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Public Interest in Razón Pública: a Data-driven Network Analysis

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in
Hispanic Studies

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Abstract

This thesis is a case study based on a network analysis of the magazine *Razón Pública*. This project took an inductive, data-driven approach to public interest in the context of a specific digital network. The main objectives were to characterize the magazine's authors and subscribers, identify its prevalent news topics, and validate to what extent subscribers agree that the resulting topics are of public interest or not. In order to achieve these objectives, a mixed methodology was used; it consisted of combining Natural Language Processing (NLP) techniques -keyword network, n-grams analysis, and Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) topic modeling-, qualitative analysis of a sample of articles, and surveys. It was found out in this research that men and people with higher education levels were overrepresented among *Razón Pública's* authors and subscribers; it also concluded that subscribers, largely, agreed on considering the topics extracted from the magazine as of public interest.

Keywords

Public interest, public sphere, *Razón Pública*, journalism, cultural network, deliberation, Latin America, Colombia, topic modeling, Latent Dirichlet Allocation, digital journalism, network analysis, digital humanities, natural language processing

Summary for Lay Audience

This project is a case study based on *Razón Pública* -a Colombian nonprofit digital magazine promoting public interest journalism. The magazine focuses on publishing political analyses of Colombian current affairs, and seeks to contribute to public deliberation in the country by promoting a digital forum for critical and reflexive debate. This research intends to analyze the magazine as a cultural network of people -mainly, authors and subscribers-, cultural objects -i.e. articles published-, the institutions to which authors are affiliated and a cultural phenomenon -topics of public interest.

In order to do this analysis, the process also included to identify the main components of the network in a data-driven approach. Additionally, a mixed methodology was employed; combining computational and qualitative methods to explore the magazine's prevalent topics, language, as well as to identify common characteristics among the magazine's authors and subscribers.

This thesis also contributes to the expansion of cultural networks in the area of digital journalism and political deliberation. Additionally, it is important to mention that natural language processing techniques were used, and it was possible to identify the most covered topics by *Razón Pública's* in a time-lapse of ten years (2008-2018). Based on previously mentioned results, a survey was devised and distributed among the magazine's subscribers with the purpose of verifying to what extent they agreed or disagreed on whether the magazine's topics were of public interest or not. After the survey, the results were analyzed and based on their responses it was concluded that, in most cases, subscribers agreed on considering the topics identified as of some public importance. What is more, it was found that both authors and subscribers were predominantly men and people with a higher education level. Lastly, the view of public interest obtained is specific to a, more or less, homogenous community.

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Introduction

This research project is a case study based on *Razón Pública* -a Colombian nonprofit digital magazine founded in 2008- as a cultural network of public interest-oriented journalism. The magazine defines its mission as promoting analytic journalism on matters of public interest, and commits to foster free speech, political deliberation, and critical journalism (Qué es Razón Pública, 2009). The main purpose of this project is to validate if subscribers consider of public interest the magazine's prevalent news topics. Following Nancy Fraser's (1990) revision of the concept of public spheres, this research takes an inductive approach to public interest and studies it in a specific context: the network of authors, articles and subscribers of a digital magazine. First, a dataset of *Razón Pública's* articles was analyzed with a combination of Natural Language Processing (NLP) and qualitative methods. Then, a survey was devised and distributed among subscribers to validate whether they consider the topics to be of public interest or not. It is important to remark that this study does not seek to generalize what is or should be of public interest in Colombia, instead the main goal is to analyze how it is conceived in a specific digital community.

Razón Pública was established in 2008 by a group of intellectuals as a nonprofit and nonpartisan foundation. Their vision was to create a publication focused on publishing analyses of current affairs, and Colombian politics authored by the country's leading academics and researchers. The magazine has a weekly news cycle, and focuses on the quality of the content over quantity. It is important to highlight the magazine's objectives: (i) to provide a reflective, contextualized and prospective view of current affairs by experts, (ii) to become a convergence point for academic communities to reflect on current affairs, (iii) make these analyses available to anyone interested, and also to channel these to elite decision-makers (Razón Pública, 2009).

Razón Pública introduces itself as a bridge between “educated knowledge” and “influential opinion, proposing solutions to the country's complex challenges” (2009). The magazine defines itself as hybridizing academia and journalism as most authors are academic -and are expected to follow a high standard of argumentative, critical and evidence-based reasoning- who publish journalistic analysis on current affairs and news topics.

This thesis follows Fraser (1990) critiques of “The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere” (Habermas, 1989). More specifically, it is based on her argument that, contrary to Habermas’ idealization of a universal public sphere, there is a multiplicity of publics and counter-publics competing ferociously over control of civic discourse in contemporary democracies. Fraser argued against normative approaches to public interest for there are no reasons to assume the existence of a social or universal consensus on what constitutes public interest. As a matter of fact, participants in a public sphere are to decide for themselves what they consider to be of public interest. Precisely, this thesis approaches publicity as “a cultural classification and a rhetorical label” (Fraser, 1990, p. 73), in the sense that it was constructed, negotiated and disputed in deliberation.

As the delimitation of the public is a central point in this research, a brief revision of the multiple meanings of publicity is pertinent. Francis (1990) identified four meanings: “1) state-related; 2) accessible to everyone; 3) of concern to everyone; 4) pertaining to a common good or shared interest” (p. 71). Regarding the first element, as a Colombian magazine of political analysis, news topics are expected to be related to the country’s government and competitions for power. From another angle, while *Razón Pública* is accessible for anyone who has access to Internet connection to read, this thesis analyses who get to publish in the magazine as well who are the users or readers reached by them. Finally, the third and fourth have deictic meanings because they are dependent on the participants’ perspectives. For this reason, public interest was approached inductively in the context of a specific network, and it was necessary to characterize the profiles of the persons that participate in it.

In this study, deliberation is understood as a complex social phenomenon. Each participant in *Razón Pública*’s network may have his or her own particular conception of public interest; nevertheless, -at the aggregative level- the community may agree to some extent on considering the topics covered by the magazine of public interest.

Considering the popularity of the relational and theoretical theories to culture, such as Bourdieu’s fields and Peterson and Anand’s production systems, DiMaggio (2014) asserted that social network analysis is the most suited methodology to empirical studies on cultural phenomena. The proposed methodology is based on the following definition of a cultural network by Suárez, McArthur and Soto-Corominas (2015):

...an abstract construction that connects creators with their own objects, and these objects with other human beings that have come into contact with them by means of proximity, reading, contact, influence, reception, or whichever link is necessary to understand the human context that the network is reconstructing -the past- discovered -the present, or anticipating -the (near) future. (p. 95).

Networks are usually analyzed using one-mode data schemes, in the sense that these are modeled as having only one type of nodes. This is the case of social networks that result from people connected to one another. A less common approach of network analysis is based on a two-mode data scheme; like an affiliation network composed by both institutions and people (Peter 2014). Considering the objectives of this thesis, the magazine *Razón Pública* was studied as a cultural network including four types of nodes: people (authors and subscribers), cultural objects (articles written by authors and read by subscribers), organizations (the institutions to which authors are affiliated to), and cultural phenomena (the topics extracted from the articles via Natural Language Processing and validated as of public interest or not).

Research questions:

- (i) At an aggregated level, what are the demographic and professional characteristics of *Razón Pública*'s authors and subscribers?
- (ii) What are the most covered topics in *Razón Pública*?
- (iii) To what extent do subscribers of *Razón Pública* validate what is seen as being of “public interest” from the topics extracted via Natural Language Processing?

This project is divided into three chapters. The first chapter presents a literature review on digital journalism and public interest, the cultural domains of *Razón Pública*. The second one exposes the methodology in terms of the hypotheses, methodological framework, construction of datasets and the different methods used- both qualitative and quantitative- to analyze language, topics and model networks. The last chapter shows the results of the analyses of articles, authors profiles and subscriber surveys.

Chapter 1

1 Literature review on digital journalism and public interest

This chapter has two main purposes: (i) to provide a contextualization of *Razón Pública* in terms of the broader trends of the international and national digital news ecosystem, and (ii) to present the framework of digital journalism, public sphere and public interest that articulates this research.

1.1 A panorama of digital journalism

1.1.1 Journalism and boundary work

As it has been mentioned in the previous paragraphs, *Razón Pública* is a digital magazine focused on matters of public interest, hybridizing journalism and academia (Razón Pública, 2009). As an independent nonprofit, *Razón Pública* seeks to promote that analysts and intellectuals reach a wide audience with their reflections, discussions and views on current affairs, within the Colombian context. With the aim of reflecting on *Razón Pública's* efforts to promote journalism made by experts and academics, it is worth reviewing the debate of whether journalism should be considered a profession or not. The sociology of professions seeks to understand the process by which practitioners of an occupation claim jurisdiction about certain fields of work, and seek to be recognized as professionals by presenting themselves as having specific labor practices rooted in a system of knowledge valuable for society.

Lewis (2012) considered that the professionalization of an occupation implies enforcing criteria for evaluating performance and establishing who is qualified to work in the field. The author argued that the occupational boundaries on the field of journalism are disputed and recurrently negotiated, a process that results in the dichotomous distinctions “professional/ amateur, producer/ user, and journalist- non journalist” (p. 842). Similarly, Bruns (2006) argued that the traditional distinction between users and producers is being challenged by *produsage*, a paradigmatic change that blurs these distinctions driven by the rise of user led content production.

In the debate of whether journalism should be considered a profession or not, it has been claimed that journalism has professional jurisdiction over news coverage; and that it would be best for society to restrict news work to accredited journalists on the base that they are experts in handling information, committed to public service and adhere to an “occupational norm of objectivity” (Lewis, 2012, p. 7). Underlying the argument that professionalization will improve the quality of journalism, Lewis identified a logic of control whose main purpose was to set criteria for determining who can be a journalist and under which terms. On the other hand, there also exists a participative logic that conceives journalism as a free, inclusive and open field of work. While the tensions between both logics persist, it is worth noting that it is undergoing an enormous transformation due to the rise of digital media, especially with the new possibilities that users have to interact, produce and distribute their own content.

An argument for the professionalization of journalism is that it strengthens the sense of community among journalists; it also gives them a claim to strive for autonomy and validates news work as a worthy public service. However, professionalization involves establishing inclusion/exclusion criteria of who should exercise an occupation and disincentivizes and restricts nonprofessionals. Lewis assessed the competing claims regarding the professionalization of journalism, and concluded that setting professional boundaries to the practice of journalism is detrimental to freedom of press and speech.

For a complementary perspective, Deuze (2005) argued against considering journalism a profession as it lacked: “... a consensual body of knowledge, a widely shared understanding of key theories and methods, and an international practice of teaching, learning and researching journalism” (p. 442). Instead, he defined journalism as the “occupational ideology” that -in liberal democracies- legitimizes news work and underlines how journalists present themselves to the public for them to be recognized as such. This occupational ideology is built discursively in a series of formal codes and strategies that journalists use to present themselves to the public and is articulated around the five ideals: objectivity, public service, immediacy, autonomy and ethics.

1.1.2 Journalism and freedom of press in Colombia

Following the discussion about boundary work and journalism, it is necessary to consider the case of journalism in Colombia; particularly the tensions between the control and participatory logics. An important antecedent in relation to the tensions in Colombia between participatory and control logics of journalism is Law 15 of 1975 requiring all journalists in the country to acquire a professional license issued by the government to be able to perform any form of news work. This law was passed under the questionable argument that it would improve the quality of journalists, foster studies in journalism and in guarding society from abuses and misuse of freedom of speech.

Colombia's Constitutional Court derogated Law 15 of 1975 on the grounds that it violated the 1991 Constitution rights of freedom of press, speech and right to work (Sentence C#-087 of 1998). The Court ruled that this law promoted censorship, limited the free circulation of information, and declared it an unconstitutional violation of freedom of press. Despite this decision, nowadays there are still political sectors in Colombia that seek to require journalists to have a professional accreditation.

In May 2018, Senator Mauricio Aguilar Hurtado and Chamber Representative Maria Eugenia Triana presented the Proyecto de Ley No. 34 de 2018 in the Congress of Colombia. This law project aims to create the Professional Council for Social Communication, Journalism and Organizational Communication. If the law is approved, this agency would be in charge of the creation, issuing and regulation of a professional license for exercising journalism in the country. The article 3 of the legislative initiative stipulates that an important requirement to be entitled to the license is to have a bachelor's degree from a program in Communication Studies or Journalism in Colombia, or in a foreign higher education institution recognized by the Ministry of Education. The proponents justified their legislative initiative as an effort for strengthening the press and fostering formal studies in journalism.

The law proposed by members of Congress Aguilar and Triana was criticized by many Colombian journalistic associations and organizations for being detrimental to freedom of press. In a letter to the Congress, *Proyecto Antonio Nariño* (2018) denounced the legislative project as unconstitutional since it would establish arbitrary exclusions among practitioners of journalism and is also opposite to the rights of equality and

nondiscrimination under the terms of the American Convention of Human Rights. Moreover, these organizations reiterated that the Supreme Constitutional Court had barred the Congress from limiting freedom of press by legislating a mandatory professional ID card for journalists. While the future of this legislative project is uncertain, it exemplifies boundary work in Colombian journalism and the ongoing public debate regarding journalists' civic responsibility as gatekeepers of information and news.

Reporters Without Borders ranked Colombia in the 129th position out of the 180 countries in the 2019 World Press Freedom Index, which is based on various factors, including media independence, pluralism, and the safety of journalists. For a more specific account on freedom of press in the country, *Fundación Para la Libertad de Prensa (FLIP)* reported that, since they started a record in 2006, the largest number of aggressions and threats against journalists took place in 2017. They reported that in 2017 there were 310 attacks to the press, such as lethal violence, stigmatization, forced displacement, and espionage. Additionally, they reported that, since 2006, sixteen journalists and communicators have been killed in the country, and there is an impunity rate of 80% in these cases. In the recent years, the guerrillas, paramilitaries and drug traffickers have posed the biggest threat to freedom of press; *FLIP* argues that, currently, the main predators of freedom of the press are public servants, as 25% of the total of aggressions are attributed to them.

The country's lack of guarantees for journalists and censorship marked the professional trajectories of some founding members of *Razón Pública*. Most notably, in 2002 *El Espectador* canceled the column of the late Fernando Garavito despite his distinguished career -one year before he had won the Simon Bolívar Prize, the country's most important recognition to journalists. For his criticism of Colombian current affairs and news work, Garavito received death threats by paramilitary groups and had to take refuge in the United States. While living in exile, he co-founded *Razón Pública*, and was the co-director until his tragic death in a car accident (Revista Semana, 2010). In an interview before the establishment of *Razón Pública*, he commented that in Colombia only the official and self-censored opinion is accepted and that those like him -by the context, independent journalists- have been smashed like flies with a newspaper against a window: “Este país no soporta ninguna opinión que no sea la oficial, consagrada,

bendecida y autocensurada. Periodísticamente estamos cercados y hemos desaparecido aplastados como las moscas por un periódico contra los ventanales de la sala”. (2004). *Razón Pública* commits to promote independent journalism (Qué es Razón Pública, 2009), still self-censorship is a reality given the lack of guarantees and threats to journalists at the national level.

1.1.3 Current developments of digital journalism and research trends

1.1.3.1 *The New York Times* Approach to Digital Innovation

In May 2014, an internal report of *The New York Times* on digital innovation was leaked to the public and later published by *The Times* itself. This document presents an insider's view of the challenges of adapting to a digital context faced by a worldwide renown newspaper. The strategy presented in the Innovation Report aims to make *The Times* “audience centered” and update newsroom practices to the online world. Among the conclusions of the Innovation Report is that data must be gathered on how people access and navigate content in order to devise an effective digital strategy.

The Innovation Report states that *The Times* website resembles an archive due to the vast amount of content accumulated and available, and that this presents opportunities for innovation in devising new ways to connect readers with material of interest to them published long ago. Not only is *The Times* working to function as an archive in the sense of republishing content and making it relevant again, but they are also emphasizing personalization, by collecting data on users’ habits and interest and setting the webpage to adapt based on those preferences. Similarly, other journalistic websites can strive to create navigation features to prolong the life cycle of their content in ways unknown to printed media.

It is worth noting that user interaction is a main component of *The Times* digital strategy, and the report acknowledges that, overall, their comments sections are not effective interaction spaces. As a matter of fact, they have tried to emphasize other options for users to upload their own content, such as a section for subscribers to submit recommendations and reviews of books they have liked; some of which are selected for

publication. The report shows that *The New York Times* struggles to engage and get feedback from its audience; so, as a takeaway it can be said that competing for users' attention and trust is a matter of survival for digital media.

The New York Times report "Journalism That Stands Apart" (2017) can be read as the follow-up of the Innovation Report. The report from 2017 lists the newspaper accomplishments in implementing strategies for engaging readers, enhancing the visuals, restructuring operations to be digital-centered and increasing subscription revenue. As a key takeaway, the report states that for planning a strategy, a journalistic organization should define what is a successful article based on its vision; and then, decide how to measure it. For this purpose, *The Times* created a section in the organization centered in audience insights and metrics. Notwithstanding, even for digital projects at lower scales and budgets, devising metrics focused on the specificity of each project will be fundamental for innovation, strategic planning, and self-regulation.

1.1.3.2 News Consumption Trends Around the Globe

Since 2012, Reuters Institute for Research on Journalism begun collecting worldwide data on the global trends of news consumption; the online communication has been the major source of news in most of the countries surveyed. In the annual report of 2017, the Reuters Institute identified that social media continues to grow as one of the main sources of news for people around the globe, however, some users are shifting to private messaging apps seeking for more privacy. The popularization of private messages as distributors of news due to increased privacy is most prominent in the Asian and Latin American countries surveyed.

The Reuters Institute identified that people use two distinct major gateways to access news; (i) "editorial", meaning that the content was selected, revised or created by an editor or journalist; (ii) "algorithmic", as being intermediated in any point by a search engine. According to the 2017 report, over 54% of the people who read news online rely on algorithms to select what they read, while 44% of the users prefer editorial selection. In this respect, noticeable demographic patterns can also be found; as the preference for algorithmic selections rises to 64% among the youngest users, a fundamental media transformation on how people inform themselves. In the past, the editors and directors of

news outlets had the last word on what was published and what prominence should it receive, now this role is being challenged by "algorithmics", and the media need to re-engineer themselves with a focus on meeting the logic of algorithmics, such as having relevant and comprehensive tags to make content more searchable.

1.1.4 Single subject community/ niche journalism

Nolan and Setrakian (2014) defined single subject communities as hyper-topical news websites, online originated, offering in-depth analysis of a narrow scope of topics, fact-based and independently funded. While mainstream journalism centers on what is deemed to be of general interest or popular, single subject communities take the opposite strategy and focus on extremely specific topics (usually ignored and unappealing for most people) but with a potential micro-audience. While these audiences may be small, this is compensated with the degree of passion and devotion that they can develop for a website as long as it offers them high-quality content; and puts into place an adequate engagement plan. According to Nolan and Setrakian, the model they have proposed goes beyond the projects tracked by them, and already is a major trend in content production and dissemination. This model was followed by Dutta, McArthur, Jiménez and Suárez. (2017) to organize an undergraduate course in digital humanities in which participants collaborated in creating a journalistic website on "The business of culture".

The Pew Research Center uses the term niche journalism (2009) to distinguish journalism focused on an elite audience and their specific interests in the fields of finance, policy, and politics from the mainstream journalism. Niche journalism focuses on the depth of analysis and its narrower scope in comparison with mainstream journalism. In the follow-up report by Pew Research Center in 2014, Mark Jurkowitz identified that the sector of online-based news media had kept growing as a "digital stampede". The fastest growing segment of digital journalism was small news sites, most of which were less than a decade old. Moreover, Jurkowitz found that over half of these are nonprofits and up to three quarters depend on unpaid volunteers, interns or contributors. The magazine *Razón Pública* may resemble single subject communities and niche journalism in targeting minor audiences with analytical and fact-based content suited to their specific interests, besides being web originated and independently funded.

Just as *Razón Pública* hybridizes journalistic and academic writing, their intended audience is also hybrid in the sense that they simultaneously aim to publish and make accessible analysis of public matters to anyone interested, and claim to target an elite audience (Razón Pública, 2009). While *Razón Pública* aims to bridge the informational gap between the experts and the citizenry, their focus on analytical long-read articles may make their type of journalism more likely to resonate with a niche public of people already knowledgeable and passionate about Colombian current affairs.

1.1.5 Research approaches to digital journalism in Colombia

Keeping pace with globalization and the swift popularization of the Internet, Latin America has seen in the last ten years a boom of digital-based journalism in regard to the number of projects and the heterogeneity in editorial lines, formats, business models and target audiences (Meléndez Yúdico, 2015). In contrast to the dynamism of digital journalism in Latin America, the phenomenon is still understudied in the region (Salaverría, 2016).

General studies are a common approach for research on digital journalism in Colombia, focusing on broad national issues such as: the history of online media (Rey and Huertas, 2010), its broader technological and social context (Gutiérrez and García, 2016), innovation and major trends (Rey and Huertas, 2012; Zuluaga and Martínez 2012) and interactivity (Barredo and Díaz, 2016). An important element of these panoramic studies is that when internet access started to popularize around 2006, digital journalism has been blooming as every year more users are reached by a growing number of projects with diverse editorial lines.

Researchers who have studied the history of digital journalism in Colombia considered that since the launching of the first journalistic webpages in 1996 until 2006, the phenomenon went through a stage of slow growth and experimentation (Rey and Huertas 2010). Gutiérrez and García (2016) describe how limited internet coverage was in Colombia between 1994- when the first internet connection was established- and 2005. In a matter of ten years after the arrival of the internet, internet access had passed from being unattainable to becoming popular; this laid the base needed for making digital journalism viable at a large scale. In 2005, for the first time ever, over ten percent of the

population (11.01%) had internet access. From that moment on, internet penetration accelerated rapidly, almost quintuplicated in a ten year's lapse and reached 55.9% of the population by 2015 (International Communication Union, 2018).

A common practice for ranking websites is to use "Alexa.com", an algorithm created by Google that assesses metrics such as daily page views per visitor, daily time on site, percentage of traffic from search and total sites linking in. According to Alexa (November 2018), some of the most popular websites in Colombia correspond to legacy media that migrated to the internet, such as *CanalRCN.com* (10th position), *ElTiempo.com* (18th position), *CaracolTv.com* (41th position) and *ElEspectador.com* (42th position). Nevertheless, some digital native websites rivaled them -like *Las2Orillas.com* (33rd the position), and two even surpass the major legacy media: *Minuto30.com* (7th position), *Pulzo.com* (8th position). Alexa ranks *Razón Pública* in the 5,888th position in Colombia, falling behind the top sites mentioned previously.

The above-mentioned insights are understandable considering that *Razón Pública* hyper specializes in Colombian political analysis -to the point that it resembles a single subject community-, whereas the top news websites in Alexa's ranking cover a broader range of topics and for wider audiences. Bearing in mind *Razón Pública* mission, it is worth revising which are the most visited websites by Colombian opinion leaders in the latest Opinion Panel report by Cifras & Conceptos (2018). In this study, the most mentioned websites as journalistic sources by the 1,812 participating opinion leaders from politics, academia, journalism, social organizations, and private sectors were: *ElTiempo.com* (19%), *Semana.com* (19%), *LaSillaVacía.com* (14%), *ElEspectador.com* (14%), *Las2Orillas* (5%). In this study, the 2% of total participants and the 4% of participants living in Bogotá mentioned *Razón Pública*. Although the magazine was the sixth most mentioned website by opinion leaders living in Bogotá, it is a niche publication even for this segment.

1.2 Deliberation, public sphere and digital media

1.2.1 Defining deliberation

The concept of deliberative democracy sets the broader theoretical frame under which the public sphere operates. Gutmann (2009) defined deliberative democracy as:

a form of government in which free and equal citizens (and their representatives) justify decisions in a process in which they give one another reasons that are mutually acceptable and generally accessible. This is done with the aim of reaching conclusions that are binding in the present on all citizens but open to challenge in the future (p. 7).

In this definition, Gutmann included the three principles of deliberation on which most theorists agree (reason-giving, accessible, binding) and adds a fourth one. First, reason giving means that deliberation is based on justification and appeal to: "...reasons that should be accepted by free and equal persons seeking fair terms of cooperation" (p. 3). In addition, the deliberative process should be accessible to everyone who might be affected by a given measure. This requires that deliberation should develop on a public setting and in such a way that the people addressed can understand its rationale. Besides, deliberation is binding in the sense that it aims to arrive to an enforced decision. Lastly, the principle proposed by Gutmann is that deliberation must be dynamic, in the sense that decisions may be revised or changed in the future.

The term deliberative democracy dates from Athenian democracy, yet Guttmann clarified that at the time it had an elitist tilt. Gutmann's definition of deliberative democracy follows closely Habermas and Rawls modern turns of the term -despite their differences, philosophers sought to provide a normative account of deliberation suitable for a contemporary democratic society. Deliberation is oriented towards reaching consensual decisions, in the sense that its participants should sincerely be open to change their minds if they are presented with convincing reasons to do so. Hence, reaching a consensus is not an end but rather a tentative goal for the encounter to take place. Even in the cases in which no consensus is reached, Gutmann argued that deliberation is still a worthy political exercise as it increases the respect and mutual understanding of the parts involved (2009, p. 20).

Deliberation is a discursive practice that takes place at multiple levels -from informal interactions up to the higher instances of the public powers. Deliberation requires that matters of public interest are discussed in an inclusive and respectful way, enabling participants to consider the points of view and arguments of others, as well as reflect on their own positions. While to debate and discuss sensitive topics may be a daunting activity, it can also be a rewarding experience in the sense of fostering respect, self-knowledge, and self-questioning:

By engaging in deliberation, citizens acknowledge the possibility that they may change their preferences. The preferences that they assert now may not be the preferences they wish to express later. The very nature of the deliberative process of justification sends a signal that its participants are willing to enter into a dialogue in which the reasons given, and the reasons responded to, have the capacity to change minds (Gutmann, 2009, p. 20).

Kies (2010) expands the notion of what constitutes deliberate "reason giving" to include alternatives to "rational-critical" argumentation, such as storytelling and testimonials which can provide meaningful narratives, compel people to reconsider their views and might be effective at addressing some people. Moreover, Dahlgren (2009) criticized that democratic theories tend to conceive citizens' engagement only in terms of rationality, disregarding that civic engagement might be affected or related to emotions and passions. More specifically, the author argued that Habermas account of deliberation sets high standards of impartial reasoning, thoroughly reasoning while shunning rhetoric. To address this issue, Dahlgren draws on a minimalist definition of deliberation as: "the application and respect of good arguments" (2009, p. 92).

1.2.2 Public sphere and public interest

Habermas popularized the concept of the public sphere in his work "The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere" (1989). Originally, the author used the term in a strict historic-sociological sense referring to the rise and fall of bourgeois citizens organizations as counterparts of state officials in European societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. In contraposition to the private and the state spheres, in this instance individuals came together freely to form conversational communities with the purpose of deliberating on matters of general interest, engaging in civic affairs and demanding responses from state authorities. This early Habermasian

conceptualization of public sphere required participation to be egalitarian, free and open, and so received criticism of idealizing bourgeois institutions based on the exclusion of minorities (Dean, 2003).

Daniel Dahlgren (2006) proposed revisiting Habermas concept of the public in order to analyze communication in contemporary societies and apply it to media studies. He defined a functioning public sphere as a "...a constellation of communicative spaces in a society that permits the circulation of information, ideas, debates -ideally in an unfettered manner- and the formation of public will (i.e. public opinion)" (p. 148). Dahlgren argued that, although it is common to use the expression public sphere in the singular, the phenomenon to which it refers is plural, interdependent and decentralized.

Besides, deliberation is a source of legitimacy in liberal democracies and the different branches of the public powers -legislative bodies, courts, government, among other branches- are expected to proceed following processes of internal deliberation. Besides these instances of institutionalized deliberation, the public sphere exists as a place for deliberation maintained by civil society and independent from estate authorities. The public sphere encompasses the various occasions in which citizens gather to deliberate on matters of public interest (including face to face encounters and communication mediated by online or offline channels) and, according to Habermas (2006), this interaction is shaped by the following principles: (a) publicity and transparency of deliberation, (b) inclusion and equal opportunity, (c) arguments may be expected to make people change their views.

In Habermas' (2006) account of deliberative democracy and the public sphere, the media are located at the margins of the political system, yet every piece of content they publish contributes to a society's dynamic flow of information. By doing so, the media become central players of the public sphere, to the extent that Habermas considers that the media can contribute greatly to a society's deliberation as long as it remains independent and connects with the concerns of its public:

Mediated political communication in the public sphere can facilitate deliberative legitimization processes in complex societies only if a self-regulating media system gains independence from its social environments, and if anonymous audiences grant feedback between an informed elite discourse and a responsive civil society (2006, pp. 410-411).

A pluralistic press is needed for the political public sphere to prosper and room must be given for different groups to develop and express their opinions. Habermas (2006) view of the media puts a lot of importance in its civic commitment and independence from external influences. That may be perceived as a very idealistic requirement, but otherwise the press could not be a reliable intermediary between citizens and politicians.

Moreover, without the input and feedback of ordinary citizens, deliberation will be incomplete, out of touch of the problems of society, and the elite's discourses will remain mostly unchallenged. Another significant problem arises in societies with marked "social deprivation and cultural exclusion" (p. 421), as the media might be partialized in favor of power groups and shun minorities from participating, thus perpetuating inequality.

While the notion of public interest is fundamental for representative democracies and the daily operation of the public administration, scholars still discuss whether it should be clearly defined or be left as a concept open for interpretation based upon various contexts and circumstances. On this issue Chris Wheeler (2006) proposed that public interest refers to an approach in which issues are considered in terms of being of broader concern to society: "The meaning of the term [public interest], or the approach indicated by the use of the term, is to direct consideration and action away from private, personal, parochial or partisan interests towards matters of broader (i.e., more 'public') concern" (p. 24).

Regarding the difficulty of setting boundaries between private and public interests, it is relevant referencing Francis (1990) turn on the classic Habermas (1989) historical-critical conception of the public sphere as unique to nineteenth-century European societies. Francis stated that the public sphere can still be a relevant critical concept for examining "actual democracy as is" (p. 65) with some revisions. For the purpose of this thesis, the key criticism of Francis is that Habermas does not acknowledge that the boundaries between the public and the private are porous and dynamic. Instead, Francis proposes that what constitutes the "public interest" is shaped, contended and negotiated by the discursive interactions that take place in the public sphere (p. 71). Moreover, even after deliberating, it is possible that people do not end up

reaching a convergent or consensual view of what constitutes "public interest" in certain cases.

1.2.3 Public sphere and digital media

In "Media and political engagement" (2009) Dahlgren distinguished between "soft" and "hard" public spheres according to their closeness and impact in instances of policy decision making. Soft public spheres are spaces in which citizens discuss their ideas and, by engaging in the deliberation process, they redefine their own political identities; notwithstanding, they are "soft" in the sense of having little eco or implications outside of the participants interacting. Instead, hard public spheres are connected to the political elites and have more direct social repercussions. That said, this should not be taken as a black and white distinction, especially considering how dynamic is the online news ecosystem.

