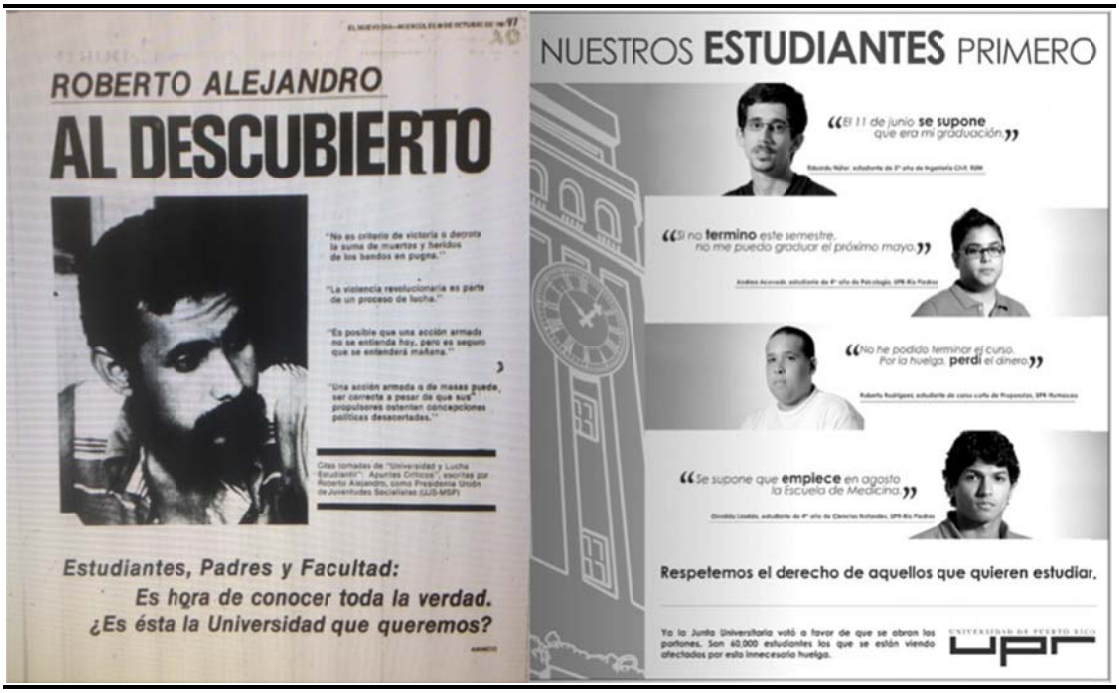


Figure 7.10 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right).

Collateral Damage: Waning of the Student Strike?

…todas las huelgas son un proceso de desgaste, eso lo sabe todo el mundo. Y mientras más pasa el tiempo, más difícil es mantener una huelga. Habíamos comenzado con muchas fuerzas pero a través de la represión, el gobierno y la

administración habían logrado mermar la cantidad de estudiantes que participaban de la huelga. Ellos dominaban todos los medios de comunicación y presentaban una idea de la huelga que no compaginaba con la realidad. Así que estuvimos participando en momentos de mucha tensión, miedo, e incertidumbre, pero al mismo tiempo de mucha esperanza… y se sintió una alegría bien grande. Por lo menos saber que no te van a faltar el respeto… y aunque no logramos o alcanzamos todo lo que nos hubiera gustado alcanzar, por lo menos se mantuvo la línea de respeto…[82]

[…as everyone knows, all strikes involve a process of exhaustion. And the more time passes, the more difficult it is to maintain the strike. We had begun with a lot of strength, but the repression enforced by the government and the university administration reduced the number of students participating in the strike. They controlled all of the media and presented an idea of the strike that was not the reality. So we were participating in moments with a lot of tension, fear, and uncertainty, but at the same time moments of a lot of hope… and we felt an immense joy. At least we knew that we were not going to be belittled… and although we didn't obtain everything we wanted, at least we maintained a line of respect…]

Adriana Mulero

As Adriana Mulero (member of the CNN and CAE) expressed, the more time passed, the more difficult it was to maintain the student strike with the escalated repression enforced by the university administration and enacted by the police force. As Seferiades and Johnston (2012:3) state "violent protests evoke contradictory responses." Generally, violent clashes between activists and the police increase news media coverage of the strike and serve to fuel the media spectacle. However, when activists instigate the violence it can cause collateral damages to their cause, especially if the incident involved *encapuchados* or hooded protesters. Contrary to this perspective, Piven and Cloward (1977), as well as Gamson (1990 [1975]) found that activists' use of strategic violence or disruptive tactics could actually favor the attainment of the movement's goals. Thus, in this section I argue that the student activists' violent resistance performances and the sensationalist news media coverage

[82] Data gathered from my interview with Adriana Mulero on October 1 and December 3, 2014.

given to these actions actually made public support start to wane out. In part due to the news media convenient coverage of the incidents until saturation, the selected events epitomize how some student activists'[83] violent resistance performances backlashed against the student movement.

On January 11, 2011, the first day of Spring semester classes at the Río Piedras campus, student activists organized a march in order to continue their strike. As an exception to the moratorium law, Chancellor Ana Guadalupe approved the event since it was to celebrate the birthday of Eugenio María de Hostos, an illustrious 19th century Puerto Rican educator known as *El Gran Cuidadano de las Américas* [The Great Citizen of the Americas]. Student activists, professors, and supporters decided to commemorate Hostos birthday by gathering around his statue inside the campus. The peaceful march was led by a personification of Hostos and included a speech by his granddaughter, Teresa de Hostos, as well as members from the *Comité de Representación Estudiantil* (CRE). After the speeches, as student activists continued their march through the campus against the *cuota* or tuition fee, a group of *encapuchados* separated themselves from the march and vandalized administrative offices and the student cafeteria.

[83] There is a long history of *infiltrados* or police officers that infiltrate the UPR student strikes as instigators of violent confrontations to sabotage the movement.

Figure 7.11 Snapshots taken from the live news coverage of *Wapa TV*.

As shown in the above snapshots, *encapuchados* flipped tables and chairs, broke glass windows, and threw smoke bombs in the cafeteria as bystanders were eating and the traditional news media covered the incident. These violent actions of the group of *encapuchados* caused the tension to rise as police officers were instructed to follow the student activists' march inside the campus. However, the police did not interfere during the vandalizing acts but continue to chase the student activists. The tension finally calmed down as student activists ended their manifestation with a picket in front of the campus' main gate. The violent images were repeated for various days across the different traditional news media with a discourse that delegitimized the student movement. Immediate reactions by student activists varied from repudiation to justification of the *encapuchados'* actions when considering the violence the government and university administration had inflicted on student activists throughout the strike. Some members of CRE appeared in the traditional news media and tried to do damage control of the situation by publicly repudiating the use of violence, but the sensationalist news media coverage given to

the *enchapuchados'* actions negatively affected the public's opinion of the student activists. The two headlines shown below portray how *encapuchados* were represented in the traditional news media. *El Nuevo Día* uses the heading of *barbarie* or barbarism to allude to the savage behaviors and actions of the *encapuchados* during the student movement. It shows an image that depicts *encapuchados* destroying a van inside the campus. Similarly, *El Vocero* uses the heading of *violentos y encapuchados* [violent and hooded] to allude that all of the student activists were violent and wore hoods. It shows an image of a couple of *encapuchados* standing in front of the police. These headlines serve to promote the general stereotype of the violent student activist.

Figure 7.12 Some examples of headlines of *El Nuevo Día* (left) and *El Vocero* (right) depicting hooded protesters.

Although initially the news media coverage produced more ratings and sales, the nonstop repetition of texts and images, as well as the press conference held by Chancellor Ana Guadalupe condemning the violent actions, prompted a loss of public support and interest for the movement.

During the interviews, the notion of *encapuchados* or hooded protesters came up from many different perspectives. Some interviewees mentioned that they wore *capuchas* or covered their faces at some point during the strike for security and fear of reprisal from opponents of the strike such as professors, police officers, and future employers. Other interviewees mentioned that they still do not approve of the use of *capuchas* during a protest because it delegitimizes the strike. Still other interviewees recognized the use of *capuchas* for the militant wing of the student movement in order to exert pressure on the university administration and government in the attainment of their demands. According to Marinos Pourgouris's (2010:230) study contrary to the common perception, hooded protesters or

> covered rioters were not merely hiding behind the anonymity of a mask—they were in fact revealing themselves to the State and to the media as masked. The hood or the mask, in other words, signifies a revelation with all the apocalyptic violence that such an appearance might suggest.

Given the negative news media coverage and lay theories that surround the usage of hoods or masks in protests, neoliberal governments have enacted laws to ban and criminalize hooded protesters (Calzadilla 2002; Pourgouris 2010). Similarly, in Puerto Rico, Chancellor Ana Guadalupe prohibited and criminalized the use of *capuchas* during the student strike but it did not prevent some student activists from continuing to use them. Although there have been various rumors of hooded protesters being undercover police instigators, nobody has been legally charged with an accusation.

The second selected event occurred on March 7, 2011. As part of their resistance performances in their "repertoires of contention" (Tilly 1986:2), student

activists held a picket in front of the University Tower at noon under the slogan *Retando la Moratoria* [Challenging the Moratorium]. In between protest chants and songs, members of CRE addressed the picketers affirming that the strike continued and they would not give up until the university administration eliminated the special fee. During this time, student activists were informed that Chancellor Guadalupe was having a meeting with some professors at a classroom inside the School of Architecture. Student activists decided to strategically mobilize their protest to interrupt the meeting. Once student activists arrived at the building where the meeting was taking place, they continued their protest chants and songs until they surrounded the classroom. Some student activists were able to enter the classroom and began to demand the chancellor's resignation, accusing her of the violence many of them experienced by the police. Since there was no sign that student activists were going to leave, the university guards decided to usher Chancellor Guadalupe right through the protest. The shoving and pushing by the university guards to clear the path for Chancellor Guadalupe's exit further stimulated student activists' anger and frustration towards her. Thus, as the chancellor was escorted towards a security van, she was attacked physically.

Figure 7.13 Snapshot taken from the live news coverage of *WapaTV*.

As shown in the above snapshots, Chancellor Guadalupe had her hair pulled and water thrown at her as she was exiting the building towards the security van. After she was inside the van her window was broken. Chancellor Guadalupe and some of the university guards protecting her had to be treated at the hospital for their injuries. As photos and videos of the incident were disseminated across both traditional and alternative news media, the loss of public support grew and people became tired of the student strike. The two headlines shown below portray how the incident was represented in the local traditional news media. *El Nuevo Día* uses the heading of *indignante la aggresión a la rectora* or indignant the aggression to the chancellor to stress the violent actions of student activists against the chancellor. It shows an image where Chancellor Guadalupe appears with her hair soaked and messy as she is being pulled out of the crowd of students. Similarly, *El Vocero* uses the heading of *salvajismo* or savagery to stress the violent actions of student activists. It shows an image where Chancellor Guadalupe is being protected from the crowd of surrounding student activists. The discourse that accompanied these representations emphasized student activists' violent aggressions against Chancellor Guadalupe, victimizing her as a "harmless woman" since it occurred a day before the International Women's Day. Once more, these headlines serve to promote the general stereotype of the violent student activist.

Figure 7.14 Headlines of *El Nuevo Día* (left) and *El Vocero* (right) covering the attack on Chancellor Guadalupe.

In addition, UPR President Miguel Muñoz as well as a group of professors held separate press conferences critiquing the attack on Chancellor Guadalupe. Similar to the previous event, members of CRE clarified that the violent acts were not planned nor discussed within the movement and although they did not justify them, they could attribute them to the high level of physical and psychological abuses the student activists had endured. Other student activists who were upset with the incident also used alternative news media to express their dismay.

Figure 7.15 Some of EUPRI, DA, and RH's posts of the attack on Chancellor Guadalupe.

The images shown above are examples of how student activists' alternative news media covered the event. Among the three selected, EUPRI had the most coverage of the incident by publishing some traditional news media photos (e.g., *El Nuevo Dia's* cover image), DA's piece regarding the incident, the *Confederación Estudiantil Nacional's* (CEN) or National Student Confederation's press release condemning the violent actions, and an unedited video of *WapaTV's* coverage of the event. In this case, EUPRI's post reflected an alignment with the traditional news media coverage and did not provide much of its own statuses regarding the incident. In contrast, RH did not criticize or condemn student activists' violent actions; it only commented on the physical status of Chancellor Guadalupe stating that she was checked at Centro Médico (UPR Medical Campus) and released. In addition, it posted a video that highlighted the violence endured by student activists under police

repression. On a more neutral stance, DA published an article that narrated the events, included a photo taken during the incident, two interviews from student activists that were present, the position of the *Consejo de Estudiantes de Derecho* [Council of Law Students] repudiating any violent act committed by students, and ends with the upcoming events of the student movement. In a clever manner, the piece presented through the interviews the perspective that the violent actions that occurred could not (and should not) be taken out of context but rather understood within the violent repression that the student activists are under.

After all the media spectacle and police investigations, charges were made against six student activists: Carla Torres, Rafael Ojeda, Freddy Alicea, Kevin Báez, Waldemiro Vélez, and Robin Torres.[84] Consequently, student activists diminished many of their demonstrations except the reading marathon of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* on March 9, 2011 and the *World Day Solidarity with the UPR* on March 11, 2011. These last two resistance performances allowed student activists to end their strike with dignity and a sense of respect. Although with this analysis I am not attempting to condemn or justify violent actions initiated by student activists, whether *encapuchados* or not, I do recognize that "an intensification of police brutality and imprisonments of activists in turn foments their anger towards the repressive state and justifies their use of revolutionary violence" (Della Porta 1995, cited in Seferiades and Johnston 2012:12).

[84] The judge only dropped the charges made to Robin Torres.

Figure 7.16 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right).

Sticky Space[85]: (Re)claiming Networks

As shown above, some of the student activists' resistance performances regarding their media practices to exert some control over their representations in the media involved managing traditional news media coverage, as well as establishing and maintaining networks through alternative news media coverage. Considering the recurring negative traditional news media coverage of the Chancellor's attack, student activists needed to (re)claim their established networks so they organized and coordinated a local and international event under the slogan *Día Mundial en Solidaridad con la UPR* [World Day Solidarity with the UPR]. The idea behind the event was for students and supporters, who did not live on the island, to send videos and photos of their demonstrations in support of the UPR student strike. The received

[85] The heading alludes to "sticky sites," which are websites that publish information or content to attract its audience and get them to return. Similarly and in connection with the previous chapter on emotions, *stick* also alludes to Ahmed's (2004:14) notion of how "we move, stick, and slide" with our emotions.

messages, videos, and photos from the Dominican Republic, Cuba, United States, Mexico, Argentina, Canada, Spain, United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, among other places, were published through student activists' alternative news media. Simultaneously, many student activists, professors, and supporters of the student movement held a national march in Puerto Rico to demand peace inside the campus and commemorate the 40th year of one of the bloodiest days in the history of the university.[86] The march ended at Plaza Antonia Martínez with the viewing of a documentary and discussions about the strike.

Figure 7.17 Sample of videos and photos from the *World Day Solidarity with the UPR.*

The multisited event not only served to insert the UPR student strike as part of the international student movement but also to expose the importance of student activists' resistance performances in the construction of spaces of resistance and contention during their strike. Via alternative news media, student activists were able

[86] On March 11, 1971, two police officers and a student were killed during the student strike and the year before a police officer had "accidentally" shot the student bystander Antonia Martínez Lagares.

to establish, maintain, and (re)claim networks of solidarity that assisted them in the battle for public opinion. These networks "exercised their power by influencing the human mind predominantly (but not solely) through multimedia networks of mass communication" (Castells 2012:7).

Although the 2010-2011 UPR student movement protest cycle (Tarrow 1998) eventually came to an end, throughout their strike their media practices regarding alternative news media, in this case Internet activism, can be described as: (1) brochure-ware – websites that diffused information about the strike but did not provide interaction to its users, (2) online facilitation of offline participation – websites that not only diffused information but also facilitated participation in offline events to its users, and (3) online participation – websites that allowed its users to participate in online protest actions such as online petitions and email campaigns (Earl et al. 2010).

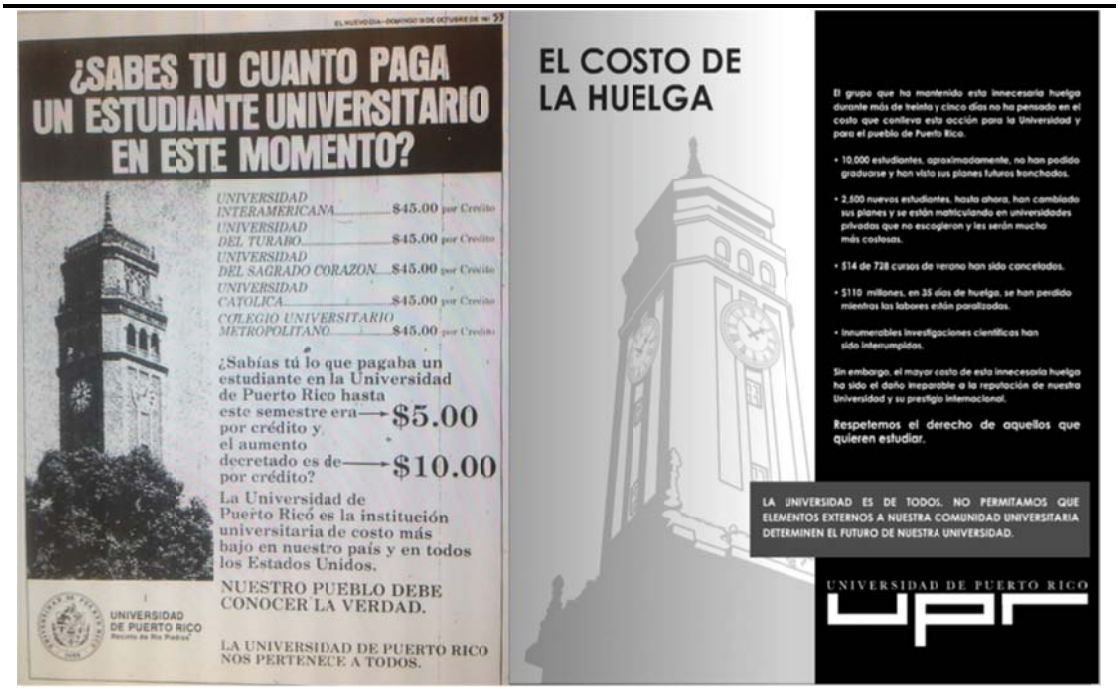


Figure 7.18 Propaganda used by the university administration in 1981 (left) and 2010 (right).

Área de Expresión Pública[87]

In this chapter, I focused on traditional and alternative news media coverage of student activists' resistance performances during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. Through the selected traditional and alternative news media, I carried out a critical discourse analysis on the (re)presentations of student activists and events. As such, I examined student activists' texts and images in framing their collective identities by constructing spaces of resistance and contention through alternative news media (i.e., Internet activism), while contrasting the university administration's counter-resistance performances in the framing of student activists' collective identity through traditional news media. By comparing traditional and alternative news media coverage, I explained the media dynamics and practices involved during the movement.

The data gathered showed that media dynamics and practices served to portray the complex processes of (re)presentation involved during the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. As anticipated, the traditional and alternative news media differed substantially in their (re)presentations and constructions of the 2010-2011 UPR student movement, with further differences within the traditional news media coverage of *El Nuevo Día* and *El Vocero*. The selected headlines of traditional news media conveyed the unequal display of power between *El Nuevo Día* and *El Vocero*, which led "to negative attributions and the legitimization of the exclusion of certain social actors and events" (Pérez 2012:20; Wodak et al. 2009; Krzyzanowski and

[87] The heading *Área de Expresión Pública*, meaning area of public expression, alludes to the university administration's strategy of assigning and labeling specific areas for the student activists to protest outside the Río Piedras campus.

Wodak 2008). The (re)presentations of the student movement by *El Nuevo Día* could be contemplated as being less sensationalist and positioned around the center, although, as Omar Ramírez commented when I interviewed him, the coverage was "*muy variable… en ocasiones sus artículos nos beneficiaban, en ocasiones otros no*"[88] [varied a lot… sometimes their articles benefitted us, other times they did not]. On the other hand, the (re)presentations of the student movement by *El Vocero* could be considered as being biased in favor of the university administration. *El Vocero's* coverage purposely reflected and protected the status quo of PNP's neoliberal government, while criminalizing and delegitimizing student activists' resistance performances. The selected postings of alternative news media depicted a democratization of information or, as Nerivaliz Villafañe mentioned in the interview, "*una prensa más transparente por ser nosotros mismos los que informamos*" [a more transparent press because we were the ones informing others]. The (re)presentations of the student movement by EUPRI were mostly neutral, while the (re)presentations of DA and RH were favorable to the student activists.

Although these results were rather expected, a revealing finding in the media dynamics and practices during the student movement was the vast amount of linking between news media sources. The volume of linkages found not only within alternative news media but also among traditional news media citing of alternative news media as credible sources blurs the lines between news media sources. Future research can be done to analyze the implications of the links between news media

[88] Data gathered from my interview with Omar Ramírez on August 30, 2012.

sources on social movements, since both traditional and alternative news media play a decisive role in them. Ironically, in accordance with UPR President Miguel Muñoz's statement during the interview, this chapter demonstrates that in today's society "*las huelgas, al igual que las elecciones,… se tienen que llevar acabo de una manera diferente*"[89] [strikes, as well as elections,… have to be realized in a different way]. Similarly, the way we analyze future social movements will require us as scholars to modify the existing theories and methods of analysis to incorporate new technologies and strategies, such as resistance performances.

[89] Data gathered from my interview with UPR's President Miguel Muñoz on November 29, 2012.

***EN PIE DE LUCHA*:**
[READY TO FIGHT]

Figure A. On February 10, 2011 the students hung from the University Tower a banner that stated: “We will always overcome”.

Figure B. Two years later, in 2013, some of the students that participated in the 2010-2011 student strike took this photo holding a banner that stated: “We won”, after they were able to prevent the $800 tuition fee for the fall semester.

Figure C. Currently, in 2014, students from the “Frente Estudiantil por la Educación Pública y Accesible” (FEEPAC) [Student Front for a Public and Accessible Education] are organizing a 24-hour stoppage due to a possible increase in tuition.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

¡Que vivan los estudiantes, jardín de las alegrías! Son aves que no se asustan de animal ni policía, y no les asustan las balas ni el ladrar de la jauría.	Long live the students, garden of happiness! They are birds who do not fear animals or the police, and are not afraid of bullets nor the barking from the pack.

Song by Violeta Parra

Seguimos

As I write this concluding chapter in Miami, I receive a Facebook event invitation from Giovanni Roberto coordinating a meeting on September 27, 2014 at the University of Puerto Rico to organize a book about the 2010-2011 UPR student movement. Not only did I participate in the meeting via Skype, but a couple of days after I received a text message from him that stated: *¡Compa! ¿Qué haces? Era pa' comentar un momento cosas del proyecto del libro.* [Comrade! What are you doing? It's to talk briefly regarding things for the book.] Moments like these confirm that my study's contributions extend far beyond the academic realm and may have actual practical implications for us in Puerto Rico. These moments certify that UPR student activists' use of new media technologies (i.e., Internet activism) not only marked a scale-related effect by modifying existing social movement theories but also that Internet activism and the networks established by student activists during the UPR student strike continue to forge ahead and have a lasting effect on activism in the island. In this final chapter, I discuss the contributions and implications of my dissertation, followed by a review of the study's limitations and suggestions for future research.

As of yet there is no thorough published analysis of the 2010-2011 UPR student strike, its implications, and how the university community currently perceives it. By elaborating on the concept of *resistance performance*, my study illustrates how both traditional and alternative media (re)presentations of student activism can develop, maintain, adjust, or change the students' collective identity(ies). My work not only makes Puerto Rico visible in the research concerning social movements, student activism, and Internet activism; in addition, it provides resistance performance as a concept to describe various degrees of participation in current social movements. Resistance performance is useful for analyzing the entanglements that emerge with collective identities and actions as a continuum between offline and online spaces of resistance. The concept of resistance performance stems as a critique of the Spectacle Performance Paradigm (SPP), based on the works of both Debord (1967) and Goffman's (1956). Joshua Atkinson (2010:33) decided to focus on audiences that were associated to social movements and he realized that the "spectacle was subordinated to a message of resistance," leading him to coin the Resistance Performance Paradigm (RPP). Although Atkinson's work offers fruitful guidance, I use resistance performance to refer when an individual (or collective self) is aware of the existing power relations and consciously participates, to different degrees, in public/private acts of dissent for an intended and sometimes unintended audience. When considering the possible repertoire of tactics and strategies of resistance, I agree with Augusto Boal's (1979) notion of the *poetics of the oppressed*, in which actors and actresses use theater or performances as weapons for liberation in which the audience itself can also participate. The degrees of participation in

resistance performances can range from not crossing the picket line and posting an online status to physically mobilizing as a collective and occupying a place. Through these acts, student activists raised awareness, facilitated organization of events, discussed different tactics and strategies (or collective actions), and established networks of trust and reliance. Throughout my fieldwork, I found that these acts depended on many internal and external factors, such as the level of urgency and crisis perceived, the emotions aroused and maintained (e.g., hope, anger, indignation), the level of engagement with the cause, a sense of responsibility and duty, if you are member of an active network or have a friend already participating, how much risk is involved (violent/non-violent), the role of parents (who may give/deny permission or the activists are parents themselves), accessibility to transportation, money, disability, studying and/or working abroad, and creativity. Thus, by examining the use of the 2010-2011 UPR student activists' resistance performances in (re)constructing spaces of resistance and contention during their movement, while juxtaposing the university administration's counter-resistance performances, my study redefines and points to new knowledge about the applicability of this concept. Student activists' resistance performances served not only to construct offline and online spaces of resistance and contention as well as establish networks, but also gave them a sense of freedom to creatively express their emotions by protesting and engaging an audience. The vast "scholarship on social movements has always involved in-depth exploration of their elements, actors, dynamics, repertoire, cognitive and emotional orientations, context and conditions, as well as capacities for mobilizations" (Fahlenbrach et al. 2012:4). However, through the use of the concept of resistance performance, my work offers

an integrated analysis, which bridges interdisciplinary gaps in the literature by interweaving the fields of anthropology, sociology, geography, and communications. I do this by merging social movement theories with media practices into the analysis of student activism. I use cultural arguments from the discipline of anthropology with sensitivity to spaces of resistance from the discipline of geography. By applying an interdisciplinary perspective, I uncovered more layers of depth into the UPR student movement. As such, my study breaks new ground by responding to a gap in the scholarship on research concerning the absence of Puerto Rico in studies of social movements and Internet activism. It moves forward scholarship regarding student activism in the island. Furthermore, my study also provides a case study for social movement theories, student movements, and Internet activism in the Caribbean, while adding much-needed socio-historical context and insight into the current crisis at the UPR. Being a territory of the United States, Puerto Rico is not necessarily included in studies of social movements in Latin American, yet precisely because of its colonial status (i.e., commonwealth) it is not necessarily included in the studies of social movements in the states either. Thus, my study not only fills the gap but also inserts the UPR student movement within the international student movement network against neoliberal governments that view education as a privilege. In addition, it sheds light on the current relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States, and the fact that the movement was almost absent in the United States mainstream media, even with the presence of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

My data show how UPR student activism has served, and continues to serve, as a catalyst for social, cultural, economic, and political change on the island.

Throughout its history, the UPR student movement has raised awareness and mobilized against the unjust and corrupt situations present in the island with its colonial status. Thus, the UPR 2010-2011 student movement should not be measured according to the demands granted, but rather "we should view [its] success as the living out of values, persistence in the face of great odds, and the strength to stand up for principle even when defeat seems inevitable" (Lobel 2003:267). I have emphasized in my work the significance of student activists' resistance performances, and the university administration's counter-resistance performances, in order to elaborate on the repertoire of collective actions that student activists invoked in the pursuit of an accessible higher education as a right and not a privilege. In exposing how student activists constructed and (re)constructed spaces of resistance and contention during their strike, I challenge the myths surrounding students' apathy towards political engagement and the general stereotype in Puerto Rico of student activists as *pelús, revoltosos, y socialistas que no quieren estudiar*[90] [hairy socialist rebels that do not want to study]. My method of contestation of this widespread stereotype of students is to incorporate different voices and perspectives in my writing, making public an invisible side of student activism.

Legacy and Lessons of the UPR Student Movement

In conducting a critical ethnography, I delved into the student strike as an activist researcher (Kobayashi 2001) aware of my positionality as an insider and outsider. Furthermore, my positionalities as a female, an ally, co-performer, friend,

[90] Data gathered from newspaper *Primera Hora*, which is owned by Grupo Ferré-Rangel the same owners of *El Nuevo Día*.
http://www.primerahora.com/entretenimiento/farandula/nota/musicosuniversitariosrealizaronunasonoramanifestacion-388345/

and comrade, allowed me to go “beneath surface appearances, disrupt the status quo, and unsettle both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control” (Soyini 2005:5). This acknowledgement renders an extra sense of reflexivity, commitment, and responsibility not only to my participants but also during the writing process, since my work can be considered as part of my own history. With this in mind, I embarked on writing in an experimental style that narrates the strike as it unfolded while disrupting the present text with past events from chapter IV or media propaganda as a way of depicting the dynamic and complicated processes inherent in the analysis and understanding of the UPR student movement. This allowed me to not only analyze the events of the most recent strike but also invoke a continuity of time and space as history repeats itself, in which the movement’s past is in the present. These interruptions give my study a sense of “social movement spillover” (Meyer and Whittier 1994:291), where other social movements (across time or contemporary) influenced UPR student activists’ frames, actions, organizational structure, and ideologies. Although the history of oppression was similar, as my study showed, student activists’ use of new media technologies (i.e., Internet activism) altered the way their strike evolved as well as the coverage of news media. In addition, each chapter began with a vignette relevant to the focus of the chapter, making it appear like a story within a story. As such, this dissertation is part of my resistance performance in challenging and deconstructing the academic way scholars usually write about social movements, since through our work we can arouse or create memories to our readers.

Chapters II and III of this dissertation brought to the discussion not only the intersection of social movement theories and media analysis in student activism but also the methods I adopted to gather the data. I proposed a lens of examining different tactics and strategies of resistance in the form of resistance performance. I accomplished this by situating resistance performance and its tangled components into an applicable framework that captures and details the individual and collective actions of student activists. The use of this concept advances our analysis of current social movements.

In chapter IV, I explored the historical background of the UPR student movement during the development of the university in order to set the background for the 2010-2011 student strike being studied. Through the use of a chronology, this chapter highlighted how the institution is a microcosm of the cultural, economic, and political situation in Puerto Rico. I think through the ways the media has (re)presented student activists throughout history and the stereotypes of their collective identity. In contrast to Torrecilla (2011), I put forward the claim that the student movement in Puerto Rico has provided the "possible exchange" of fostering hope, raising awareness, and changing the dominant discourse of activism. For example, two new political parties: Partido Pueblo Trabajador (PPT) and Movimiento Unión Soberanista (MUS) emerged from the people that supported the UPR student movement and protested against the neoliberal agendas implemented by the two dominant parties: Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP) and Partido Popular Democrático (PPD).

In chapter V, I use the notion of resistance performance to describe in an innovative way student activists' different degrees of participation by looking at the intersections among their local, corporeal, and virtual tactics and strategies of resistance. In understanding student activists' development of protest camps, street art/theater acts, and Internet activism, I exposed how they framed their collective identities through different performances, established networks, and interacted with traditional media to determine the elements that would be covered regarding their protest camp life (Feignbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013). I discussed the concept of liminality and communitas that ripened among student activists while they occupied the campus for 62 days. For example, student activists felt they were creating history together while entangling the university's administration's counter-resistance performances as a way to reiterate and exercise their power over students. I am not alone in my view that Puerto Ricans can finally say that we had our "Boricua Spring" (Nina 2010). Just like "May 68" and the "Arab Spring", the 2010-2011 UPR student movement has had, and will continue to have, a resounding social and cultural impact in Puerto Rico, although it did not succeed as a political revolution. For example, during a subsequent referendum, student activists quickly mobilized a campaign to vote "No" to both questions and ended up victorious. Similarly, in 2012 with the change in government, the ruling PPD party eliminated the 800 dollars tuition fee beginning Fall 2013 semester.

In chapter VI, I examined the role of emotional narratives as resistance performances to show the ways in which feelings and expressions circulate through people and objects (Ahmed 2004). I argued that student activists' emotional

narratives and collective memories were embedded with notions of race, class, age, and gender that empowered them to creatively engage and improvise their (re)construction of local, corporeal, virtual, and symbolic spaces of resistance and contention during the revival of their strike. In agreement with Snow and Moss (2014), the notion of improvisation or spontaneity needs to be brought back into the studies of social movements and included in the studies of Internet activism. I suggested that the emotional dynamics involved and improvised during the student strike developed two parallel "realities": (1) student activists defending the university for the country out of love and national pride challenging the neoliberal agenda implemented by the pro-statehood party, and (2) the university administration using the police force to instill fear to defend the university from student activists. While other studies that seek to tackle emotions in social movements remain "scattered and ad hoc, addressing one emotion in a single kind of setting" (Bosco 2007: 548), I demonstrated how student activists used different emotional narratives to (re)frame their collective identities, maintain their networks, and (re)confirm that participatory democracy is possible in Puerto Rico. This proves an existing interplay between student activists' resistance performances and their emotions.