Dahlgren has analyzed from theoretical and empirical perspectives the particularities of the internet as a public online sphere (2009). As political engagement takes manifold expressions in online based journalism, it is worth pursuing Dahlgren's line of inquiry to perform case studies on digital media and public deliberation. According to Dahlgren (2005), research approaches to the public sphere in media studies should address how news outlets are established, organized and financed, and examine the relationship between media and the broader social context.

Informed citizens and a free press have been pillars of democratic participation and the functioning of a modern liberal state. In principle, journalism implies a sense of translating information and knowledge about what is happening into something relatable to a reader. The ubiquity of the internet exposes users to a flow of information never seen before. News outlets, social networks, and searching algorithms compete against one another for the public's attention. Now more than ever, it is necessary to question how people make sense from such an avalanche of information of uneven quality and credibility. Besides, the complex problems of the contemporary world require deliberative spaces in which experts, citizens, and authorities to engage and discuss alternatives.

A major concern for current research approaches to deliberation and the public sphere is how these social practices will be affected by the accelerated spread and development of digital communications. Considering the complexity and extension of this phenomenon, not surprisingly, theoretical and empirical studies reach conclusions that point in many different directions. With that being said, the purpose of mentioning the following studies is to establish some references in the frameworks and methodologies that have been implemented to address the emergence of online public spheres and deliberation in these instances.

Batorski and Grzywinska (2018) conducted a case study analysis of Facebook as a public sphere. The results showed low levels of participation in political discussions in the platform; despite it peaked during electoral times. Of the users who participated in political discussions, the majority were not very active and when they participated, they did so repeatedly in the same discussion pages. This study confirmed the presence of echo chambers in Facebook; as political discussions tended to gather participants with homogenous political inclinations and there were not many connections among users of opposing political identities.

Digital communication has accelerated the spread of information and facilitated that people produce and distribute any type of content. Habermas considered the invention of the Internet as one of the major developments in the history of media (2014), but he negates that its spread will be enough for strengthening the public sphere. While classical public spheres concentrated the attention of the public on a few political questions deemed significant, Habermas suspected that now the ease of digital communication and the overwhelming amount of information available had diluted the public's attention. Thus, this philosopher considered that the proliferation of online portals for strictly defined audiences weakened the notion of what constitute matters of public interest. To address a dangerous fragmentation of the public sphere, Habermas proposed that the skills required can be found in the practice of good journalism, in the sense of "knowing how to choose -know and comment on-relevant contributions, information and issues" (2014). So, this philosopher endorses journalistic expertise and independence as a key factor for ensuring deliberation in contemporary societies.

Digital media and social networks have been receiving more attention as potential public spheres. Yang, Quan-Haase and Rannenberg (2017) studied the network structure of Twitter as a public sphere in the debate that took place in that social network one year after the ruling of the European Court of Justice on #therighttobeforgotten. In their analysis, they argued that Twitter resembles traditional Habermasian formulation, albeit this platform introduced novel mechanisms and dynamics in how information is diffused. Based on a compilation of Tweets, the researchers modeled a network of users and identified that the key players in the network were mostly companies, experts and news portals. In this model, news outlets played a big role as they were the first to report on news related to the topic and posting updates. In this aspect, the network resembled traditional public spheres as the media lead the agenda-setting and shaped the debate. Although experts had a much-limited reach in comparison to news outlets, Twitter enabled them to participate in the debate actively and reached users without the intermediation of the media. Finally, Yang, Quan-Haase and Rannenberg (2017) considered that Twitter differed from traditional public spheres because in it:

...there is much more of a plurality of opinions on Twitter than was ever possible in the traditional public sphere. The position of the traditional mass media has weakened, and social media has emerged as new spaces where experts have the potential to actively participate and steer the discussion. (p. 1997)

Following this study's conclusions, it is worth examining *Razón Pública* in terms of whether the digital magazine is serving or not as an online public sphere and a bridge for experts to reach a general public with analysis and contextualization of current issues.

Chapter 2

2 Methodology for Analyzing *Razón Pública*'s Network

The proposed mixed methodology, which combines Natural Language Processing, network analysis, surveys and manually annotating a sample of texts, serves two main objectives: (i) modeling *Razón Pública* as a cultural network, (ii) reconstructing what public interest means in this network. First, this chapter describes and analyses how a dataset was built with all articles published in *Razón Pública* between July 2008 and July 2018 to explore its content and language. It also explains how the list of authors' names and total publications were analyzed to characterize the pool of authors in terms of gender composition and concentration of articles i.e. whether authors contribute evenly in terms of quantity of publications or if most articles come from a minority of authors. Additionally, the identities of authors with more than four articles published were traced in the CvLAC (Curriculum Vitae Latin America and the Caribbean) database to explore *Razón Pública*'s pool of authors' institutional affiliations in terms of work experience and education. Then, the chapter presents n-grams and Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) topic modeling; two computational techniques used for analyzing the articles dataset. LDA topic modeling has been used by historians to semantically classify datasets of unstructured texts and identify fluctuation in newspapers' topic composition across time (Newman and Block, 2006; Yang, T, Torget, A.J. and Mihalcea, 2006). Finally, the design of the surveys for subscribers is described and justified.

For Suárez, McArthur and Soto-Corominas (2015) the first step for approaching a cultural network is considering its specific context and domain. Chapter 1 already presented *Razón Pública* as a digital magazine that publishes analyses of current affairs with an emphasis on Colombian politics. Based on its mission statement, *Razón Pública*'s cultural domain can be further delimited as promoting a civic culture by making publicly accessible analyses of current affairs authored by academics and experts. Dahlgren (2009) conceived civic culture as the circuits in which identities of citizenship and foundations of civic agency are inserted in an interplay of shared knowledge, practices, identities, values, spaces, and trust. Furthermore, following Ito (2008), users of digital media should not be assumed to be passive readers, but networked publics with agency:

“Publics can be reactors, re(makers) and re(distributors), engaging in shared culture and knowledge through discourse and social exchange as well as thought acts of media reception” (Ito, p. 3).

While *Razón Pública* publishes contents in different formats, such as video interviews, short video clips or cartoons; articles were the only cultural objects that were used to reconstruct a segment of *Razón Pública*’s network. The reason for focusing the analysis on articles is that these are the central elements of every issue and constitute the bulk of the content published by the magazine.

People may participate in various roles in *Razón Pública*’s network e.g. author, staff, director, donor, founder and user. Nonetheless, this thesis is centered on authors and subscribers -a segment of the users/public reached by the magazine. While *Razón Pública*’s authors’ involvement can be analyzed directly via the articles they contribute in, the magazine’s public resembles an invisible audience (Boyd, 2010) as the only traces of them on the website are the numbers of pageviews per article and some sporadic comments. *Razón Pública* lacked systematic information on the profiles and interests of its public. Fortunately, the magazine cooperated with this study by distributing a survey among its subscribers via a link in their newsletter.

2.1 Hypotheses:

2.1.1 Hypothesis #1:

It is expected that most of *Razón Pública*’s authors have careers in academia and multiple connections to Colombian and international institutions of higher education. The surveys are also expected to show that, to some extent, most of the magazine’s subscribers have some higher education level. It is also expected that, demographically, there would be an uneven gender composition in the magazine’s pool of authors and subscribers. Although *Razón Pública*’s mission is to be a pluralistic institution and to open dialogue between civil society and experts, it is likely that the majority of the actors in this network have somewhat similar profiles in terms of a high level of education.

2.1.2 Hypothesis #2:

In the period studied, *Razón Pública* focused on the multiple facets of politics and various issues affecting Colombia at the national level. Electoral politics and the projects, alliances and disputes of the country's major politicians and political parties are expected to be the magazine's prevailing topics. To a lesser degree, the political analysis may extend to a broader range of domains such as law, economy, environment, rural development and international affairs.

2.1.3 Hypothesis #3:

There is a general agreement among *Razón Pública* authors and subscribers about the topics and issues that are, from their perspectives, of utmost public importance in the context of Colombia's current affairs. However, the level of agreement fluctuates for each topic; Colombia's national government and electoral politics are expected to be topics for which there is more consensus on their high level of public importance, whereas there might be more disagreement regarding topics such as culture and regional issues.

2.2 Methodological framework for hypotheses testing:

2.2.1 Hypothesis #1

Razón Pública's reputation rests on the aggregated professional and intellectual credibility of its pool of contributors. A key component in the operation of *Razón Pública* as a network is the expertise and institutional recognition it draws from its authors' knowledge and professional trajectories. Two methods were used to test this hypothesis: (i) an n-grams analysis of the dataset of authors' profiles published in *Razón Pública*, (ii) a model of a tripartite network model of authors, articles and institutional affiliations (both educational and work experience) based on the curriculum vitae of 134 authors taken from the CvLacs database.

Authors' profiles of the *Razón Pública* magazine were analyzed in terms of how many articles they contributed, their gender and institutional affiliations (work experience and educational background). A survey (Ethics Protocol approval ID NMREB 112819) was

sent to the mailing list of *Razón Pública*'s subscribers, asking their gender, age, educational background, place of residence, nationality, and socio-economic stratum. As some authors are subscribed to this mailing list, it was expected that a portion of them would answer the survey so that it could be used to compare their profiles with those of other subscribers. Unfortunately, this was not possible as only 3 participants (2.7% of the total sample) were identified as authors.

Additionally, a list compiling the name, gender and articles written by each author was compiled. Then the profiles of a sample of authors (selected based on having written at least five articles) was traced to reconstruct in Gephi (Bastian, Heymann and Jacomy, 2009), *Razón Pública*'s network, with a sample of authors and their respective publications and institutional affiliations.

2.2.2 Hypothesis #2

A combination of computational -keyword network, n-grams analysis and Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) topic modeling- and qualitative methods were used to explore *Razón Pública*'s language and content; and thereby identify its latent topics. The combination of these approaches allows an exploration of the magazine from different and complementary angles. First, analyzing categories and keywords assigned to articles by the magazine staff provides a perspective of how these have been classified and categorized. Next, the n-grams analysis of the articles' texts shows the most commonly used words in *Razón Pública*, which is informative of its overarching language and topics. Finally, the LDA method calculates the dataset's topic composition, and can be used to detect fluctuations in the coverage given to each topic over time. The validation of the LDA model involved quantitative and qualitative methods to examine the topics' coherence and semantics.

2.2.3 Hypothesis #3

The topics obtained and their overall frequency were taken as a proxy of what the magazine's authors prioritized as of public interest at the aggregative level. As the research did not have access to detailed documentation of the magazine's editorial workflow, it was assumed that the topics covered result to some degree from a

negotiation between the authors -who produced the texts- and the editorial board in charge of commissioning articles to authors, editing and giving the final approval for publication.

A survey was devised and distributed among *Razón Pública*'s subscribers via an announcement in the magazine's newsletter. Its purpose was to confirm if they considered the topics that resulted from the LDA topic model to be of public interest. Participants were asked to rate a group of issues in terms of the degree to which they considered them of public interest. This list of issues was created by the researcher based on the articles with the highest composition of the topics of the final LDA model.

2.3 Constructing *Razón Pública* articles dataset

Razón Pública's content is covered by a Creative Commons License 3.0, Attribution, Share-Alike, Non-Commercial, which allows copying, sharing and adapting the material for non-commercial use. This license authorizes building an articles dataset with all articles published in *Razón Pública* during its first ten years of existence (July 2008-July 2018).

The first step for building the articles dataset was to automatically surf in the *Razón Pública* website and download, via Http Tracker (Version 3.49-2, 2017), a mirror of it organized as a set of folders and html files. These folders were manually revised to locate articles. Then a Python (version 3.6) script with the package BeautifulSoup 3.0, a CSV file was used to compile the following elements for each article: title, author, date, keywords, pageviews, full text (including titles and subtitles) and readers' comments. Once the CSV file was completed, it was revised using a Python script to detect and remove duplicates. As the mirror website of *Razón Pública* was generated in October of 2018, all articles published after July 2018 were filtered out because they postdate the time frame studied.

The resulting dataset contained 4,888 entries with articles metadata (title, date, author or authors, keywords and pageviews). 4,609 entries included the complete text of the corresponding article, but 279 instances (5.7% of the elements in the articles dataset) did

not contain the articles' text, possibly because some html files were written using a different tag structure. As part of the data preprocessing, the list of authors was manually revised to ensure consistency in the spelling and the use of names and last names (there were cases of authors who were sometimes referred to by their complete names and other times one of their last names was omitted).

Based on the dates of publication of articles (except nine articles undated in the magazine), *Razón Pública* published an arithmetic mean of 39.75 monthly articles during its first ten years of circulation. By plotting the amount of publications per month (Fig 1.), it can be observed that it took a year and a half for the magazine (until January 2010) to reach a steady volume of over 28 articles per month. From this point onwards, production ranged between 29 and 65 articles per month with only one exception in June 2010, in which 83 articles were published. Figure 1. shows that December had the tendency to be the month with the fewest articles published, which is understandable as in the last week of this month the staff goes on vacation and no new content is uploaded. Overall, the number of articles published by month shows that *Razón Pública* has been able to sustain a steady pace of production and publication in the period studied. Considering that *Razón Pública's* authors do not receive any monetary compensation for their contributions, the constant flow of content demonstrates the authors' and staff's commitment to the project.

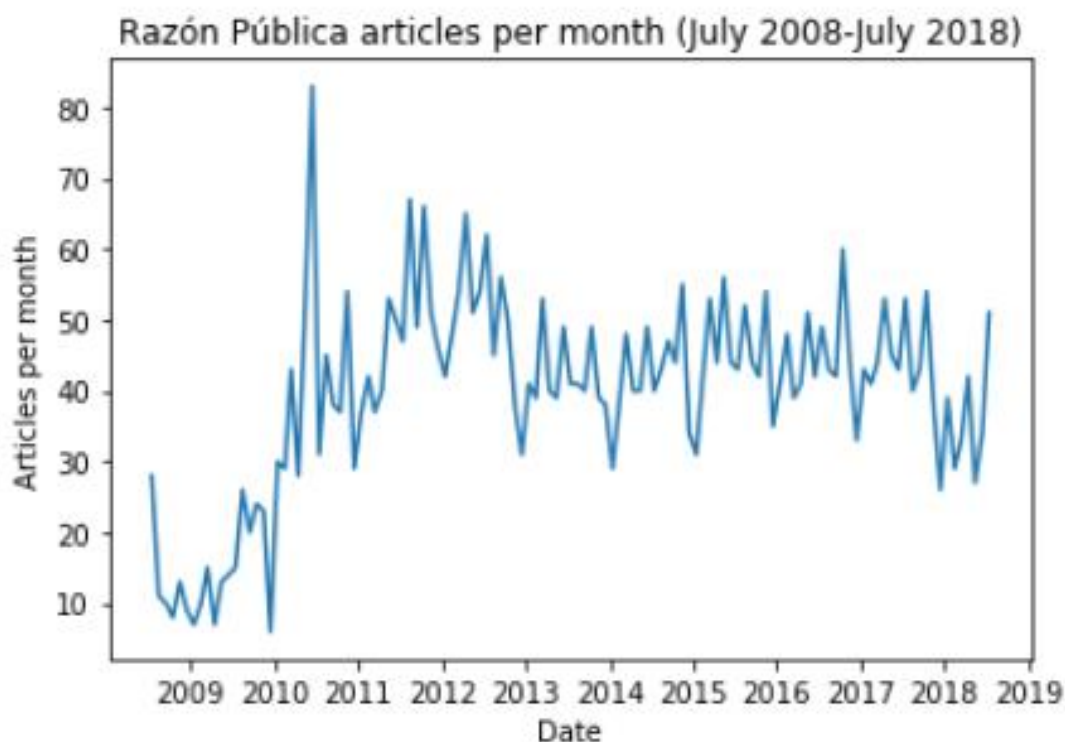


Figure 1. Plot number of articles per month

It is important to note that the dataset is skewed in that the first sixteen months of the magazine existence are not as proportionally represented as the months from 2010 onwards. The articles dataset dates were used to track the topics discussed and perspectives changed across the ten-year frame.

2.4 *Razón Pública's* authors' profiles

Razón Pública defines its mission in terms of forming a network that “bridges educated knowledge and influential opinion” (Qué es Razón Pública, 2009). The magazine’s pool of authors was analyzed in terms of their areas of expertise, educational backgrounds and professional trajectories as well as to trace how they expand this network via their institutional affiliations. By tracking the institutions to which authors are affiliated and identifying the most central of these, it is possible to ascertain the sources of “educated knowledge” with which *Razón Pública* intends to connect with its public.

1,152 authors were identified in the articles dataset; most of them were people, except from four institutional authors; *Razón Pública* (fifteen editorials about the magazine's current situation and future plans), *Caleidoscopio* (appearing in four articles) and *Observatorio de Paz y Conflicto* and *Colectivo de Estudios Walter Benjamín* (both are credited as authors of one article each). Generally, articles (96.3%) had a single author, with only 3.47% written by two authors, and rare cases of articles with more than two co-authors (0.23%).

The list of authors' names was used to establish its gender composition, as well as calculate the arithmetic mean of articles per men and women authors. To speed the process that would involve annotating the gender for one name at a time, a function was used in Excel to classify preliminarily names ending in "a" as female and names ending in "o" as male because these endings indicate genders in Spanish names. After that, the researcher manually assigned the genders for the names that did not match either condition. Lastly, the researcher reviewed the genders assigned to every author and, in a few cases, he corrected cases mishandled by the Excel function (such as Rocío and Socorro). If a name's gender was ambivalent (for example, "Francois"), the author's profile in *Razón Pública* was checked.

Figure 2 shows the gender disparity among the authors of *Razón Pública*, 835 are men (72.35%) and only 313 are women (27.12%). This distribution is even more unequal considering that men had 3,861 contributions (76.72%) while women had 1,150 (22.85%). Of the 74 authors who contributed from 10 to 19 articles, only nine (12.16%) were women. Moreover, just four women made it into the top 42 authors with 20 or more articles published in *Razón Pública*. These are Socorro Ramírez with 48 articles, Marcela Anzola with 42, and Ana María Ferreira and Carmenza Saldías with 21 each.

Razón Pública's authors grouped by gender and number of publications

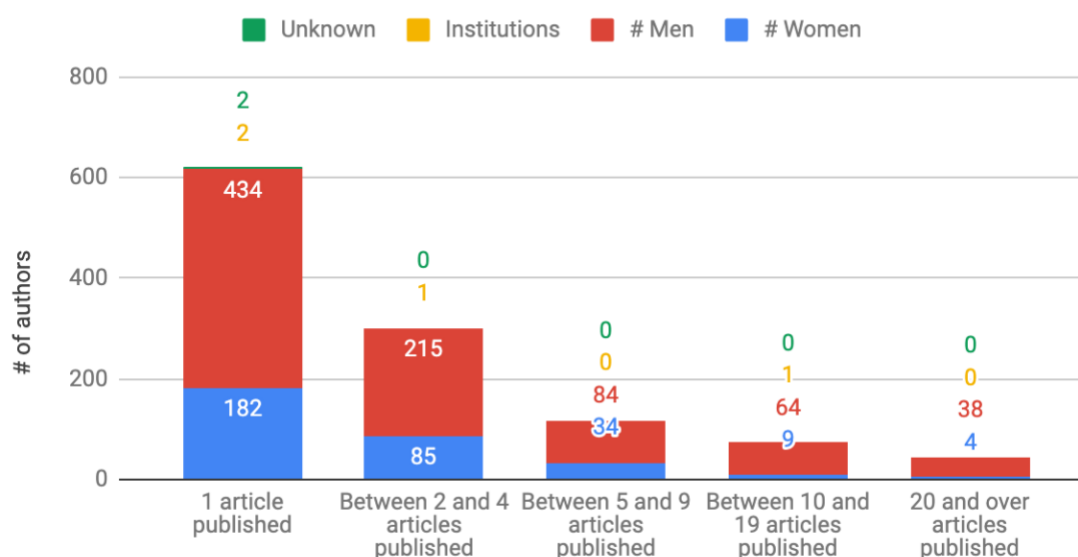


Figure 2. Gender composition of *Razón Pública*'s authors grouped according to number of publications.

Authors can be classified into five major groups based on the number of articles contributed (Fig. 2). While there are 4,888 entries in the articles dataset, the number of contributions was slightly higher than the total of articles. This was due to the fact that co-authored articles were counted as one contribution for each author credited. In total, 5,032 contributions were counted. The most numerous segment of authors was those who published one article (53.82%), then, it was followed by those who published between two and four (26.13%). Nevertheless, authors with less than five publications account for only a small fraction of all articles (19.38%). The two segments on the right side of the graph (covering authors that published ten or more articles) are the least numerous, and combined are only 12.18% of *Razón Pública*'s authors; nonetheless they have contributed over half of the total of articles (57.6%). So, although these two segments comprise a small group of the pool of authors, their members have played a considerable role in shaping the magazine.

The number of articles by author resembles a Pareto distribution in that a minority of 234 individuals (20.26% of the total of authors) authored more than 4 articles, but in combination they account for 3,386 (67.29%) of all contributions. The most extreme of this case is the magazine's director, Hernando Gómez Buendía, who contributed 111 articles (2.2% of the total of contributions).

In recognition of their work, authors who have published more than nine articles are named "associate analyst members" and invited to join its directive board (Razón Pública, 2016). While the data revised shows *Razón Pública's* wide pool of authors, the uneven distribution of articles per author must be acknowledged. Moreover, there is an unbalanced gender distribution, and the lowest proportion of women is found in the segment of authors with more than nine publications.

Examining the profiles of the authors with the most contributions is relevant. By reading these profiles it is evident that these people have trajectories alternating between public life, politics, journalism and academia (the profiles of the five authors with the most publications are available in Annex 1). By reviewing the profiles of the top ten authors and their number of contributions, it can be seen that eight of them are co-founders of the magazine. Only two women appear in the top ten authors of *Razón Pública* by number of contributions: Socorro Ramírez and María Victoria Duque.

The list of authors with the most articles contributed is led by Hernando Gómez Buendía, the magazine's current director and general editor. He completed his undergraduate studies in philosophy, law and economics at Universidad Javeriana and obtained a Master of Science in Economics, a Master of Arts in Sociology and a Ph.D. in Sociology and Rural Sociology at Wisconsin University (Razón Pública, Hernando Gómez Buendía). As a researcher and analyst, Gómez Buendía directed the National Human Development Report 2003 for Colombia. He has been an active journalist both in the roles of columnist and editor, having contributed to over 14 magazines and newspapers, and he received the Simón Bolívar National Journalism Prize in 2004 in the category of journalist of the year. A renowned Colombian intellectual, Gómez Buendía's

trajectory in academia and journalism can be seen as a reference of *Razón Pública*'s purported mission of hybridizing academia and journalism.

The second author at the top is José Gregorio Hernández, also a founding member of *Razón Pública*. Hernández is a lawyer that has held high public offices such as general director of Colombia's National Tax Agency, vice minister of Communications, President of Colombia's Constitutional Court of Justice. In addition, he has been president of Universidad Autónoma de Colombia, vice-president of Universidad Sergio Arboleda and professor of law in various universities.

2.4.1 Authors' profiles and n-grams analysis

In the mirror of *Razón Pública* previously generated, a folder was found with 839 short profiles of the magazine's authors. When the magazine publishes an article, it posts the profile/ies of the respective author/s below the body of the article's text. Using a Python (version 3.6) script and the Beautiful Soup library, a dataset was built with all the profiles found in *Razón Pública*. It is worth noting that this folder was missing the profiles of 315 authors identified in the articles dataset.

The arithmetic media of the number of words for these profiles was 26.12, ranging from the shortest, a single word entry, to the longest, 157 words (Fig 3). While these short entries are far from representing a complete *curricula vitae*, they are relevant for understanding how the magazine presents its authors and for identifying key elements that the magazine mentions to give its authors credibility as experts and analysts.

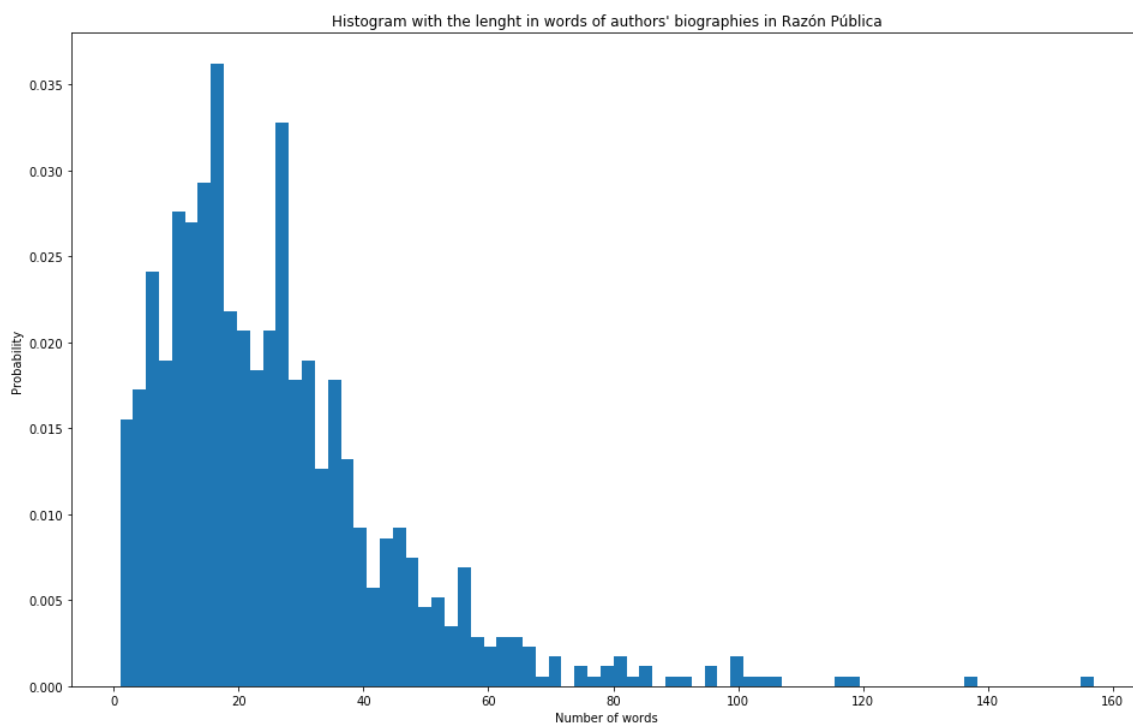


Figure 3. Histogram with the length in words of authors' profiles in *Razón Pública*.

N-grams are a contiguous sequence of n words or combinations of characters not separated by spaces. Michel et al. (2011) argued that n-grams are useful for analyzing large collections of texts because this technique does not have the limitations of scale of traditional humanistic methodologies, such as a close reading of selected texts.

To analyze the profiles dataset, a set of procedures was completed using a Python script (version 3.6) and NLTK and Spacy (both natural language processing libraries). First, the texts were tokenized -that is, every text was converted into a list of words- using Spacy Spanish. Then punctuation marks were filtered out, and next stopwords (very frequent words of little value for delimiting topics, such as prepositions, articles and conjunctions) were removed. The remaining terms were thereby limited to nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, the most semantically significant grammar categories. The last step of the preprocessing was using Snowball Stemmer for NLTK to reduce all words in these lists to their roots, ignoring accents and capitalization, to merge the counts of morphological variations of a same root (ignoring the gender and number inflections of nouns and adjectives, and verbs' tenses and conjugation).

In the processing of the data, the function `n-grams(text.split(),n)` was used to extract unigrams ($n=1$), bigrams ($n=2$) and trigrams ($n=3$). The discussion of these results focused on what does the top ten most used unigrams show about the magazine's overarching vocabulary. Additionally, the 200 most common bigrams and trigrams containing these top unigrams were considered to further explore the contexts in which they appear. This analysis was expected to reveal patterns in the profiles, particularly in terms of how *Razón Pública* presents its authors and establishes their credibility as experts.

2.4.2 A sample of *Razón Pública* modeled as a network of authors-institutions

Structured data was needed to model *Razón Pública's* network of authors and institutional affiliations. While most authors had a brief profile published in *Razón Pública*, these are unstructured texts in heterogeneous formats. Considering *Razón Pública's* mission of publishing analyses by researchers and experts that have some interest or connection with Colombia, *CvLacs* (*Curriculum Vitae para Latinoamérica y el Caribe*) was identified as an open access database that could potentially contain the curricula vitae of a significant portion of *Razón Pública* authors. CvLac is the curriculum vitae electronic format officially used by *Colciencias* -Department of Science, Technology and Innovation of Colombia- to keep a record of the researchers, experts and innovators affiliated to the country's *Sistema Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología e Innovación* -SNCyTI (Colciencias 2016). As *CvLacs* is a registration form used by Latin American researchers and academics, a limitation of this platform is that it may overlook authors whose careers are not connected to this sector and region.

The network of *Razón Pública* authors and institutions is based on a compilation of the CvLac curriculums of a sample of authors and modeled in Gephi, a software package for network analysis. CvLac curricula vitae are written in Extensible Markup Language (XML), enabling the researcher to use a Python script to extract all references to institutions either as work experience or education.

Considering that *Razón Pública* is focused on having academics and experts as authors, they are expected to be highly connected with institutions such as universities and research centers. These institutional relations are relevant for characterizing the community of authors in order to analyze which are the most common affiliations and to what extent they are centralized in Bogotá or are connected with regional or international institutions.

The *CvLac* search had to be done manually to ensure the correspondence of this information and authors' identities. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to look for the profiles of the 1,152 authors previously identified, so authors with less than five articles contributed to *Razón Pública* were excluded from this analysis. Using a list with the names of 1,152 authors and their respective number of publications in *Razón Pública*, derived from the articles dataset, a sub-list was generated with the 233 authors that had published five or more articles. The profiles for all of these were manually searched using the search terms in the *CvLac* webpage. In this way, the profiles for 134 authors (57.26%) were identified and verified by the researcher.

The proposed graph presented, as nodes, each author and institution appearing in the *CvLac* profiles obtained. "Education" and "work experience" are the two types of directional edges for representing affiliations. It is expected that universities are the type of institution to which *Razón Pública* are connected the most -confirming their claim to focus on publishing analysis authored by academics and researchers- however, by including work experience, some institutions from government, multilateral organizations and the private sector are expected as well.

The URL address for the 134 *CvLacs* curricula vitae were saved and then inputted to Htrack to download an html copy of each curriculum vitae. Then, a Python (version 3.6) script was used to generate a csv with the names, work experience and formation. Although the dataset of institutional affiliations based on *CvLacs* covers a tenth of the magazine's authors (11.6%), this minority has contributed to 1,729 articles which is 34.36% of the total of articles for the period July 2008- July 2018.