In a complementary manner, chapter VII focused on traditional and alternative news media coverage of the UPR student movement. Using a critical discourse analysis, I scrutinized the (re)presentations of student activists and protest events. I examined student activists' resistance performances through texts and images of events in framing their collective identities by constructing spaces of resistance and contention through alternative news media (i.e., Internet activism), while contrasting

the university administration's counter-resistance performances in the framing of student activists' collective identity through traditional news media. As past research has shown, Internet activism has served "as an avenue for voicing dissatisfaction and, as a new technological medium, it has transformed the mode of interpersonal communication, which has led to changes in how social movements mobilize" (Chen and Liao 2014: 1; Castells 2012; Anduiza, Jensen, and Jorba 2012). Research on social movements and mass media from the 1980s and 1990s found them to be "in a relatively more favorable situation [than previous ones] when it came to mobilizing its following for protest actions and/or reaching large audiences with their messages" (Rucht 2013:255). Similarly, my research validates the notion that current social movements' use of new media technologies (i.e., Internet activism) places them in a more favorable situation than previous movements when it comes to mobilizing and reaching larger audiences with their messages. UPR student activists' alternative news media allowed the establishment of national and transnational networks of solidarity that continue to create resistance and change in Puerto Rico. However, instead of replacing one media with the other, the media dynamics and practices I presented demonstrate a blurry line between traditional and alternative news media. The complex processes involved depict a sense of entanglement and interdependence rather than complete autonomy by either media. For example, one of the common lay theories student activists mentioned regarding traditional news media was that "most newspapers had [and still have] a distinct political leaning" (Wilke and Neumann 1994, cited in Rucht 2013:254).[91] This perception influenced student activists'

[91] This does not mean that alternative news media do not have distinct political leanings as well.

resistance performances when interacting with traditional news media and journalists, while simultaneously motivating them to create their own alternative news media to communicate and express their views without filtering or (*dis*)information. Furthermore, this chapter showed how student activists' alternative news media were particularly effective in mitigating the spectacle surrounding the *encapuchados* or hooded protesters.

This dissertation is not meant to idealize the 2010-2011 UPR student strike as an utopic movement (since we have much to learn from ourselves), but rather to enrich existing knowledge on both student activism and Internet activism in the island. The new knowledge could provide a better grasp of the movement in order to aid a practical mediation in the future and serve to advocate for a much needed educational reform and policy (re)development by the university community itself. This type of internal reform is important in times when "the university is becoming closely linked to corporations" (Solomon and Palmieri 2011:4). Internationally, this year has witnessed a (re)emergence of student activism in different cities across the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean. More importantly, it has seen a rise in Internet activism and activists' use of new media technologies as resources that rapidly prompted and aided the numerous protests. Thus, my study confirms that the 2010-2011 UPR student movement raised the stakes in the politicization of their strike by becoming part of the international student movement to guarantee the accessibility to a public higher education as right and not a privilege. And although the strike ended and many of us have graduated, our struggle still continues.

Figure 8.1 Mural that student activists and members of *Unión de Juventudes Socialistas* (UJS) made to commemorate their strike and support the Chilean student movement.

Limitations of this Study

One of the obstacles I encountered while conducting the study consisted of the refusal or lack of access to more opponents of the student strike and members of the university administration in order to grasp a better understanding of their perspectives. When contacting these possible participants, I attempted to mitigate this limitation by highlighting my positionality as an outsider. Another limitation of this study has to do with my role as an activist researcher and how it influenced both my fieldwork and writing process. Although I incorporated different voices and perspectives, I present one story of the strike, my own version, based on my personal

experiences and research analysis of the data gathered. As such, continued study of the UPR student movement, and in particular the use of Internet activism by student activists, is important.

Areas for Continued Research

Throughout my study I became acutely aware that student activism in Puerto Rico requires more attention in order to become visible in the academic environment of the study of social movements. The construction of a digital archive on the history of the UPR student movement and its implications for the history of Puerto Rico emerged as significant within my research. Thus, a logical extension would be to examine the other campuses of the UPR that were also part of the student strike in order to understand the dynamics that took place within each campus and include them in the archive. Another piece to include in the archive as well would be not only to establish links with other pages related to the student movement but also to monitor the amount of linking by users between the media sources.

In addition, the gender, race, class, and sexuality dynamics within the student strike should be analyzed thoroughly. Throughout my fieldwork, student activists would relate personal experiences and gossip about gender and race dynamics within the protest camps. I am eager to explore in greater depth how student activists engaged in gendered & race-inclusive discourses and practices as resistance performances during the strike and if they continued to do so afterwards. Finally, I am ruminating on the accumulated data regarding the UPR as a cradle for political engagement. Not only would I like to analyze the different political organizations that are active within the UPR, but also how the institution serves (or not) as a space for

intellectual freedom and the development of its citizens. The thought of being able to continue contributing to this arena is an appealing project because the fight for an accessible public higher education of excellence is still at stake. Echoing on what UPR student activists manifested: ¡Otro Puerto Rico es posible! [Another Puerto Rico is possible!]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter I

Albizu Campos, Pedro
n.d. Speech given by Pedro Albizu Campos between 1947-1950.

Díaz Quiñones, Arcadio
1993 La Memoria Rota. Rio Piedras, PR: Ediciones Huracan, Inc.

University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Stats.
n.d. http://www.cappex.com/colleges/University-of-Puerto-Rico-Rio-Piedras, accessed June 2013.

Chapter II

Abercrombie and Longhurst
1998 Audiences: A Sociological Theory of Performance and Imagination. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Aptheker, Bettina
1989 Tapestries of Life: Women's Work, Women's Consciousness, and the Meaning of Daily Experience. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Atkinson, Joshua
2004 Building a Resistance Performance Paradigm: An Analysis of the Roles of Alternative Media in the Social Construction of Reality in Social Justice Movements, *In* ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. University of Missouri.

2010 Alternative Media and Politics of Resistance: A Communication Perspective. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Atkinson, Joshua and Debbie Dougherty
2006 Alternative Media and Social Justice Movements: The Development of a Resistance Performance Paradigm of Audience Analysis. *In* Western Journal of Communication. 70: 64-88.

Ayres, Jeffrey M.
1999 From the Streets to the Internet: The Cyber-Diffusion of Contention, *In* The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 566 (1):132-143.

Banaszak, Lee Ann
1996 Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture, and the Struggle for Women Suffrage. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Barker, Michael
2008 Mass Media and Social Movements: A Critical Examination of the Relation Between the Mainstream Media and Social Movements. http://www.globalresearch.ca/mass-media-and-social-movements/8761, accessed June 2013.

Benedict, Anderson
2006 Imagined Communities. London: Verso.

Benford, Robert
2002 Controlling Narratives and Narratives as Control within Social Movements, *In* Stories of Change: Narrative and Social Movements, edited by Joseph Davis. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

2005 The Half-Line of the Environmental Justice Frame: Innovation, Diffusion, and Stagnation, *In* Power, Justice, and the Environment: A Critical Appraisal of the Environmental Justice Movement, edited by David Naguib Pellow and Robert Brulle. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press.

Benford, Robert and Scott Hunt
2003 Interactional Dynamics in Public Problems Marketplaces: Movements and the Counterframing and Reframing of Public Problems, *In* Challenges and Choices: Constructionist Perspectives on Social Problems, edited by James A. Holstein and Gale Miller. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Clair, Robin P.
1998 Organizing Silence: AWorld of Possibilities. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Cleaver, Harry
1998 The Zapatista Effect:The Internet and the Rise of an Alternative Political Fabric, In Journal of International Affairs. 5(2): 621-640.

Coles, Roberta
1998 "Peaceniks and Warmongers" Framing Fracas on the Home Front: Dominant and Opposition Discourse Interaction During the Persian Gulf Crisis, *In* Sociological Quarterly 39(3): 369–691.

Couldry, Nick
2004 Theorizing Media as Practice. *In* Social Semiotics 14(2): 115-132.

Couldry, Nick and James Curran
2003 Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Networked World. USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Craig Jenkins, J.
1995 Social Movements, Political Representation, and the State: An Agenda and Comparative Framework. *In* The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements. Edited by J. Craig Jenkins and Bert Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dahlberg, Lincoln
2007 Rethinking the Fragmentation of the Cyberpublic: From Consensus to Contestation, *In* New Media & Society. 9(5): 827-847.

Debord, Guy
1967 The Society of the Spectacle. Paris: Editions Buchet Chastel.

Della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani
2006 Social Movements: An Introduction. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Derry, Sharon
1999 A Fish called peer learning: Searching for common themes, *In* Cognitive Perspective on Peer Learning. Edited by A. O'Donnell & A. King. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Diani, Mario and Doug McAdam
2003 Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Dimaggio, Anthony
2009 When Media Goes to War: Hegemonic Discourse, Public Opinion, and the Limits of Dissent. New York: Monthly Review.

Downing, John D.H.
(2001) Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Earl, Jennifer; Katrina Kimport; Greg Prieto; Carly Rush and Kimberly Reynoso
2010 Changing the World One Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining Internet Activism, I*n* Mobilization: An International Journal 15(6): 425-446.

Edelman, Mark
2001 Student Resistance: A History of the Unruly Subject. New York: Routledge.

2007 Los Movimientos Campesinos Transnacionales: Éxitos y Retos, Paradojas y Perspectivas. http://www.icanh.gov.co/recursos_user/los%20movimientos%20campesinos.pdf, accessed June 2013.

Fisher, Dana
1998 Rumoring Theory and the Internet: A Framework for Analyzing the Grass Roots, *In* Social Science Computer Review 16(2): 158-168.

Friedland, Jamie and Kenneth Rogerson
2009 How Political and Social Movements Form on the Internet and How the Change Over Time, *In* Institute for Homeland Security Solutions https://www.ihssnc.org/portals/0/IRW%20Literature%20Reviews%20Political%20and%20Social%20Movements.pdf, accessed June 2011.

Gamson, William
1988 Political Discourse and Collective Action, *In* International Social Movement Research. Edited by Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sydney Tarrow. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Gamson, William, Bruce Fireman, and Steven Rytina
1982 Encounters with Unjust Authority. Homewood, Ill: Dorsey Press.

Garret, R. Kelly
2006 Protest in an Information Society: A Review of the Literature on Social Movements and New ICTs, *In* Information, Communication, and Society 9(2): 202-224.

Garrido, Maria and Alexander Halavais
2003 Mapping Networks of Support for the Zapatista Movement: Applying Social-Network Analysis to Study Contemporary Social Movements, *In* Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice. edited by Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers. New York and London: Routledge

Gitlin, Todd
1980 The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goffman, Erving
1956 The Nature of Deference and Demeanor, *In* American Anthropologist 58(3): 473-502.

1974 Frame Analysis:An Essay on the Organization of Experience. Cambrige, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gripsrud, Jostein
2009 Digitizing the PublicSphere: Two Key Issues, *In* Javnost-The Public 16(1): 5-16.

Gurak, Laura and John Logie
2003 Internet Protests, from Text to Web, *In* Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice. edited by Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers. New York and London: Routledge

Habermas, Jurgen
1996 Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy, tr. William Rehg. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hall, Stuart
1997 Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. London: Sage.

Herman, Edward and Noam Chomsky
1988 Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media. USA: Pantheon Books.

Hooks, bell
2003 Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope. New York: Routledge.

Hunt, Scott; Robert Benford and David Snow
1994 Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities, *In* New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity. edited by Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph Gusfield. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hyndman, J.
2001 The Field as Here and Now, Not There and Then, *In* Geographical Review. 91(1-2): 262-272.

Jaccard, James and Jacob Jacoby
2010 Theory Construction and Model-Building Skills. New York: The Guilford Press.

Jones, Q. and S. Rafaeli
2000 Time to Split Virtually: "Discourse Architecture" and "Community Building" Create Vibrant Virtual Publics, *In* Electronic Markets. 10(4): 214-223.

Joyce, Mary
2010 Introduction, *In* Digital Activism Decoded: The New Mechanics of Change. edited by Mary Joyce. New York: International Debate Education Association.

Kavada, Anastasia
2010 Activism Transforms Digital: The Social Movement Perspective, *In* Digital Activism Decoded: The New Mechanics of Change. edited by Mary Joyce. New York: International Debate Education Association.

Kidd, Dorothy
2003 Indymedia.org: A New communications Commons, *In* Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice. edited by Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers. New York and London: Routledge

Klandermans, Bert
1984 Mobilization and Participation in a Social Movement: Social Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory, *In* American Sociological Review. 49: 583-600.

1992 The Social Construction of Protest and Multiorganizational Fields, *In* Frontiers in Social Movement Theory. Edited by Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClung Mueller. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Klein, Naomi
2001 Reclaiming the Commons. http://newleftreview.org/II/9/naomi-klein-reclaiming-the-commons, accessed June 2013

Lee, Su H.
2007 Debating New Social Movements: Culture, Identity, and Social Fragmentation. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

Lefebvre, Henri
1991[1974] The Production of Space.Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Lewin, Kurt
1951 Filed Theory in Social Science. London: Tavistock Publications.

Melucci, Alberto
1995 The Process of Collective Identity, *In* Social Movement and Culture, edited by Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermas. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McAdam, Doug
1982 Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McCaughey, Martha and Michael Ayers
2003 Introduction, *In* Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice. edited by Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers. New York and London: Routledge

McMahon, Mark
1997 Social Constructivism and the World Wide Web - A Paradigm for Learning. http://www.ascilite.org.au/conferences/perth97/papers/Mcmahon/Mcmahon.html, accessed June 2014.

Moore, Barrington
1978 Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt. White Plains, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Mumby, Dennis
1997 The Problem of Hegemony: Rereading Gramsci for Organizational Communication Studies, *In* Western Journal of Communication. 61: 343-375.

Murdoch, Steven
2010 Destructive Activism: The Double-Edged Sword of Digital Tactics, *In* Digital Activism Decoded: The New Mechanics of Change. edited by Mary Joyce. New York: International Debate Education Association.

Myers, Daniel
1994 Communication Technology and Social Movements: Contributions of Computer Networks to Activism, *In* Social Science Computer Review 12(2): 251-260.

Peckham, Michael
1998 New Dimensions of Social Movement/Countermovement Interaction: The Case of Scientology and Its Internet Critics, *In* Canadian Journal of Sociology 23(4): 317-47.

Piven, Frances and Richard Cloward
1977 Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail. New York: Vintage Books.

Polleta, Francesca and James Jasper
2001 Collective Identity and Social Movements, In Annual Review of Sociology 27: 283-305.

Redden, Guy
2001 Networking Dissent: The Intenet and the Anti-globalization Movement. http://motspluriels.arts.uwa.edu.au/MP1801gr.html, accessed June 2013.

Rodríguez, Clemencia
2001 Fissures in the Mediascape. Cresskill, NJ:Hampton Press.

Ronfeldt, David, John Arquilla, Graham Fuller, and Melissa Fuller
1998 The Zapatista "social Netwar" in Mexico. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Arroyo Center.

Said, Edward
1978 Orientalism. New York: Pantheon Books.

Salter, Lee
2003 Democracy, New Social Movements, and the Internet: A Habermasian Analysis, *In* Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice. edited by Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers. New York and London: Routledge

Schulz, Markus
1998 Collective Action Across Borders: Opportunity Structures, Network Capacities and Communicative Praxis in the Age of Advanced Globalization, *In* Sociological Perspectives. 41: 587–611.

Snow, David and Robert Benford
1988 Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization. *In* From Structure to Action: Social Movement Participation Across Cultures. Edited by Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow (Eds.). Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press. 197-217

1992 Master Frames and Cycles of Protest, *In* Frontiers in Social Movement Theory, edited by Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Snow, David; E. B. Rochford; Steven K. Worden and Robert Benford
1986 Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. In American Sociological Review 51. 464-481

Soe, Younei
2004 The Internet as a Public Sphere. http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/1/3/0/1/pages113016/p113016-1.php, accessed June 2013.

Soyini Madison, D.
2005 Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance. London:Sage.

Staggenborg, Suzanne
2002 The "Meso" in Social Movement, *In* Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State. edited by David Meyer, Nancy Whittier and Belinda Robnett. Oxford University Press.

Stanek, Lukasz
2011 Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Tarleton, John
2000 Protesters Develop Their Own Global Internet News Service, *In* Mark Nieman Reports. 54(4): 53-55.

Trenz, Hans-Jörg
2009 Digital Media and the Return of the Representative Public Sphere, In Javnost-The Public 16(1): 33-46.

Trakarnsuphakorn, Prasert
2007 Space of Resistance and Place of Local Knowledge in Karen Ecological Movement of Northern Thailand:The case of Pgaz K'Nyau Villages in Mae Lan Kham River Basin, *In* Southeast Asian Studies. 45(4): 586-614.

Turner, Ralph and Lewis Killian
1987 Collective Behavior (3rd Ed). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Van de Donk, Wim, Brian D. Loader, Paul G. Nixon, and Dieter Rucht
2004 Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements.London: Routledge

Van Stekelenburg, Jacquelien, Conny Roggeband, and Bert Klandermans
2013 The Future of Social Movement Research: Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Vegh, Sandor
2003 Classifying Forms of Online Activism: The Case of Cyberprotests Against the World Bank, *In* Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice. edited by Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers. New York and London: Routledge

Waltz, Mitzi
2005 Alternative and Activist Media. UK: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Chapter III

Amenta, Edwin and Michael P. Young
1999 Democratic States and Social Movements: Theoretical Arguments and Hypotheses, *In* Social Problems. 46(2):153-168.

Atkinson, Paul and Amanda Coffey
1997 Analyzing Documentary Realities, *In* Qualitative Research Theory Method and Practice. Edited by D. Silverman. London: Sage Publications.

Berg, Bruce
1998 Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences (4th Ed). MA: Allyn & Bacon

Bernard, H. Russel
2006 Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quatitative Approaches (4th Ed). Oxford: AltaMira Press.

Blee, Kathleen and Verta Taylor
2002 Semi-structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research, *In* Methods of Social Movement Research: Social Movements, Protest, and Contention. edited by Bert Klandermas and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 92-117.

Brettel, Caroline
1998 Fieldwork in the Archives: Methods and Sources in Historical Anthropology, *In* Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology (2nd Ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Brewer, J. and A. Hunter
1989 Multimethos Research: A Synthesis of Styles. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bryman, Alan
2003 Social Research Methods. (4th Ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carspecken, P. F.
1996 Critical ethnography in educational research: A theoretical and practical guide. New York: Routledge.

Charmaz, Kathy
2006 Constructin Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Conquergood, Dwight
1982 Performing as a Moral Act: Ethical Dimensions of the Ethnography of Performance, *In* Literature in Performance. 5(2): 1-13.

Connell, R. W.
1995 Masculinities. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Davis, Charles and Carolyn Michelle
2011 Q Methodology in Audience Research: Bridging the Qualitative /Quatitative "Divide"?, *In* Participations: Journal of Audience & Reception Studies. 8(2): 559-593.

Della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani
2006 Social Movements: An Introduction (2nd Ed). MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Denzin, Norman
1989 Interpretive Biography: Qualitative Research Methods Series. CA: Sage.

2001 Interpretive Interactionism. (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Devereux, Eoin
2003 Understanding the Media. (2nd Ed.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Faria, Caroline
2008 Privileging Prevention, Gendering Responsibility: An Analysis of the Ghanaian Campaign Against HIV/AIDS, *In* Social & Cultural Geography. 9(1): 41-67.

Fairclough, Norman
1995 Media Discourse. London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, Norman and Ruth Wodak
1997 Critical Discourse Analysis, In Discourse as Social Interaction. Edited by T. Van Dijk. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Fine, Gary
1995 Public Narration and group culture: Discerning Discourse in Social Movement, *In* Social Movement and Culture, edited by Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermas. Minneapolis, US: University of Minnesota Press.

Greenwald, A. G.
2012 There is Nothing so Theoretical as a Good Method. *In* Perspectives on Psychological Science 77:99-108.

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson
1997 Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology. USA: Duke University Press.

Hale, Charles R.
2001 What is an Activist Researcher?, In Social Science Research Council 2(1-2): 13-15.

Hall, Stuart
1974 Marx's Notes on Method: A "Reading" of the "1857 Introduction", *In* Cultural Studies. (6): 132–171.

Haraway, Donna
1988 Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspectives, *In* Feminist Studies, pp. 575–599.

Hyndman, Rob
2001 It's time to move from "what" to "why", *In* International Journal of Forecasting 17(4): 567–570.

Kemmis, Stephen and Robin McTaggart
2005 Participatory Action Research: Communicative Action and the Public Sphere, *In* The Handbook of Qualitative Research. (3rd Ed.). Edited by Norman Denzin and Yvona Lincoln. London:Sage Publications Ltd.

Klandermas, Bert and Jackie Smith
2002 Survey Research: A Case for Comparative Designs, *In* Methods of Social Movement Research: Social Movements, Protest, and Contention. edited by Bert Klandermas and Suzanne Staggenborg. (16)

Klandermans, Bert and Suzanne Staggenborg
2002 Methods of Social Movement Research.Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Kobayashi, Audrey
2001 Negotiating the Personal and the Political in Critical Qualitative Research, *In* Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates. Edited by M. Limb and C. Dwyer. London and New York: Arnold and Oxford University Press.

Lichterman, Paul
2002 Seen Structure Happen: Theory-Driven Participant Observation, *In* Methods of Social Movement Research: Social Movements, Protest, and Contention. Edited by Bert Klandermas and Suzanne Staggenborg. Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lofland, J. and L.H. Lofland
1995 Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Maxey, Ian
1999 Beyond Boundaries? Activism, Academia, Reflexivity and Research, *In* Area. 31(3): 199-208.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly
2001 Dynamics of Contention. Cambridge, UK:Cambridge University Press.

McCarthy, John and Mayer Zald
1977 Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory, *In* The American Journal of Sociology. 82(6): 1212-1241.

McQuail, Denis
2000 Mass Communication Theory. (4th Ed.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Meyer, David and Suzanne Staggenborg
1996 Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity, *In* The American Journal of sociology. 10 (6): 1628-1660.

Nieves Falcon, Luis, Ineke Cunningham, Israel Rivera, Francisco Torres and Hiram Amundaray
1982 Huelga y sociedad: Analisis de los Sucesos en la UPR 1981-1982. Rio Piedras, PR: Editoriales Edil, Inc.

Noblit, George W., Susana Y. Flores, and Enrique G. Murillo
2004 Postcritical ethnography:An introduction. Cress, NJ: Hampton Press.

Oslender, Ulrich
2004 Fleshing out the Geographies of Social Movements: Colombia's Pacific Coast Black Communities and the "Aquatic Space". *In* Political Geography. 23. UK: Elsevier Ltd.

Pearce-Moses, Richard
2005 A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology, In Archival Fundamentals Series II. Chicago: Society of American Archivists.

Rubin, Herbert and Irene Rubin
1995 Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Seale, Clive
2004 Social Research Methods: A Reader. London: Routledge.

Silverman, David
1993 Beginning Research, *In* Interpreting Qualitative Data. Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction. Londres: Sage Publications Ltd.

Soyini, Madison
2005 Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Thomas, Jim
1993 Doing Critical Ethnography. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Trochim, William M.
2006 Qualitative Measures. (2nd Ed.), *In* The Research Methods Knowledge Base. Cincinnati, OH: Atomic Dog Publishing.

Van Dijk, Teun A.
2003 Discourse, Knowledge, and Ideology: Reformulating Old Questions and Proposing Some New Solutions. http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Discourse,%20Knowledge%20and%20Ideology.pdf, accessed September 2014.

Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer
2010 Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (2nd Ed). London: Sage.

Zald, Mayer and Roberta Ash
1966 Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay, and Change, In Social Forces. 44(3): 327-341.

Chapter IV

Abayarde Rojo
2011 Breve historia de las luchas estudiantiles y laborales en la Universidad de Puerto Rico: Primera parte. http://abayarderojo.org/index.php/breve-historia-de-las-luchas-estudiantiles-y-laborales-en-la-universidad-de-puerto-rico-—-parte-i/, accessed June 2011.

2011 Breve historia de las luchas estudiantiles y laborales en la Universidad de Puerto Rico: Segunda parte. http://abayarderojo.org/index.php/breve-historia-de-las-luchas-estudiantiles-y-laborales-en-la-universidad-de-puerto-rico-—-parte-ii/, accessed June 2011.

Acevedo,Carmen R. and Luz Dary Serrano
2008 La Confrontación en el Recinto de Río Piedras 1920-1984, *In* Lucha y Conciliacion en la Universidad: Contexto, Desarrollo y Proyeccion de la Politica de No Confrontacion. PR: Publicaciones Puertorriquenas, Inc.

Althusser, Louis
1970 Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. Transcribed by Andy Blunden. https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm, accessed June 2014.

Alvarez Curbelo, Silvia
2005 La Primavera del Rector Abrahan. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Alvarez Curbelo, Silvia and Carmen Raffucci
2005 Frente a la Torre. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Alvarez Curbelo, Silvia and Nereida Rodríguez
2005 Tiempos. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Alzaga, Raúl
2007 Terrorismo de derecha en Puerto Rico. http://www.cubadebate.cu/opinion/2007/03/08/terrorismo-de-derecha-en-puerto-rico/#.VDhP776F6zB, accessed June 2014.

Anderson, Robert W.
2005 Las Luchas Universitarias por la Reforma. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Aponte Alsina, Marta
2005 La Figura del Interprete: La Universidad de Thomas Benner. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Arbona, Ramon
2005 Las Ataduras se Rompen. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Arrigoitia, Delma
2008 Puerto Rico Por Encima de Todo: Vida y Obra de Antonio R. Barcelo, 1868-1938. San Juan, PR: Ediciones Puerto.

Baudrillard, Jean
2001 Impossible Exchange. Chris Turner, trans. New York:Verso.

Biondi, Martha
2012 The Black Revolution on Campus. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Boricuas Bestiales and Alter Arte
La Revolú-Teca: UPR 1997. "Cronología 1997". http://members.tripod.com/~Don_Q/upr1997.htm, accessed September 30, 2014.

Bravo, Milagros and Isabel Ramos
2008 La Política de No Confrontación en Situaciones de Crisis Institucional 1985-1992, *In* Lucha y Conciliacion en la Universidad: Contexto, Desarrollo y Proyeccion de la Politica de No Confrontacion. PR: Publicaciones Puertorriquenas, Inc.

Chaar-López, Iván
n.d. Student Strikes in Puerto Rico: A Rupture for the Common?. Final Paper for Global Capitalism.

Chatterjee, Piya and Sunaina Maira
2014 The Imperial University: Academic Repression and Scholarly Dissent. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Colon Zayas, Eliseo R.
2005 Reforma y Contrareforma. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Díaz Gonzaléz, Abrahán
2002 Universidad y Sociedad. San Juan: Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Duany, Jorge
2005 ¿Modernizar la Nacion o Nacionalizar la Modernidad? Las Ciencias Sociales en la Universidad de Puerto Rico durante la década de 1950. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Enciclopedia de Puerto Rico
n.d. Breve Historia de la Educacion en Puerto Rico. http://www.enciclopediapr.org/esp/article.cfm?ref=06081401&page=2, accessed June 2014.

Garcia Ramis, Magali
2005 Por Ser de la Tierra. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Gil, Carlos
2005 The University of Porto Rico, "..Al Margen de la Ley…". *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Medina, Nicolás
2013 La Huelga Universitaria de octubre de 1973. http://www.80grados.net/la-huelga-universitaria-de-octubre-de-1973/, accessed June 2014.

Meyer, David and Nancy Whittier
1994 Social Movement Spillover, *In* Social Problems 41(2). 277-298

Navarro Rivera, Pablo
2000 Universidad de Puerto Rico: de Control Politico a Crisis Permanente 1903-1952. Rio Piedras, PR: Ediciones Huracan, Inc.

Nazario Velasco, Ruben
2005 No, No No Nos Pararan. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Nieves Falcon, Luis, Pablo Garcia Rodriguez and Felix Ojeda Reyes
1971 Puerto Rico: Grito y Mordaza. Rio Piedras, PR: Ediciones Librería Internacional, Inc.

Nieves Falcon, Luis, Ineke Cunningham, Israel Rivera, Francisco Torres and Hiram Amundaray
1982 Huelga y sociedad: Analisis de los Sucesos en la UPR 1981-1982. Rio Piedras, PR: Editoriales Edil, Inc.

Ordoñez, María
n.d. La Colección Puertorriqueña. http://biblioteca.uprrp.edu/COLECCION%20PUERTORIQUEÑA%20.pdf, accessed June 2013.

Paralitici, Jose F.
2004 Protestas, disturbios y confrontaciones en la UPR relacionados con la presencia militar en la institución y por razones ideológicas. http://www.uprm.edu/administration/senadojunta/docs/docrotc05.pdf, accessed September 2012.

Pico, Fernando
2005 La Universidad Imaginada. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Pico, Fernando, Milton Pabon and Roberto Alejandro
1982 Las Vallas Rotas. Rio Piedras, PR: Ediciones Huracan.

Ramos Rodriguez, Isabel, Milagros Bravo Vick, Carmen Acevedo Rivera, Luz Dary Serrano Abreo and Diana Rivera Viera
2008 Lucha y Conciliacion en la Universidad: Contexto, Desarrollo y Proyeccion de la Politica de No Confrontacion. PR: Publicaciones Puertorriquenas, Inc.

Reynolds, Ruth
1989 Campus in Bondage: A 1948 Microcosm of Puerto Rico in Bondage. Carlos Rodrguez Fraticelli and Blanca Vazquez Erazo, eds. NY: Centros de Estudios Puertorriquenos/Hunter College.

Rios Avila, Ruben
2005 La Universidad y el Futuro del Porvenir. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Rivera, Diana
2008 Reflexión Final y Proyección de la Política de No Confrontación, *In* Lucha y Conciliacion en la Universidad: Contexto, Desarrollo y Proyeccion de la Politica de No Confrontacion. PR: Publicaciones Puertorriquenas, Inc.

Rodriguez Castro, Malena
2005 La Decada de los Cuarenta: de la Torre a las Calles. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Rodriguez Graciani, David
1972 ¿Rebelion o Protest? La Lucha Estudiantil en Puerto Rico. Rio Piedras, PR: Ediciones Puerto.

Rovira, Carlos
n.d. Remember the 1950 Uprising of October 30: Puerto Rico. http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Caribbean/Puerto_Rico-Uprising_1950.html, accessed June 2013.

Rúa, Pedro J.
1988 Resistencia Nacional y Accion Universitaria. Rio Piedras, Pr: Ediciones Edil, Inc.

Torrecilla, Arturo
2011 La Universidad de Puerto Rico: El Theme Park del Intercambo Imposible. Hato Rey, PR: Publicaciones Puertorriquenas, Inc.

Universidad de Puerto Rico
La UPR: Historia. http://www.upr.edu/?type=page&id=la_upr_historia&ancla=historia, accessed August 2012.

Vivoni Farage, Enrique
2005 La Torre: Intersecciones en la Universidad del Treinta. *In* Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del Centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1903-2003. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo and Carmen I. Raffucci, eds. La Editorial: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Yudkin Suliveres, Anita, Jose (Che) PAralitici, Orlando Portela Valentin, Anayra Santory Jorge, Isa Rodriguez Soto, Jose Solis Jordan, Rima Brusi, Andre Sanfiorenzo Gil de Lamadrid and Jorge L. Colon
2005 Universidad y (Anti)Militarismo: Historia, Luchas y Debates. San Juan, PR: Fundacion Manrique Cabrera.

Chapter V

Alexander, Jeffrey C.
2011 Performative Revolution in Egypt: An Essay in Cultural Power. New York: Bloomsbury Academic

Ben Moussa, Mohammed
2013 Online Mobilization in Times of Conflict: A Framing-Analysis Perspective, In Arab Media and Society. http://www.arabmediasociety.com /?article=817, accessed June 2014.

Bennet, Lance
2004 Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics, *In* Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social

Movements, edited by Wim Van De Donk, Brian D. Loader, Paul G. Nixon, and Dieter Rucht. New York: Routledge.

Bookchin, Murray
1995 Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: Unbridgeable Chasm. Edinburgh and San Francisco: A.K. Press.

Bowman, Shayne and ChrisWillis
2003 We Media: How Audiences are Shaping the Future of News and Information. http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/download/we_media.pdf, accessed June 2014.

Cammaerts, Bart, Alice Mattoni, and Patrick McCurdy
2013 Mediation and Protest Movements. USA: The University of Chicago Press.

Chaar-López, Iván
n.d. Student Strikes in Puerto Rico: A Rupture for the Common?. Final Paper for Global Capitalism.

Cho, Grace
2008 Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Cornell, Andrew
2011 Oppose and Propose: Lessons from Movement for a New Society. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

Ducombe, Stephen
2007 Dream: Re-imagining Progressive Politics in an Age of Fantasy. New York: New Press.

Earl, Jennifer
2007 Where Have all the Protests Gone? Online, *In* Washington Post February 4: 1.

Earl, Jennifer; Katrina Kimport; Greg prieto; Carly Rush and Kimberly Reynoso
2010 Changing the World One Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining Internet Activism, *In* Mobilization: An International Journal 15(6): 425-446.

Feigenbaum, Anna, Fabian Frenzel, and Patrick McCurdy
2013 Protest Camps. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Fiet, Lowell
2010 Espectáculo, Performance Teatro: La Huelga Estudiantil de 2010 en la Universidad de Puerto Rico. http://www.casa.cult.cu/publicaciones /revistaconjunto/159/lowell.pdf, accessed June 2013.

Fisher, Dana
1998 Rumoring Theory and the Internet: A Framework for Analyzing the Grass Roots, *In* Social Science Computer Review 16(2): 158-168.

Foot, Kristen and Steven Schneider
2002 Online Action in Campaign 2000: An Exploratory Analysis of the U.S. Political Web Sphere, *In* Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media. 46 (2): 222-244.

Gerbaudo, Paolo
2012 Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism. London: Pluto Press.

Grindon, Gavin
2007 The Breath of the Possible, *In* Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigations, Collective Theorization. Edited by S. Shukaitis, D. graeber, and E. Biddle. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

Harcourt, Bernard E.
2013 Political Disobedience, *In* Occupy: Three Inquiries in Disobedience. Edited by W.J.T. Mitchell, Bernard E. Harcourt, and Michael taussig. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Myers, Daniel
1994 Communication Technology and Social Movements: Contributions of Computer Networks to Activism, *In* Social Science Computer Review 12(2): 251-260.

Nina, Daniel
2010 El 18 Brumario de Luis Fortuño. San Juan: Pasillo del Sur.

Tarrow, Sidney
1998 Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics (2nd Ed). NY: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, Victor
1969 The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure. Chicago: Aldine Pub.

Yang, Guobin
2000 The Liminal Effects of Social Movements: Red Guards and the Transformation of Identity, *In* Social Forum. 15(3): 379-406.

Chapter VI

Ahmed, Sara
2004 The Cultural Politics of Emotions. USA: Routledge.

Atiles-Osoria, José
2013 Neoliberalism, Law, and Strikes: Law as an Instrument of Repression at the University of Puerto Rico 2010-11. https://www.academia.edu/5023835/Neoliberalism_Law_and_Strikes_Law_as_an_Instrument_of_Repression_at_the_University_of_Puerto_Rico_2010_2011, accessed June 2014.