In some cases, authors reported more than one connection to one institution; for example, some had completed a master's degree and a PhD at the same university or had more than one job in the same institution or listed as a different affiliation a renewed contract. By reviewing these cases, it was decided that a person listing multiple connections with the same institution did not necessarily have a stronger labor connection than someone who only referenced it once, as the first case could be someone working by fixed terms and the second could be a tenured professor who has been linked with the same contract since she was hired. Accordingly, it was decided to delete duplicate edges (in the sense of connecting the same pair of author and institution under the same type of relation, that is “education” or “work experience”).

Once the edges and nodes for this network duplicated relations and elements were merged, the list was manually checked to detect inconsistencies in spelling or in the names of institutions (especially when an university had multiple campuses in different locations) in the *CvLacs* profiles. The most significant example is National University of Colombia; in 42 cases it is specified that it refers to the Bogotá campus, 3 times in Medellín, and once both in San Andrés and Amazonia. Similarly, there are 32 mentions of Pontifical Xavierian University in general and six mentions to its campus in Cali. As in this instances it was not always possible to trace the campuses to which these edges referred to, it was decided to merge the nodes of different campuses of the same institution. After removing duplicates, 736 “work experience” edges and 327 “education” edges were identified connecting the 134 authors with 515 different institutions around the world.

2.5 Articles dataset metadata: sections, keywords, pageviews, comments

The articles in the periodical are classified in one section and tagged with multiple keywords. Thanks to this consistent practice it was possible to examine how the magazine's staff have organized and archived its publications, which revealed interesting patterns in the dataset. While counting the sizes of the magazine's sections was expected to give a very general view about the content of the magazine, the most frequent

keywords are likely to give a more specific view, for example in identifying recurrent issues, topics or actors.

Sections play a big role in the webpage interface as they appear in the main menu and users can click them to navigate the articles of each category organized by date. These provide a broad organization of the content into six general classes: politics and government, economy and society, international, arts and culture, regions and readings. Reviewing the sizes of these six thematic lines is a starting point to characterize the dataset of *Razón Pública*'s articles as one of the two systems used by the magazine to organize and archive its content. Categories have been set a priori and are mutually exclusive -an article is assigned to only one of these.

By manually navigating *Razón Pública*, a tally of all articles published in the six sections during the period studied (July 2008- July 2018) was taken. While the articles dataset built is composed of 4,608 articles, just 4,336 articles (88.71%) were accessible by navigating the website's sections. This may be partially explained because some articles were published in discontinued sections, such as *Caleidoscopio* which is not shown on the website's home page main menu.

The keywords assigned by *Razón Pública*'s staff to every article published in the magazine are informative of how they view them and the vocabulary they use to organize them (Halpin 2013, Ruiz, 2018). Although keywords may play a role in how users navigate a site, in *Razón Pública* the only functionality of keywords is that users can click them to see other articles containing them.

The use of keywords in *Razón Pública* falls under Jacob's (2004) definition of categorization as a mechanism for organizing information based on the perceived similarities of the elements in a set. The sections previously mentioned are an example of classification, as elements are grouped on exclusive and non-overlapping classes. Instead, categorization results from a more "creative" process in which there may be clusters based on perceived similarity, but no classes nor fixed boundaries. Jacob explains the difference between categorization and classification as follows:

While traditional classification is rigorous in that it mandates that an entity either is or is not a member of a particular class, the process of categorization is flexible and creative and draws nonbinding associations between entities—associations that are based not on a set of predetermined principles but on the simple recognition of similarities that exist across a set of entities (2004, p. 527).

As categorization is established by an individual or group based on their perception of the similarities of a set, it is more context-dependent and flexible than classification. The keywords were taken from the articles dataset and were counted using a Python 3.6 script. Before analyzing these, the following preprocessing was followed: (i) commas were used as the delimiters of tags because in some cases these used a combination of words to refer to a single entity or topic—for example, “Estados Unidos” (United States) or the proper names of authors and politicians. Then capitalization was removed because it was detected that its use was not consistent; for example, “Farc”, “farc”, and “FARC” were all used. For this reason, converting all texts to lowercase was required to consolidate the counts for the tags that had the same sequence of letters and numbers.

The dataset also contained the number of pageviews and comments for every article, which are the only traces of user interaction that appear on the website. Contrary to the static types of metadata described above, the number of pageviews and comments is dynamic because it may increase over time. So, it must be stated that the data used is based on a mirror of *Razón Pública* created in October 2018.

Pageviews count the amount of times an article’s page has been opened in an internet browser, regardless of the amount of time users stayed on the page. The arithmetic mean of pageviews per article is 8,860. As outliers, it is worth mentioning that nine articles surpassed 100,000 pageviews. At the top of these was “La Bogotá que dejó Petro en cifras” by Jorge Iván González with 225,050, an analysis of Gustavo Petro’s job as mayor of Bogotá based on a compilation of statistics.

On the other hand, the arithmetic mean of comments per article is 1.08; 2,828 articles did not have any comments and 992 had only one. The article with the most

comments was “Ley de reparación, nuevo aire para las víctimas” by José Gregorio Hernández, with 67. This article analyzed the laws for reparation of victims passed by Juan Manuel Santos’s government at the start of his first presidential term and generated many comments of users who identify as victims and asked for guidance on how to get restored.

The ratio of comments over pageviews can be taken as an indicator of how active users have been in commenting. In the *New York Times Innovation Report* (2014), it is mentioned that these traditional comment sections tend to have low rates of participation and, in their case, only one percent of users wrote comments and three percent read them. *Razón Pública*’s participation rate was calculated at 0.0001219 by dividing the total of comments over the total of pageviews in the articles dataset. As this participation rate was so low, it was decided not to further analyze the content and language of the comments.

2.5.1 Articles dataset N-grams analysis

N-grams, a technique for computational natural language analysis described previously in this chapter, was also used to analyze the language of *Razón Pública*. By calculating the most frequent n-grams in the articles dataset, it was possible to explore the magazine’s predominant language and content in the form of words and combinations of words. The process used to identify the most frequent n-grams in the profiles dataset was also used to analyze the articles dataset. As explained before, this process started by removing all punctuation from the articles’ text and converting all uppercase characters to lowercase. Next, all Spanish stop-words were filtered with Spacy for NLTK. Then Snowball Stemmer for NLTK was used to remove morphological affixes from words, reducing words to their roots.

Once the preprocessing was completed, the most frequent unigrams, bigrams and trigrams were identified. The discussion of the n-grams centered on the top ten unigrams, and -to understand the context in which these were used- the bigrams and trigrams containing them were also identified and analyzed. As an additional statistic, the

percentage of articles that included the top ten unigrams was calculated to see how these are distributed in the dataset.

2.5.2 LDA topic modeling

Topic modeling is a computing technique with great potential for analyzing big sets of unstructured natural language. Historians have used topic modeling to identify changes in newspapers' topics across time and how the media addressed specific issues (DiMaggio et al, 2013; Newman and Block 2006). Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) is defined by its inventors Blei, Ng, and Jordan in the following terms: "... a generative probabilistic model of a corpus. The basic idea is that documents are represented as random mixtures over latent topics, where each topic is characterized by a distribution over words" (2003, p. 993). Running multiple iterations, the LDA Topic Model uses a sparse Dirichlet prior to calculate the probabilities at which each word in the dataset co-appears in the same document with other words. Topics produced by the model identify clusters of terms that tend to co-occur in a dataset, and that could be related to a common latent subject.

LDA has become a popular computational analysis method because it gives the end user a flexible tool for identifying interpretable and coherent topics in large collections of texts. Afterwards, the lists of top terms for each topic are analyzed in terms of whether they belong to the same semantic or discursive category and, if this is the case, the researcher proceed to assign it a name or tag synthesizing it.

According to Maier, Waldherr, Miltner, Jahnichen and Pfestch, (2017), in communication studies LDA topics require empirical evaluation and should be considered in relation to substantive theoretical concepts. DiMaggio et al. (2013) say that some of the topics obtained with LDA may be regarded as frames if they present "...semantic contexts that prime particular associations or interpretations of a phenomenon in a reader" (p. 578). It is worth mentioning that the term "frames" is used in social sciences to refer to cognitive structures developed discursively that shape the way in which people make sense of the world. More specifically, in media studies news framing refers to "the patterns of meaning articulated in news content" (Brüggemann

2014, p. 4), and a major research field is understanding how it is embedded in journalism. According to Brüggemann, discourse analysis is the mainstream approach to deconstruct news framing, which is usually done by selecting a specific issue or news, setting a delimited corpus, reviewing and annotating the texts systematically, and then comparing and contrasting the different perspectives from which the information is presented and developed. Ylä-Anttila, Eranti and Kukkonen (2018) considered that as the LDA method is based on the co-occurrence of terms in documents, it is suited for detecting frames understood as “links between concepts” (p. 23).

As news framing pervades a journalist work of interpreting current affairs and communicating views about it, the natural language processing techniques are expected to show -at an aggregated level- *Razón Pública*'s overarching news frames. In turn, these results may be relevant for understanding *Razón Pública*'s editorial line and the issues that were covered the most. Based on the topics extracted via LDA modeling, the magazine's readers were surveyed to see to what extent they validated or invalidated these topics as being of public interest for them.

The methodology presented in this section closely follows Maier et al.'s (2018) methodological recommendations and “good practice guide” for validating LDA topic modeling in communication research, and addresses the four major challenges of LDA in their view: (i) guaranteeing a proper preprocessing of the data, (ii) setting the LDA algorithm with parameters tuned for interpretable results, (iii) evaluating the reliability and interpretability of results and (iv) validating the resulting topics. Topic models were generated with a Python (version 3.6) script with the package Gensim installed.

2.5.3 Dataset preprocessing for LDA topic modeling

The articles dataset previously mentioned was the base corpus used for building the topic models. Of the 4,888 entries in the dataset, 279 had to be excluded because they only contained the articles' metadata and not the articles' body text. An additional article was excluded because it was written in English, unlike the rest of the dataset.

Following Maier et al. (2018), the first step was converting the text and title of every article into a list of words, a process known as tokenization. Afterwards, all uppercase characters in these tokens were converted to lowercase, and then punctuation, white spaces and non-alphanumeric characters were removed. Finally, stopwords (mostly prepositions and articles that appear frequently) were filtered out using the NLTK library for natural language processing in Spanish. As the final step, words were stemmed using Snowball Stemmer for NLTK in Spanish.

2.5.3.1 Model parameters selection

Once the dataset was preprocessed, the next step was setting the parameters for the LDA algorithm. To reach the best parameters selection, multiple candidate topic models were generated with different combinations of the parameters K (which sets the number of topics) and prior parameters α and β (Maier et al. 2018). Then quantitative and qualitative analysis were combined to select which of the models generated best suited the dataset and research questions and provided the most interpretable topics.

The K parameter of an LDA topic model sets the granularity of the model, that is, the scale or level of detail present in the model. If K is set with a low value, the model's categories will be very general, to the point that it may not be interpretable or may combine themes arbitrarily. Instead, if K is given a very high value, topics will be more delimited but, as a downside, these may start to overlap, and it may be difficult to differentiate them (Maier et al. 2018).

Based on the previous considerations, the LDA parameters selected for generating the candidate topic models combined four different K values (15, 30, 45 and 60) with six α parameters that are the priors for the topic-document matrix (.01, 0.05, 0.1, 0.2, 0.5, 1) for a total of 24 candidate topic models. Following Mimno, Edmund, T, Leenders, Wallach, and McCallum (2011) and Maier et al. (2018), the β value was fixed at $1/K$, and the LDA model was always set for 1,000 iterations to increase reliability.

2.5.3.2 LDA topic model evaluation and selection

The process of evaluating and selecting the final topic model among the 24 candidates mixed computational analysis and substantive evaluation. First, “u mass intrinsic coherence score” (also known as UMass) was calculated for each of the 24 candidate topic models using the implementation included in the Gensim package.

UMass, devised by Mimno et al. (2011), is a computational technique for measuring semantic similarity that operates by calculating the probability that the top words of a topic co-occur in the dataset’s texts. A high probability that these top words co-occur indicates that a topic is coherent. Moreover, the UMass coherence score of a model as a whole is calculated as the arithmetic mean coherence score for all its topics. UMass can be used to compare the coherence of different topic models generated from the same dataset, and its results correlate with the golden standard of topic interpretability (Mimno et al. 2011). Moreover Stevens, Kegelmeyer, Andrzejewski and Butler (2012) tested UMass coherence and concluded that it “provide[s] a balance between internal measures of information gain and comparisons to human ratings of coherent topics” (p. 952).

While Maier et al. (2018) recognize that computational metrics -such as UMass coherence- should be taken in consideration to arrive to a valid topic model configuration, they argue that substantive analysis is also needed. Following these authors, UMass coherence score was used to group the 24 candidate topic models according to their K values. Each of these groups consisted of six topic models with different α values. Models in each group were ranked according to their UMass coherence score, and the model with the highest score was selected. These four remaining candidates were then subject to a substantive analysis to identify which of these was the most suited for this thesis, considering the object of study, research goals and theoretical framework.

The substantive analysis was carried out using PyLDAvis, a tool for visualizing topic models, which represents word-topic compositions and calculates the relevance score (Sievert and Shirley, 2014) for the top words of all topics. The following question

was used to guide the substantive analysis: “Which, if any, topic model makes the most meaningful distinction of news topics?”

2.5.3.3 Granularity evaluation of candidate models

The evaluation of the three candidate LDA topic models was guided by the question: Which -if any- model presents the most interpretable distinction of news topics? Considering that the three candidate models have a total of 90 topics the purpose at this stage is not an exhaustive evaluation, but to choose a model with a balanced granularity in terms of: (i) identification of interpretable topics, qualitatively judged by the researcher, (ii) absence of duplicate topics, understood as minimal repetition of top words between topics and overlap when represented via PyLDAvis.

First, the researcher reviewed the top ten unigrams for each topic to check if these had a recognizable common subject or concept. The package PyLDAvis was used to visualize the model and the list of top terms was adjusted with the relevance parameter set to 0.6 to balance a terms overall frequency and its frequency in each topic (Maier et al. 2018). Next the researcher evaluated topics interpretability quality as “good”, “intermediate” or “bad” with the criteria adapted from Mimno et al. 2012 (Table 1).

Table 1. Criteria for qualitative intratopic validation

Assessment of topic interpretability	Descriptors of lists of ten top unigrams		
Good	Top ten unigrams refer to a single coherent news topic		
Intermediate	a) “Intruded: either two or more unrelated sets of related words, joined arbitrary, or an otherwise good topic with a few pairs of intruder words” (Mimno et al. 2012)	b) “Chained (every word is connected to every other word through some pairwise word chain, but not all word pair make sense” (Mimno et al. 2012)	c) “Unbalanced: the top words are all logically connected to each other, but the topic combines very general and specific terms” (Mimno et al. 2012)
Bad	d) “Random: no clear, sensical connections	Bad quality resulting from the confluence of characteristics of “intruded”, “chained”	

	between more than a few pairs of words” (Mimno et al. 2012)	or “unbalanced” lists.
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Also, the researcher assigned tags to good and intermediate topic, but bad topics were not given tags because these lacked a recognizable common subject. To avoid overinterpretation, a unigram or two present in the top terms list were used as tag preferably. Presumed tags are a byproduct of the process by which the researcher assessed topics quality following the aforementioned criteria and based on his knowledge of the dataset’s context and domain. Acknowledging that this method is based on the researcher’s judgment, a record of the presumed tags is available for review in the Annexes 6 and 7 (for the finalist model with 15, 45 and 30 topics, respectively). The presumed tags proposed in this stage are not definitive descriptors of the magazine’s topics. After the final model was been selected, further processes were used to validate and adjust the topics’ definitive tags.

The PyLDAvis screenshots offer a global view of a model in which each of its topics is represented as a circle with a size proportional to its prevalence. The topics are situated in a bidimensional projection of the multidimensional space of the LDA topic model matrix (Sievert and Shirley, 2014). Topics positions in these planes represents how distant these are regarding the probabilities assigned to all terms in the dataset. In other words, overlapping topics have similar distributions of terms, whereas topics far away from each other have greater differences in the probabilities assigned to terms. Models with a granularity set too fine may have clusters of overlapping topics with indistinguishable lists of top words -either because they refer to the same concept or reflect a general distribution of terms in the dataset. The list of top terms analyzed, the assessment and presumed tags for every topic are available for reference in Annex 7.

2.5.3.4 Topic validity and labeling

Once a final model was selected among the candidates, it was necessary to further validate each topic individually because, according to Maier et al. (2018), topic models run with non-artificial datasets may have invalid and uninterpretable topics that should be

excluded. Intelligibility is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a topic's validity. Based on Maier et al (2018), the following quantitative methods were used in combination to validate topics: Rank-1 and UMass topic coherence. If a topic scores low in these two aspects and the top word list is unintelligible, it was not considered valid and was discarded.

While in the previous section an aggregative UMass coherence was computed for each model; in this stage an individual UMass coherence score was computed for each topic separately. The reason for using UMass coherence twice is that in the first case it was used to assess the various candidate models, whereas in the second case it was used to validate the topics of the final model.

The Rank-1 metric (Evans 2014) ranks topics based on how many times they have the largest share of a document in the dataset. Accordingly, the highest Rank-1 indicate which are the most frequent main topics in the dataset. A topic with a big share of tokens in the dataset and a low Rank-1 is likely a background topic. Also, a topic with low Rank-1 score might show a general distribution of words in the dataset instead of a specific topic.

The first step to obtain topics' Rank-1 was loading the final LDA topic model to a Python script and using the function `genism.get_document_topics()` to obtain the topic composition of every article in the dataset. Then, the Rank-1 for each topic was calculated by counting the number of articles in which it was the prevalent topic (defined as constituting the largest share of that text).

2.5.3.5 Final model's intratopical validation and titling of topics

PyLDAvis -a package that provides an interactive visualization of topic models- was used to analyze topics. PyLDAvis allows users to adjust a relevance λ parameter between 0 and 1, and by lowering this parameter it is given less weight to the overall frequency of words in the dataset and so the top words are more specific words to each topic. Relevance can be used to differentiate words based on their frequency and contribution in defining topics. It is probable that words with high probabilities in a

dataset may not contribute as much to define topics as less frequent ones. Following Sievert and Shirley (2014), the default configuration of the visualization was $\lambda=0.6$.

Based on the list of top words, a tentative tag was created for each topic. Then it was further checked in terms of semantic coherence and pertinence considering the summaries generated for each of the articles that were read. To decide this, the questions were: Is there a common identifiable topic -for example, an issue, problem or frame- among the texts and its top words? Which aspects of the sampled documents describe the issue most comprehensively? If a common topic was not identified, then it was discarded.

The final stage of the revision of the LDA model was a semantic validation at the intratropical level (Maier et al., 2018). This process consisted of drawing a random sample with ten articles that had each topic as its prevalent element (over 50% in the cases of topics with multiple articles in these ranges; over 40% for smaller topics with lower Rank 1). The researcher then read all these articles, wrote a short summary and assigned some keywords to use for reference of the article's specific topics. Following Ylä-Anttila, T., Eranti, V., and Kukkonen (2018), a topic was considered valid if eight out of ten of the articles sampled discussed a common recognizable issue or news frame.

2.6 Surveying subscribers: profiles and notions of public interest

A survey was used to characterize the demographics of subscribers and to determine whether they consider the topics extracted via LDA topic modeling to be of public interest (the WREM approval and the survey -including the consent form- are available in Annex 8). Any person that has interacted at any time or circumstance can be considered an user of *Razón Pública*. Nevertheless, studying such a broad population presents a methodological challenge in terms of how to reach a representative sample of them without previous information on who they are or means to contact them. Moreover, this understanding of “user” is nebulous because it does not distinguish someone who once read an article several years ago from a firm follower.

Based on these considerations, it was decided to narrow down the population studied to subscribers, which are users that have registered to receive the magazine's weekly newsletters. The rationale for this was to focus the analysis on the users that, by subscribing, manifested an interest in following the project and receiving notifications of its latest publications. Another advantage of focusing the analysis on subscribers is that *Razón Pública* could distribute the survey to them, as it had their email addresses. Nevertheless, an article like "La Bogotá que dejó Petro en cifras" by Jorge Iván González, with over two hundred thousand pageviews, indicates that there is a larger number of people that has been reached at least once by the magazine, but it would be a challenge to trace who they are.

With the collaboration of *Razón Pública's* staff, a survey was sent to subscribers, inserted into the newsletters sent between August 9 and October 7 of 2019. As the survey information appeared at the bottom of the bulletin, it can be assumed that at least occasionally, participants access and revise the newsletters. The survey was administered in Qualtrics and was estimated to take ten minutes for participants to answer. To protect participants' identities, they were not asked their names. At the end of the survey, participants were asked whether they would be interested in participating in an in-depth interview about their notions of public interest. Participants who answered affirmatively were redirected to a second survey in which they were asked to provide an email address. In the second survey, they were asked their consent to be contacted to schedule an online interview -interviews that have not yet been conducted because of time constraints and so are not part of this thesis. These email addresses were the only personal identification recorded, were kept in a separate file from the first survey responses, and will be deleted once the interview phase is over, as well as any emails related to the scheduling of the interviews.

Surveys were geared to answer two main questions. What are the demographics of *Razón Pública's* subscribers? To what extent do they validate the topics extracted from the magazine via LDA topic modeling as being of public interest? To answer the first question, the survey asked for the following demographic information: age, gender,

educational background, main occupation, socio-economic stratum, place of residence and political affiliation.

The first element in the survey was an open-ended question with the purpose of asking participants to name three topics that, in their opinion, were of the highest public interest in Colombia. The rationale for starting with this element was to collect the first reaction of participants to this term.

Due to time constraints, the validation of the topics had not been completed before the survey design and distribution. For this reason, it was not possible to ask participants to rate the exact titles assigned to the topics at the end of the validation. A sample of them were surveyed and asked to rank, in a scale from “1” (of no public interest) to “3” (of high public interest), a list of topics and events in terms of their level of public importance. This list was created by the researcher based on the specific issues addressed in the article with the highest composition of each of the topics in the LDA model and its list of top terms. Finally, to contextualize subscribers’ attitudes and media consumption, they were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with this statement: “Overall, I believe the news media in Colombia offer journalism of public interest”.

Chapter 3

3 Results: *Razón Pública*'s authors, articles, subscribers and public interest

Following Francis (1990), what is regarded as of public interest in a public sphere is intertwined to its participants social standing. This study centered on *Razón Pública*'s authors and users, both crucial actors in terms of the magazine's mission: to post analyses of current affairs authored by experts and researchers and reach a public of readers. This chapters characterized *Razón Pública*'s authors, with an emphasis on how the magazine presents them as credible experts. As explained in the previous chapter, the sources used were: (i) authors profiles in *Razón Pública*, (ii) CvLac curriculum vitae of a sample of authors.

In the second section three natural language processing techniques -keywords network, n-grams analysis and Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) topic modeling- were used to explore the magazine's content from complementary angles and identify its prevalent news topics. The articles metadata -more specifically, sections and keywords- was analyzed to unveil how the magazine's staff to classified and categorized publications. Next, the n-grams analysis of the articles texts showed the magazine's recurrent vocabulary, and the LDA method was used to calculate the dataset's topic composition and fluctuations in the coverage given to topics across time. Lastly, the surveys were used to validate whether subscribers considered the topics identified in the previous analysis as of public interest.

3.1 *Razón Pública*'s authors

3.1.1 N-grams analysis of authors profiles

Although *Razón Pública* authors profiles are brief texts and not complete curricula vitae, these provide a first approximation of who they are and how they are presented as experts. The ten top ten unigrams in the authors' profiles dataset (Figure 4.)

constitute the vocabulary reiteratively used in the magazine to presents authors and give them credibility.

Top 10 most frequent unigrams

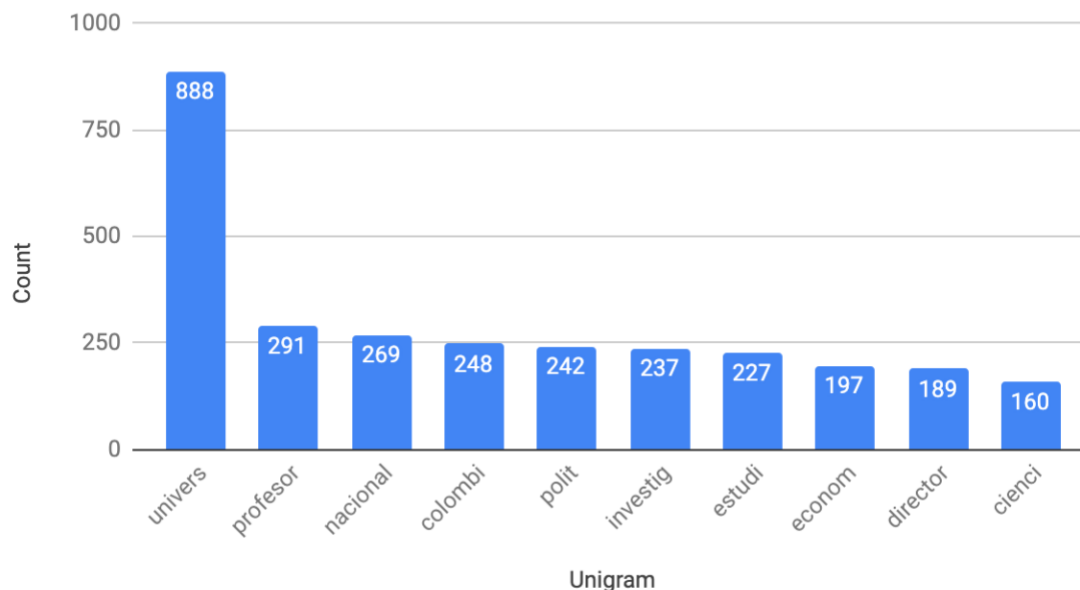


Figure 4. Top 10 most frequent unigrams in the authors' profiles dataset.

By examining the most frequent bigrams and trigrams containing the top term “univers” (university), it was established that in 55.24% of the times it refers to a handful of Colombian institutions (see Table 2). These institutions all have a main campus in Bogotá and are among the Colombian universities better ranked by QS Top Universities 2019. Considering that Colombia has 82 universities and 120 university foundations and technical schools (Ministerio de Educación, 2015), this data shows authors tend to be affiliated to the country’s elite higher education institutions.

Table 2. Top n-grams that refer to universities and their position in the QS ranking (2019)

University	n-gram	n-gram count	Percentage of mentions (calculated over the count of the unigram “univers”)	QS world ranking (2019)

National University of Colombia	<i>“univers nacional”</i>	197	22.18%	253
Los Andes University	<i>“univers andes”</i>	119	13.4%	234
Pontifical Xavierian University	<i>“univers javerian”</i>	90	10.13%	468
Del Rosario University	<i>“univers rosar”</i>	55	6.19%	751-800
Externado University of Colombia	<i>“univers extern colombi”</i>	30	3.34%	480

Some international and regional Colombian universities (without a campus in Bogotá) appear in the 300 top bigrams and trigrams at lesser frequencies: *“univers ibag”* (Ibagué University, N= 21), *“univers oxford”* (Oxford University, N= 15), *“univers valle”* (Valle University, N= 15) and *“univers antioq”* (Antioquía University, N= 15). Moreover, it is worth revising that frequency in which Colombian cities and regions are mentioned: *“bogat”* (Bogotá, N= 47), *“ibag”* (Ibagué, N= 26), *“cali”* (Cali, N= 16), *“antioqui”* (Antioquia, N= 15), *“medellin”* (Medellín, N= 14), *“manizal”* (Manizales, N= 11), *“carib”* (Caribe, N= 10). Bogotá does not have as much advantage over its competitors as expected taking into account that the most mentioned universities are headquartered in the city (Table 1). National University of Colombia has nine campuses, but most mentions to it do not specify which campus is referred -perhaps, unless said otherwise, these refer to the main campus in Bogotá. Interestingly, Ibagué appears in second place, ahead of bigger cities such as Medellín, Cali and Barranquilla. On the other hand, the most frequent unigrams referring to international are: *“mexic”* (México, N= 21), *“oxford”* (Oxford, N= 16), *“madr”* (Madrid, N= 16), *“españ”* (Spain, N= 15), *“alemani”* (Germany, N= 15), *“venezuela”* (Venezuela, N= 10), *“columbi”* (Columbia, N= 10). The frequency of these international locations is comparable to that of the previously mentioned Colombian regions and cities.

Based on the context given by the other top n-grams, locations in the dataset are most commonly associated to the professional and academic careers of authors. The prevalence of Colombia and the country's top research universities in these notes indicates a considerable centralization regarding the sources of authors' legitimation as experts, acknowledging that some authors have regional or international connections. "univers" appears in multiple frequent bigrams and trigrams that refer to disciplines, professions and areas of study: "econom univers" ("economy/economist university, N= 84), "polit univers" (politics/policy/politician university, N= 55), "filosof univers" (philosophy/philosopher university N= 32), "politolog univers" (political scientist university, N= 29), "histori univers" (history university, N= 26), "sociolog univers" (sociology university, N= 23), "cienci polit univers" (political science university, N= 40), "relacion internacional univers" (international relations university, N= 28). This data shows that authors profiles are tilted towards social sciences than to other disciplines or fields.

"profesor" (professor, N= 291), the second most frequent unigram, indicates that a substantive portion of *Razón Pública's* authors had held this job, and the n-grams in which it appears are related to academic positions: "profesor univers" (university professor, N=60), "profesor asociad" (associate professor, N=46), and "profesor asociad departament" (associate professor department, N= 13).

Two other top unigrams that refer to the domain of academic life are: "investig" (research/researcher, N=237) and "estudi" (study/ student, N= 227). The following n-grams evidence "investig" is used in the context of academic research; "investig centr" (research center, N=26), "centr investig" (research center, N= 20), "profesor investig" (research professor, N= 17), "grup investig" (research group, N= 14), "colombi investig" (research Colombia, N= 12), "investig univers" (university research, N= 11), "investig asociad" (associate research, N= 10); while "estudi" -Spanish root can refer either to the verb study or the nouns student and studies- is used to identify authors as current or former graduate students: "estudi doctor" (PhD. studies, N= 26), "estudi maestr" (N= 14), "magist estudi" (N=20), "maestr estudi" (N=16) -these last three refer to Master studies. In other cases, the unigram "estudi" refers to research institutions: "centr estudi" (study center, N= 33), "institut estudi" (institute study, N= 21). Finally, "estudi" is used

in the context of a field of social sciences: “*estudi polit*” (political studies, N= 37), “*estudi latinoamerican*” (Latin American studies, N= 13), “*estudi cultural*” (cultural studies, N= 12).

As it was mentioned before, “*colombi*” is contained in the highest frequency trigram in the dataset: “*univers nacional colombi*” (112). Other frequent bigrams and trigrams containing it refer to institutions or academic positions: “*univers extern colombi*” (Externado University of Colombia, N=30), “*colombian profesor*” (Colombian professor, N= 17), “*colombi director*” (Colombian director, N= 13), “*colombi doctor*” (Colombian Ph.D., N= 12).