Bennett, W. Lance
2004 Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics, *In* Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements, edited by Wim Van De Donk, Brian D. Loader, Paul G. Nixon, and Dieter Rucht. New York: Routledge.

Bondi, Liz, Joyce Davidson, and Mick Smith
2007 Geography's "Emotional Turn", In Emotional Geographies. Edited by Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi, and Mick Smith. UK: Ashgate.

Bosco, Fernando
2007 Emotions That Build Networks: Geographies of Human Rights Movements in Argentina and Beyond, *In* Journal of Economic and Social Geography 98(5): 545-563.

Cho, Grace
2008 Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Denzin, Norman
1984 On Understanding Emotion, *In* Symbolic Interaction 8(2): 311-314.

Diálogo Digital
2011 *Motín en la UPR, 9 de febrero de 2011*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LjBaWESdTjg, accessed on July 2014.

Earl, Jennifer
2007 Where Have all the Protests Gone? Online, *In* Washington Post February 4: 1.

Earl, Jennifer; Katrina Kimport; Greg prieto; Carly Rush and Kimberly Reynoso
2010 Changing the World One Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining Internet Activism, *In* Mobilization: An International Journal 15(6): 425-446.

Eyerman, Ron
2005 Emotions and Social Movements: How Social Movements Move, *In* Emotions and Social Movements. Edited by Helena Flam and Debra King. London: Routledge.

Fisher, Dana
1998 Rumoring Theory and the Internet: A Framework for Analyzing the Grass Roots, *In* Social Science Computer Review 16(2): 158-168.

Flam, Helena
2005 Emotions' Map: A Research Agenda, *In* Emotions and Social Movements. Edited by Helena Flam and Debra King. London: Routledge.

Foot, Kristen and Steven Schneider
2002 Online Action in Campaign 2000: An Exploratory Analysis of the U.S. Political Web Sphere, *In* Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media. 46 (2): 222-244.

Galeano, Eduardo
2011 El Derecho al Delirio. http://www.es.lapluma.net/index.php ?option=com_content&view=article&id=3905:eduardo-galeano-el-derecho-al-delirio-legend-&catid=97:literatura&Itemid=431, interview by Catalonia TV on May 23, accessed June 2014.

Goodwin,Jeff, James Jasper, and Francesca Polleta
2001 Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Gould, Deborah
2009 Moving Politics: Emotion and Act UP's Fight Against Aids. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hall, Jacqueline
2011 Protests in Puerto Rico not Reflective of U.S. Democracy, *In* The Massachusetts Daily Collegian. http://dailycollegian.com/2011/02/23/protests-in-puerto-rico-not-reflective-of-u-s-democracy/, accessed June 2014.

Hochschild Arlie R.

1979 Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure, *In* American J ournal of Sociology. 85: 551-575.

1990 Ideology and Emotion Management: A Perspective and Path for Future Research, *In* Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions. Edited by Theodore Kemper. Albany: State University of New York Press.

1993 The Economy of Gratitude, *In* The Sociology of Emotions. Edited by D. Franks and E.D. McCarthy. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Jasper, James M.

1997 The Art of Moral Protest. Chicago: Chicago Press, Ltd.

1998 The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements, *In* Sociological Forum. 13(3): 397-424.

2011 Emotions and Social Movement: Twenty Yeas of Theory and Research, *In* The Annual Review of Sociology, 37.

McCarthy, E. Doyle

1989 Emotions are Social Things: An Essay in the Sociology of Emotions, *In* Sociology Faculty Publications. Paper 5. http://fordham.bepress.com/ s oc_facultypubs/5/, accessed June 2014.

Myers, Daniel

1994 Communication Technology and Social Movements: Contributions of Computer Networks to Activism, *In* Social Science Computer Review 12(2): 251-260.

Norgaard, Kari Marie

2006 People Want To Protect Themselves a Little Bit: Emotions, Denials, and Social Movement Nonparticipation, *In* Sociological Inquiry. 76(3): 372-396.

Pico, Fernando, Milton Pabon and Roberto Alejandro

1982 Las Vallas Rotas. Rio Piedras, PR: Ediciones Huracan.

Polleta, Francesca

1998 It was like Fever…: Narrative and Identity in social Protest, *In* Social Problems 45: 137-159.

Rose, Gillian

2001 Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials. London: Sage.

Vélez-Vélez, Roberto
2013 Moving Memories in Vieques: Towards a Memory Approach in Mobilization Research, In International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science. 1(2): 53-66.

Yang, Guobin
2000 The Liminal Effects of Social Movements: Red Guards and the Transformation of Identity, *In* Social Forum. 15(3): 379-406.

2005 Emotional Events and the Transformation of Collective Action, *In* Emotions and Social Movements. Edited by Helena Flam and Debra King. London: Routledge.

Chapter VII

About el Diario de Puerto Rico 1909-1911
n.d. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90070179/, accessed September 2014.

Atton, Chris
2002 News Cultures and New Social Movements: Radical Journalism and the Mainstream Media, *In* Journal Studies. 3(4): 491-505.

Ayres, Jeffrey M.
1999 From the Streets to the Internet: The Cyber-Diffusion of Contention, *In* The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 566 (1). 132-143

Bennett, W. Lance and Alexandra Segerberg
2013 The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bimber, Bruce, Andrew Flanagin, and Cynthia Stohl
2005 Reconceptualizing Collective Action in the Contemporary Media Environment, *In* Communication Theory. 4: 365-388.

Cabalin, Cristian
2014 The Conservative Response to the 2011 Chilean Student Movement: Neoliberal Education and Media, *In* Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education. https://www.academia.edu/5577842/The_conservative_response_to_the_2011_Chilean_student_movement_Neoliberal_education_and_media, accessed September 2014.

Calzadilla, Fernando
2002 Performing the Political: Encapuchados in Venezuela, *In* TDR 46(4): 104-125.

Castells, Manuel
2012 Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age. UK: Polity Press.

Couldry, Nick and James Curran
2003 Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Networked World. USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Della Porta, Donatella
1995 Political Violence and the State. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Downing, John D.H.
2001 Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

2008 Social Movement Theories and Alternative Media: An Evaluation and Critique, *In* Communication, Culture, and Critique. 1(1): 40-50.

2010 Encyclopedia of Social Movements. USA: Sage.

Earl, Jennifer; Katrina Kimport; Greg prieto; Carly Rush and Kimberly Reynoso
2010 Changing the World One Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining Internet Activism, *In* Mobilization: An International Journal 15(6): 425-446.

Fairclough, Norman
1992 Discourse and Social Change. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Galeano, Eduardo
2010 http://espaciocomunitario.wordpress.com/2010/05/15/eduardo-galeano-le-habla-a-puerto-rico/

Gamson, William
1990 [1975] The Strategy of Social Protest. Belmont: Wadsworth.

Gamson, William and Wolfsfeld
1993 Movements and Media as Interacting Systems. *In* Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 528: 114-125.

Gitlin, Todd
1980 The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harlow, Summer
2012 Social Change and Social Media: Latin American Activists' Use of Digital Tools in the Face of the Digital Divide. http://www.arifyildirim.com/ilt510/summer.harlow.pdf, accessed September 2014.

Hepp, Andrea
2012 Mediatization and the "Molding Force" of the Media. *In* Communications. 37 (1): 1-28.

2013 The Communicative Figurations of Mediatized Worlds: Mediatization Research in Times of the "Mediation of Everything", *In* European Journal of Communication, 28 (6): 615-629.

Juris, Jeffrey
2008 Networking Futures: The Movements against Corporate Globalization. USA: Duke University Press.

Kahn, Richard and Douglas Kellner
2004 Oppositional Politics nd the Internet: A Critical/Reconstructive Approach. http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/essays/oppositionalpoliticstechnology.pdf, accessed September 2014.

Kellner, Douglas
2012 Occupy Movements as Media Spectacle. http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/129988/douglas-kellner-wrote-occupy-movements-as-media-spectacle.html

Kielbowicz, Richard B. and Clifford Scherer
1986 The Role of the Press in the Dynamics of Social Movements, *In* Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change: A Research Annual. 9: 71-96.

Krzyzanowski, Michal and Ruth Wodak
2008 Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences. NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Mattoni, Alice and EmilianoTreré
2014 Media Practices, Mediation Processes, and Mediatization in the Social Movements, *In* Communication Theory. 24(3): 252-271.

McCurdy, Patrick
2013 Mediation,Practice, and Lay Theories of News Media, *In* Mediation and Protest Movements. Edited by Cammaerts, Bart, Alice Mattoni, and Patrick McCurdy. USA: The University of Chicago Press.

McLeod, D.M. and B.H. Detenber
1999 Framing Effects of Television News Coverage of Social Protest, *In* Journal of Communication. 49(3): 3-23.

Megal, Margarita
2012 Interviewed in the documentary Dos Miradas a la UPR: Tecnología, Medios, y Vigilancia en Dos Periodos Históricos.

Papacharissi, Zizi and Maria De Fatima Oliveira
2012 Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on #Egypt, In Journal of Communication. http://tigger.uic.edu/~zizi/Site/Research_files/PapacharissiOliveiraJOCEgypt.pdf, accessed September 2014.

Pérez, Carolina
2012 The Chilean Student Movement and the Media: A Comparative Analysis on the Linguistic Representation of the August 4, 2011 Manifestation in Right-wing and Left-wing Newspapers. http://revistas.userena.cl/index.php/logos/rt/printerFriendly/132/422, accessed September 2014.

Piven, Frances and Richard Cloward
1977 Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail. NY:Vintage Books.

Pourgouris, Marinos
2010 The Phenomenology of Hoods: Some Reflections on the 2008 Violence in Greece, *In* Journal of Modern Grek Studies. 28(2): 225-245.

Rodriguez, Clemencia
2001 Fissures in the Mediascape: An International Study of Citizens' Media. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Roscigno, Vincent and William Danaher
2004 Cultural Production, Media, and Meaning: Hillbilly Music and the Southern Textile Mills, *In* Poetics: Journal of Empirical Research on Literature, the Media and the Arts 32: 51-71.

Seferiades, Seraphim and Hank Johnston
2012 Violent Protest, Contentious Politics, and the Neoliberal State. London, UK: Ashgate Publishing

Silverstone, R.
2007 Hospitality and Justice, *In* Media and Morality: On the Rise of the Mediapolis. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Stein, Laura
2009 Social Movement Web Use in Theory and Practice: A Content Analysis of US Movement Websites, *In* New Media & Society. 11 (5): 749–771.

Tarrow, Sidney
1998 Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics (2nd Ed). NY: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, Charles
1986 The Contentious French: Four Centuries oof Popular Struggle. MA: Belknap Press.

White, David
1950 The "Gatekeeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News, In Journalism Quarterly. 383-390.

Wodak, Ruth, R. De Cillia, M. Reisigl, and K. Liebhart
2009[1999] The Discursive Construction of National Identity. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Chapter VIII

Ahmed, Sara
2004 The Cultural Politics of Emotions. USA: Routledge.

Atkinson, Joshua
2010 Alternative Media and Politics of Resistance: A Communication Perspective. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Bosco, Fernando
2007 Emotions That Build Networks: Geographies of Human Rights Movements in Argentina and Beyond, *In* Journal of Economic and Social Geography 98(5): 545-563.

Debord, Guy
1967 The Society of the Spectacle. Paris: Editions Buchet Chastel.

Fahlenbrach, Rüdiger, Robert Prilmeier, and Rene Stulz
2012 This Time is the Same: Using Bank Performance in 1998 to Explain Bank Performance during the Recent Financial Crisis, In The Journal of Finance. 67(6): 2139-2185.

Feigenbaum, Anna, Fabian Frenzel, and Patrick McCurdy
2013 Protest Camps. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Goffman, Erving
1956 The Nature of Deference and Demeanor, *In* American Anthropologist 58(3): 473-502.

Meyer, David and Nancy Whittier
1994 Social Movement Spillover, *In* Social Problems 41(2). 277-298

Nina, Daniel
2010 El 18 Brumario de Luis Fortuño. San Juan: Pasillo del Sur.

Parra, Violeta
1960s Me Gustan los Estudiantes. Lyrics: http://letras.mus.br/parra-violeta/363440/, accessed October 2014.

Rucht, Dieter
2013 Protest Movements and their Media Usages, *In* Mediation and Protest Movements. Edited by Cammaerts, Bart, Alice Mattoni, and Patrick McCurdy. USA: The University of Chicago Press.

Torrecilla, Arturo
2011 La Universidad de Puerto Rico: El Theme Park del Intercambo Imposible. Hato Rey, PR: Publicaciones Puertorriquenas, Inc.

Wilke, J. and Noelle Neumann
1994 "Pressegeschichte", In Fischer Lexikon Publizistik Massenkommunikation. Edited by Noelle Neumann, W. Schulz, and J. Wilke. Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Internet Activism Debate

Model Changes	Scale Related Effects	No Changes
Internet activism marks more fundamental changes to the existing theoretical frameworks of social movements because they can't explain the dynamics of this activism (Earl and Schussman 2003, 2004; Bimber et al. 2005)	Internet activism marks simple accentuations to the existing theoretical frameworks of social movements. New theories are not required only modifications of existing ones (Myers 1994; Fisher 1998; Bennet 2004; Foot and Schneider 2002; Earl 2007)	Internet activism marks no change or lasting impact to the existing theoretical frameworks of social movements and they can be applied to this activism without problems (Diani 2000; Tilly 2004; Tarrow 1998)
The role of the Internet in social movements is to close the "media gap" for new and less established movements (Bimber et al. 2005). It allows the "leader" to be the participant that suggests the best action to carry out (Schussman and Earl 2004).	The role of the Internet in social movements is seen as an activist tool. Friedland and Rogerson (2009:3) state that Internet activism "allows the process of political mobilization because like-minded people can connect more easily." Such is the case with online organization of offline actions.	The role of the Internet in social movements is exaggerated. Although the Internet provides an easier and faster way of communication, social movements still need face-to-face interactions and demonstrations in order to build a stable community (McAdams 1996; Etzioni and Etzioni 1999)
Internet activism has proven the successful construction and maintenance of virtual networks among geographically dispersed people because "they are robust, adaptable and maneuverable in their respective conflicts because their actions are linked by a common political agenda rather than central leadership" (Garret 2006:211).	Internet activism hastens and facilitates the development of a social movement by connecting more people in less time; however, it does not necessarily lead to a stable network community nor free the movement from its reliance on traditional media (Kavada 2010).	Internet activism just "extends the philosophy of activism and direct action into the 'virtual' world of electronic information exchange and communications" (Rolfe 2005:65).
For example: Internet	For example: Internet	For example: Tilly's

activism, such as an e-movement, has lowered the cost of activism and reduced the importance of resources contradicting the resource mobilization theory. (Benkler 2006; Bimber et al. 2005; Earl and Schussman 2003)	activism has opened new spaces, such as social networking sites, for the development and maintenance of a social movement's collective identity and expanded the scale of its actions. This can be seen as a modification of social network analysis when applied into what Jones and Rafaeli (2000) termed "virtual publics".	(1986) concept of "repertoires of contention" was applied without changes to Internet activism by Contanza-Chock. To distinguish his application from Tilly's, Constanza-Chock (Rolfe 2005) labeled it "eRoc" or repertoires of electronic contention.

Appendix B

Examples of Contacting Participants

Facebook message:

Ema Marrero

+ New Message | Actions

Conversation started August 20, 2012

Rosa de los Vientos 8/20, 1:50am

Saludos Ema,

Te informo que pronto empezare el proceso de las entrevistas y me gustaria saber tu disponibilidad y disposicion para participar en mi investigacion sobre la huelga estudiantil 2010-2011.

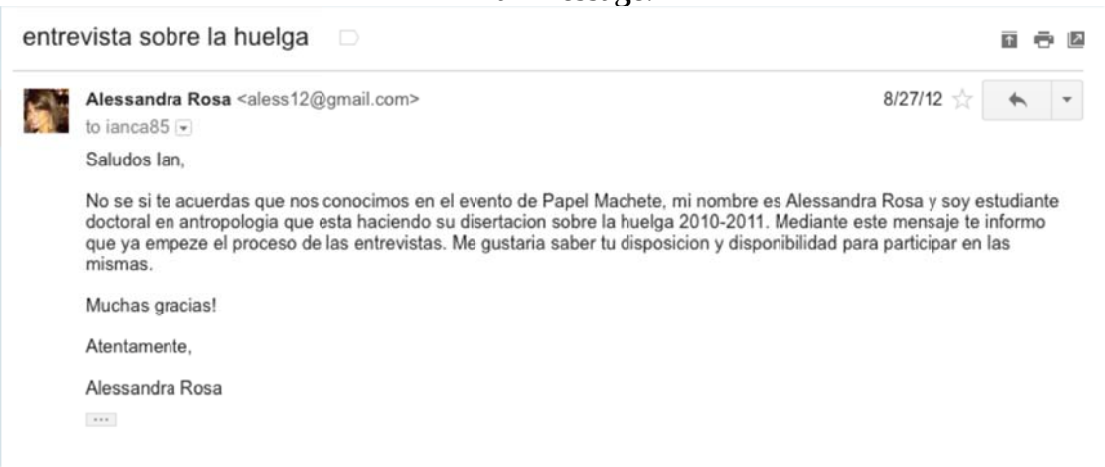
Muchas gracias!

Atentamente,

Alessandra

August 20, 2012

Email message:



entrevista sobre la huelga

Alessandra Rosa <aless12@gmail.com> 8/27/12

to ianca85

Saludos Ian,

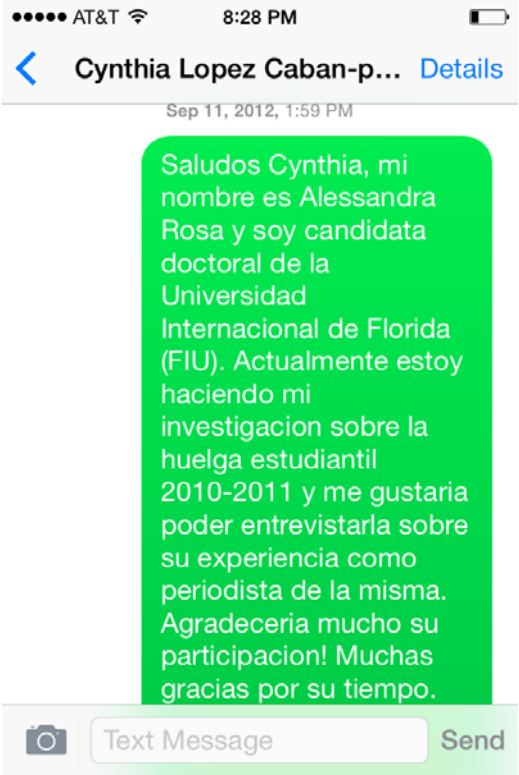
No se si te acuerdas que nos conocimos en el evento de Papel Machete, mi nombre es Alessandra Rosa y soy estudiante doctoral en antropologia que esta haciendo su disertacion sobre la huelga 2010-2011. Mediante este mensaje te informo que ya empeze el proceso de las entrevistas. Me gustaria saber tu disposicion y disponibilidad para participar en las mismas.

Muchas gracias!

Atentamente,

Alessandra Rosa

Text message and Confirmation of interview message:



Appendix C
Survey Questions

FIU | FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Preguntas Guías para los Estudiantes

Características Demográficas:

1. ¿Cuál es tu nombre (o pseudónimo)? _____
2. ¿Cuál es tu genero? _____
3. ¿Cuántos años tienes? _____
4. ¿En donde naciste? _____
5. ¿Eres estudiante a tiempo completo o parcial? _____
    a. ¿Cómo pagas tus estudios?_____
6. ¿En qué recinto estudias? _____
7. ¿Qué estas estudiando? _____
    a. ¿Cuál es tu concentración? _____
8. ¿En qué año estás? (i.e. freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, graduate student, post-doctoral) _____

Uso del Media durante las huelgas estudiantiles de la UPR 2010-2011:

Circula la mejor opción.

1. Aproximadamente, ¿cuántas horas al día veías televisión durante las huelgas?
    a. No veía televisión
    b. 1-2 horas
    c. 2-4 horas
    d. 5 horas o más
2. Aproximadamente, ¿cuántas horas al día escuchabas la radio durante las huelgas?
    a. No escuchaba la radio
    b. 1-2 horas
    c. 2-4 horas
    d. 5 horas o más
3. Aproximadamente, ¿cuántas horas al día leías el periódico impreso durante las huelgas?
    a. No leía el periódico
    b. 1-2 horas
    c. 2-4 horas
    d. 5 horas o más

4. Aproximadamente, ¿cuántas horas al día navegabas por el Internet para buscar noticias u otra información durante las huelgas?

a. No usaba el Internet
b. 1-2 horas
c. 2-4 horas
d. 5 horas o más

5. Aproximadamente, ¿cuántas horas al día chequeabas tu email, Facebook, Twitter, u otras cuentas de redes sociales durante las huelgas?

a. No tenia email ni cuenta en redes sociales
b. 1-2 horas
c. 2-4 horas
d. 5 horas o más

6. Aproximadamente, ¿cuántas horas al día hablabas o texteabas por tu celular durante las huelgas?

a. No tenia celular
b. 1-2 horas
c. 2-4 horas
d. 5 horas o más

Huelgas Estudiantiles de la UPR 2010-2011:

Marca con una X todas las maneras por las cuales te enterabas de los eventos mencionados en la tabla. Si no recuerdas como te enteraste, déjala en blanco. Por ejemplo: La primera pregunta seria: "¿Cómo te enteraste del cierre de tu recinto?", tienes que marcar con X si fue por la televisión, radio, periódico, Internet, y/o celular.

Evento	**Televisión**	**Radio**	**Periódico Impreso**	**Internet (Incluye periódico digital y redes sociales)**	**Celular**
Cierre de tu recinto					
Actividades diarias					
Asamblea General de					

Estudiantes en el Centro de Convenciones					
Prohibición de entrega de comida y bebida al recinto					
Comité Madres y Padres					
Incidente del Hotel Sheraton					
Acuerdo firmado entre el Comité Nacional Negociador y la administración					
Aumento en el numero de miembros de la Junta de Síndicos					
Cuando quitaron o sellaron los portones					
Contratación de Capitol Security					
Toma del recinto por la policía, operaciones tácticas y unidad montada					
Cuando empezó la segunda huelga					
Incidente de Plaza Universitaria (“La Encerrona”)					
Desobediencia					

civil de los "sit-ins"					
La pintata de la Calle Conciencia					
Encapuchados vandalizaron el Centro de Estudiantes					
Lectura de Cien Años de Soledad 24 horas corridas					
Del día mundial en solidaridad con la UPR					
Gobernador asigno un comité externo para que desarrollara una reforma educativa para la UPR					

En tu opinión:

1. ¿Cuál(es) fue(ron) la(s) causa(s) de las huelgas estudiantiles?

_____

2. ¿Quiénes fueron los responsables del conflicto que confronto la UPR?

_____

3. ¿Cuáles eran algunas características que compartían los estudiantes que protestaban?

_____

4. ¿Cómo se organizaron los estudiantes?

_____

5. ¿Estos comités fueron apoyados durante las huelgas? ¿Y porque?

_____

6. ¿Cuáles pueden ser algunas ventajas y/o desventajas de participar en las huelgas estudiantiles?

_____

7. Actualmente, ¿existen razones para que haya otra huelga? Si es así, ¿cuáles son?

_____

Información general:

1. ¿Cuál es tu percepción acerca de las huelgas estudiantiles?

_____

2. ¿Cuántas huelgas estudiantiles recientes e internacionales conoces?

_____

3. ¿Cuántas huelgas estudiantiles de la UPR conoces?

_____

4. ¿Has participado en alguna de las huelgas estudiantiles? Si es así, ¿en cuántas? ¿En qué se parecen y/o diferencian?

_____

_____

5. ¿Cuál fue tu motivación para participar o no participar en ellas?

_____

6. ¿Qué rol debe tener el gobierno en las huelgas y que rol tuvo en las huelgas 2010-2011?

_____

7. ¿Qué rol debe tener la administración en las huelgas y que rol tuvo en las huelgas 2010-2011?

_____

8. ¿Qué rol deben tener los estudiantes en las huelgas y que rol tuvieron en las huelgas 2010-2011?

---

9. ¿Qué rol deben tener los profesores en las huelgas y que rol tuvieron en las huelgas 2010-2011?

---

10. ¿Qué rol debe tener la prensa tradicional/comercial en las huelgas y que rol tuvo en las huelgas 2010-2011?

---

11. ¿Qué rol debe tener la prensa alternativa en las huelgas y que rol tuvo en las huelgas 2010-2011?

---

12. ¿Qué significa la Universidad de Puerto Rico para ti?

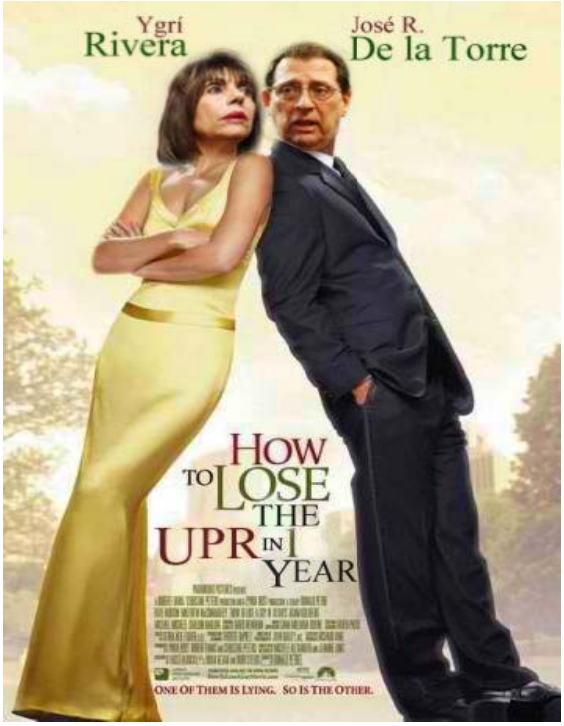
---

13. ¿Cómo describirías, con una palabra o frase, las huelgas 2010-2011 de la Universidad de Puerto Rico?

Imágenes:
Debajo de cada imagen escribe si te recuerdas de la situación que aparece y que te hace sentir.


UNIVERSIDA
TOMADA


facebook
Buscar
Inicio
Perfil
Estudiantes de la UPR Informan
Estudiantes de la UPR Informan UPR-RP: ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE ESTUDIANTES: El Consejo General de Estudiantes (CGE) ha decidido hacer la ASAMBLEA el miércoles, 10 de noviembre de 2010 a las 10 a.m. en el Centro de Convenciones. Solo faltaría la firma de contrato con los administradores de dicho establecimiento. Hace 21 horas
Muro
Información
Notas
Fotos
my Ustream
Calendar
Sugerir esta página a mis amigos
Suscribirme por SMS
¡HABLEMOS CON LA VERDAD Y DEFENDAMOS LA EDUCACIÓN PÚBLICA!
Información
Descripción:
"Estudiantes de la UPR Informan" es un espacio creado el sábado 17 de abril de 2010 para que los estudiantes
Información básica
Descripción:
"Estudiantes de la UPR Informan" es un espacio creado el sábado 17 de abril de 2010 para que los estudiantes de la Universidad de Puerto Rico (UPR) puedan informar a la comunidad universitaria y al resto de los puertorriqueños sobre lo que está ocurriendo en sus respectivos recintos.
Este surge como iniciativa ante la creación del "fan page" "UPR Informa" el cual, aunque si informa sobre los eventos que conciernen a la UPR, en ocasiones puede ser utilizado para manipular los medios de... (ver más)
Sitio web:
http://twitter.com/UPRestudiantes
http://www.scribd.com/UPRestudiantes
http://www.ustream.tv/user/UPRestudiantes
http://www.youtube.com/user/UPRestudiantes
Crear un anuncio
Páginas de Facebook
Más anuncios


Ygrí Rivera
José R. De la Torre
HOW TO LOSE THE UPR IN 1 YEAR
ONE OF THEM IS LYING. SO IS THE OTHER.


NUESTROS ESTUDIANTES PRIMERO
"El 11 de junio se supone que era mi graduación."
Eduardo Núñez, estudiante de 5° año de Ingeniería Civil, RUM
"Si no termino este semestre, no me puedo graduar el próximo mayo."
Andrea Acevedo, estudiante de 4° año de Psicología, UPR-Río Piedras
"No he podido terminar el curso. Por la huelga, perdí el dinero."
Roberto Rodríguez, estudiante de curso corto de Propuestas, UPR-Humacao
"Se supone que empiece en agosto la Escuela de Medicina."
Osvaldo Lasalde, estudiante de 4° año de Ciencias Naturales, UPR-Río Piedras
Respetemos el derecho de aquellos que quieren estudiar.
Ya la Junta Universitaria votó a favor de que se abran los portones. Son 60,000 estudiantes los que se están viendo afectados por esta innecesaria huelga.
UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO
UPR


SECURITY
SECURITY
SECURITY


POLICIA DE
PUERTO RICO


LA UPR
NO SE
VENDE

Appendix D

Extended Chronology of the 2010-2011 UPR Student Strike

March 3, 2009	Governor Luis Fortuño, from the *Partido Nuevo Progresista* (PNP), implements Law 7 as his economic recovery plan for Puerto Rico. This law reduced the public workforce by around 12%, and declared null and void all public sector labor contracts for three years. It also reduced the established formula for funding the UPR from 9.6% to 8.1% of the government's General Funds, initially a cut of about $200 million or 25%, from UPR's nearly $1 billion annual budget.
August 22, 2009	Near the **Río Piedras** campus, police attack students on University Avenue for consuming alcohol in the street, shortly after the previous UPR President resigned after an inquiry that was launched against him over inappropriate use of funds.
September 28, 2009	At the **Río Piedras** campus, motivated by the layoff of around 30,000 public employees, students hold a General Student Assembly in which they develop action committees for every college (Humanities, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Education, and the School of Law). For example: *Comité de Estudiantes en Defensa de la Educación Pública* (CEDEP). They approve a 24-hour stoppage to begin tomorrow.
September 29, 2009	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students hold a 24-hours stoppage in protest of Law 7.
October 15, 2009	The UPR student action committees join the one-day National Strike held by labor unions and opponents to Law 7, with about 250,000 participating. UPR student activists take over Highway 52, a major toll road, leading to a standoff with police that disperses only after Ricardo Santos and Professor Érika Fontánez negotiate with Coronel Echevarría. Ex political prisoner Rafael Cancel Miranda is also brought to the site to persuade students to avoid a violent confrontation.

First wave of the strike

January 3, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students march in protest to Governor Fortuño's austerity measures.
March 8, 2010	A group of students surprise the President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre while he is eating with his wife at Magno's

	Pizza. Some students talk with de la Torre while others hold signs and chant protest songs. This intervention is able to negotiate and sign an agreement that guaranteed that there would be no privatization of any of the eleven campuses, elimination of tuition waivers, nor increase in tuition. Additionally, they agreed to work together to find the necessary funds for the summer classes.
March 11, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students hold a protest in front of the University Tower before the scheduled meeting between the Academic Senate and the President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre. The meeting was rescheduled for the 18th.
March 18, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the Academic Senate and the President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre, meet to initiate the search for the new Chancellor of this campus.[92] After the meeting, two students, Waldemiro Vélez and Miguel Lozada, invite de la Torre to participate in an open debate with the student action committees as a way to elaborate alternative proposals to the fiscal crisis of the UPR. Prior to the meeting, a group of students from the action committees sold homemade food inside the Student Center as a way to protest the high prices and poor quality of the food that is being sold there.
April 13, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the General Student Council (CGE) holds a General Student Assembly in which the students name a Negotiating Committee to negotiate academic issues with the University Administration. The original issues include the repeal of Certification 98 (which attempted to restructure tuition waivers for athletes, musicians, honor students and offspring of university employees), as well as any tuition increase, and fiscal transparency by opening the UPR's budget books. The students approve a 48-hour stoppage, followed by an indefinite strike if negotiations failed.
April 17, 2010	Facebook page *Estudiantes de la UPR Informan* (EUPRI) is created by student Omar Rodríguez as an independent news source for University-related updates, eventually reaching more than 30,000 members.
April 19, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students hold a 48-hours stoppage with many cultural events to express their demands. For

[92] The Board of Trustees has the ultimate power to name the Chancellor.

example, students from the *Centro de Autogestión Estudiantil para la Investigación Audiovisual* (CAEIA) organize a "*Cine paro*" [Stoppage Cinema].

April 21, 2010 Countering to the UPR students' 48-hour stoppage, the *Rectora* (or Chancellor) of **Río Piedras** campus, Ana Guadalupe, reacts by ordering an indefinite recess or *cierre* [closure] of academic and administrative operations instead of negotiating with the students.

As such, the UPR student activists begin their indefinite strike by locking down the **Río Piedras** campus. By May 3, the Mayaguez and Cayey campuses join the strike followed by the other campuses. By May 11, ten out the eleven UPR campuses are on strike and each has named a student representative to the National Negotiating Committee (CNN). The Medical Sciences campus shows active solidarity but does not close due to its medical clinic services.

Since the Chancellor's decision did not follow the formal requirements established in the General Rulebook Number 6479, two Law school students, Fernando Moreno Orama and Jorge Farinacci Fernós, issue a preliminary injunction at the San Juan District court to revoke the Chancellor's decision.

April 24, 2010 The *Frente Amplio de Solidaridad y Lucha* (FASyL) announces their support to the UPR student strike.

April 26, 2010 The Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Fortuño, addresses the country in a *Mensaje de Presupuesto*. He comments about the current issue at the UPR. He mentions that his government has assigned extra money to the university.

Desde Adentro (DA) is created by Aura Colon and other students. The website begins as collective news composed by students as a way to cover the events from within the barricades.

A police helicopter flies over the **Río Piedras** campus.

April 27, 2010 At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students from the collective *Indi.gestión* place dog food and a sign that says "*Cuidado con el perro*" [Beware of the dog] in front of police officers standing outside the gates. This event later stirred resentment towards the student activists because it was seen

among the police officers and some of the local general public as a sign of disrespect.[93]

April 28, 2010 — At the **Río Piedras** campus, René Pérez, Visitante and Ileana Cabra Joglar (i.e., Calle 13), spend time inside the campus with the students playing video games.