Two of the remaining top unigrams are similar in that they can refer either to a discipline and a facet of social interaction: “*polit*” and “*econom*”. “*Polit*” is used most often to refer to the study of political phenomena: political science “*cienci polit*” (N= 100), other examples are “*polit relacion internacional*” (politics international relations, N= 22), “*polit univers*” (politics university, N= 55), “*facult ciencias polit*” (political science faculty, N= 14), “*estudi polit*” (political studies, N= 37), “*politic public*” (public policies, N= 17). On the other hand, the most frequent bigrams and trigrams show the root “*econom*” used in the realm of the profession and education of authors: “*econom univers*” (economy university, N= 84), “*doctor econom*” (Ph.D. economy, N= 14), “*cienci econom*” (economical science, N= 14). As mentioned before, “*cienc*” (science, N=160) tends to refer to social sciences, additional examples are: “*departament ciencias polit*” (department political science, N= 11), “*ciencias polit gobiern*” (political science government, N= 8), “*ciencias social*” (social science, N= 19).

The most frequent bigrams and trigrams that contain “*director*” (N=189) indicates that some of *Razón Pública*’s authors have had directive jobs in higher education institutions or organizations: “*director centr*” (director center, N= 17), “*director institut*” (director institute, N= 12), “*director grup*” (director group, N= 12), “*univers javerian director*” (Xaverian University director, N= 8), “*univers andes director*” (Andes University director, N= 8).

To conclude this section, “*univers*” is the single most important term in the dataset of *Razón Pública* authors profiles due to its high frequency. Moreover, the other top n-grams are mostly related to the authors’ academic trajectories, in terms of

institutional affiliations, disciplines, degrees and jobs. In over half of the cases, the term university referred to a handful of five Colombian higher education universities, four of these private and one public. Also, while some of these institutions have campuses in other cities -like Colombian National University and Pontifical Xavierian University- all of them are headquartered in Bogotá.

In a glimpse, the top ten n-grams shows that the profiles published in *Razón Pública* are geared to give them credibility as experts and researchers by summarizing their education and institutional affiliations. In this sense, the magazine is delivering on its mission of being a space for academics to publish analyses of current affairs. The n-grams analysis shows that social sciences as the most common area of authors' expertise. Just as in the previous chapter it was established that the majority of *Razón Pública* authors are men, the most frequent n-grams show most of them are connected to the academia; especially as professors and researchers of a handful of Colombian top universities.

3.1.2 Network of a sample of authors and institutions

As described in the previous chapter, the *CvLac* network of authors and institutions consisted of 124 author nodes; 515 institutional nodes and 1063 directional edges. By examining the totals of each type of institutional relation, it is noticeable that authors tend to have a wider range of institutional connections in terms of work experience (N=736) rather than education (N=327) in a ratio of 2.25 to 1.

The base network is bipartite as there are two distinct and independent sets of nodes (institutions and authors), and the only type of possible relations are between the node of an author and an institution. In other words, the network does not consider direct relations between authors (for example, co-authorships) nor between institutions (such as partnerships).

Degrees, defined as the total of connections a node has, was used to detect the institutions to which authors are most connected to. The average mean for these values was 1.85, and most institutions (N=400) were mentioned once. In this network the nodes with the highest degrees are worth special attention and are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Institution type nodes with the highest degrees.

Position	Id	Degree	Location
1	National University of Colombia	69	Colombia, multiple campuses
2	Pontifical Xaverian University	46	Colombia, multiple campuses
3	Los Andes University	34	Colombia, Bogotá
4	Externado University of Colombia	28	Colombia, Bogotá
5	Del Rosario University	27	Colombia, Bogotá
6	Del Valle University	12	Colombia, Cali
7	Jorge Tadeo Lozano University	11	Colombia, Bogotá
8	Sergio Arboleda University	8	Colombia, Bogotá
8	Antioquia University	8	Colombia, Medellín

The five institutions in the top are the same that appeared in Table 1 of most mentioned universities in *Razón Pública* authors profiles. The researcher also annotated the country in which each institution in the network is located and -if it was in Colombia- also the city. Table 4 shows the most frequent counties of these nodes. Half of these are in Colombia, yet a significant portion is located in other countries, especially in the United States, France, Spain, or are international organizations, such as the United Nations. It is interesting to observe that, internationally, this network is much more connected with institutions of the United States and Europe than of Latin American countries -other than Colombia.

Table 4. Countries with the highest number of institutions.

Position	Country	Quantity
1	Colombia	241
2	USA	54
3	Undefined	40

4	France	32
5	Spain	19
6	International	18
7	Germany	13
8	Italy	12
9	Peru	7
10	All others	79

More than half of the 240 Colombian institutions are located in Bogotá, and even large cities such as Medellín or Barranquilla lag behind (see table 5). The institutional ties of the authors in this sample concentrate in Bogotá, and connections to countries of the global North -such as the USA and France- are more frequent than to most Colombian regions.

Table 5. Colombian cities with the highest number of institutions

Position	City	Quantity
1	Bogotá	160
2	Medellín	8
3	Cali	7
4	Montería	4
5	Cartagena	3
6	Armenia	2
6	Barranquilla	2
6	Villavicencio	2

The arithmetic mean of author's degrees is 7.57, considerably higher in comparison than the value for institutional nodes. This difference is not surprising considering that there are almost four times more nodes of institutions than authors. Table 6 shows the authors with the highest degrees, which implies they have the widest set of institutional affiliations.

Table 6. Authors with most institutional affiliations

Position	Name	Degree
1	Sandra Borda	26
2	César Ferrari	24
3	Mauricio García	21
4	Absalón Machado	20
5	Augusto Pérez	18
5	César Giraldo	18
5	Fabián Sanabria	18
5	Francisco Azuero	18
9	Clara Rodríguez	16
9	Fernando Cepeda	16
9	Massimo Di Ricco	16
9	Rafael Orduz	16

For generating a visualization of the *CvLacs* network a third type of nodes was added to represent the number of articles authored by each author and degrees were recalculated to make nodes authors sizes proportional to both the number of institutional connections and articles authored. Nodes were assigned different colors according to their types: green for authors (5.25%), blue for institutions (21.72%) and red for articles (73.03%). Edges colors indicates the following types of relations: pink for authorship (64.81%), green for work experience (23.05%), blue for education (8.43%) and red for combined education and work experience (3.71%). All edges were assigned a weight of one, except relations that denoted both education and work experience that had a weight of two for they combined two distinct relations. Then nodes were assigned a weight proportional to their in-degree (the number of edges that originate from each node). The reason for doing so was to make the articles nodes small and declutter the graph.

The network consists of two separate components. The smallest is formed by one author node -María Victoria Duque- connected to the 46 articles she wrote and only one institution: Universidad Agustiniana. This component is disconnected because her *CvLac* is incomplete -omitting, among others, her work experience in United Nations

Development Program, National University of Colombia and education in Fundación Universitaria Filipense and Office of Government Commerce of England (Duque Lopez, 2013). Considering María Victoria Duque's career, this component of the network exemplifies that a major shortcoming of the CvLacs is that some curriculum vitae are incomplete. Besides, this small component of the network is shown to familiarize the reader with the conventions previously described to generate the graphs (Figure 5).

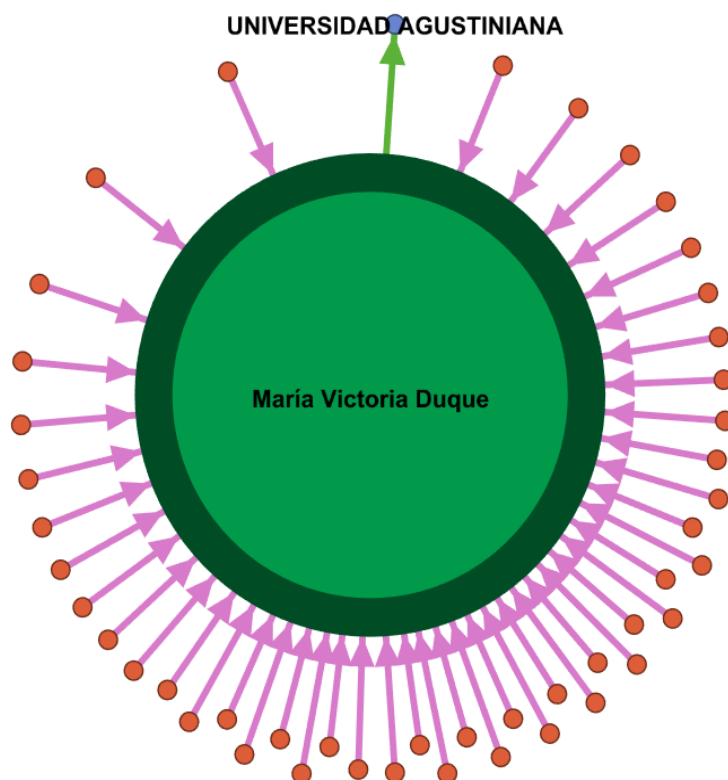


Figure 5. CvLac profiles smallest component: María Victoria Duque

Using the Gephi statistics tool, the Eigenvector normalized centrality was calculated for all nodes in the network's main component. The results show that most authors in the sample (N=114, 91.9%) are connected at least to one of the five universities with the highest normalized Eigenvector centralities; National University of Colombia, centrality of 1, connected to 69 authors (55.6%); Pontifical Xavierian University, centrality of 0.6, connected to 46 authors (37.1%); Andes University, centrality of 0.45, connected to 34 authors (27.4%), Externado University, centrality of 0.42, connected to 28 authors (20.9%); Del Rosario University, connected to 28 authors

(22.5%). The CvLac network is shown in Figure 6. (nodes weights were adjusted to be proportional to the in-degree so that the nodes of institutions are more distinguishable).



Figure 6. CvLacs profiles main component

To make the graph less cluttered, a second visualization of the network was done filtering out all nodes that were not directly connected to the top five universities previously mentioned. Figure 7 represents the extent to which *Razón Pública*'s pool of authors corresponds to a community that studied or worked in a handful of Colombian top universities previously mentioned.

3.2 *Razón Pública's* news topics

3.2.1 Metadata: sections and keywords

3.2.1.1 Sections

The magazine's sections by decreasing size are: "Politics and Government" (N= 1412) and "Economy and Society" (N=1400), "International" (N=571), "Arts and Culture" (N= 408), "Readings" (N= 277) and "Regions" (N= 268). The number of elements per section outlines the magazine emphasizes on the first two -each one accounting for approximately a third of articles. The existence of a specific section for international issues and another for regions shows that the classification of articles partially follows a geographical criterion. By revising a sample of titles from the sections "Economy and society" and "Politics and government" it was evident that these focused on Colombia, despite that their names do not hint it. While it is important to examine how content is organized in the magazine, the names and sizes of these sections are too general for identifying which are the most covered news topics.

3.2.1.2 Keywords analysis

The frequency distribution of keywords after completing preprocessing was similar to the power law identified by Halpin (2013). The results obtained were that only a few keywords (N= 258, 3.27%) were attached to more than 0.5% of the articles in the dataset, and there was long tail of keywords used only once (N= 5,227, 68.78%). A similar distribution was also detected by Ruiz (2018) in a study about video game channel communities in YouTube. Following Halpin, elements in the tail (in this case, keywords used once) were considered insignificant and discarded to diminish computational load.

Normalized betweenness centrality and module detection were calculated using Gephi statistics package. Betweenness centrality measures the number of times a node in a network is a bridge in the shortest path of two other nodes. The modularity algorithm computes a modularity score for the network as a whole with values between -1 and 1, where -1 means a network devoid of modularity and 1 unstable modularity. The

keywords network had a modularity of 0.459, a result that indicates the presence of strong clusters of connected nodes and similar to the one obtained by Ruiz (2018).

The modularity algorithm detected 22 modules, eight of which accumulated 92.76% of keywords. The first phase for approaching the network is reviewing its central nodes, and then present a visualization and description of the eight largest modules. Table 7 contains the sixteen keywords with the highest betweenness centrality in the dataset, their respective counts (number of articles in which they were used), degrees and modules.

Table 7. Top keywords in *Razón Pública*

Rank (by highest betweenness centrality)	Label (when applicable, a translation appears in parenthesis)	Frequency distribution	Modularity class	Betweenness centrality	Degree
1	<i>farc</i>	600	4	0.098	370
2	<i>bogotá</i>	345	3	0.075	237
3	<i>estados unidos</i> (United States)	347	1	0.075	256
4	<i>colombia</i>	119	1	0.067	213
5	<i>juan manuel santos</i>	255	2	0.059	246
6	<i>corrupción</i> (corruption)	232	3	0.054	211
7	<i>corte constitucional</i> (Constitutional Court of Justice)	178	8	0.042	193
8	<i>álvaro uribe vélez</i>	337	2	0.041	224
9	<i>hernando gómez buendía</i>	246	2	0.028	183
10	<i>violencia</i> (violence)	129	4	0.026	134
11	<i>educación</i> (education)	113	0	0.026	122
12	<i>elecciones</i> (elections)	154	2	0.025	143
13	<i>minería</i> (mining)	142	5	0.024	111
14	<i>gustavo petro</i>	120	2	0.022	158
15	<i>proceso de paz</i> (peace process)	133	4	0.021	163
16	<i>paz</i> (peace)	95	4	0.020	138

Most top keywords refer to actors, authors and locations involved in the news and issues covered; yet some mention abstract topics -like education or mining. The top keyword “farc” refers to the former guerrilla *Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas de Colombia* (1964-2016) or, *Fuerza Revolucionaria del Común*, the political party that

succeeded the armed group as a result of the Peace Agreement of 2016. Although “*farc*” is the most used tag, it must be noted that it is used to refer just to 6.05% of the total of articles. “*farc*” belongs to module 2, same as “*violencia*” (violence), “*paz*” (peace) and “*proceso de paz*” (peace process). The second node with the highest centrality is Bogotá, and appears in module 3 together with “*corrupción*” (corruption). This result is not surprising as it was previously established that *Razón Pública* network of authors-institutions is centered in Bogotá.

The third and fourth keywords by centrality, “*Estados Unidos*” and “*Colombia*” are part of the same module. To understand why the North American country appears almost three times more frequently than Colombia it is worth remembering that keywords are a context-based categorization mechanism. It is still possible that more articles are related to Colombia than with the United States, and yet that the second is used more frequently because it is perceived as a more salient feature to group content by the person who assigned keywords.

The next element in the list, “*juan manuel santos*” belongs to the same module as the nodes “*álvaro uribe vélez*”, “*hernando gómez buendía*”, “*gustavo petro*” and “*elecciones*” (elections). The first two nodes refer to presidents of Colombia in the periods July 2010-2018 and July 2002-2010, respectively and the majority of the articles in the dataset are dated from their terms (excepting the articles published in the last week of July 2018, the beginning of Iván Duque’s presidency). Hernando Gómez Buendía, the magazine director and co-founder, appears after Uribe in terms of centrality; in some cases, authors are tagged to articles. Strangely, at times authors are tagged to articles they did not write -perhaps because these authors are referenced in the document or by mistake. Whereas Gómez Buendía authored 112 articles in the dataset, he is referenced twice as many times in the keywords. Based on the network, the magazine’s director is overall well connected to the other keywords, on a level not that far from former presidents Uribe and Santos, the two major players of Colombian recent politics. It is also worth mentioning is that Gustavo Petro -member of Congress, former Mayor of Bogotá and presidential candidate in 2010 and 2018- appears in the list of most central keywords, albeit with a lower betweenness centrality than all other nodes mentioned before. Additionally, “*elecciones*” (elections) appears in this same module, reinforcing the

hypothesis that it is centered in Colombian politics and the competition to control the country's government.

The three remaining top keywords “*corte constitucional*” (Supreme Constitutional Court), “*educación*” (education) and “*minería*” (mining) belong to different modules. As these terms are central to these topics, the discussion of their importance of this is discussed in the section of the analysis by modules (Figure 8). These could be broad topics to which clusters of related keywords gravitate to. Interestingly, while Farc is the most used keyword, none of the proper names or alias of its leaders appear in the top keywords. On the other hand, the names of former presidents appear much more frequently than their political parties and alliances. This categorization can be interpreted as showing a personalized perception of Colombian politics, in the sense that the personas of a few politicians are used more frequency than political parties or social movements.

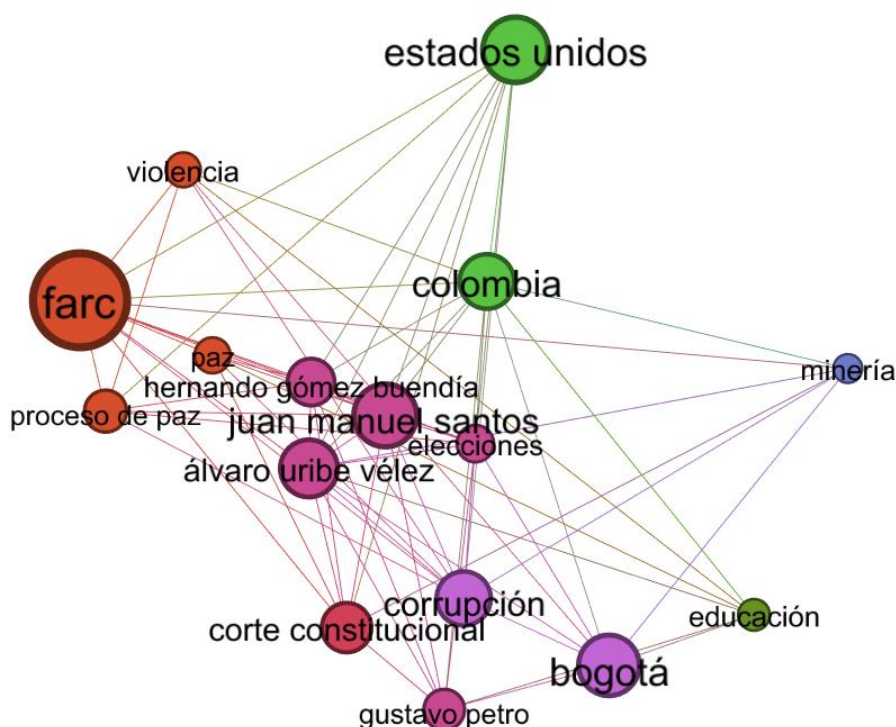


Figure 8. Network with the highest betweenness centrality keywords

The magenta module at the center of Figure 8 includes the names Álvaro Uribe, Juan Manuel Santos and Hernando Gómez Buendía; three well connected nodes. In this sense, the keyword network indicates that the Colombian politics and politicians are a common thread, connecting issues such as education, international affairs, armed conflict and mining. It cannot be overstated that, in the use of keywords, the magazine's director position is equivalent to that of the country's most recent former presidents. Petro is also identified as part of the magenta module -associated to Colombian politics-, but he occupies a less central position and is situated close to the purple module associated with Bogotá, administration and urban issues. In comparison with Santos, Uribe and even Gómez Buendía, who appear highly connected to most other modules, Petro is associated mostly with his module and those located at the right bottom section of the graph.

The eight main modules are shown in Table 8; they appear in decreasing order by size. To conclude this discussion, the eight biggest modules were analyzed individually and given a title based on the keywords associated to them. The titles assigned to these modules synthesize *Razón Pública* categorization of articles.

Table 8. Main modules of the keywords network

Rank by highest size	Module size (as % of keywords)	Most frequent keyword	Title assigned by the researcher	Position in the keywords network (for visual reference)	Color (for visual reference)
1	16.99	<i>Minería</i>	Economy and environment	Right center	Dark blue
2	16.26	<i>Estados Unidos</i>	International affairs and drug trafficking	Upper center	Light green
3	14.72	<i>Farc</i>	Farc: war and peace	Left center	Red
4	12.4	<i>Álvaro Uribe Vélez</i>	Politics (Colombia)	Center	Magenta
5	11.3	<i>Fútbol</i>	Culture, religion and entertainment	Dispersed across the center and upper section	Dark orange
6	8.94	<i>Bogotá</i>	Urban administration	Bottom center	Purple
7	6.87	<i>Corte Constitucional</i>	Laws and courts	Bottom left	Light blue

8	5.28	Educación	Education	Bottom right	Dark green
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Economy module: mining, poverty and development

Figure 9 represents the biggest module (in this and the next graphs of this section, nodes with counts less than 23 were filtered out to declutter), which encompasses 418 nodes (16.99%). Its highest count (N=142) and betweenness centrality (0.024) node is “minería” (mining). This node is connected to the four other nodes in the module with counts over 80: “*cambio climático*” (climate change), “césar gonzález muñoz”, “amylkar acosta” and “álvaro pardo”. The three proper names refer to authors who are economists and have contributed to multiple articles. Moreover, the late César González Muñoz was a founding member of *Razón Pública* who made a career both in academia and the public sector as professor and dean of economics in National University of Colombia (Razón Publica, “César González Muñoz”).

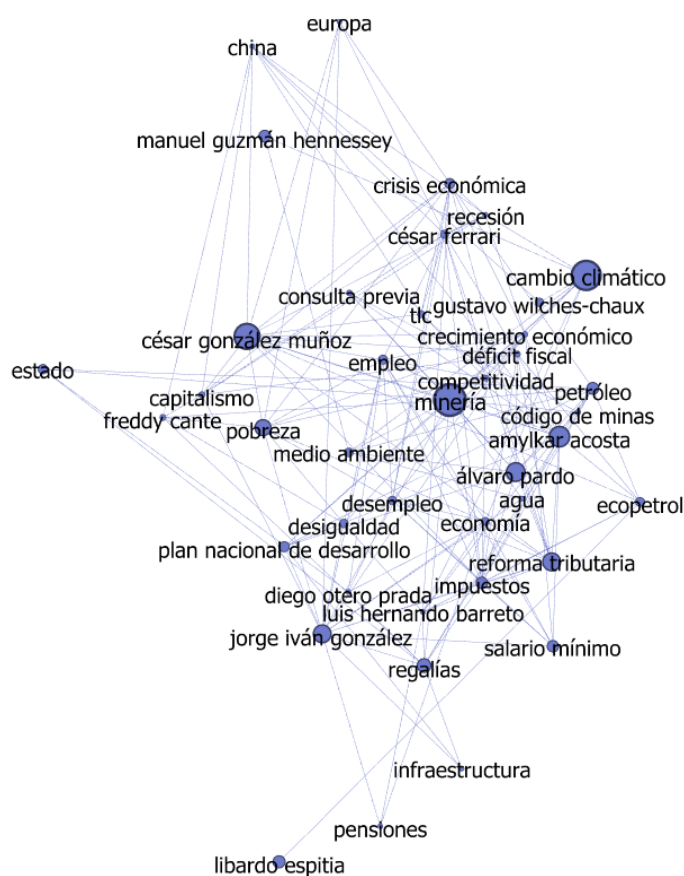


Figure 9. Economy module

By reading the names of other nodes in the module, most of them belong to the domain of economics, such as “*reforma tributaria*” (tax reform), “*pobreza*” (poverty), “*regalías*” (royalties), “*petróleo*” (oil) and “*impuestos*” (taxes). Also, it is worth mentioning that in this module come into view the “*medio ambiente*” (environment) and other keywords with lower counts related to this domain like “*agua*” (water) and “*desarrollo sostenible*” (sustainable development). Europe and China are mentioned in this module’s top section and in close proximity to the nodes United States and Colombia. Based on modules composition, it seems that the international entities more connected to magazine’s coverage of economical and environment are Europe and China.

International affairs: United States, Latin America and drug trafficking

Figure 10 represents the second biggest module, containing 400 nodes (16.24%). This module has a clear focus on international affairs, as most of its top terms are; names of countries like “*Colombia*”, “*Estados Unidos*” (United States), “*Venezuela*”; and the names of heads of state such as Donald Trump, Barack Obama, Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro. Additionally, the module includes the names of some authors focused on international relations: Socorro Ramírez, Sandra Borda and Francisco Thoumi. On the left side of the module, appears a sub cluster with nodes related to drug trafficking – “*drogas*” (drugs), “*cultivos ilícitos*” (illicit crops), “*bandas criminales*” (bandas criminales) and “*plan Colombia*” (an U.S. founded plan to provide military and development assistance to Colombia). Although not as frequent as *Estados Unidos*, Colombia has the highest betweenness centrality in the module and is situated in close proximity to the magenta -Colombian politics- and dark blue -environment and economy- modules. The number of times Colombia is used as a keyword is low considering the magazine’s focus on the country; perhaps because if most of the articles are focused on Colombia the staff might recurrently find redundant to use this keyword.



Figure 10. Estados Unidos module

By reviewing the graph, this module is about international affairs and relations. More specifically, most of the frequently used keywords refer to the Americas, drug trafficking and Colombia's connection with it. While this module focuses on international affairs, some countries were detected as belonging to other modules, for example, Argentina, China and Spain were assigned to the economics module, and Chile to education.

Farc: armed conflict and peace process

The third largest module (Graph 11), contains 14.72% of nodes (N= 362) and focuses on Colombia's armed conflict, peace processes and "Farc", its node with the highest frequency, degree of connections and betweenness centrality. Articles in the dataset are dated from July 2008 to July 2018, while the peace process was officially announced in September 2012 and signed in August 2016. Considering this timing, the keywords associated to Farc reflect its transition from being an illegal armed group to a political party. First, the keywords in the upper section of the graph are more related to

Pública included in this module with the highest frequencies are: Medófilo Medina, Maria Victoria Duque, William Duica, Carlo Nasi and Armando Borrero Mansilla.

Colombian politics: presidents, elections and congress

The fourth module is about Colombian politics at the top branches of power and political campaigning (Figure 12). While none of its elements has a betweenness centrality as high as “Farc”, this module occupies a central position in the graph and it is, overall, well connected to other modules. “álvaro uribe vélez” and “juan manuel santos” are the nodes in this module with the highest degrees and centralities. President Iván Duque, who took oath of office in July 4, 2018, is also mentioned in this module, albeit as a much smaller node and is related to keywords that refer specifically to his election “*elecciones 2018*” (elections 2018) and “*elecciones presidenciales 2018*” (presidential elections 2018). Based on the graph, Duque is nowhere near to have been as central in the magazine’s articles as the two former presidents, which is not surprising considering his short trajectory in the Colombian politics; only becoming a public figure when he was elected senator in 2014. Moreover, Duque’s degree is comparable to that of Antanas Mockus -former presidential candidate and mayor of Bogotá- and both are surpassed by Gustavo Petro who, just like Mockus, ran for president and governed the same city.

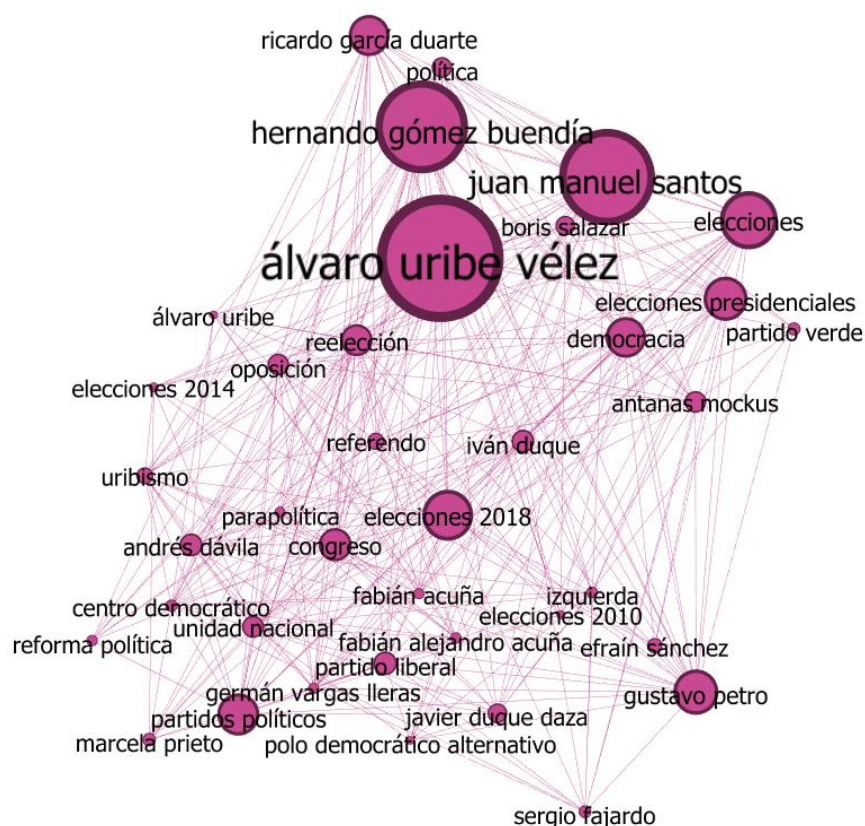


Figure 12. Colombian politics module

While the nodes with the highest centralities in these network refer to politicians, it is important to highlight other nodes such as “congres” (Congress) and some political parties, such as: “*unidad nacional*”, “*partido liberal*”, “*polo democrático alternativo*” and “*centro democrático*”. Finally, among the keywords in this module with high counts are the name of some authors that have written frequently about national politics like Ricardo García Duarte, Andrés Dávila, Javier Duque Daza and Boris Salazar. Moreover, the graph situates Hernando Gómez Buendía on a par level to that of Alvaro Uribe Vélez and Juan Manuel Santos, and also in a central position in relation with most other modules of the network. Considering the key role Buendía has played in the direction of the magazine, it is visible that the articles in which he is tagged cover a range of issues, just as the protagonists of Colombia’s politics.

Entertainment, religion and culture: soccer, Pope Francis and Gabriel Garcia Márquez

In comparison to other modules, the fifth is connected less cohesively as shown in Figure 13. While this module is the fifth largest by number of keywords, only fourteen keywords have frequencies higher than 22. The few nodes that appear in the graph form five components, three of which are isolated nodes.

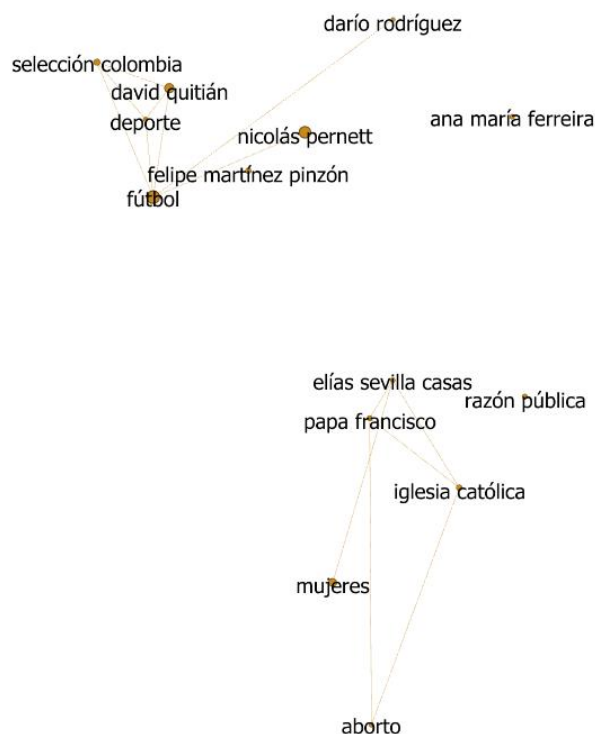


Figure 13. Culture module

“*fútbol*” (soccer) connects all nodes in the most populated component of this module (which appears at the top of Graph 14). Meanwhile, the component in the lower part connects terms related to religion or gender such as “*Papa Francisco*” (Pope Francis), “*Iglesia católica*” (Catholic Church) and “*aborto*” (abortion). To further understand the connections of this module, an additional visualization was generated (Graph 12) with the adjusted filter in nodes with degrees higher than 15.



Figure 14. Culture module

At the top of Graph 12 is a cluster of keywords related to sports -like “*fútbol*” (soccer), and “*fifa*” (International Federation of Association Football)- and literature. At the bottom there is another cluster centered in religion -like “*iglesia católica*” (Catholic Church). The only connection between these two is a bridge formed by “*mujeres*” (women) and “*género*” (gender). This module has a less cohesive structure and even the nodes with the highest counts have low betweenness centralities.

Urban administration: Bogotá, corruption and security

“*bogotá*” and “*corrupción*” (corruption) are the two nodes with the highest counts of the sixth largest module, as shown in Figure 15. Other Colombian cities -like “*medellín*” and “*cali*”- belong to this module, albeit with less connections and lower betweenness centrality, as well as keywords more generally related to public administration –for instance, “*descentralización*” (decentralization) and “*plan de ordenamiento territorial*” (territorial arrangement planning). Some keywords refer to issues specific to Bogotá, like its Rapid Bus Transit System “*transmilenio*”, and mayors

Enrique Peñalosa and Paul Bromberg (also an author of *Razón Pública*). Meanwhile others refer to more general issues, like security, mobility and urban zone planning. Additionally, this module includes nodes that refer to “*corrupción*” (corruption) and “*ciudadanía*” (citizenry). Finally, some of the authors of *Razón Pública* that were considered as part of this module are Hugo Acero Velázquez and Carmenza Saldías.

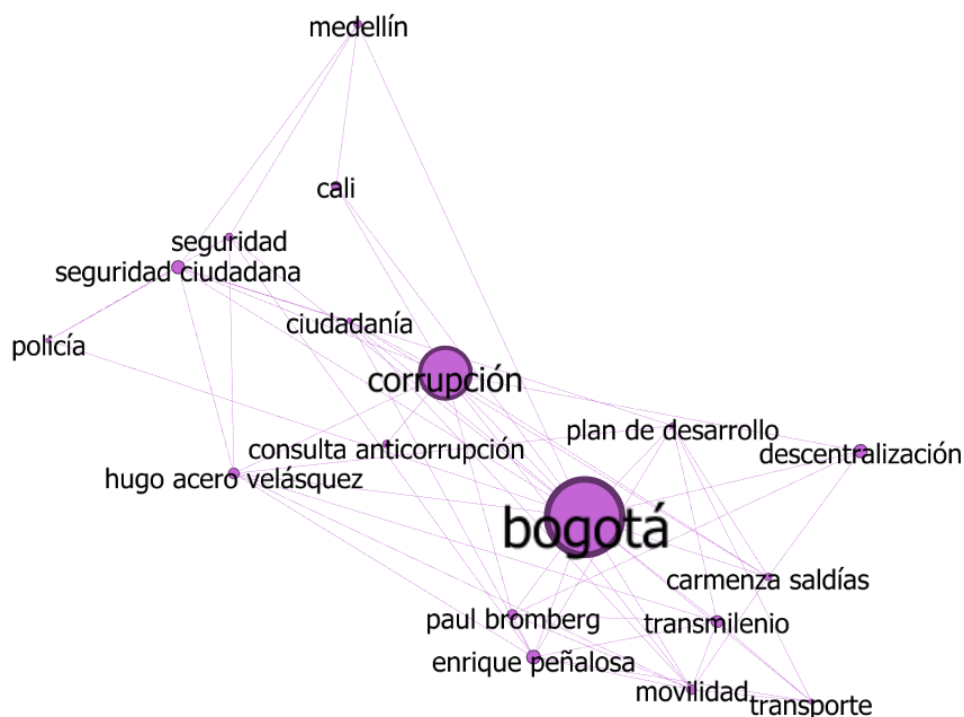


Figure 15. Urban administration

Laws and courts: Constitutional Court, Supreme Court and Justice Reforms

“*corte constitucional*” (Supreme Constitutional Court) is the node with the highest frequency and betweenness centrality in the seventh module (see Figure 16). Moreover, three of the country’s high courts also appear but with lesser counts: “*corte suprema de justicia*” (Supreme Court of Justice), “*consejo superior de la judicatura*” (Superior Judiciary Council) and “*consejo de estado*” (State Council). *Jurisdicción Especial para la paz- JEP* (Special Peace Jurisdiction) does not appear in the graph, but “*marco jurídico para la paz*” (legal framework for peace) --the broader concept in which it is based- does. This module shows that courts tend to be associated with legal terminology such as “*consitución*” (constitution), discussion about rights -like “*matrimonio igualitario*” (equal marriage)- and “*chuzadas*” (a scandal in which it was revealed that the Administrative

Department of Security (DAS) intercepted journalists and opposition leaders). Finally, some *Razón Pública* authors that appear in this module are José Gregorio Hernández, Marcela Anzola, Michael Reed Hurtado and Jorge Iván Cuervo.

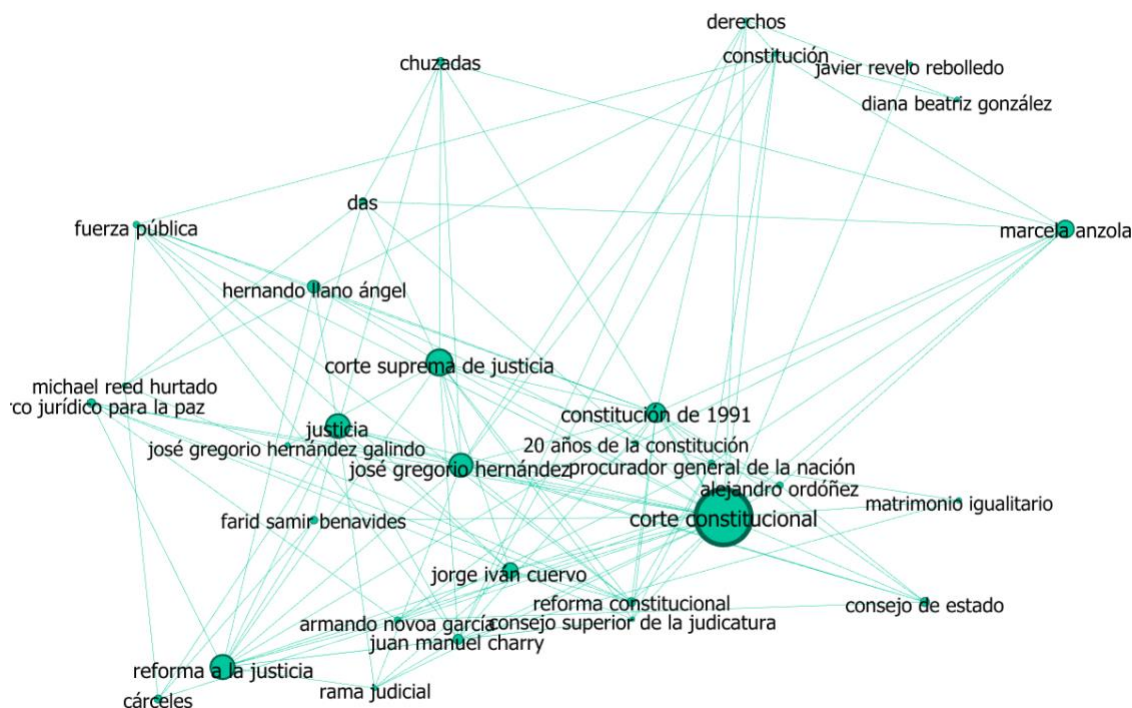


Figure 16. Laws and courts module

Education: higher education, science and innovation

“*educación*” (education) is the node with the highest count and betweenness centrality of the eighth module (Figure 17). Most other keywords in this module are connected with education, and the majority have a direct semantic relation as well, for example, “*universidades*” (universities), “*educación superior*” (higher education”). This module also includes “*innovación*” (innovation) and “*ciencias*” (sciences) although these are less frequently used. Interestingly, Chile is associated with this module rather than to the module of international affairs as most other countries from the Americas. Finally, some of *Razón Pública*’s authors connected to this module are Francisco Cajiao and Angel Pérez Martínez.

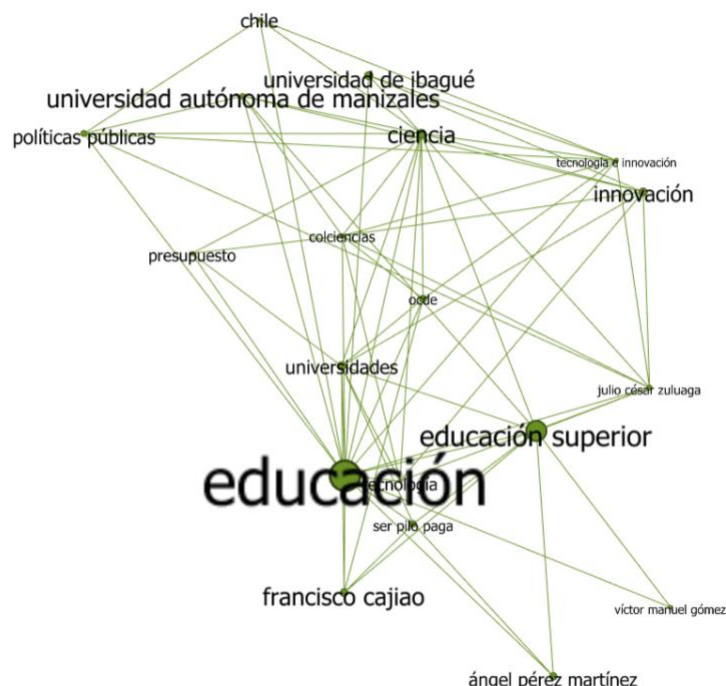


Figure 17. Education module

Recapitulation of the keywords network

The eight main modules of the keyword network summarize how the magazine's staff categorize articles. Not surprisingly, the module of Colombian politics as a whole is at the center of this network. Some tags assigned to the modules reflect that these merge different issues: most notably, (i) environment and economy, (ii) international affairs and drug trafficking. In comparison to the six sections assigned by *Razón Pública* previously discussed, the modules obtained in this analysis present a clearer picture of the news topics that the magazine has covered the most and the connections between them.

3.2.2 Articles N-grams analysis

Figure 18 is a word cloud representing the one hundred most frequent unigrams in the articles dataset (each size is adjusted based on their relative frequency, see Annex 2). The objectives of the top n-grams analysis are: (i) to identify *the most* common vocabulary of *Razón Pública*, and (ii) to discuss what this language tells about the magazine's journalism and macro topics.

To have a better grasp of the meaning of the top ten unigrams (see Figure 19), the most used bigrams and trigrams containing these top unigrams were identified and revised to observe the context in which these appear frequently.

Articles Dataset: Top 200 most frequent uni-grams

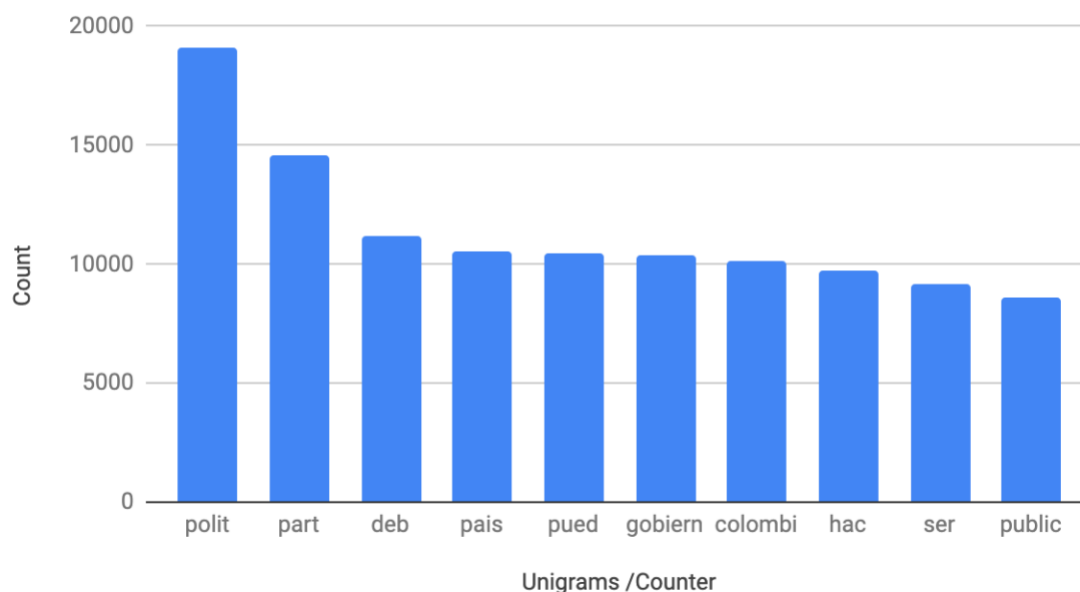


Figure 19. Top ten unigrams articles dataset

By calculating -via a Python script- the percentage at which each of the one hundred more frequent unigrams appears at least once in each of the articles in the dataset, it can be seen to what extent these are spread (Figure 20). The results show that all of these are spread in the articles published, ranging between 65.3% (“*gobiern*”) to 85.7% (“*part*”).

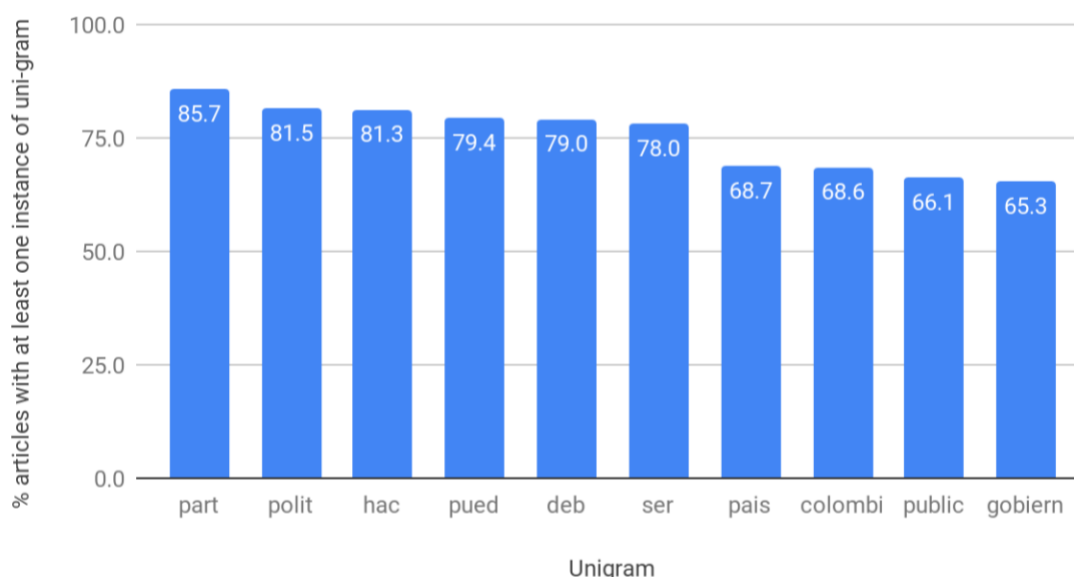


Figure 20. % of articles with at least one instance of top unigrams

The unigram “*polit*” (N= 19,092), appears at least once in 81.5% of the articles in the dataset. Some of the most frequent bigrams and trigrams with “*polit*” include other top unigrams: “*part polit*” (N= 468), “*polit public*” (N= 444), “*polit colombian*” (N= 218). These likely refer, respectively, to political parties, public policy and Colombian politician/policy. Another group of n-grams shows the extent to which different domains of public policy are discussed: “*polit econom*” and “*econom politics*” (both refer to politics economy, N= 425 and N=240 respectively), “*polit social*” and “*social politics*” (politics social, N= 342 and N= 255), “*polit exterior*” (exterior politics, N= 294), “*polit segur*” (security politics, N= 227), “*polit nacional*” (national politics, N= 187), “*polit drog*” (drug politics N= 194).

Based on the previously mentioned information, it seems that the articles are most commonly circumscribed of social, economics, international and security domains politics and policy. Noticeably, the most mentioned policy was “*polit segur democrat*” (Democratic Security, N=86), the pillar of Álvaro Uribe’s presidency 2002-2010. Besides, other n-grams including “*politic*” refer to political systems –“*sistem polit*” (N= 332) and their elements or actors: “*fuerz polit*” (political forces, N= 202), “*particip polit*” (political participation, N= 251), “*reform polit*” (political reform, N= 183), “*clas polit*”

(political class, N= 174). In synthesis, that “*polit*” is the most frequent unigram reveals the extent to which politics and policy are overarching topics in *Razón Pública*’s articles. “*part*” (N=14,583) -the second most frequent unigram- may refer to different words in Spanish, but the bigrams and trigrams containing provide context on how the root is used.

As mentioned before, the bigram “*part polit*” refers to a political party. Besides, the bigram “*hac part*” (N= 529) shows that in a comparable way this means “to be part of”. Similarly, the n-grams: “*buen part*” (N= 434), “*gran part*” (N= 326), “*mayor part*” (N= 270) are expressions commonly used in Spanish in order to refer to a segment or aggrupation of something. From the n-grams that refer to political parties, the most frequent are “*part gobiern*” (government party, N= 237), “*part liberal*” (Liberal Party, N= 354) and “*part conserv*” (conservative party, N= 238) -the last referring to Colombia’s traditional political parties founded in the Nineteenth Century. Newer parties (formed in 1998 and after) follow these in frequency: “*part verd*” (Green Party, N= 185), “*part cambi radical*”, “*cambi radical part*” (Radical Change Party, N=29 and N= 39 respectively).

“*deb*” (N= 11,170) is the third top unigram but only appears in a few of the top bigrams and trigrams: “*deb ser*” (ought to be, N= 1639), “*deb ten cuent*” (must be taken into account, N= 113), “*deb cuent*” (take into account, N= 385), “*deb hac*” (must do, N= 304). This root in Spanish may refer either to “duty” or “to must”, and based on the unigrams presented it may be used in the articles to express a normative frame about what must be done about a situation or how a problem should be addressed. This interpretation is consistent with the magazine’s mission of communicating what experts think about current affairs and their proposals.

“*pais*” (N= 10,500) means country, and the two most frequent unigrams are: “*pais desaroll*” (N= 208) and “*pais amer latin*” (N= 93). Some top unigrams, like this, do not appear as often in the top bigrams and trigrams. In the list of top bigrams and trigrams there are none combines the unigrams “*colombi*” and “*pais*”. Nevertheless, as “*colombi*” (N= 10,145) is the only country that appears in the list of top unigrams, it is reasonable to assume that a considerable portion of the use of “*pais*” may be referring to Colombia as a way to avoid repetition of words.

“*pued*” (N= 10,421) is a stem change of the irregular verb “*poder*”, in this case the Steaming library failed to recognize that both correspond to the same root as “*poder*” (N= 705). This root refers to having the potential or being able to do something, and appears in the following bigrams and trigrams: “*pued ser*” (N= 1,448), “*pued hac*” (N= 351), “*pued ten*” (N= 260), “*pued ileg ser*” (N= 34), “*pued ser consider*” (N= 32), “*pued dec*” (N= 197). Considering that *Razón Pública* focuses on the analysis of current affairs, it makes sense that this unigram is so common as articles are not limited of providing an account of an event, but seek to present prospective frame of what may happen or an interpretation of what might be happening.

“*gobiern*” (N= 10,364) is a root equivalent to the English “govern”, from which both the verb “to govern” and the noun government derive. By examining the top bigrams and trigrams that contain it, the first of these “*gobiern nacional*” (N= 689), and “*gobiern colombian*” (N= 243) refer to the top of the executive branch of power. Another group of n-grams mention specific administrations in recent history; “*gobiern sant*” (N= 395) and “*gobiern president sant*” (N= 30) refer to Juan Manuel Santos terms 2010- 2014 and 2014-2018; “*gobiern urib*” (N= 255) and “*gobiern alvar urib*” (N= 37”) both referring to Álvaro Uribe terms (2002-2006 and 2006-2010); Andrés Pastrana presidency (1998-2002) is mentioned to a lesser degree- “*gobiern andres pastran*” (N= 30)-, and it is understandable considering that this presidency concluded six years before the foundation of *Razón Pública*.

On the other hand, these insights are important because it shows that some analysis examine the development of current affairs in time frames not limited to the most immediate events and latest news. The bigrams “*nuev gobiern*” (N= 185) and “*ocho año gobiern*” (N= 41) may be related to the temporality of politics, more specifically with the periodization of governments. “*gobiern farc*” (N= 252) is an interesting bigram as it combines Farc and Colombia’s national government two factions that were at war between 1964 and 2016. Some frequent trigrams derived from “*gobiern*” indicate that this relationship has been established most commonly in the context of peace negotiation and agreements: “*paz gobiern farc*” (N= 30), “*acuerd paz gobiern*” (N= 27), “*acuerd gobiern farc*” (N= 32).

Despite being a high frequency unigram “*colombi*” (N= 10,145) few of the top bigrams and trigrams derive from it: “*autodefens unid colombi*” (N= 41), “*derech human colombi*” (N= 31). Accordingly, these n-grams do not provide much insight into the articles topics and language besides the fact that Colombia is the context in which most articles are focused.

Two of the remaining top unigrams are common Spanish verbs: “*hac*” (to make, N= 9,714) and “*ser*” (to be, N= 9,206). From the first three n-grams derive that have already been revised: “*hac part*” (N= 529), “*pued hac*” (N= 351), “*deb hac*” (N= 304). Besides, there are the n-grams “*hac años*” (N= 325), “*hac vari años*” (N= 49) and “*hac cuatr años*” (N= 43). The fact that the three highest frequency time expressions derived from “*hac*” refer to past years evidences that articles tend to adopt a long or middle term perspectives to contextualize current affairs.

From another point of view, “*ser*” is copulative verb that is used in a variety of ways. Based on the most frequent n-grams, this verb is mostly used in order to draw conjectures or forecasts: “*podr ser*” (N= 472), “*parec ser*” (N= 273), “*pued lleg ser*” (N= 34), “*pa ser*” (N= 217), “*pued ser consider*” (N= 32), “*lleg ser*” (N= 177).

The last remaining top unigram to be discussed, “*public*” (N= 8,561), is a polysemic root central to this thesis a term used in multiple contexts as evidenced by various bigrams and trigrams that have it. Some of these refer to public services in general -“*servici public*” (N= 330), “*servici public domiciliari*” (N= 39) “*prestacion servici public*” (N= 29), while others are more specifically related to transportation -“*transport public*” (N= 242), “*integr transport public*” (N= 35) and “*sistem transport public*” (N= 29)- and higher education -“*univers public*” (N= 202). Public is also used in the realm of the armed forces “*fuerz public*” (N= 473) and its members “*miembr fuer public*” (N= 80), and of public resources, finances and public-private partnerships: “*recurs public*” (N= 200), “*gast public*” (N= 183), “*bien public*” (N= 182), “*public priv*” (N= 249), “*sector public priv*” (N= 29). Besides “*polit public*” (N= 444) -mentioned before-, two additional n-grams derived from public are “*opinion public*” (N= 482) and “*ram pod public*” (N= 57). All of these expressions are related to the meaning of public as state-related, as they explicitly refer to a state’s services, armed forces, finances and organization.

As mentioned before, public may also refer to a community's common concerns or be related to the concept of the common good. In contrast, while the researcher or the reader have drawn an opinion on whether these n-grams refer public issues in these terms, it is only up to the participants in a public sphere to decide what is public interest for them, as will be done via surveys.

Although “public” was not as frequent as “politic”, its appearance in the top unigrams and the fact that 66.1% of the articles in the dataset contain it should not be understated. The terms that tend to appear next to “public” demonstrates that this concept transverses the discussions of most of the modules that were identified in the network analysis, for example, security, public administration and the economy.

The five verbs in *Razón Pública* top unigrams are in consonance the type of analytic journalism it intends to be (2009). While for some analytic journalism denotes an emphasis in big data or transmedia (Stephens 2014), *Razón Pública* understands this requiring articles to be argumentative, explanatory and evidence-based; and besides, demand authors to go beyond just stating opinions or preferences. “*Pued*” can be associated with venturing an interpretation or possible consequences of an event or circumstance, and “*hac*” may be used to explain causal relations between phenomena. The bigrams associated to “*deb*” make it clear it is used to express a normative view about what should be done, whereas the verb “*ser*” can be used to present diagnostics of a problem and frame its context. Finally, while “*part*” is not always used as a verb, it can appear as identifying relations between elements, like in “*hac part*” (to be a part of).

In synthesis, it can be inferred that the top ten unigrams checked constitute the core of the vocabulary commonly used by *Razón Pública*. The high frequency at which terms the terms Colombia, politics, government and public sketches an editorial line in consonance with their stated mission. Additionally, the top verbs in the articles dataset capture its vision of analytic journalism as prioritizing explanation, argumentation, and reflection (2009). While the n-grams analysis gives a view of the magazine's common language, the LDA topic model is used to differentiate the topics that have been covered the most by *Razón Pública* and quantify their sizes.

3.2.3 LDA topic modeling

3.2.3.1 Models UMass coherence assessment

Based on the UMass coherence scores of the 18 models generated (Figure 21), for each configuration of number of topics (15, 30 and 45) a finalist model was selected. The highest UMass coherence for the models with 15, 30 and 45 topics were, respectively: -0.84, -0.92 and -0.87.

UMass coherence of LDA topic models with different "K" and " α " parameters

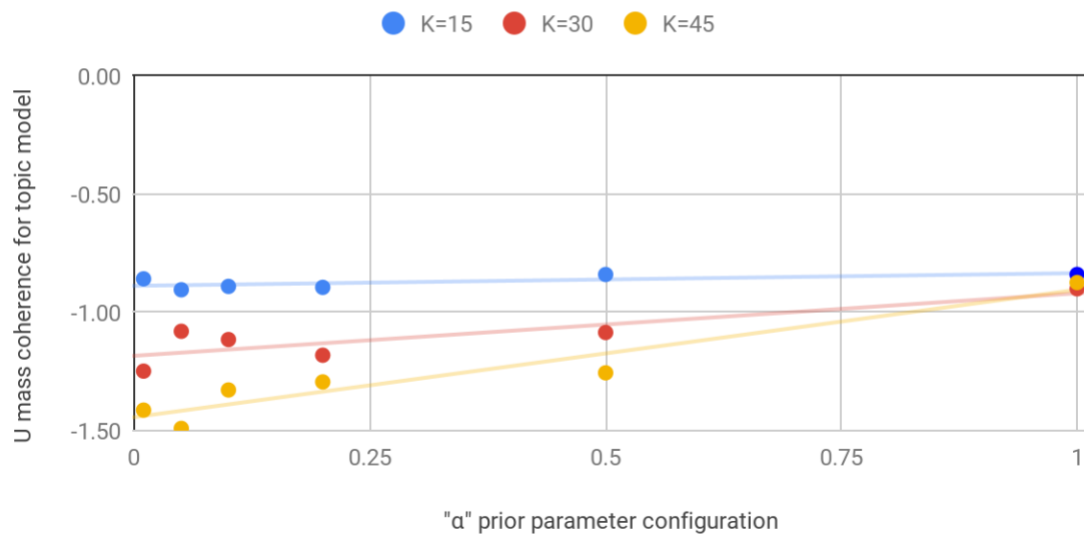


Figure 21. UMass Coherence of LDA topic models

While the UMass score for the six models with 15 topics remained flat with the different α configurations (averaging -0.82), the models with 45 topics scored significantly higher when α was set to "1" in comparison with the configurations with a lower α parameter. As LDA is a generative statistical model, the difference between the three finalist models UMass coherence were insignificant. UMass is an effective quantitative diagnostic of coherence and serves to filter out the least reliable models, but a substantive examination is needed to choose the final model (Maier et al. 2018).

3.2.3.2 Substantive evaluation of the finalist LDA topic models

Finalist model with 15 topics

This was the only model in which all topics were rated as good and had interpretable lists of top terms. In this model there is no considerable topic overlap save two exceptions. First, Topic 1 and Topic 2 -the biggest in the model- overlap partially. Both topics have “*gobier*” and “*polit*” in their lists of top terms, an understandable coincidence considering that these terms are so frequent in the dataset (see a screenshot of the pyLDavis in Annex 3).

Topic 1 refers to armed conflicts and peace negotiation, and it is tied to the context of Colombia’s internal conflict because two of its top terms are “*farc*” and “*eln*”. On the other hand, Topic 2 refers to Colombia’s government and electoral politics; this topic has top words such as: “*urib*”, “*vot*”, “*candidat*”, “*eleccion*”, “*president*”. The shared terms make sense considering that conflict has been a protagonist of Colombia’s politics, so this overlapping does not seem arbitrary.

Topic 7 and 13 also overlap, yet their lists of top words refer to different topics. The first can be regarded to focus on environment and rural territories, as it has terms like “*rural*” (rural), “*tierr*” (land), “*agu*” (water), “*miner*” (mining) and “*campesin*” (peasant). Opposite to this, topic 13 is focused on urban issues as in its top terms are “*bogota*”, “*urban*” (urban), “*alcald*” (major) and “*ciud*” (city).

Although topics 5 and 12 do not overlap in the visual representation, both have some common top terms -“*cient*” (hundred), “*econom*” (economy) and a pair of synonyms - Topic 5 has “*preci*” (price) while 12 has “*cost*” (cost). Despite these similarities, Topic 5 seems more related to services and labor; “*servici*” (services), “*trabaj*” (work), “*pobrez*” (“poverty), *product* (“product); meanwhile Topic 12 with monetary policy: “*inflaccion*” (inflation), “*banc*” (bank), “*dolar*” (dollar), “*crecimient*” (growth), “*pib*” (GDP).

Finalist model with 30 topics

28 topics out of 30 of this model (93.3%) were assessed as good. Topic 19 was considered of intermediate quality because its list of terms does not seem to have an unifying concept; on the contrary, it seemed to indicate a writing style. Some terms of this topic are verbs used to present explanations, effects or perspectives (“*deb*”, “*hac*”, “*hech*”, “*pued*”) or are very undefined (“*problem*”, “*tem*”). Following the criteria

established, this topic was marked as chained because the researcher was not able to recognize a specific subject on its top terms beyond that some terms could signal expository or argumentative writing.