At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of mostly Puerto Rican artists celebrate a concert, *¡Que vivan l@s estudiantes!*,[Long live the students!] supporting the students in their strike in defense of accessible public higher education of excellence as a fundamental right and not a privilege. Calle 13 shows a video via large screens of famous celebrities such as Ricky Martin, among others, in which they issue statements of support to the students.

The San Juan District court judge, José Negrón Fernández, invalidates the Chancellor's decision and orders the re-opening of the **Río Piedras** campus by May 3rd. This victory allows the students to practice their right to freedom of expression and association to continue their strike. The UPR Administration appeals the decision to the Supreme Court in Puerto Rico.

April 29, 2010 — The largest faculty organization, *Asociación Puertorriqueña de Profesores Universitarios* (APPU), with five chapters throughout the system, asks members to respect the picket line. The *Hermandad de Empleados No-Docentes* (HEEND) union that represents non-teaching employees also calls upon members to respect the picket line.

At the **Río Piedras** campus, Lisa Koplik, Monica Noya, and other members of the *Estudiantes por la Universidad* (EPU) [Students for the University] hold a press conference dressed in white soliciting the reinstatement of classes. Members of the organization *No Apoyo la Huelga* [I do not support the strike] are also present in support.

May 2, 2010 — At the **Río Piedras** campus, *Radio Huelga* is developed as a radial experiment by Ricardo Olivero Lora and other students as a way to facilitate communication and disseminate

[93] Although the date has not been able to be 100% confirmed, according to different sources this seems to be the most appropriate date given the context of what had occurred the days before.

	information during the strike. It was on-air via 1650AM and continues to be mainstreamed online.
	A group of students, members of the *Comité de Estudiantes de Universidades Privadas* (CEUP) [Students from Private Universities Committee], hold protests in support of the UPR student strike to show solidarity from private colleges.
May 3, 2010	A police helicopter flies over the **Río Piedras** campus.
May 4, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, by the security gate, students scream "*rompe huelga*" [strikebreakers] to people who are breaking the picket line. A violent clash occurs among Riot police officers and students, when the police officers enter the campus.
	Police officers publish comments on their Facebook pages that lack professionalism.
	Later that day, students hold a sit in inside the tower to prevent the Chancellor Ana Guadalupe and Deans from entering the building to have their meeting.
May 7, 2010	From the **Río Piedras** campus, thousands march in the rain in support of the student strike to the entrance of the Botanical Gardens, where the administrative offices of the UPR President are located. Protesters chant: "¡*Enchumba'os, enchumba'os, pero nunca arrodilla'os!*" [We are soaked, we are soaked but never on our knees!].
May 8, 2010	*El Nuevo Día* newspaper publishes an article about "*La Cabeza de Christian*" (LCC) and "*La Vida de Christian*" (LVC), which are news programs done by the student blogger, Christian M. Ortega Sánchez. In LVC he has been publishing personal videos of the daily activities that take place inside the campus during the strike.
May 9, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, student activists, their family members, and supporters celebrate Mother's Day in front of the main gate.
May 10, 2010	The Supreme Court in Puerto Rico dismisses the appeal as an academic case since the Chancellor had re-opened the campus by May 3rd.

	Next to the **Río Piedras** campus, students from the action committee of the University High School (UHS) as well as parents and teachers hold a press conference in support of the UPR student strike.
May 11, 2010	The *Negotiating Committees* from each campus meet in Arecibo to discuss the possibility of creating a *National Negotiating Committee* (CNN) to negotiate with the UPR Administration. This national committee would be composed of one member from each campus and five from the main **Río Piedras** campus.
May 12, 2010	*Rojo Gallito* and *Radio Huelga* organize a College tour around different campuses.
May 13, 2010	The UPR Board of Trustees had met previously with the CNN and reached certain *entendidos* or tentative agreements, however these were not final. Notwithstanding the President of the CGE, Gabriel Laborde, decides to hold a General Student Assembly at the Puerto Rico Convention Center in San Juan for students to decide whether to ratify or end the strike. In this assembly around 3,000 students participate and vote for the strike to continue. Right after the assembly, the students march in protest to the State Capitol while chanting: "*¡Si ésta es la minoría, dónde está la mayoría!*" [If this is the minority, where is the mayority?] In response, Chancellor Ana Guadalupe announces another administrative closure until July 31. This allows time for the Board of Trustees to obtain court orders to evict the students from the campuses.
May 14, 2010	Early in the morning, the police force is mobilized to situate and open the **Río Piedras** campus by cutting the chains that the students had placed to lock the gates. In addition, the San Juan police superintendent, José Figueroa Sancha, submits an order to prohibit food, water, and medicine deliveries to the students inside the campuses. The UPR Administration simultaneously announces it will cut off water and electricity to the main campus. These actions provoke thousands of supporters to break the police blockade by creating a human chain that "hugged" the UPR and toss food and water over the fence to students. The father of one student and a physically disabled graduate student were brutally beaten and dragged away by police, images later widely disseminated on YouTube and the press.

May 16, 2010	To show their solidarity, prominent artists such as Danny Rivera and Silverio Pérez, bring food and supplies to the students but police officers also block them at the **Río Piedras** campus. At the **Río Piedras** campus, there is a violent clash between students and police officers in front of the Social Sciences gate and a student nicknamed "Osito" is arrested while trying to re-enter the campus.
May 17, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the *Comité de Padres y Madres en Apoyo con los Estudiantes de la UPR* (CPMAE) [Parents Supporting Students Committee] hold a fasting protest in support of the student activists. The LGBTTI community holds a protest in support of the student activists as well as commemorate the *Día Internacional Contra la Homofobia*.[International Day Against Homophobia]. The *Comité Pro Rescate y Desarrollo de Vieques* (CPRDV) [Vieques Pro-rescue and Development Committee] express their unconditional solidarity with the student activists. Democracy Now! host, Amy Goodman, interviews student Giovanni Roberto and professor Christopher Powers while covering the UPR student strike.
May 18, 2010	Puerto Ricans in the New York diaspora hold demonstrations in support of the UPR student strike. The main *Sindicatos* or Labor Unions in Puerto Rico hold a 24 hours national stoppage in support of the UPR student claims. At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students access the top of the tower to hang the Puerto Rican flag and a sign that reads "*Si el presente es lucha, el futuro es nuestro*" [If the present consists of fighting, the future is ours!].
May 20, 2010	Students protest in front of the Sheraton Hotel at the Convention Center in Miramar, where Governor Luis Fortuño is participating in a party fundraiser. Police and SWAT team are mobilized to secure the area from the protesters. This incident quickly turns violent with many arrests and injuries that include Taser attacks on students, also disseminated on YouTube.

May 21, 2010	Faculty of all the 11 UPR campuses meet in a General Faculty Assembly held at the Cayey Municipal Arena. Professors vote to support the striking students' demands, as well as call for the resignation of UPR President José Ramón de la Torre, and of Board of Trustees President Ygrí Rivera. After being viral on social media outlets, local news make public some online comments that police officers made about being happy of hitting "*a palos*" [with batons] student activists.
May 22, 2010	A group of student activists march inside the mall *Plaza Las Américas* holding a sign that said: "*Diálogo, negociación, conocimiento, educación, libertad, transparencia, democracia, participación. Estas fueran nuestras banderas del 21 de abril de 2010 y estas son hoy nuestras exigencias*." [Dialogue, negotiation, knowldege, education, freedom, transparency, participative democracy. These were our flags on April 21st and this are still our demands!].
May 26, 2010	The President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre, addresses the country about the current situation in the Institution and his willingness to meet with the students and press.
May 27, 2010	The student committee, *Coordinadora Nacional de Recintos Universitarios* (CONARU), holds a multisectorial march in defense of the right to an education, work, and life under the campaign: "*UPR es un país*" [UPR is a Country]. The route is from the *Luis Muñoz Rivera Park* to *La Fortaleza*, where Governor Luis Fortuño lives.
May 31, 2010	The Board of Trustees releases a press report describing the damages caused to the UPR by the student strike. Two days later, the Board of Trustees President, Ygrí Rivera, admits publishing the report without the authorization of the other Board members.
June 1, 2010	The CNN emits a message to the country that is released simultaneously online and through the local news. This video explains their actions in defense of an accessible public higher education as a right and not a privilege.
June 3, 2010	Students demonstrate at *La Milla de Oro,* San Juan's financial district in Hato Rey.

	The Academic Senate of the UPR Medical Campus approves a resolution repudiating the UPR Administration management of the student claims during the strike.
June 9, 2010	The CNN submits a proposal in hopes to possibly end the strike but it was rejected by the Administration. Students hold a sit in until the Administration gives them a date for the next negotiation meeting.
June 13, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, CPMAE and students hold a symbolic graduation to honor the student activists as exemplary citizens.
June 16, 2010	After 5 days of court-mandated mediation with the retired judge Pedro López Oliver, the Board of Trustees votes 9 to 4 in favor of an accord with the students. Among the members of the Board who vote against the agreement and decline to sign the document was Board President Ygrí Rivera.[94] The negotiation accords for Certification 98 to be amended, no suspensions of student activists, and for the planned fee to be evaluated.
June 21, 2010	First National Student Assembly takes place in the Pachín Vicens in Ponce. In this assembly the students vote to end the strike by accepting the agreements reached between the CNN and the UPR Administration. However, the students also vote on the possibility of starting another strike if the Administration insists on the tuition hike.
	Governor Luis Fortuño appoints four new members to the UPR Board of Trustees to secure a voting majority and to impose the fee, breaching the previous strike agreement. In response, students organize for a possible revival of the strike.
June 24, 2010	Middle States Commission on Higher Education (MSCHE) places 10 UPR campuses on probation for not being in compliance with Standard 4 (Leadership and Governance), Standard 3 (Institutional Resources), and Standard 11 (Educational Offerings).[95]

[94] http://participedia.net/cases/2010-university-puerto-rico-strike

[95] http://www.scribd.com/doc/33612322/UPR-Rio-Piedras-en-Probatoria.

June 29, 2010	Board of Trustees approves Certification 146 (2009-2010) which implements a tuition hike through a fiscal stabilization fee of $800 per year. This fee affects all students regardless of how many credits they take or if they have financial aid. It does not include a specific deadline to remove the special fee.
June 30, 2010	A protest at the capitol building to Senate President Thomas Rivera Schatz's prohibition of the press from entering Senate sessions during budgetary debates turns violent when police indiscriminately attack protestors, including students, professors and community members. Dozens are injured.
July 15, 2010	Members of the *Juventud del Patido Nuevo Progresista* [PNP Youth], led by Rolando Meléndez, hold a counterprotest in the Freeway *José de Diego* against the UPR student activists and in support of the Governor and the police force.
July 18, 2010	*Radio Huelga* covers the multisectorial march against abuse under the campaign *"Alto al Abuso y la Represión"* [Stop the repression and abuse]. The route is from the intersection of Muñoz Rivera Avenue and Roosevelt Avenue to the General Police Headquarters. This protest is a reaction to the police violence that occurred on June 30th.
July 20, 2010	A group of Puerto Rican athletes protest against the government by displaying a banner during the inauguration ceremony of the Central American and Caribbean games being held in Mayagüez.

Second wave of the strike

August 11, 2010	Governor Fortuño signs Law 128, which establishes direct electronic voting on academic issues for the students of the UPR.
September 8, 2010	A sarcastic ad critiquing the UPR situation appears at a train station stop on 5th Avenue in New York stating, "We are not looking for negotiators. We need problem solvers."
September 16, 2010	Student action committees organize an exhibition *Contagi-arte!* with different forms of art including: installations, videos, paintings, documentaries, and live performances in support of their strike.

September 21, 2010	Student action committees organize a march around the campus: *"¡Ni un peso más, ni paso atrás!"* [Not one more dollar, not a single step backwards!].
September 22, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students protest the cancellation of Women and Gender studies program by climbing up to the clock tower and removing the United States' flag.
September 29, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students from the School of Social Sciences hold a student assembly that interrupts classes.
October 14, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students from the School of Education hold a student assembly that interrupts classes.
October 19-21, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students interrupt the academic and administrative operations by "occupying" the Colleges of Humanities, Social Sciences, and Education.
October 25, 2010	The Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Fortuño, addresses the country in a *Mensaje sobre la Reforma Contributiva*. He comments about the current issue at the UPR.
October 28, 2010	The CGE holds an Extraordinary Meeting to approve the agenda for the General Student Assembly in November.
November 3, 2010	The Senate President, Thomas Rivera Schatz, passes a law establishing a special fund to provide student scholarships. Chancellor Ana Guadalupe announces that the current academic calendar for the **Río Piedras** campus would end on January 19, 2011. The new calendar stated that classes would end December 28, 2010, final exams week would be from January 12 – 19, 2011, and grades would be up by January 20, 2011.
November 5, 2010	Chancellor Ana Guadalupe prohibits the use of roller skates, skateboards, and scooters inside the campus for safety reasons.
November 6, 2010	The *Confederación Estudiantil Nacional* (CEN) [National Student Confederation], composed of the 11 campuses student Presidents and their Representatives, holds an Ordinary Meeting at the Aguadilla campus.

November 9, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the General Student Council holds another General Student Assembly at the Convention Center where no decision regarding the strike is achieved because of quorum. However, the students voted on creating a new negotiating committee with members of the action committees. In this assembly, the *Comité de Eficiencia Fiscal* (CEF) presented their final report assessing the situation. At the Humacao campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote against any further interruption of their academic session.
November 10, 2010	Both Waldemiro Vélez Soto and Arturo Ríos Escribano present a request for a temporary and permanent injunction against the University of Puerto Rico for the disciplinary measures the University Administration has been enforcing.
November 11, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the General Student Council holds an Extraordinary Student Assembly where the students vote on: having a referendum during November 15-19 to approve or refuse the $800 fee, a national march on November 21 taking the results of the referendum and signatures of students against the fee to the UPR Administration offices, holding a General Student Assembly on November 30, and giving the Administration an ultimatum of a month to eliminate the fee.
November 13, 2010	The President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre, holds a private meeting at his house, *la casa Manrique Cabrera*, with some members of the Board of Trustees, some members of the University community, and some members of the ruling political party. It is understood that the student group, *Frente Pro Universidad Abierta* (FUA), which was against the "*huelga estudiantil*" and in favor of an open campus originated here.
November 18, 2010	At the Carolina campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote for a 96-hour stoppage to begin during their registration for the next quarter December 20-23, and a strike if any other campus goes on strike. Dates of registration are moved earlier to ensure its process.
November 19, 2010	Middle States Commission on Higher Education (MSCHE) lifts the probation over Standard 11 (Educational Offerings) and continues the probation over Standard 4 (Leadership and Governance) and Standard 3 (Institutional Resources).

November 20, 2010 The Board of Trustees appoints a new Finance Director, Charles Anthony Cordero. Cordero had worked at the *Banco Gubernamental de Fomento* (BGF) or the Government Development Bank under the tutelage of Marcos Rodríguez Ema, the current Governor's Chief of Staff.

November 21, 2010 At the **Río Piedras** campus, students organize a National Student march against the fee and police repression.

November 23, 2010 A *Comité de Representación Estudiantil* (CRE) [Student Representational committee] is formed at the **Río Piedras** campus to negotiate with the UPR Administration to annul Certification 146, which authorizes the $800 fee in January 2011 and $400 per semester thereafter.

Both of the main university professors associations, APPU and the *Confederación Nacional de Profesores Universitarios* (CONAPU), hold an assembly at Caguas where they approve to go on strike, organize a march to the capitol building, and request the resignation of the President of the UPR and the members of the Board of Trustees.

November 29, 2010 At the **Río Piedras** campus, the students hold a forum called: "Political Parties and their proposed University Reforms" with a representative of the different political parties. The representative from the ruling party never showed up.

The CRE publishes online a PowerPoint presentations that explains the fiscal crisis at the UPR and provides alternatives to the tuition fee hike.

November 30, 2010 At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of student protest and block access to the Chancellor's office in *La Torre* building, demanding to meet with the Board of Trustees.

As an alternative to resolve the fiscal crisis of the UPR, a group of professors publish the proposal, "*La Universidad: sumando ganamos todos*" [The university: adding up we all win]. Later, the group holds a press conference, led by Carlos Colón de Armas, to discuss the main arguments of the document such as shared responsibility and certain sacrifices that the entire university community should make.

December 1, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students at another unauthorized student assembly, vote for a 48-hour stoppage on December 7 and an indefinite strike beginning December 14 if the fee is not eliminated. At the Arecibo campus, students at a General Student Assembly approve a 48-hour stoppage starting that same day. The Chancellor of Arecibo announces that operations will continue. At Utuado campus, students at an unauthorized student assembly vote for a 24-hour stoppage starting that day.
December 2, 2010	Marcos Rodríguez Ema publicly states that he would kick out student "leaders" from the university ("*los sacaría a patadas*") and he would also fire the professors that incite students to go on strike ("*los profesores bandidos que están incitando a los estudiantes a irse de paro*"). This is widely interpreted as sanctioning violent repression and political persecution. At the Mayaguez campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote to oppose the fee and also to go on strike and interrupt their academic session. At the Ponce campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote against an interruption of their academic session. At the Utuado campus, students at a General Student Assembly vote for another 24-hour stoppage starting that day.
December 4, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, due to some internal disagreements regarding a referendum, the President of the CGE, Omar Ramirez, announces his resignation. The next day the CGE reconsiders the motion and its members vote that there will be no referendum. Consequently, Ramirez withdraws his resignation and continues his duties as President of the CGE.
December 5-6, 2010	The UPR Administration orders that **Río Piedras** campus gates be removed and/or welded opened to prevent another student lock down of the campus. Students that tried to prevent this are arrested violently. A private firm contracted by the university, *Capitol Security*, provides campus "security," by hiring untrained youths from economically marginalized areas, some armed with sticks and plastic pipes. This situation causes heated confrontations

between the newly hired "security" guards and the student activists.