As a second component, Topic 30 was assessed as bad quality for having a random list of top terms. While the combination of its two top terms meant “intelligence agency”, other terms in this list did not relate directly with this concept. An ambiguous root in this list is “da” because it could either stand for the abbreviation DAS used to refer to Colombia’s *Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad*, or to the root of the Spanish verb “dar” (to give). But even if these terms refer to DAS, this is not sufficient evidence as only two other unigrams have a direct relation to this concept. All other terms are verbs or nouns with a low estimated frequency in the selected topic in comparison to overall term frequency. A possible explanation for this topic is that it is a filler topic that only reflects a general distribution of words across the dataset.

Topic 19 overlaps partially with topics 20 and 25; that seemed to refer to Bogotá and natural risks, respectively. But while these two topics had interpretable lists of top terms, the list of Topic 19 is full of terms with a low estimated frequency within the selected topic in comparison to overall term frequency and do not seem to be related to a common concept. Examples in this topic are: “deb”, “pued”, “ser”, “problem”, “preocup”, “import”, “razon” and “discusion”. Perhaps this is not a semantic topic, but a general distribution of terms used in a variety of articles in *Razón Pública*, which seems likely considering that some its terms are among the most used unigrams in the dataset. If this model is chosen as the final model, this issue could be settled using the Rank1 metric (a low Rank1 would confirm that it is a background topic). Besides the cases mentioned, overall these lists of top words were interpretable and there was not as much overlapping of topics.

Some of the presumed tags assigned to this model’s topics coincide with those assigned to the previous model; for instance, both have topics with the following presumed tags: politics, education, culture, economy, environment, cities, drugs and justice. However, the candidate with 30 topics also has tags that did not appear in the previous model, such as public services (Topic 14) and labor and poverty (Topic 16), family (Topic 21), elections and political campaigns (Topic 22) and religion (Topic 27).

Finalist model with 45 topics

This model had 11 bad quality topics and 34 good ones, making it the candidate with the largest share of bad quality topics. Most of the tags assigned to its 34 good topics echo those given to the other model's topics. Among the few new topics that emerged, are memory in the context of conflict (Topic 10) and ethnic groups (Topic 31). While the model with 30 topics has two topics related to armed conflict and peace negotiation, the model with 45 topics did not have a topic so focused on victims and memory.

In the upper-left quadrant of the model's representation in pyLDAvis, a cluster of 18 overlapping topics appears to have very similar lists of top terms. The majority of these small and overlapping topics were considered of bad quality. Topics 41 and 45 are representative examples of this model's bad quality topics, making it unnecessary to review each individually. As it is shown in the pyLDAvis visualization, these are at the center of the cluster of overlapping topics. Moreover, they have similar lists of top terms; such as *“polit”*, *“pais”*, *“pued”*, *“nacional”*, *“hech”*, *“sin”*, *“form”*, *“hac”*, most of which were the same terms are used frequently across the dataset as was shown in the unigrams analysis. This aspect is also shown in both screenshots, as the long blue bars show each term's overall frequency in the dataset, while the short red bars show that these terms had a low frequency associated to both topics. In other words, these bad quality topics reflect a general distribution of the most common terms in the dataset and do not present semantically distinct topics in the dataset.

Final model selection

After revising the three candidate models, it is worth mentioning that none of the candidate models contained elements from the html hypertext markup language. This validates that the texts were cleaned adequately.

As mentioned before, the selection of the final model is based on granularity and the quality of the topics. As a general principle, a model with a higher number of topics also has a finer granularity. Indeed, the results follow the following pattern: the candidate model with 15 topics has the coarser granularity, the one with 45 the finest, and the one with 30 is the middle point.

The model with 15 topics was the only one to have all its topics assessed as being of good quality -albeit these were broader than their counterparts from other models-

showed the least overlapping of topics, but had presented a classification of topics more general than the other models. This result was expected, as less topics are associated with a coarser granularity. The model with 30 topics had a balanced granularity. It had two instances of topics overlap, most of its topics were of good quality and had interpretable lists of top words. Finally, the model with 45 topics had the largest proportion of bad quality topics. Most of its topics of good quality resembled those found in the two other models with the exception of Topic 30, centered in corruption and Topic 21 of ethnic communities. The major problem with this model is the cluster of 18 bad quality and overlapping topics.

After carefully revising the models, the researcher considered that “international affairs” was the most illustrative example to show which model has the granularity most suited to this study’s objectives and dataset. In the model with 15 topics, the list of top terms in Topic 11 concentrates mentions of countries and regions. Some examples on its list of 30 top terms -with relevance set to 0.6 are Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, China, Russia and Europe. Accordingly, the coarse granularity of this model is manifest in its classification of all countries and terms related to international affairs under the same topic. It makes sense that one topic concentrates most terms related to international affairs, the point in this case is that, contrary to the other models, this one presents the broadest delimitation of topics, as it does not distinguish between more specific news topics like (i) Colombia and its neighbor relations and borders, (ii) regional issues in Latin American and the Western Hemisphere, and (iii) global issues and Eastern Hemisphere.

With a finer granularity than the previous one, the model with 30 distinguished four topics related to the realm of international affairs albeit each one with a distinct emphasis. First, Topic 4 list includes countries in Africa, Asia and Europe -“*sir*”, “*rus*”, “*iran*”, “*irak*”, “*libia*” and “*ucrani*”-, as well as unigrams related to armed conflict “*guerr*”, “*enemig*”, “*milit*”, “*terror*”, “*conflict*”. Based on this list of terms, this topic seems to focus on the Eastern Hemisphere. Secondly, Topic 10 includes terms that refer to the Americas -“*brasil*”, “*amer*”, “*argentin*” and “*latinoamerican*”-, territorial entities of other regions -“*chin*” and “*europ*”-, multilateral organizations -“*cumbr*”, “*oea*” and “*unasur*” and sports -“*futbol*” and “*deport*”. Thirdly, Topic 15 contains “*colombi*” and

names of neighboring countries -“*venezuel*”, “*ecuador*” and “*nicarag*”, as well as other top terms related to frontiers and international relations: “*binacional*”; “*fronter*”, “*comerc*”, “*andin*”, “*relacion*”. Accordingly, it is focused on Colombia’s relations with its neighbors. Finally, topic 28 contains “*israel*”, “*palestin*”, “*gaz*” and “*cub*”. Its list of top words includes multilateral instances and diplomatic procedures: “*onu*”, “*asamble*”, “*alba*” and “*oea*”, “*asamble*”, “*cumbr*”, “*consej*” and “*vet*”. Additionally, this topic overlaps in its totality with Topic 1, indicating major proximity between both topics, a surprise considering that this other topic is focused on electoral politics: “*part*”, “*vot*”, “*eleccion*”, “*polit*”, “*represent*” but also has some words that insert it in a Colombian context: “*urib*”, “*sant*”.

The model with 45 topics has the largest number of topics that involve international affairs. The first one, topic 15, was assigned the tag *Americas* because in its top words the countries; “*brasil*”, “*ecuador*”, “*venezuel*” are mentioned as well as words relating to the region, “*andin*” and norteamerican, and regional organizations “*unasur*”, “*mercosur*” and “*can*”. On the other hand, topic 18 had a list of terms that refers to the Middle East -“*israel*”, “*siri*”, “*iran*”, “*palestin*”, “*irak*”- this countries are related to the terms “*arab*”, “*terror*” and “*guerr*”. Additionally, topic 24 focused on Europe as the following terms appear: “*europa*”, “*rusi*”, “*ucrani*” and “*alemani*”, other top terms of this topic are “*neoliberal*”, “*econom*” and “*crisis*”. Topic 25 seems to center on Colombia’s borders and relations with neighboring countries –“*ecuador*”, “*venezuel*” and “*nicarag*”. Next, topic 27 is more focused on Interamerican issues, and it contained countries -“*cub*” and “*panam*”- plus other terms that refer to regions “*carib*”, “*amer*” and the “*oea*” organization. Finally, topic 29 was focused on Venezuela’s internal politics: “*oposicion*”, “*asamble*”, “*madur*”, “*opositor*”, “*chavism*”.

The finalist model with 30 topics was chosen as the final model. The reasoning for doing so can be summarized in that it offered more specific topics than the model with 15 topics while also having a large percentage of good quality topics (on the contrary to the model with 45 topics).

3.2.3.3 Intratopic validation of the final LDA model

The three consecutive stages for validating the final model news topics were: (i) excluding topics that lack a meaningful and coherent concept, (ii) merging together topics that have similar lists of top ten terms, (iii) reading a sample of articles with a significant share for each topic to validate to which news topic they refer and establish their definitive tags.

3.2.3.3.1 Intertopical validation: Discarding background and low-quality topics

Based on Maier et al. (2018) the criteria for validating a topic were: (i) having an interpretable list of top terms, (ii) a high Rank1, and (iii) a high UMass coherence. If a topic failed the three criteria, it would be discarded automatically. On the other hand, if a topic only failed one or two criteria, the researcher decided and justified whether to validate it or not.

Figure 22 shows the final model 30 topics size and Rank1 metrics. Both metrics have the same arithmetic mean of 3.33%, yet the standard deviation of topics sizes has a lower standard deviation of 1.88 in comparison to the standard deviation of 3.01 of Rank1. The distribution of the topics sizes in the graph is not coincidentally because these topics numbers are assigned by the LDA ranking topics by sizes in decreasing order. Worth noting are the following topics more than one standard deviation below the arithmetic average, meaning that these are the prevalent topic of few articles: Topic 27 (1.4%), Topic 28 (1.4%), Topic 29 (1.4%) and Topic 30 (1.3%).

Topics' sizes (as % of tokens) and Rank 1 (as % of texts)

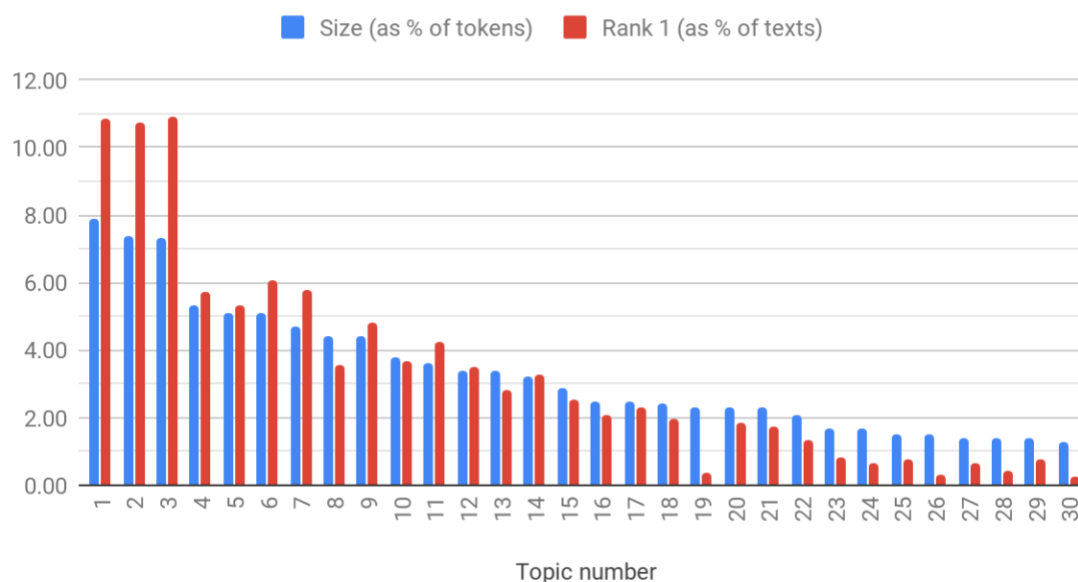


Figure 22. Topics' sizes and Rank1

In terms of Rank1, Figure 23. showed a marked division; the first twelve topics are above the Rank1 arithmetic mean, while from Topic 13 to the right all topics have a Rank1 lower than the arithmetic mean. While none of the topics had a Rank1 below one standard deviation from the arithmetic media, four topics had a Rank1 lower than 0.5%: Topic 19 (with 0.37%), Topic 26 (0.26%), Topic 28 (0.43%) and Topic 30 (0.24%). These scores are extremely low considering that in a dataset with 4606 articles, a topic with a Rank1 lower than 0.5% means that less than 23 articles have it as its main subject. Topic 19 has the most pronounced difference between its size and its Rank1, indicating that it is dispersed across the dataset and hinting that it may be a background topic. On the other extreme, in the leftmost section of the model, three topics have Rank1 scores more than one standard deviation above the arithmetic mean: Topic 1 (10.83%), Topic 2 (10.73%) and Topic 3 (10.92%), indicating their prevalence in the dataset.

Regarding UMass coherence, the arithmetic mean for the model was -.92 with a standard deviation of 0.42. Figure 23 shows that the least coherent topics -those more than one standard deviation below the UMass coherence media- were: Topic 15 (-1.4), Topic 16 (-1.35), Topic 21 (-1.49) and Topic 29 (-2.49).

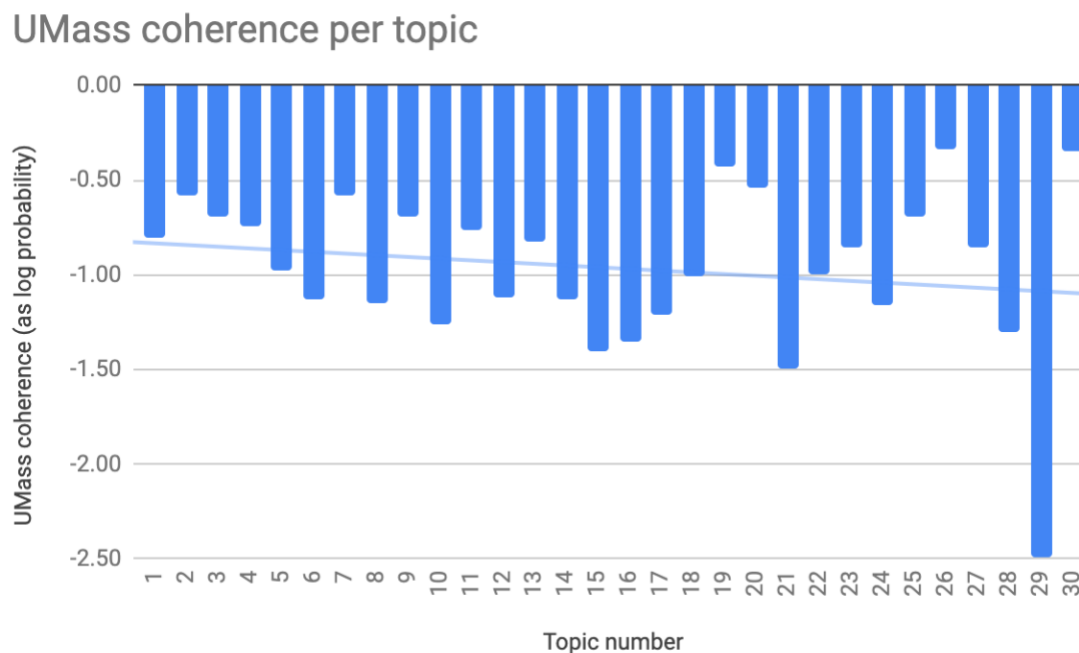


Figure 23. UMass coherence of the topics of the final LDA model

As described above, a criterion for selecting the final model was the quality of its topics and this was done by revising each topic 30 top terms (with relevance set to 0.6) and determining whether these referred to a common concept or news topic. This assessment showed that most of the topics from the final model were of good quality with two exceptions (the model's topics, their respective ten top terms and presumed tags are available in Annex 7). To further validate the interpretability of the final model topics, its lists of the top 30 terms was revised for a second time with relevance set to 1.0. This confirmed that 28 out of the 30 topics referred to a coherent and meaningful concept, and so can be considered of good quality, with the exceptions of Topic 19 and Topic 30. Topic 19 was intermediate because its list of top terms does not refer to a specific or discernable intelligent topic but is rather a combination of expressions that can be associated to argumentative or expository writing rather than to a distinct news topic. Its top ten terms were “*deb*”, “*polit*”, “*pued*”, “*ser*”, “*problem*”, “*hac*”, “*hech*”, “*colombi*”, “*part*” and “*tem*”. The other exception was topic 30, which its top terms were: “*inteligenci*”, “*agenci*”, “*frecuenci*”, “*hech*”, “*alej*”, “*result*”, “*deb*”, “*da*”, “*tem*”. The other exception was Topic 30, in this case the researcher was not able to identify a

common thread among all of these terms. The closest to an identifiable news topic was the combination of “*inteligenci*”, “*agenci*” and “*da*”, that could refer to the DAS scandal of illegal interceptions of journalists and opposition leaders. Nevertheless, this connection did not apply in a direct way to other terms.

In order to conclude the section, Topic 19 and 30 had the worst performance, failing two of the validation criteria: both received extremely low Rank1 scores and uninterpretable lists of top terms, yet had high UMass coherence scores. Moreover, it was not possible to identify a common concept or news topic underlying its lists of top terms, and on these grounds Topic 19 and Topic 30 were considered invalid and discarded. Finally, while Topics 15, 16, 21, 28 and 29 had either a low Rank1 or a low UMass coherence, they were validated based on their meaningful lists of top terms.

Merging similar topics

The cosine similarity for each pair of topics was calculated to identify cases in which these may refer to a similar concept, and that could be merged together. Cosine similarity was calculated using a Python script and based on the top ten terms for each topic (with relevance set to 1). As a reference, pairs of topics with a cosine similarity equal or higher than 70% were considered to be significantly similar. The cosine similarities results appear in Annex 10.

3.3 Final LDA topics

3.3.1 Presentation and results of LDA topics

The final stage for validating an LDA topic model consisted of drawing a sample of articles with a large share of each topic, reading them and assessing qualitatively whether these documents discuss a similar issue or subject and were related to the topics’ top terms (Maier et al., 2018). For each topic a sample was drawn with articles that had a composition of more than 50% of that topic. For the smallest topics (Topic 22, Topic 23, Topic 25, Topic 26, Topic 27 and Topic 28) the criterion for sampling was lowered to 40% because few articles featured them as their main topics. Still, only five articles had a composition of over 40% of Topic 26. Based on the high similarity of the top terms of Topic 7 and Topic 26, the decision of whether to merge both or discard Topic 26 for its

low prevalence was based on whether the five articles with the largest proportion of Topic 26 had an interpretable subject different from that of Topic 7.

For each topic, the following information is presented: (i) the final tag (in italics) synthesizing the topic based on its top terms and the representative articles sampled, (ii) its size as percentage of the total of tokens in the dataset (iii) its five top terms (with relevance set to 0.6), (iv) a brief description, (v) a quote from an article sampled exemplifying the topic with any of the top 30 terms marked in bold type. When the researcher considered that some topics referred to a common general concept, he assigned them compound titles and enumerated them; the first part of the title identifies the broader concept while the subtitle marks its specificities.

It is worth mentioning the 60% similarity between Topics 7 and 26, having in common the terms “*paz*”, “*acuerd*”, “*proces*”, “*gobiern*”, “*polit*”, “*part*”. The lists of top terms of these two differed in that Topic 7 had “*farc*”, “*negoci*”, “*conflict*” and “*guerrill*”, whereas Topic 26 had “*deb*”, “*ser*”, “*pued*” and “*nuev*”. By looking at these lists, they both seem to refer to the peace processes, and perhaps their difference is that Topic 7 includes Farc as the counterpart of the Colombian government in the conflict and peace, whereas Topic 26 seems more focused only on what the government is doing. Nevertheless, the decision if these two topics refer to the same news topic or not, was reached in the final stage, after reading a sample of articles in representation of each topic.

First of all, *Political elections I: parties and campaigning* (Topic 1, 7.9%) consists of analysis of popular elections for public offices such as Colombia’s presidency and Congress, and its top terms are “*part*”, “*vot*”, “*urib*”, “*eleccion*” and “*electoral*”. It features discussions about electoral campaigns and the strategies and actions of political movements, such as alliances, proposals and appeals to public opinion; some articles present a posteriori explanation of the results of an election and venture future implications; others referred to political campaigns in progress. Nine out of the ten articles sampled from this topic focused on Colombian politics. In the quote below García Duarte (2011) analyses the results of Bogotá’s mayoral elections of 2011 in terms of the factors that lead to Petro’s victory:

El amplio triunfo de Gustavo Petro en la capital del país; el de numerosos **candidatos** de **coalición** en diversos municipios y capitales intermedias; la derrota de casi todos los **candidatos** que recibieron el aval de Álvaro **Uribe Vélez**, y el mantenimiento de un equilibrio global entre los **partidos** principales de la Unidad **Nacional**, con alguna ventaja para el **liberalismo**, parecen ser los hechos más destacados de las **elecciones** que acaban de concluir.

Courts and justice (Topic 2, 7.4%) is represented by terms such as “*justici*”, “*cort*”, “*judicial*”, “*constitucional*” and “*penal*”. This topic features discussions of law and justice in terms of constitutionality, jurisdictions, legal codes and court ruling. All of the articles reviewed for this topic discussed a legal issue involving a Colombian high court, some mentioned projects of legislative reforms in areas like presidential re-election, the implementation of the Special Peace Jurisdiction, and the fight against corruption. As an example of this topic, Juan Manuel Charry (2016) argues that the Superior Council of Judicature failed to achieve its disciplinary function as overseer of judges and must be reformed:

A pesar de las medidas tomadas en la **Constitución** de 1991 y debido sobre todo al acto de confianza ingenua en los **funcionarios judiciales** que significó el atribuirles funciones electorales para altos cargos del Estado, la rama **Judicial** entró en una crisis muy severa: enfrentamientos entre las corporaciones **judiciales** a raíz de la acción de tutela contra **sentencias**...

Culture I: literature (Topic 3, 7.3%), the first of three topics associated with culture, focusses on written culture and its top terms are “*histori*”, “*obra*”, “*vid*”, “*escrib*” and “*libr*”. Seven of the articles sampled for this topic were reviews of literary or historical works with frequent biographical references, whereas three articles analyzed broader cultural phenomena: the importance of Bogotá’s Book Fair, the challenges of cultural magazine’s in Colombia and the global impact of The Beatles. In the following excerpt, Lina Alonso Castillo (2014) discusses the literary career of Tejada Canon: “En **medio** de **todo** esto, el poeta y cronista antioqueño Luis Carlos Tejada Cano con solo 26 **años** de **vida** dejó en claro que la prensa podía llegar a **ser** bastión de una estética **literaria** dispuesta a un **público** mucho más amplio que el de la **misma** poesía...”.

International conflicts I: Middle East and Russia (Topic 4, 5.3%) top terms are “*guerr*”, “*poli*”, “*siri*”, “*rusi*” and “*enemig*”. This topic contextualized on geopolitics and international conflicts involving either Russia or the Middle East and examined the diplomatic and military actions and motivations of the parties involved. Some articles addressed Islamic Terrorism, the Arab Spring, or Russia’s attempts to extend its area of influence. In the following excerpt, Di Ricco (2013) argues that, while Syria’s arms are a considerable threat to the stability of the Middle East, the main objective of the country’s regime and its allies is to remain in control and avoid an international escalation:

Los más afectados por una posible respuesta **siria** a la que podríamos llamar una “bofetada de Estados **Unidos**” podrían ser Turquía y los países del golfo, al alcance de las armas **sirias**. Pero esta es una posibilidad remota: también Damasco sabe -así tenga las espaldas cubiertas por Irán y por **Rusia** - que el objetivo principal es mantener vivo su **régimen** y no aumentar los actores en el **conflicto**.

Economy I: energy and public finances (Topic 5, 5.1%) top terms are “*cient*”, “*millon*”, “*impuest*”, “*empres*” and “*inversion*”. This topic consists of macroeconomic analysis of Colombia. Some articles are centered in the performance of the fossil fuels sector; others in public finances and some combined both. An example of this is the explanation of how fluctuation in oil prices affect expected tax revenue. As an example, Libardo Sarmiento Anzola (2017) analyses the fiscal balances of Ecopetrol following fluctuations in the price of crude oil: “Más aún: la situación **financiera** de **Ecopetrol** tiende a empeorar en 2017. El precio del **barril** de **petróleo** rompió la barrera psicológica de los 50 **dólares** y se encamina al piso de 40 **dólares** (mínimo **rentable** de la operación de **producción**)”

Violence and drug trafficking (Topic 6, 5.1%) top terms are “*drog*”, “*cultiv*”, “*narcotraf*”, “*criminal*” and “*coc*”. This topic discussed drug trafficking and other criminal activities by actors in Colombia’s conflict, especially, guerrillas, paramilitaries and other illegal armed organizations). It also features analysis of the attempts by state authorities to fight these groups and assessment of the effectiveness of security public policies. As an example, Boris Salazar (2015) analyzes the causes and challenges of the rise of criminal gangs in Colombia:

La transición desde un mundo dominado por la guerra contra las **drogas** y la **guerrilla** —el narcoterrorismo que todo lo hacía más fácil— a un mundo hecho de

miles de **organizaciones criminales**, ligadas entre sí, por **organizaciones violentas** que ejercen un control **armado** y territorial sobre ellas, con una cantera casi inagotable de jóvenes socializados en la ilegalidad, es un desafío inmenso para el Estado...

Peace process I: Farc-Government (Topic 7, 4.7%) is centered on peace processes and negotiations in Colombia, and its top terms are “paz”, “farc”, “negoci”, “acuerd” and “proces”. Most of the articles sampled referred to Habana’s Peace Deal Farc-Government (2016), except one that featured a historical review of peace process in Colombia and another that discussed the possibility of a peace negotiation with ELN. As an example, Christian Voelkel (2015) says that Farc and the Colombian government overcame a crisis in the negotiations by reaching a set of agreements to de-escalate conflict: “Las **negociaciones de paz** entre el **gobierno** y las **FARC** salieron de su crisis más profunda mediante un **acuerdo** que se [sic] anunciado el domingo pasado para “des-escalar” el **conflicto** y acelerar las **negociaciones**”

Decentralization (Topic 8, 4.4%) covers the ongoing process of reorganization of the state and political reforms in terms of territorial autonomy, and its top terms are “polit”, “territorial”, “reform”, “corrupcion”, “local” and “descentralizacion”. Most articles sampled for this topic centered on public policy reform, occasionally denouncing a considerable gap between Colombia’s Political Constitution of 1991, public policy and its implementation at the territorial level. While the topic was validated, two of the articles sampled did not fit in the final label assigned to it; one criticized the de-professionalization of Colombia’s diplomatic service and the other presents an argument against a political reform that would change the system of checks in the division between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of power. As an example of this topic, Nisimblat (2015) summarizes a line of argument for decentralization of Colombia:

...la **descentralización** puede tener muy distintos propósitos. En general, sus defensores coinciden en señalar como objetivos prioritarios: acercar el Estado a los **ciudadanos**; estimular la **participación ciudadana** en la decisiones **locales**; mejorar la calidad y la eficiencia en la prestación de los servicios; hacer más transparente la **gestión** en tanto el **ciudadano** pueda vigilar directamente a la **administración**.

Economy II: growth and monetary policy (Topic 9, 4.4%) top terms are “econom”, “crecimient”, “ta”, “aument”, “product” and “inflacion”. This topic features

discussions on monetary policy, growth fluctuations in the price of commodities, trade balances, and currency exchange. In the excerpt below, Diego Guevara argued that 2016 was a critical year for Colombia's economy due to inflation and the fall of oil prices. He proposed that the country should diminish the economy's dependency on exporting raw resources: "La idea de una **tasa de cambio** devaluada como motor de la **industria** y el **crecimiento** olvidó que el país descuidó el **sector de exportaciones** de bienes manufacturados en las dos últimas dos décadas y nos quedamos solo con las **exportaciones** de materias primas".

Americas: diplomacy and sports (Topic 10, 3.8%) top terms are "brasil", "amer", "cumbr", "pais" and "futbol". This topic discusses events involving the participation of multiple countries from the Americas, and by examining the articles it was evidenced that these refer either to diplomatic or sport encounters: (i) seven articles that were sampled discussed diplomatic summits in which Latin American countries participated, like the Summits of the Americas (SOA), Summits of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), and Ibero-American Submits, (ii) three articles talked about sports -specially soccer- public policy and championships. As an example, Socorro Ramirez (2013) wrote a balance of the Summit of the Americas in Cartagena, arguing that the event was not effective in connecting neither reaching agreements in the region: "Pero **Argentina** y los **países** del ALBA impusieron el "todo o nada". A **Brasil** no le interesó acercarse a las **Américas**"

Environment I: nature, human impact and conservation (Topic 11, 3.6%) top terms are "ambiental", "agu", "miner", "min" and "rio". This topic discusses the environmental impact of different human activities -specially mining- and the measures taken -or that should be taken- by state authorities to regulate the exploitation of natural resources and protect natural parks. In the excerpt below, Negrete Montes (2012) analyzed the jurisprudence regarding concertation of mining projects with local communities:

Si bien los derechos que emanan de un título **minero** solamente se consolidan en virtud de la **licencia ambiental** que autoriza la **explotación** efectiva de los **minerales**, no es menos cierto que con el solo título **minero**, la aplicación de guías **minero-ambientales** genéricas y la obtención de permisos **ambientales**...

Education (Topic 12, 3.4%) top terms are “educ”, “univers”, “estudi”, “calid” and “formacion”. This topic featured discussions ranging from elementary to higher education in terms of quality, coverage and public policies. In the example below, Víctor M. Gómez (2012) argued that Colombia’s education should be restructured to address the country’s poor quality in education by redirecting resources and improving teachers’ training:

En diversos países comprometidos con más altos niveles de **calidad educativa** no existen las **escuelas** normales (instituciones que operan en Colombia más por tradición que por necesidad) ni de las licenciaturas con débil **formación** disciplinaria y con expertos en teorías **pedagógicas**.

Ethics, principles and values (Topic 13, 3.4%) top terms are “derech”, “moral”, “human”, “argument” and “reconoc”. This topic discusses questions about human rights, discrimination and ethics. Some of the articles read from this topic present philosophical arguments. For instance, Yolanda Puyana (2012) criticized the proposal of calling a plebiscite to determine same sex couples’ rights to establish families, questioning argument for disqualifying the LGBT community:

La **ética** sirve de brújula para el comportamiento **humano** y dentro de sus máximas se encuentran el no hacerle daño a otra **persona**, **respetar** sus **derechos** y sus decisiones acerca de cómo adelantar su propia vida. Por eso, mientras **respeten** a los demás, no **puede** decirse que una orientación **sexual sea** un comportamiento perverso.

Public services: health and transportation (Topic 14, 3.2%) top terms are “salud”, “sistem”, “servici”, “eps” and “transport”. It focuses on challenges, crisis and reforms of the health and transport public services systems. In the following quote, Isaza Villas (2010) analyzed a healthcare reform as based on the commercialization of health that prioritizes EPS business over services offered to users, financial sustainability and working conditions for employees:

El **modelo** mercantil es esencialmente asistencialista, pues en lo fundamental estimula a las personas a que demanden **servicios** de atención **médica** para tratar **enfermedades** adquiridas, dejando de lado los demás aspectos de la **salud**, mientras que el modelo humanista se fundamenta fuerte y firmemente en la promoción de la **salud**, la atención primaria y la prevención de la **enfermedad**...

Colombia's international affairs: diplomacy and cooperation (Topic 15, 2.9%) top terms are “*venezuel*”, “*venezolan*”, “*colombi*”, “*fronter*” and “*ecuador*”. The topic is centered in the relations and commerce between Colombia and neighboring countries. While eight articles focused on issues involving Colombia and nations sharing a border, in two articles this was not the case: “Colombia está descubriendo a China” is dedicated to Colombia’s relation with the Asian powerhouse, and in “El fallo de La Haya en el caso Chile-Perú: antecedentes e implicaciones”- Colombia is mentioned as an example of the risks of disavowing the Permanent Court of Arbitration. It is interesting to note that while multiple articles refer to frontier disputes -with Nicaragua, Ecuador and Venezuela-, other times the emphasis is on commercial and diplomatic cooperation. Socorro Ramírez (2014) considers the recent history of the relations between Colombia and Venezuela, and in the excerpt below argues that despite their shared interests and problems, the Andean diplomatic crisis of 2008 was driven by a personalized dispute of countries’ heads of state Rafael Correa and Álvaro Uribe:

La ruptura de **relaciones** ordenada por el **presidente** Rafael **Correa** luego del bombardeo **colombiano** el 1 de marzo al campamento de las FARC y en violación del territorio **ecuatoriano**, al sentirse maltratado por la información parcial o falsa entregada por el **presidente** Álvaro Uribe, así como por la sindicación de ser colaborador de la guerrilla que le hiciera el Director de la Policía **colombiana** a partir de los computadores guerrilleros, personalizó la disputa en cabeza de dos mandatarios...

Social issues: Labour, inequality and pensions (Topic 16, 2.5%) includes in its top terms “*trabaj*”, “*laboral*”, “*salari*”, “*cient*”, and “*pension*”. Articles sampled address social issues in terms of the well-being of citizens and inequality with three related but distinct emphases: (i) labour and wages, (ii) economic inequality and its relation to gender and development, and (iii) pension plans reform. The quote below is taken from an article in which Roberto Ángulo (2014) analyzed the relation between economic inequality, insecurity and poverty, and argues that urban development should be focused on addressing these social issues: “La reducción de la **desigualdad**, entendida como el acercamiento entre **ricos** y **pobres** parece ser entonces un elemento decisivo para el desarrollo de las ciudades. El coeficiente de Gini o el **índice** Palma son acaso una versión imperfecta de la punta del iceberg de un concepto de **desigualdad urbana** más completo.”

Land restitution and rural development (Topic 17, 2.5%) features discussions of land concentration and public policies related to agrarian reform and rural development and is represented by the terms “*tierr*”, “*propied*”, “*rural*”, “*campesin*”, “*restitu*” and “*desarroll*”. Articles sampled focused on land dispossession and restitution in relation to Colombia’s conflict and post conflict, rural development, land inequality and concentration. In the quote below, taken from a review by Tatiana Alfonso (2016) of *¿La tierra no se vende! Las tierras y los territorios de los pueblos indígenas en México*, she argued that it is necessary to revise the legal framework of countries in which indigenous communities have been displaced of their lands both by legal and illegal mechanisms to reverse land dispossession:

La controvertida **Ley** de Zonas de Interés de **Desarrollo Rural** y Económico fue promovida por el gobierno nacional como la principal herramienta para el **desarrollo rural**, la productividad **agropecuaria** y la seguridad jurídica en Colombia. Sin embargo, varias organizaciones y congresistas denunciaron que el principal efecto de la **ley** es la potencial acumulación indebida de **tierras** y la legalización de ocupaciones anteriores, con efectos nefastos sobre el acceso a la **tierra** por parte de **campesinos** pobres.

Public health and bioethics (Topic 18, 2.4%) top terms are “*contrat*”, “*consum*”, “*medic*”, “*salud*” and “*prohibicion*”. This topic covers discussions that range from more philosophical reflections on euthanasia or abortion; discussions about the medicinal use and legalization of cannabis, or threats to public health such as Zika or A(H1N1). William Duica (2016) analyzed Colombian legal framework on assisted death, and presents the reasons and circumstances to differentiate suicide and euthanasia:

Piénsese, por ejemplo, en una **persona** que, a pesar de no estar en un estado de **enfermedad** terminal ni de sufrimiento físico, considera (por factores subjetivos) que no tiene una **vida** digna y, en consecuencia, desea poner fin a ella. Esa **persona**, desde el punto de vista de la ley colombiana no **puede** pedir una **muerte** asistida, porque en ese caso, su deseo de acabar la **vida** cae más bajo el concepto de **suicidio** que en el de eutanasia.

Politics of Bogotá: security, city governance and civic culture (Topic 20, 2.3%) top terms are “*ciudadan*”, “*alcald*”, “*bogot*”, “*ciud*” and “*administr*”, additionally, the last names of the city’s most recent mayors appear in its of top terms: “*mockus*”, “*peñalosa*”, “*moren*” and “*petro*”. Unlike other topics in the model that cover national or

international issues, this had a local emphasis, and articles sampled focused on problems and situations related to the city's governance, security and public policies. It is worth noting that Hugo Acero is the most frequent contributor to this topic, having written six out of the eleven articles that had a prevalent composition (over 50%) of it. In the quote below, Angel and Rojas (2016) examine recent civic policy in Bogotá and argue that the recently elected mayor -Enrique Peñalosa- should continue promoting “civic culture”, but with a more deliberative and participatory approach: “Desde la primera **alcaldía de Mockus**, el gobierno de **Bogotá** ha hecho énfasis en la cultura **ciudadana**. ¿Qué se puede esperar de esta **política**, ahora que el exalcalde vuelve a ponerse al frente del proyecto, esta vez en la **administración Peñalosa**?”.

Family and gender (Topic 21, 2.3%) is represented by terms like “*mujer*”, “*niñ*”, “*victim*”, “*sexual*”, “*adolescent*”. While the title assigned to the topic reflects that all the articles sampled are related to gender and family, it is worth specifying that to different degrees these texts focused or combined the following issues: (i) sexual violence, (ii) sexual and family diversity, (iii) children's rights, (iv) women's rights and gender roles. As an example, Rocio Ramírez (2014) stated that sexual and gender violence in Colombia even permeates the institutions devised for protecting women and children from the armed conflict: “La pregunta por la **violencia sexual** en el marco del conflicto armado es una pregunta incómoda, ya que al mismo tiempo se remite a la **violencia sexual** fuera del conflicto, la que sucede en los espacios donde se dice velar por la protección de **niños, niñas y mujeres**.”

Political elections II: 2018 presidential elections (Topic 22, 2.1%) has among its top terms: “*candidat*”, “*encuest*”, “*propuest*”, “*campañ*”, and the last names of several presidential candidates, among them “*petr*”, “*duqu*”, “*farard*”, “*call*” and “*varg*”. The articles representative of this topic consisted of political analysis of the results of an election or a campaign in process, sometimes making forecasts or a posteriori interpretation of the results. Eight out of ten articles sampled were about the Presidential and Congress elections of 2018. This topic was given the same title as Topic 1 based on their semantic similarity, nevertheless, Topic 22 is focused on the 2018 presidential campaign, and the other covered a broader period of time and did not concentrate in a single election. As an example of this topic, Gómez Buendía presented his perspective on

the results of the primary vote in the presidential elections of 2018: “Esta vez, en lo esencial, se cumplieron las **encuestas**: **Duque** se medirá en segunda **vuelta** contra **Petro**. La sorpresa evidente fue el repunte de **Fajardo**, mientras que **Vargas** y De la **Calle** sacaron tan pocos **votos** como se había anticipado” (2018).

Communications and digital media (Topic 23, 1.7%) top terms are “red”, “inform”, “medi”, “internet” and “comun”. Except for one article, the documents sampled discussed technologies of information and their relationships with people’s communication and journalism. Some of the articles focused on connectivity and communications infrastructure, others on digital journalism, and two were philosophical reflections on the impact of digitalization in contemporary democracies. This topic can be seen in the following description by Rafael Orduz (a frequent contributor to this topic) of the digitalization of the world: “Un planeta donde ya una tercera parte de la humanidad accede a **internet**; que usa **teléfonos** inteligentes y “tablets”; que está conectada a bodegas **virtuales** de **datos** donde se alojan inimaginables cantidades de **información**” (2011).

Culture II: films (Topic 24, 1.7%) top terms are “pelicul”, “cin”, “documental”, “produccion”, “director” and “expresion”. Eight articles were either critical reviews of movies or analysis of Colombia’s film industry. As an example of this topic, Andrés Gómez (2016) reviewed “Jericó” and reflects on the film’s combination of documentary and fiction: “De una manera especial se ha pensado el **cine** para **hacer** esta **película**, con consciencia estética pero sin ningún esteticismo. Así el **cine** se vuelve más que **cine**, toma el carácter de un encuentro espiritual que en las **imágenes** postreras se eleva hasta el cielo...”.

Environment II: disasters and risk management (Topic 25, 1.5%) top terms are “riesg”, “desastr”, “niñ”, “afect”, “fenomen”. This topic explains the causes, risks, mitigation and prevention of environmental disasters such as floods, droughts and fires. Most articles cover disasters in Colombia, with one exception discussing the wildfires in Russia and Pakistan’s flood in 2007 as examples of calamities linked to climate change around the world. A frequent reflection on this topic conveys that these are not natural disasters but socio-natural disasters, acknowledging that climate change is driven by human impact in ecosystems. The texts sampled emphasize the measures that the State

should take to prevent and react to disasters while protecting and guaranteeing people's rights. In the following quote, Gustavo Wilches-Chaux -the most frequent contributor to this topic in *Razón Pública*- discusses the winter emergency in 2010 in terms of a recurrent emergency:

Este año, nuevamente, más de medio país se encuentra gravemente afectado por los **efectos** de la **ola invernal** sobre unos territorios, unas **comunidades** y una institucionalidad que han perdido su capacidad para convivir sin traumatismos con los **cambios del clima** (2010).

Peace process II: plebiscite and implementation (Topic 26, 1.5%) top terms are “*acuerd*”, “*plebiscit*”, “*implement*”, “*comit*” and “*proces*”. This topic resembles Topic 7 in that it also analyzes the process of peace negotiation and implementation between Farc and the government of Colombia. The five articles read for this topic covered different aspect of the process: the selection of the judges for the Special Peace Jurisdiction as well as the renegotiation following the plebiscite of 2016. In the example below, Gómez Buendía (2016) argued that the peace process with Farc has no turning back -despite the plebiscite- and that the president shall seek to renegotiate and sign the peace treaty -with or without the support of the opposition:

La **escogencia** de la vía **dependerá** ante todo del grado de consenso entre el **gobierno** y los voceros del No. Si el **nuevo acuerdo** con las FARC es plenamente compartido por Uribe y compañía, la consulta con el pueblo sería fácil o de hecho sobraría. Si el **acuerdo** con Uribe y compañía es incompleto o no existe, Santos tendría que volver a **escoger** entre **firmarlo** sin más vueltas, o convocar a un nuevo **plebiscito** con una probabilidad creo yo más elevada de que gane el Sí.

Religion and politics (Topic 27, 1.4%) top terms are “*religi*”, “*iglesi*”, “*catol*”, “*pap*”, “*cristian*”, “*nuev*” and “*polit*”. All the articles read for this topic dealt with the predominant religions in Colombia -Catholicism and Evangelical Christians- and their impact on social affairs, such as their support for specific political candidates or parties, the Vatican's government and factions or relations between these religious communities and social changes -such as women's rights movements and religious diversity. As an example, William Mauricio Beltrán analyzes Juan Pablo II and Juan II canonization as a political maneuver:

Entonces, ¿por qué **Francisco** canoniza a un **papa** tan criticado? El actual pontífice, como cualquier **político**, necesita gobernabilidad. Oponerse a la canonización de **Juan Pablo II** hubiese significado alimentar las tensiones que actualmente se viven en el seno del **Vaticano** (2014).

International conflicts II: Israel, Palestine and Cuba (Topic 28, 1.4%) top terms are “israel”, “palestina”, “unid”, “cub” and “international”. The second part of the title was added because seven of the articles sampled focused on Palestine-Israeli disputes for boundaries, settlements, peace attempts and Palestinian attempts to be recognized as a country by the United Nations. Nevertheless, the title given to this topic was made broader considering that three other articles also referred to international conflicts but centered in the Americas, particularly Colombia’s failed case against Guatemala for the San Andrés litoral and the United States embargo to Cuba. In the fragment below, Víctor Currea de Lugo (2014) presented his view on the major causes of the Palestine-Israeli conflict:

La agenda del conflicto es más clara de lo que parece: una ocupación militar de **Israel** en **Gaza**, Cisjordania y Jerusalén del Este, que a su vez se junta con cuatro elementos en debate: (1) el **derecho** al retorno de los **palestinos** expulsados en la guerra de **1948**, **derecho** reconocido por la **ONU**; (2) el estatuto jurídico de Jerusalén, ciudad con estatuto **internacional** que no es la capital de **Israel**; (3) los **asentamientos** que construye **Israel** en **Palestina**, todos ilegales según la Corte **Internacional** de Justicia...

To sum up, *Culture III: Music and festivals* (Topic 29, 1.4%) top terms are “cultur”, “cultural”, “festival”, “etb” and “artist”. This is the third topic covering cultural phenomena, with emphasis on music and festivals. Seven out of the ten articles sampled analyzed public festivals -such as Rock al Parque, Hip Hop al Parque and Cali’s Petronio Festival- featuring diverse musical genres. In the following excerpt Humberto Pérez (2012) concludes that, although it is time to revise the objectives and results of Rock al Parque as a public policy, it must be acknowledged that music makes people share experiences, thus fostering social integration.

Cada vez que termina Rock al **Parque**, se repite la pregunta: ¿para qué sirve? Quizás los objetivos del **Festival** como herramienta de una política **pública** se han quedado cortos: sin duda el **Festival** contribuye a impulsar algunos valores de **cultura ciudadana** y a

integrar al rock como una manifestación social, **cultural** y **artística** dentro de la sociedad bogotana.

3.3.2 Discussion of the final LDA topic model

The final validated topics represent the wide range of issues covered by *Razón Pública* and synthesize the issues that they advance for public deliberation. Politics, understood as the analysis of affairs related to government, public administration and the struggles and negotiations for power and leadership, permeates all topics. The ubiquity of politics is not surprising considering that, as evidenced in the n-grams analysis, “polit” is the most used unigram in the dataset, appearing in 81.5% of the articles. After merging together topics connected to a same concept -as indicated by the titles assigned to them-, the major five were: *Culture* (10.4%), *Electoral politics* (9.5%), *Economy* (9.5%), *Law and justice* (7.9%) and *International conflicts* (6.7%). Figure 24 shows the magazine’s topic composition in the period studied.

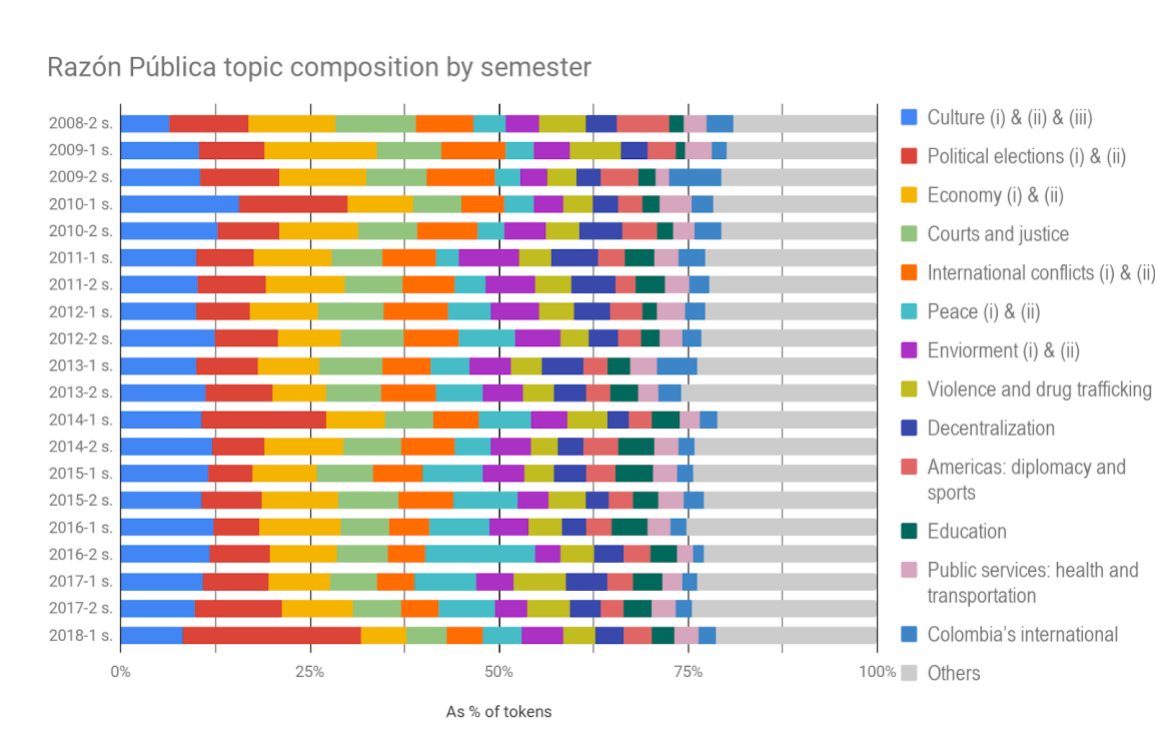


Figure 24. *Razón Pública*’s main topics by term (July 2008- July 2018)

Regarding the relation between literary and political public spheres in the context of the Eighteenth Century, Habermas (1989), argued that the critical debates of literary circles shaped bourgeois political deliberation: “...the humanity of the literary public sphere served to increase the effectiveness of the public sphere in the political realm” (p. 56). *Razón Pública*, *Culture* combines reviews and analyses of diverse artistic manifestations -both canonical and popular. Far from being pigeonholed to aesthetic analyses, *Culture* addresses Colombia’s diversity and heritage, globalization and public policies in the cultural sector.

Some topics like the *Environment* and *Violence and Drug Trafficking*, appear evenly across time, indicating that these have maintained a stable level of relevance in the period studied. On the other hand, topics such as *Political elections* and *Peace* fluctuate more across time (see Figure 25). Considering Colombia’s electoral cycles, the fluctuations of *Political elections* are understandable as peaks coincide with presidential campaigns (see the first semesters of 2010, 2014 and 2018) and less coverage is given to it during non-electoral years. Opposite to this, *Courts and justice*, *Economy* and *International conflicts* are among the most covered issues in the magazine, but their relative sizes have become less frequent in the last semesters.

Top six topics in time

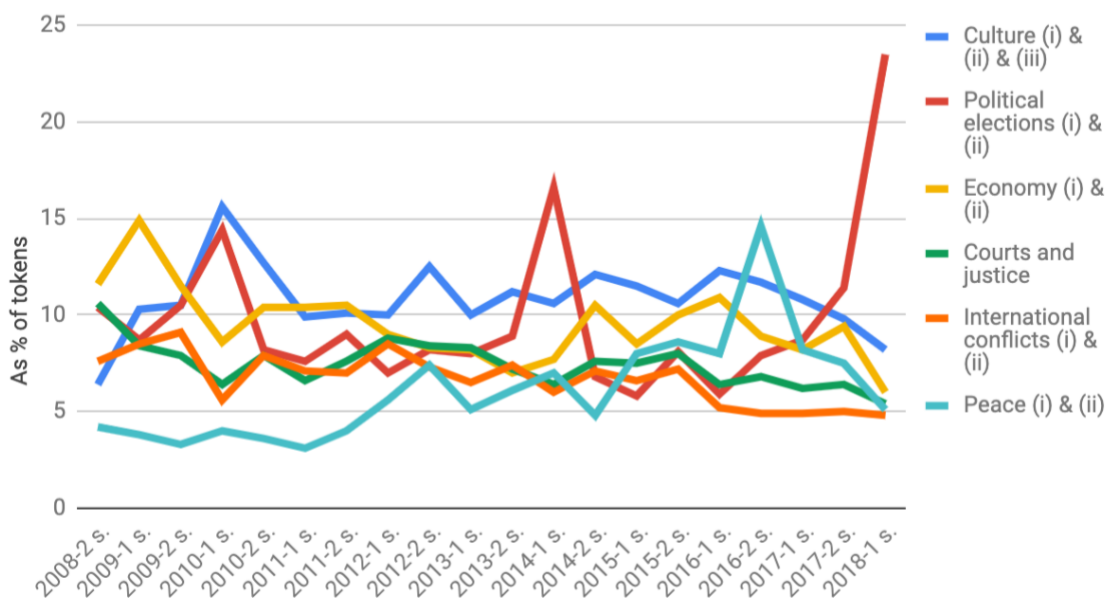


Figure 25. *Razón Pública*’s six prevalent news topics through time

In Figure 25 it is also notable that *Peace* raised to 7.4% in the second term of 2012 and peaked in the second term of 2016, coinciding -respectively- with Juan Manuel Santos' announcement of peace negotiations with Farc in August 26 of 2012 and the Final Agreement Ratification in November of 2016. Notwithstanding that the implementation of the Agreement presented multiple challenges and required accountability from civil society, this topic received less attention after 2016 than during the negotiation period. In the first term of 2018, amidst the wide coverage given to the elections, the attention coverage given to *Peace* fell to levels close to 2008, despite that a Peace Agreement with Farc had transformed from a possibility out of reach to a reality - albeit the many challenges of implementation.

3.4 Survey results:

3.4.1 Characterization of *Razón Pública* subscribers

The sample of participants surveyed consisted of 111 subscribers of *Razón Pública*. All items in the questionnaire were optional and some had lower rates of response than others. The lowest response was obtained for the question about political inclination in a left-right scale -which was answered by 74 participants (66.67%). With a confidence level of 90% and an unknown population size (*Razón Pública* did not disclose the total number of subscribers), the margin of error of the survey's items ranged between 7.80% and 9.56% depending on the number of responses gathered- the lower margin corresponding to the question about political inclination above-mentioned.

A noticeable result was the unbalanced gender composition of the sample, most times participants identified as men 72.5% (N=79) and 27.5% (N=30) as women. The prevalence of men in this sample resembles the uneven gender composition of *Razón Pública* authors. Regarding participants' age, the youngest reported being 24 years old and the oldest 83 (see Figure 26). The arithmetic mean for age was of 56.15 years with a standard deviation of 13.73 and a skewness of -0.575. Moreover, 65.7% (N= 71) of the participants who revealed their age were over 53 years old at the time of the survey.

Subscribers age groups

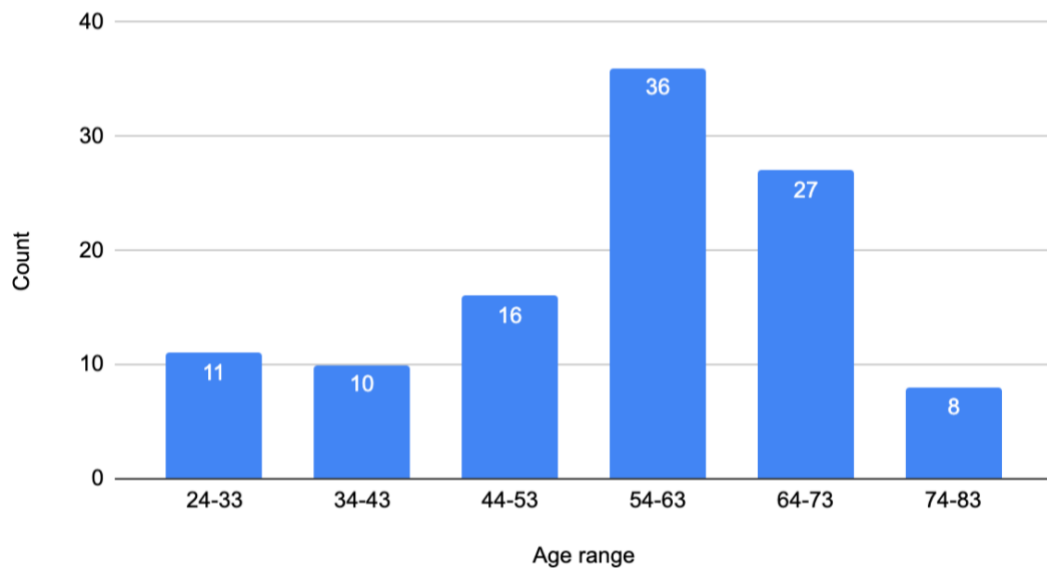


Figure 26. Participants age groups

All participants that gave their level of education mentioned having some tertiary education, either completed or uncompleted. In addition, seven out of ten of them had graduate studies (see Figure 27) so it can be said that this is a sample of highly educated people overall.

Most advanced educational level completed

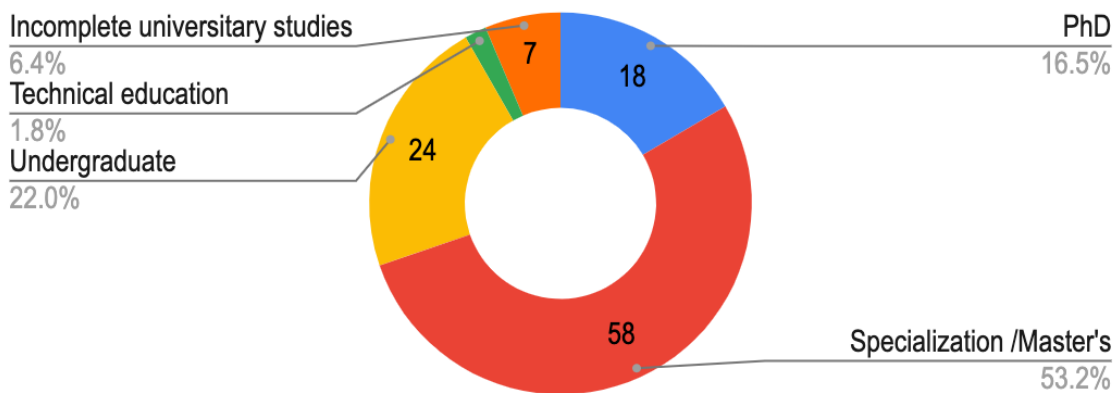


Figure 27. Most advanced educational level completed by participants

In terms of place of residence, the vast majority of participants 99 (90.8%) reported dwelling in Colombia; excepting three participants in the United States, two in Canada, and one each in Germany, Argentina, México, Australia and Spain. A large

portion of subscribers in Colombia live in Bogotá (N=31, 43.1%), followed by Cundinamarca and Medellín (both with N=5, 6.9%), and then Cali, Villavicencio and Manizales (each of these three departmental capitals accounted for 5.6% of participants residing in Colombia). Surprisingly, there was only one participant from the Caribbean region despite its population size and economic importance.

In terms of socio-economic class, responses show that the majority of subscribers living in Colombia are middle class, 71.4% (N=70) reside in socio-economic strata 3 and 4 -Figure 28. On the other hand, fewer subscribers were in the upper (socio-economic strata 5 and 6, N= 15, 15.3%) and lower social classes (strata, 1 and 2, N=11, 11.2%).

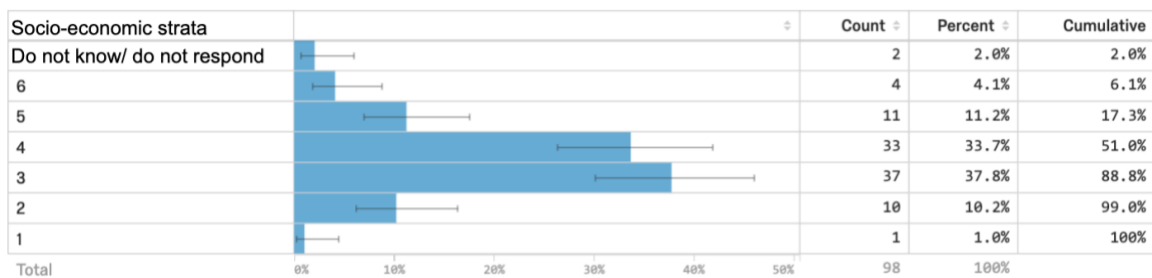


Figure 28. Socio-economic strata of participants (subscribers residing in Colombia)

Regarding political inclination in a left-right five-point Likert scale, the most marked response was “2” (N= 37, 42.04%) and then “3” (N= 23, 26.13%) -see Figure 29. While a small group of participants (10.8%) identified with the point furthest to the left, no participants marked “5”, the outermost option to the right. As the majority of subscribers (80.56%) described themselves as “2” and “3” in this scale, it is fair to say that most subscribers identify politically with the moderate left and center. Whereas the sample had a marked left-center political inclination, it was more divided in terms of political affinity with the country’s political parties. Over half of the participants (N=56, 51.4%) did not identify with a Colombian political party, and those who do are split across various left-center parties: Green Party Alliance (N=16, 14.7%), Humane Colombia Party (N=11, 10.1%), Liberal Party (N=8, 7.3), Democratic Pole Alternative (N=7, 6.4%).

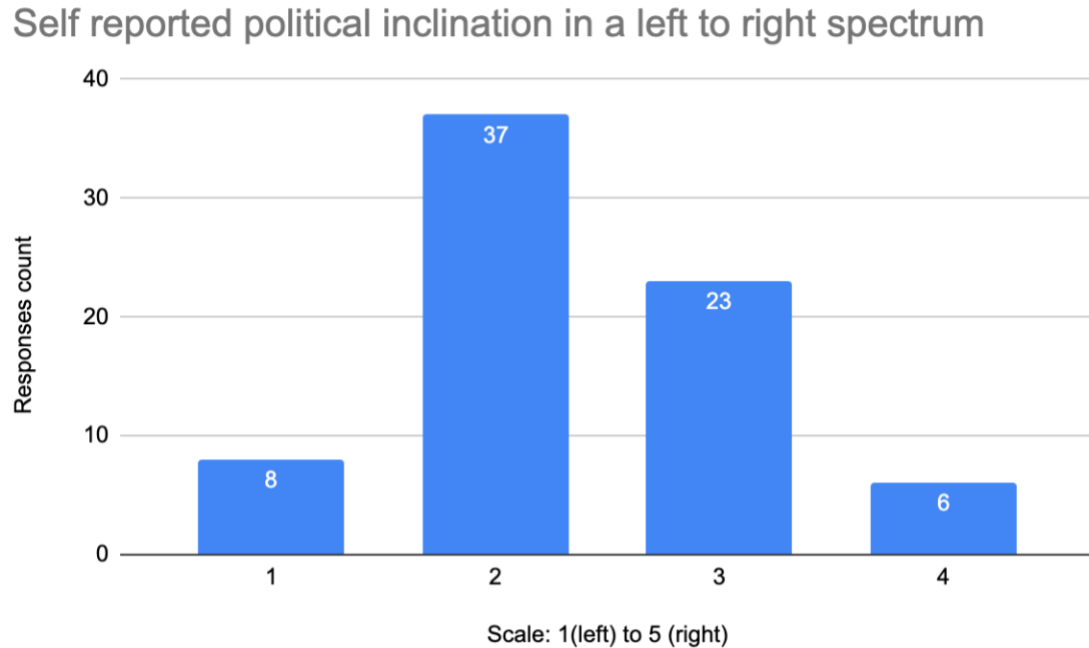


Figure 29. Self-reported political inclination of participants in a left to right five-point Likert scale

On the whole, the surveys show the homogeneity of the sample of subscribers in terms of gender, educational level, socio-economic strata and political orientation. These confirm that the public of subscribers reached by *Razón Pública* constitutes a niche in terms of the prevalence of certain demographic characteristics. Additionally, these results should be examined considering that stratified societies limit the participation of subordinated groups in deliberation (Fraser, 1990). While people with unequal social status may bracket their differences to discuss an issue as if they were equals, Francis argues that this act of simulation cannot be neutral, and informal obstacles for participation may persist. On the contrary, she argued that inequalities in a public sphere should be unbracketed and thematized. Precisely, the first step to address these differences is to identify them, as has been the purpose of these surveys.