December 7, 2010 At the **Río Piedras** campus, a bomb threat is received at *Plaza Universitaria* complex, where administrative offices processing fees are located. All operations there are stopped until further relocation. The 48-hour stoppage begins with some intense confrontations between Capitol Security and the student activists. This leads the security guards to beat up the student, William Figueroa Ayala, and *encapuchados* or hooded protestors to vandalize some of the security vans. A police helicopter hovers over the campus and drops *comunicados* or flyers stating that the police force will guarantee the normal flow of academic operations.

At the Cayey campus, the Student Council holds a General Student Assembly where the students vote on a 36-hours stoppage starting that same day. The Chancellor of Cayey announces a one-day academic recess and operations proceed the following day.

At the Bayamon campus, the Student Council holds a General Student Assembly where the students vote on a 48-hours stoppage starting the following day. All operations continue.

At the Aguadilla campus, the Student Council holds a General Student Assembly where the students vote on a 48-hours stoppage starting that same day. The Chancellor of Aguadilla announces that the operations would continue.

At the Mayaguez campus, a group of students try to take over the General Library late at night as a way of demanding an extension to the library working hours. In response the Chancellor of Mayaguez met with the President of the Student Council and agrees to extend the library's working hours during final exams week.

December 8, 2010 Certification 90 (2004-2005) of the Board of Trustees rejects the obstruction of university facilities as a form of protest. Thus, after the illegal stoppage that occurred at the **Río Piedras** campus on December 7-8, the UPR President requests State Police to occupy the campus.

At the **Río Piedras** campus, one of the key student spokespersons, Giovanni Roberto, gave a heartfelt speech to

the hired Capitol Security "guards" letting them know that the UPR students are on strike so that youth like them can have access to public higher education. Due to this, a group of students develop the committee "*Somos comunidad, somos estudiantes*" [We are a community, we are students].

During the day, a small countermovement protest by members of FUA takes place against the UPR student strike. Participants state that they are against the strike and against the fee but want the university to remain with *portones abiertos* [opened gates].

December 9, 2010 The police force, mounted police, Tactical Operations Division (DOT), SWAT team, and snipers enter the UPR campuses for the first time in 30 years. Their presence inside campus breaks the long-standing "non-confrontational policy" established to promote peaceful dialogue after the violent incidents during the 1981 UPR student strike.

The President of the UPR, José Ramón de la Torre, addresses the country about the current situation in the Institution. He describes the student activists as a small minority and informs that because of the violent incidents that occurred the police force will remain inside the campuses to ensure "law and order".

At the Ponce campus, students at an Extraordinary Student Assembly vote to oppose the fee and to go on strike and interrupt their academic session.

A group of student activists from the Mayaguez campus begin to march from Mayaguez to the State Capitol in San Juan.

December 12, 2010 Students hold a massive march under the campaign: "*UPR es del Pueblo*" [UPR is of and for the People]. The route is from Puerto Rico's State Capitol to the Governor's house, *La Fortaleza*, This demonstration includes the campaign "*Amor por los Globos Rojos,*" [Love for Red Balloons] for which marchers carry red balloons as a metaphor for the 10,000 students that would not be able to continue their studies if the fee is implemented.

The CEN publishes a letter that denounces the $800 tuition fee, the police and Capitol Security's presence inside the campuses, any violent act inside the campuses, and the Administration's inaction to consider alternative proposals in the negotiations.

December 13, 2010	Puerto Rico's Supreme Court rules that university students do not have the right to go on strike because they are not employees. This ruling allowed the UPR Administration to pass a moratorium and prohibit any gatherings and demonstrations inside the campus until January 12 when classes would begin (This would later be extended for 3 months). The Administration also labels specific "*áreas de expresión pública*" [areas of public expression] on sidewalks just outside campus and requires all students entering campus to show IDs. The prohibition also banned the act of *encapucharse* or the covering of the face while protesting.
December 14, 2010	Second indefinite strike begins at the **Río Piedras** campus. Student lobbying groups continue to look for alternatives to the strike by speaking to different members in the Legislature.
December 16, 2010	The Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Fortuño, addresses the country in a *Mensaje Especial*. This speech is focused on the current situation at the UPR. He describes the student activists as a small minority and violent.
December 20, 2010	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a student protest that begins in the Natural Sciences building ends with a police crackdown at the *Plaza Universitaria* complex, also known as *la encerrona* or entrapment. More than 10 are arrested, many injured, and the third floor of the Natural Sciences library sustains fire damage and losses.
December 29, 2010	The CRE sends out a video message explaining the reasons for the continuation of the strike. The Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Fortuño, the Secretary of State, Kenneth McClintock, and his assistant Michael Ayala met with four of the student spokespersons: Arturo Ríos, Rene Vargas, Omar Ramírez y José Nieves. In this impromptu meeting, they agree to remove the DOT immediately and reduce the police force presence inside the campuses.

During the holiday season, student activists continue demonstrations to gain public support by organizing *parrandas* (a Puerto Rican tradition of neighborhood musical revelry) in *Plaza las Américas* mall and different adjacent communities, as well as, holding classes at public places to engage people called *Universidad sin Paredes* [University without Walls].

January 9, 2011	The CGE and CEN send out separate video messages explaining the crisis situation at the UPR and the reasons for the continuation of the strike.
January 11, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, spring semester begins and students hold a march to commemorate the birth of Eugenio María de Hostos. During the march, a group of *encapuchados* separate themselves from the march and vandalize the student cafeteria by turning tables, breaking glass and throwing smoke bombs.[96]
January 13, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a riot with tear gas occurs between a group of students and the police force at the *Plaza Universitaria* complex.
January 14, 2011	The UPR Administration creates a list of ten Undergraduate Academic Programs that would be placed "on pause" to become effective on August 2011. This would prevent said programs from accepting incoming students. This classification is nonexistent in the University Rulebook which according to the extant Cert. 3 (2009-2010) only includes active academic programs, inactive academic programs or academic programs that are placed on a moratorium.
January 16, 2011	The CRE continues to urge students to choose the partial payment plan to pay tuition in order to continue protesting the fee. They announce that the UPR Administration has already begun deducting the $800 dollar fee automatically from students that received the federal Pell grant.
January 22, 2011	Governor Luis Fortuño gives a speech at the Law School in Valladolid, Spain and a group of Puerto Ricans interrupt the event with a protest.
February 2, 2011	Capping off many civil disobedience acts, students conduct a sit-in at the Capitol building and police attack the protesters with rubber bullets, tear gas, and pepper spray. During all the civil disobedience acts more than 150 arrests made, with this day's arrests being the most brutal, as police applied pressure-point techniques to the neck of the students and even groped the breasts of a female student that was being arrested, as seen in media dissemination.

[96] Historically, UPR student strikes have had agitators infiltrate and sabotage student movements, though a militant wing to the student movement does exist.

February 7, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students participate in "*Sal pa' Fuera*" (i.e. an In and Out). A group of professors, from different faculties and without pretending to represent anyone, meet to discuss the current crisis of the UPR. They create: "*Declaración: Convergencia Docente*", which emphasizes the importance of professors to reclaim the university space.
February 8, 2011	The Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Fortuño, addresses the country in a *Mensaje sobre la Reforma Contributiva y Valores*. He does not comment about the current issue at the UPR.
February 9, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students participate in a *pintata* (a tradition of street painting) for "*Calle Conciencia*" in front of *la Biblioteca Lázaro*. Police violently interrupt the event by brutally and indiscriminately arresting protesters and bystanders alike. (Police officers had been videotaping the protests as a way of identifying and targeting key student activists, seen as part of a history of the government keeping files called *carpetas* on pro-independence activists). The professor organization APPU calls for a 24-hour stoppage and the resignation of the UPR President, a move supported by the HEEND union for non-teaching staff. At the 11 UPR campuses, students hold a simultaneous vigil for the university wearing black t-shirts and holding lighted candles. A group of students at the **Río Piedras** campus begin an escalatory hunger strike.
February 10, 2011	UPR President José Ramón De La Torre writes a letter to the Superintendent of Police José Figueroa Sancha requesting police to be removed from the campuses.
February 11, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, the student strike gets international coverage by Al Jazeera, TeleSur, and the Washington Post. José Ramón de la Torre, President of the UPR, resigns and it becomes effective immediately. Roberto Aponte Toro, the Dean of Law School also resigns.
February 12, 2011	More than 15,000 participate in a massive march to express Valentine's Day love for UPR under the campaign: "*Yo amo la*

	UPR" and demand the removal of police from the campuses. Upon returning from a trip on February 14th, Governor Luis Fortuño orders the partial removal of the police force from the University, but on February 25th they returned though in smaller numbers.
February 14, 2011	Miguel Muñoz is named interim President of the University of Puerto Rico.
February 22, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** student assembly, students vote on a 24-hours stoppage, a request to APPU and HEEND to do the same, a request to prevent the "pause" of academic programs, and a calendar of activities for the following month, and a General Student Assembly to be held on March 15. (Students want to maintain protests in opposition to the fee but there are mixed feelings against a campus closure.)
February 23, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a violent incident occurs between Professor James Peter Conlan and students. Professor Conlan cuts the chain that locked a pedestrian entrance and removes its barricade. Students guarding the gate inform him, and the people accompanying him, that there is stoppage and if they wanted to enter the campus they could through the main gate. As one of the students guarding the gate tries to lock it again, the professor holds him in a headlock and many students react by punching the professor so he would let go of their *"compa"*.
March 7, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a student protest ends with students attacking UPR Chancellor Ana Guadalupe, who was treated at a hospital and released hours later. After images and video of the attack were disseminated in the media, demonstrations came to a halt.
March 8, 2011	The Interim Director of Hispanic Studies, María Luisa Lugo Acevedo, confirms that this Academic Program is no longer "on pause". No information is released about the other programs on the list.
	Students participate in the events of *el Día Internacional de la Mujer Trabajadora* or Working Women International Day.
March 9, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students organize a 24-hour reading of Gabriel García Márquez's novel, *Cien Años de Soledad*, in front of the theater.

March 11, 2011	Students organize a "World Day Solidarity with the UPR" where supporters send videos and photos of demonstrations in places like: California, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Florida, Cuba, Argentina, and Spain, among others. Students, professors, employees, and supporters of the student movement meet in Plaza Antonia Martínez to commemorate her death during the 1970 student strike and demand peace on campus.
March 18, 2011	FASYL and the student committee "*Somos Comunidad, somos estudiantes*" hold a meeting in the community center of Añasco to explain the problems the UPR faces and the reasons for their strike to the community members.
April 12, 2011	The Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Fortuño, addresses the country in a *Mensaje de Presupuesto*. He does not comment about the current status of the UPR.
April 28, 2011	Student action committees organize the second exhibition *Contagia(arte) II*, in order to commemorate their strike.
April 29, 2011	Governor Luis Fortuño's passes an Executive Law (number OE-2011-15), to designate an Advising Committee to develop an educational reform for the future of the University of Puerto Rico. The committee includes members that are openly hostile to UPR and in particular the Humanities and Social Sciences. (This reform was released in December 2011 and is in the process of being implemented.)
May 3, 2011	The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) members conclude their report in Puerto Rico and are alarmed at the amount of evidence of police brutality that the students endured during the recent student strikes. The UPR Board of Trustees approves the *Reglamento de la Ley del Fondo Especial*, which assigns $30 millions to the UPR for student scholarships. This is known as *la Beca Rivera Schatz*.
May 4, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, a group of students commemorate a year of the strike by painting the mural *Pintemos una Nueva IUPI* [Let's paint a new UPR].

June 29, 2011	At the **Río Piedras** campus, students protest in support of an accessible public education of quality during their graduation ceremony.
June 30, 2011	UPR students hold a rally to commemorate the anniversary of the incidents of police brutality at the Capitol building.
July 21, 2011	The UPR Administration orders the repainting of the museum, covering the Filiberto Ojeda Ríos mural. Ojeda Ríos was the commander in chief of *los Macheteros* or the Boricua Popular Army and was killed at his home by the FBI, no one was processed for his death.
August 31, 2011	A group of students from the *Unión de Juventudes Socialistas* (UJS-MST) paint a mural in the lobby of the School of Social Sciences in defense of an accessible public education and in support of the Chilean student movement.

*After the June 2010 agreement was breached, key student spokespersons were summarily suspended from the university. As of this writing, only Giovanni Roberto won a court appeal to be able to enroll without suspension. Consequently, Adriana Mulero Claudio and Ian Camilo Cintrón completed their suspensions and were also able to enroll again. Finally in 2013, the newly elected Governor from the *Partido Popular Democrático* (PPD), Alejandro García Padilla, eliminated the Board of Trustees and established the Board of Government which subsequently allowed most of the remaining suspended student activists: Robin Torres, Carla M.Torres Trujillo, Rafael Ojeda Ramírez, and Mariano Ríos Serrano to enroll. As of January 2015, Waldemiro Vélez Soto and Ibrahim García González were able to enroll as well.

– Compiled by Alessandra Rosa, Florida International University

VITA

ALESSANDRA M. ROSA

EDUCATION

2011 M.A. in Global &Sociocultural Studies
Graduate Certificate in Latin America and Caribbean Studies
Florida International University at Miami, FL

2007 M.S. in Mass Communications (Integrated Advertising and Public Relations)
Florida International University at Miami, FL

2005 Postgraduate Degree in Economy and Marketing
Universidad de Valladolid, Spain

2004 B.A. in Communications with minors in Psychology and Spanish Literature
University of Massachusetts-Amherst, MA

2003 Study Abroad: Universitas Castellae
Valladolid, Spain

2002 Study Abroad: Colegio Hispano-Continental
Salamanca, Spain

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS (Most recent)

- "Student Activism: (re)Constructing Spaces of Resistance". Public Education: Crisis and Dialogue at the University of Puerto Rico in Sargasso 2011-2012 1: 73-76.

- "Chronology of the 2010-2011 University of Puerto Rico Student Strike". Public Education: Crisis and Dialogue at the University of Puerto Rico in Sargasso 2011-2012 1: xxxiii-xlvi.

- "*Aprendiendo a Desaprender: una Reforma para el Sistema de Educacion Publica en Puerto Rico*". Teoria y Praxis Investigativa 4(1). Enero – Junio 2009: 51 – 58.

- Rosa, Alessandra, Tina Orlandini & Stephan Andreas. "smArt Action: ¡*a Estudiar y a Luchar*!". ARC Magazine. Issue 7. May 2013: 112-117.

- Rosa, Alessandra & Carlos Hernandez. "*Pobreza, Desigualdad y Apoderamiento Comunitario: Bienvenidos a la Comunidad de Juan Domingo en Guaynabo*". Revista de Mentes Puertorriqueñas en Acción. Verano 2010: 15 – 16.

- **"***Nunca olvidar*: A Brief History of the University of Puerto Rico Student Movement". Chapter 14: Paro/Huelga in Esta Vida Boricua< http://estavidaboricua.com/allesandro-rosa-bio/>

- "*Cantos y Consignas*: (Re)constructing Spaces of Resistance". Essay Dialogues in Mobilizing Ideas. < http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2013/06/03/cantos-y-consignas-reconstructing-spaces-of-resistance/>

- "Art: (Re)constructing Spaces of Resistance". Daily Disruption in Mobilizing Ideas. < http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2013/04/24/art-reconstructing-spaces-of-resistance/#more-5012>

- Latin American Studies Association (LASA) at San Juan, PR. "Resistance Performances: (re)Constructing Spaces of Resistance and Contention in the 2010-2011 University of Puerto Rico Student Movement". May 2015 (Forthcoming)

- 9no Festival Antonia 2015: En Conmemoración de la Vida de la Estudiante Antonia Martínez Lagares (1949-1970) y el Quinto Aniversario de la Huelga UPR 2010 at Rio Piedras, PR. "Un análisis de los "resistance performances" utilizados en la (re)construcción de espacios de resistencia durante la huelga estudiantil de la UPR 2010-2011. April 2015

- Lozano Long Conference at University of Texas-Austin. "Resistance Performances: (re)Constructing Spaces of Resistance and Contention in the 2010-2011 University of Puerto Rico Student Movement". February 2015

- Society for Caribbean Research (SoCaRe) at Bielefeld University, Germany. "Resistance Performances: (re)Constructing Spaces of Resistance and Contention in the 2010-2011 University of Puerto Rico Student Movement". January 2015

- Puerto Rican Studies Association (PRSA) at Colorado, U.S. "Occupying the Campus: A Liminal Experience". October 2014

- CITASA Symposium at UC Berkeley, California. "Occupying the Campus: A Liminal Experience". Aug. 2014

- Console-ing Passions: International Conference on Television, Video, Audio, New Media and Feminism at Columbia, Missouri. "How can feminism be integrated into social movement and social media research?" April 10-12, 2014