3.4.2 Public interest for *Razón Pública* subscribers

The first question in the survey asked participants to list three topics considered by them to be of high public interest in the context of contemporary Colombia. To visualize these responses, a wordcloud (Figure 30) was generated with the most frequent

unigrams. The seven most used terms were: “*corrupcion*” (corruption, N=46), “*paz*” (peace, N=43), “*polit*” (politics, N=22), “*economi*” (economy, N=18), “*educacion*” (education, N=13), “*proces*” (*process*, N=13), and “*segur*” (security, N=13). Six of these terms are also among the 200 most used unigrams in the articles dataset; the only exception was the top unigram “*corrupcion*”. While this data shows some commonalities in the vocabulary most used by authors and subscribers, a major discrepancy was that corruption -the most mentioned issue by subscribers- does not appear in the top unigrams of the articles dataset and is not the central issue of the final LDA topics -although it is one of top ten terms of *Decentralization*. Although “*corrupcion*” is not as widely used in the articles texts, it was the seventh most frequent keyword (N=233), and so it has been considered a salient aspect of multiple articles by *Razón Pública* staff.



Figure 30. Wordcloud with the most frequently used unigrams by participants to identify issues of public interest.

The overwhelming majority of subscribers (N= 100, 91.7%) disagreed with the statement “In general, I believe that Colombian media offers a proper coverage of topics of public interest”, whereas a minority (N=8, 7.3%) agreed with the claim and one participant (0.9%) marked “don’t know/ don’t respond”. This shows that, to a large extent, subscribers are critical of Colombian media and consider that they it fails to give an adequate treatment to public issues.

An important finding was that over 75% of participants validated 19 out of the 22 of the topics from the LDA topic model as of high or moderate public interest (see Chart 2). The topics with the greater agreement in terms of being of high public interest were: *Peace process* (85.3%), *Protection and conservation of natural parks* (81.5%), *Communities victims of land dispossession* (75.9%), *Pension plans* (73.8%), *Health reforms* (72.2%), *Public policy in education* (71.3%), *A criminal prosecution involving a leading politician* (69.7%), *Drug trafficking and insecurity* (63.3%). Based on these results, it is fair to say that there is a marked agreement regarding the perception of public importance of the country's conflict, public services, environmental issues and the challenges presented to subscribers. Equally importantly, the topics that divided subscribers the most were: *Politics and religion* (Very Much= 32.7%, Moderately= 43%, Little or none= 24.3%) and *Colombia and neighbors: frontiers and disputes* (Very Much= 39.4%, Moderately= 38.5%, Little or none= 22%). As the first topic appeals directly to the complex relations between deliberation, faith, secularism and pluralism- it is not surprising that there was less agreement on these assessments; in the case of the second, opinion is divided regarding the importance of Colombia's relations and conflicts with its neighborhood.

On the other hand, only two topics were considered by the majority of participants to be of little or no public interest; both were related to the Middle East region: *Arab-Israeli conflict* (61.1%) and *Arab social and political movements* (62.6%). Accordingly, these results show a vision of public interest centered on Colombian national issues; with the least importance given to international issues in which Colombia is not involved, followed by international affairs involving Colombia -such as frontiers and disputes with neighboring countries or diplomacy in the Americas (see Figure 31). Despite the surveys being administered during the regional electoral campaigns of 2019, a significant part of participants considered it to be of moderate public interest.

To what extent do you consider the following topics of public interest?

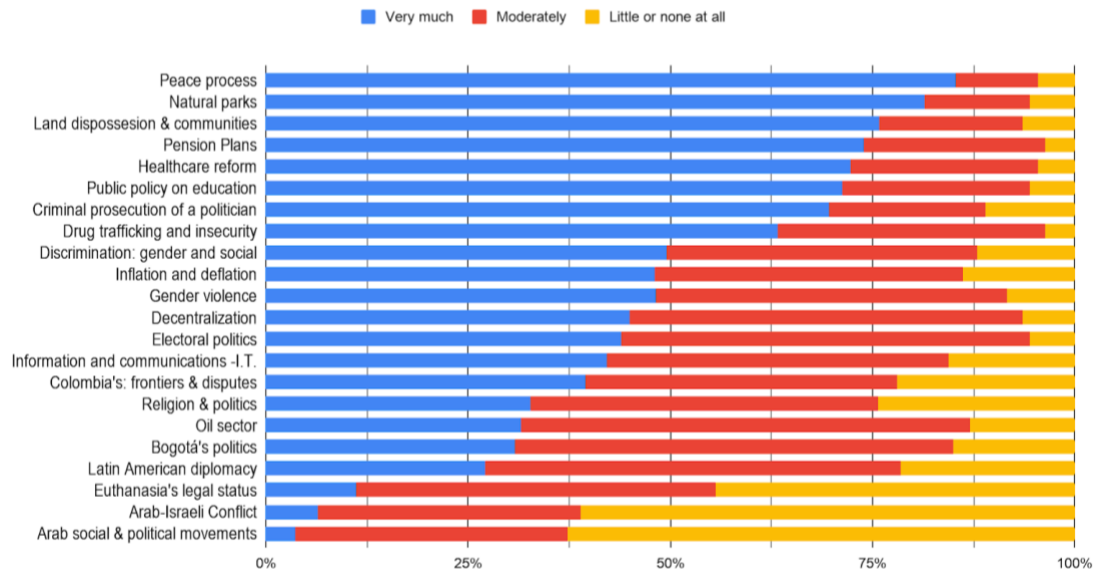


Figure 31. Survey results: validation of topics as of public interest by subscribers.

It must be acknowledged that there are differences in the wording of the LDA topics and the tags that participants were asked to validate in the survey (as explained in the methodology, this happened because the surveys had to be distributed before the final topic titles were assigned). The most particular result is that while *Peace* is the fourth topic with the most coverage in *Razón Pública*, “peace process” is the topic in which there was the most consensus among subscribers regarding its high public interest importance. Only in the second term of 2016 -period in which the Final Peace Agreement between Colombia’s Government and Farc was signed- *Peace* was *Razón Pública*’s prevalent topic by a slight margin. Despite the reluctance of the country’s current government to negotiate peace agreements, it is worth commenting that *Razón Pública*’s subscribers widely viewed the peace processes as a matter of high public interest. Based on the surveys it cannot be concluded whether the interest in this topic arises from concerns about the implementation of the Agreement with Farc or a belief in that new peace processes should be initiated. Nevertheless, this result means that for subscribers, peace is still a topic of utmost importance in the context of contemporary Colombia and its ongoing armed conflict.

4 Conclusions

This thesis analyzed *Razón Pública* as a cultural network of public interest-oriented journalism. The magazine's intended mission is to contribute to public deliberation by publishing in-depth analyses on current affairs authored by experts and academics. This thesis' inductive and data driven approach to public interest was based on Fraser's (1990) revision of public sphere as a critical concept for studying political communication in contemporary democracies. This research sought to identify what is of public interest in this network by analyzing the articles' content and language, and survey subscribers. The first chapter provided an overview of digital journalism, the specific cultural domain of *Razón Pública*, and offered a framework of public sphere and deliberation. The second chapter presented the methodology used to build, preprocess, and analyzed the articles and authors' profile datasets. Finally, the third chapter presented the results of the various analyses and discusses what they revealed about *Razón Pública's* authors, subscribers, articles, and public interest is in this network.

4.1 Discussion and findings

4.1.1 Research question #1

At an aggregated level, what are the demographic and professional characteristics of *Razón Pública's* authors and subscribers?

The analyses of the articles and authors' profiles in the magazine exhibited the following traits: (i) there is a considerable gender imbalance in reference to writing the magazine articles, with 835 men (72.35%) and 313 women (27.12%); (ii) the distribution of articles per authors resembled a Pareto distribution in that a minority of authors (20.26%) contributed to most articles (67.29% of all articles), whereas more than half of authors contributed to one article (53.82%); (iii) to a large extent, authors present themselves as academics and researchers; thus, establishing the legitimacy of their news work (Deuze, 2003); and (iv) most authors have worked or studied in Colombia's elite universities. Notably, *Razón Pública* has been successful in expanding the field of

journalism to academia, as, within its first ten years, it published articles authored by over a thousand authors.

On the other hand, the survey results show the following characteristics of *Razón Pública*'s subscribers: (i) in the sample, there was a gender imbalance, with 72.5% men (N=79) and 27.5% (N=30) women; (ii) 65.7% are of 53 years of age or older; (iii) 69.7% have completed a post-graduate degree; (iv) the majority of subscribers live in Colombia, especially in Bogotá, and, to a lesser extent, capitals cities; (v) from subscribers living in Colombia, the majority reside in middle-class dwellings; and (vi) the majority have a left-center political inclination.

Unfortunately, the survey's results are not suited for comparing the demographics of subscribers and authors because only two participants identified themselves as authors. Nevertheless, by contrasting the previously identified traits the following conclusions can be made: (i) *Razón Pública*'s community of authors and subscribers is gender unbalanced, with many more men than women, (ii) both authors and subscribers tend to have tertiary education.

4.1.2 Research question #2

What are the main topics covered in *Razón Pública*?

With the purpose of doing a sharp analysis of the periodical and its publications, Natural Language Processing techniques were used. The simplest method was to count the number of articles in each section of the magazine, but the results were too general. This method only revealed that the main sections were: "Politics and government" and "Society and Economy". The second approach explored the categorization of articles throughout a keyword network. The modules revealed the language used by the magazine staff to categorize articles; nevertheless, this approach did not directly analyze the articles' texts, but, rather, how *Razón Pública*'s staff viewed the magazine's publication. The n-grams, analysis showed the magazine's recurrent vocabulary and content. The top unigrams (Colombia, politics, public, government, party) synthesize the magazine's editorial line. By further exploring the bigrams and trigrams that contain the top unigrams, it was observed that multiple topics, including security, politics, and services, branch out from the top unigram "public", for example: "public forces," "public

services,” “private-public alliance,” “public opinion,” “public policy,” and “public transport.”

Finally, whereas the LDA topic modeling required a time-consuming validation process, this method offered an accurate identification of *Razón Pública*’s predominant topics. Although the above-mentioned approaches (section count, keyword network and n-grams) provided complementary perspectives on the articles’ content and language, the final LDA topic model displayed a reliable identification of the magazine’s main topics, their relative sizes, and their fluctuations over the time. The LDA topic modelling analysis revealed that the most covered topics were *Culture, Elections, Economy, Courts and Justice, International Conflicts, Peace, Environment, and Violence and Drug Trafficking*.

4.1.3 Research question #3

To what extent do subscribers of *Razón Pública* validate what is seen as being of “public interest” from the topics extracted via Natural Language Processing?

The results showed different levels of agreement among subscribers in terms of the level of public importance they gave to the news topics presented in the survey. Participants validated 20 out of the 22 topic titles as being of high or moderate public interest. Generally, while the level of agreement was different among the topics, the cases in which there were more consensus were those in which there was an increase in the public interest, such as the *Peace process, Conservation and Protection of Natural Parks, Land dispossession and communities, and Pension Plans*. Finally, it is important to add that more than a half of the participants considered of less importance or no public interest international topics that were not directly connected to Colombia: *Arab-Israeli conflict* and *Arab social and political movements*.

Surprisingly, seven out of the eight unigrams most used by the subscribers to identify issues of public interest are among the top terms of *Razón Pública* articles’ dataset. Moreover, there are coincidences in the most frequently unigrams in the articles and in the examples of public interest proposed by the subscribers. Even more relevant is the one exception; “corrupcion,” the term most mentioned by participants in the survey, is not among the top terms of *Razón Pública* articles. While corruption is also an

important element of how the magazine's staff sees its content (otherwise, it would not be so prevalent in the keywords network), the Editorial board must evaluate whether they can respond to their subscribers' public interest priority.

4.2 Contributions

The main contribution of this project was applying cultural network analysis to identify topics of public interest in the context of *Razón Pública's* community of authors and subscribers. The study required proposing a mixed methodology to characterize the multiple actors, cultural objects (articles) and cultural phenomena (news topics, public interest) in this network as well as their relations.

Coming back to the initial discussion about how the popularization of digital media alters journalism's logics of control and participation, *Razón Pública* promotes that academics get into news work. While the editorial board sets the editorial line and has the final word on what gets published, it actively promotes that academics and researchers participate in public deliberation and it makes this content freely available for anyone with an Internet connection.

The magazine Razón Pública resembles Nolan and Setrakian's (2014) model of single subject communities in its focus on quality over quantity and its hyper-specialization in long-read argumentative articles. While the topic analysis revealed a wide scope of topics covered, at the end public interest and politics are the common threads that define the magazine. Paradoxical as it sounds, its niche community of authors and networked public is formed by people passionately interested in closely following current affairs that affect Colombian society at large. Following Peter Dahlgren (2009), for a civic journalism initiative such as *Razón Pública* to thrive, it should be supported by a community not only based in public reason, but that also shares a public passion that justifies the effort and time they dedicate to sustain it.

The study identified a clear gender unbalance in *Razón Pública's* pool of authors and subscribers, which could be valuable feedback for the magazine to address. This result makes necessary revisiting Fraser turn on the public sphere (1990), specifically her argument that the exclusion of certain groups from public deliberation defines what is

conceived as of public interest and important in these spaces. Considering that *Razón Pública* defines itself as a pluralistic initiative, it would be in line with its mission to be proactive in increasing the number of women in their pool of authors, the frequency at which they invite their female authors to submit articles, and to strive for more pluralism.

Razón Pública was established in 2008 amidst a global boom of digital based journalism, which among many projects saw the emergence -internationally- of Huffington Post (2005) and The Conversation (2011), and -in Colombia- of, LaSillaVacía (2009) and Pulzo (2013). In this context, *Razón Pública* was an innovative independent journalism organization with a minimal staff, a low budget and obtained regular contributions from renowned academics. Considering that nowadays innovation is a condition for survival (New York Times, 2017), it is time for the magazine to consider its strategy for maintaining its already established niche of contributing authors and subscribers and achieving its missional objectives. If *Razón Pública* is to position itself as an online space for political and public deliberation, it is time to devise ways for a more bidirectional interaction and engagement between authors, staff and its users.

4.3 Limitations and future research lines

As everybody knows, research projects provide the audience with great opportunities to analyze topics of interest; but at the same it brings limitations. An important limitation of the methodology used is that, due to time constraints, the survey applied to the subscribers was designed and administered before the completion of the final validation of LDA model topics. For this reason, preliminary topic tags based on the final topic model were included in the survey, but these did not match the final topic tags that resulted from its in-depth validation process. Ideally, the final LDA topic tags should have appeared in the survey to ensure that topics were delimited, worded and framed consistently; however, the differences between these pairs were minor.

This study had as its focal point the website of the *Razon Publica* magazine, and more specifically its articles, authors and subscribers. For future studies, it would be relevant to consider the presence of the magazine in different social media websites, Twitter, Facebook and YouTube in terms of user engagement and reach. Moreover, it would be

also interesting to explore the magazine's videoclips, cartoons and memes, and devise a methodology to analyze their prevalent topics.

In this sense, it is worth noting that the magazine's most viewed cultural object is not an article, but the video "Minería contaminante a cielo abierto en Colombia" (2009), produced by Catalejo Films for *Razón Pública* with the participation of some celebrities. With over 700,000 views it almost triples the pageviews of the most read articles published in the magazine (González, 2014).

Two important recommendations for future research lines are: (i) deepen the analysis of public interest according to subscribers, authors and staff via in depth interviews, (ii) design and develop studies that consider other digital media in Colombia to compare the topics they cover and what they present as of public interest.

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Appendixes

Annex 1. Profiles of the five authors with the most articles published in *Razón Pública*

Position	Author name	# of articles published	Profile published in <i>Razón Pública</i>
1	Hernando Gómez Buendía	111	“Director y editor general de Razón Pública Cofundador de Razón Pública. Licenciado en Filosofía y Letras Doctor en Derecho Doctor en Economía Magíster en Desarrollo Master of Sciences en Economía Master of Arts en Sociología PhD en Sociología y Sociología Rural Consultor internacional Director del Informe Regional de Desarrollo Humano para Centroamérica Director del Informe El Conflicto: Callejón con Salida (PNUD) Director del Informe Educación: La Agenda del siglo XXI Columnista de 14 periódicos colombianos Declarado Periodista del Año en 2004 Autor de numerosos libros y artículos académicos”
2	José Gregorio Hernández	71	“Cofundador de Razón Pública Abogado de la Pontificia Universidad Javeriana especialista en Derecho Público fue Viceministro de Comunicaciones Asesor del Ministerio de Desarrollo Económico del Fondo Nacional del Ahorro y del IFI Director General de Impuestos Nacionales Magistrado Auxiliar de la Corte Suprema de Justicia Vicerrector de la Universidad Sergio Arboleda Magistrado y Presidente de la Corte Constitucional Rector de la Universidad Autónoma de Colombia Profesor de Derecho Constitucional en varias universidades Columnista de varios periódicos y revistas del país Analista en medios radiales Director de las Revistas JURIS DICTIO y ELEMENTOS DE JUICIO Autor de múltiples publicaciones”.

3	Medófilo Medina	61	“Cofundador de Razón Pública Licenciado en Historia de la Universidad Nacional PhD en Historia de la Universidad MV Lomonosov de Moscú profesor titular y emérito de la Universidad Nacional ha sido profesor visitante en universidades de Ecuador España y Venezuela. Ha publicado libros y artículos sobre historia contemporánea de Colombia y Venezuela y sobre enseñanza de la Historia”
4	César González Muñoz	60	“Cofundador de Razón Pública (QEPD) Economista de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia con posgrado en Economía del Desarrollo de la Universidad de Cambridge Reino Unido. Ha sido profesor de las Universidades Nacional y Externado de Colombia. Fue Decano de la Facultad de Economía de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia. En la actualidad es Gerente de CGM ASOCIADOS CÍA LTDA en temas de consultoría financiera de gestión y de manejo de proyectos. Fue Presidente de la Asociación Bancaria presidente de la Financiera Energética y Vicepresidente del Banco Cafetero Columnista de varios medios Autor de múltiples publicaciones”
5	Ricardo García Duarte	58	“Cofundador de Razón Pública Politólogo con estudios de Doctorado en el Instituto de Estudios Políticos de París (Sciences – Po) Magíster en Análisis de Problemas Políticos Económicos e Internacionales Contemporáneos Abogado de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia Profesor de varias universidades Fundador de Revistas como Coyuntura Política y Esfera Articulista y ensayista Ex Rector de la Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas”

Annex 2. Top 200 most used unigrams, bigrams and trigrams in the articles dataset

Position	Unigrams	Counter	Bigrams	Counter	Trigrams	Counter
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1	polit	19092	deb ser	1639	juan manuel sant	257
2	part	14583	pued ser	1448	cort suprem justici	249
3	deb	11170	derech human	1128	violacion derech human	175
4	pais	10500	conflict armad	983	grup armad ilegal	163
5	pued	10421	amer latin	913	fiscal general nacion	120
6	gobiern	10364	cort constitucional	808	trat libr comerci	118
7	colombi	10145	proces paz	781	mil millon pe	114
8	hac	9714	ultim años	690	deb ten cuent	113
9	ser	9206	gobiern nacional	689	derech internacional humanitari	105
10	public	8561	llev cab	649	ley justici paz	104
11	social	7691	president sant	643	mil millon dolar	103
12	nuev	7613	mism tiemp	601	cienci tecnolog innov	100
13	derech	7318	medi comun	580	consej superior judicatur	97
14	nacional	7085	sig siend	543	pais amer latin	93
15	econom	6864	millon dolar	538	plan nacional desarroll	92
16	colombian	6817	grup armad	534	consej nacional electoral	90
17	años	6668	hac part	529	polit segur democrat	86
18	ca	6656	larg plaz	525	median larg plaz	86
19	pa	6652	acuerd paz	525	conflict armad intern	86
20	mayor	6593	cort suprem	518	amer latin carib	85
21	proces	6511	nacion unid	502	segund guerr mundial	81
22	cient	6385	tom decision	486	verd justici repar	80
23	mism	6274	opinion public	482	miembr fuerz public	80
24	president	5581	fuerz public	473	defensor derech human	77
25	pod	5579	podr ser	472	interamerican derech human	75
26	paz	5493	part polit	468	pol democrat altern	75
27	import	5480	polit public	444	parej mism sex	73
28	acuerd	5432	buen part	434	proyect acto legisl	71
29	cambi	5425	educ superior	434	mejor calid vid	70
30	dec	5374	socied civil	425	departament nacional planeacion	70

31	sid	5368	polit econom	425	polit econom social	67
32	result	5283	billon pe	411	contralor general republ	65
33	comun	5274	alvar urib	397	jurisdiccion especial paz	65
34	sistem	5041	gobiern sant	395	explot recurs natural	61
35	desarroll	4969	proyect ley	389	plan orden territorial	59
36	medi	4937	deb ten	385	firm acuerd paz	59
37	unid	4882	ser human	379	part movimient polit	58
38	bien	4827	punt vist	378	paz establ durader	57
39	maner	4760	president urib	375	ram pod public	57
40	hech	4752	cambi climat	367	cort penal internacional	55
41	problem	4746	constitu 1991	358	alvar urib velez	54
42	ley	4642	mil millon	356	cultiv uso ilicit	54
43	segur	4620	justici transicional	355	president juan manuel	52
44	asi	4539	ten cuent	354	respet derech human	52
45	form	4517	part liberal	354	procuradur general nacion	51
46	mejor	4456	segund vuelt	353	president alvar urib	50
47	ciudadan	4413	pued hac	351	sector miner energet	50
48	proyect	4338	primer vuelt	346	german varg ller	50
49	relacion	4191	recurs natural	345	sistem segur social	50
50	men	4191	fuerz armad	345	recurs natural renov	49
51	logr	4149	econom social	344	hac vari años	49
52	farc	4127	polit social	342	primer dec sigl	47
53	efect	4089	crecimient econom	335	oscar ivan zuluag	47
54	cad	4043	sistem polit	332	corpor autonom regional	47
55	sector	4017	president republ	332	ser pil pag	46
56	conflict	3985	servici public	330	victim restitu tierr	46
57	negoci	3984	gran part	326	mejor condicion vid	45
58	ultim	3983	dej ser	326	institu educ superior	45
59	person	3975	hac años	325	organiz cooper desarroll	45
60	sol	3941	millon pe	323	sistem integr transport	45

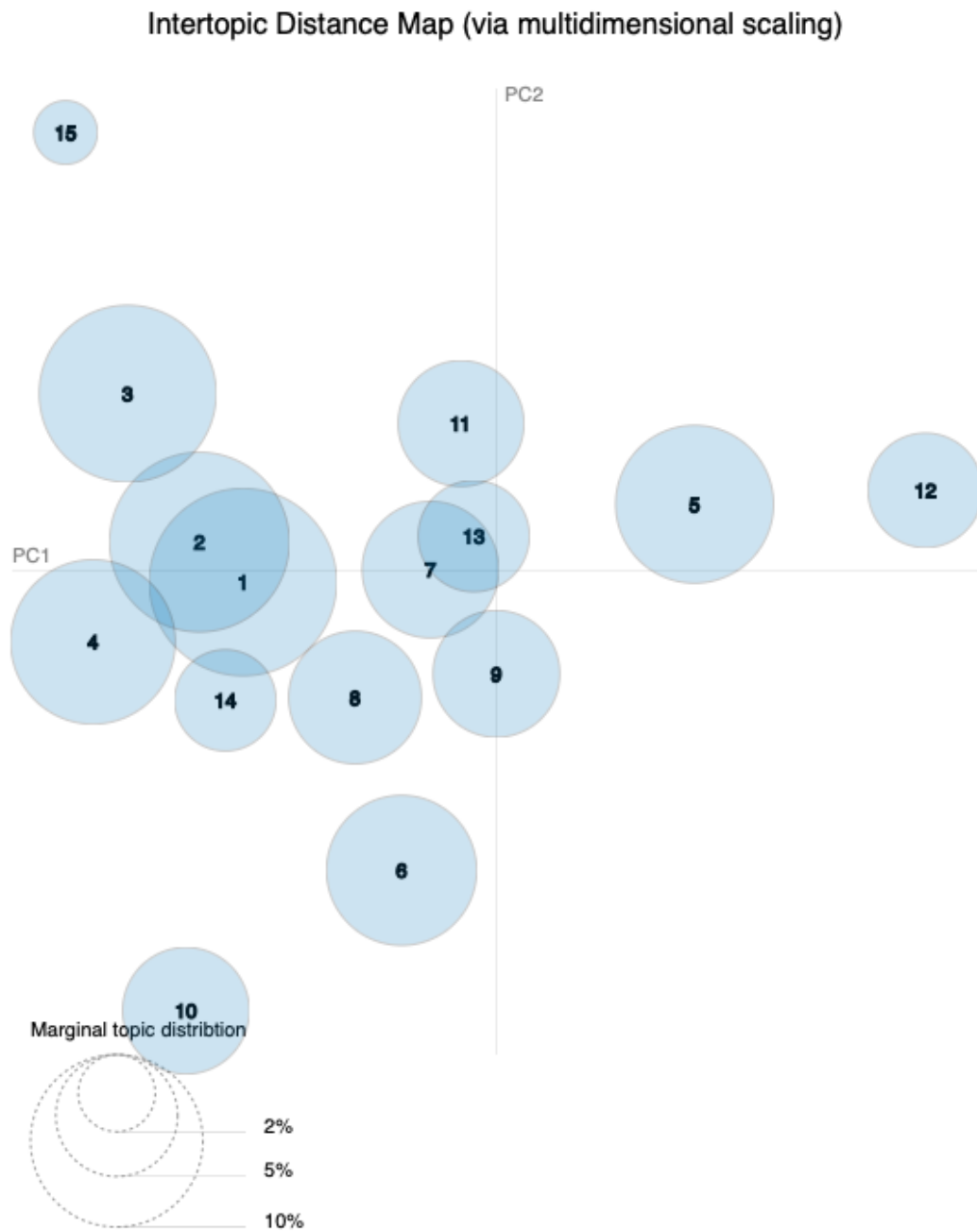
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62	aument	3919	cuatr años	316	proces paz farc	45
63	grup	3900	centr democrat	315	proteccion medi ambient	45
64	trat	3896	segur democrat	314	ley victim restitu	45
65	urib	3812	ultim dec	309	marc jurid paz	45
66	internacional	3766	derech fundamental	304	derech human derech	44
67	podr	3765	deb hac	304	acuerd paz farc	44
68	organiz	3748	cort plaz	298	agro ingres segur	44
69	justici	3735	juan manuel	298	ultim diez años	44
70	educ	3735	societ colombian	294	mart luc ramirez	44
71	guerr	3692	polit exterior	294	product intern brut	43
72	cre	3642	general nacion	291	pon tel juici	43
73	embarg	3637	cambi radical	281	conflict armad colombian	43
74	baj	3620	unid nacional	279	hac cuatr años	43
75	control	3569	manuel sant	276	fuerz militar polic	42
76	pe	3566	sigl xix	275	final sigl xix	42
77	tiemp	3558	plan desarroll	273	sistem general particip	42
78	reform	3555	acuerd final	273	cooper desarroll econom	42
79	societ	3552	parec ser	273	ocho años gobiern	41
80	lleg	3545	mayor part	270	autodefens unid colombi	41
81	recurs	3544	red social	270	victim conflict armad	41
82	parec	3536	acto legisl	266	sentenci cort constitucional	41
83	propi	3524	suprem justici	265	andres felip ari	41
84	present	3523	much vec	264	plan obligatori salud	40
85	cort	3504	salari minim	263	luis carl galan	39
86	gran	3503	prim lug	263	servici public domiciliari	39
87	vid	3501	segur ciudadan	263	ce fueg bilateral	39
88	particip	3475	pued ten	260	gabriel garc marquez	39
89	mund	3469	derech internacional	259	acuerd libr comerci	39

90	pues	3450	llam atencion	259	inversion extranjer direct	39
91	trabaj	3442	firm acuerd	257	fond monetari internacional	39
92	tod	3409	reform constitucional	256	cambi radical part	39
93	permit	3372	social polit	255	ley 100 1993	39
94	tem	3367	sector priv	255	institut colombian desarroll	38
95	dej	3342	gobiern urib	255	caid preci petrole	38
96	fuerz	3266	fuerz militar	253	ministeri min energ	38
97	hoy	3261	gobiern farc	252	segund mit sigl	38
98	cuent	3253	union europe	252	niñ niñ adolescent	38
99	violenci	3247	comun internacional	252	ultim ocho años	38
100	human	3237	particip polit	251	repar integral victim	38
101	sant	3221	libr comerci	251	penal cort suprem	38
102	accion	3151	public priv	249	gobiern alvar urib	37
103	inform	3144	cient pib	249	cort interamerican derech	37
104	ejempl	3121	año pa	248	dec sigl xxi	37
105	constitu	3107	varg ller	247	ministeri educ nacional	37
106	razon	3089	segur social	247	segur social salud	37
107	grand	3085	eleccion presidencial	247	zon reserv campesin	36
108	diferent	3074	desarroll econom	244	educ basic medium	36
109	represent	3073	ocho años	244	desarroll econom ocde	36
110	buen	3053	gobiern colombian	243	procur general nacion	36
111	llev	3046	crim organiz	242	firm acuerd final	36
112	aunqu	3013	ce fueg	242	organiz socied civil	35
113	congres	3006	transport public	242	reform rural integral	35
114	punt	2998	econom polit	240	nacional planeacion dnp	35
115	condicion	2987	alto nivel	239	justici penal milit	35
116	año	2974	gran mayor	239	registradur nacional civil	35
117	exist	2949	part conserv	238	organiz nacion unid	35
118	clar	2947	part gobiern	237	integr transport public	35

119	administr	2944	resolv problem	237	implement acuerd paz	34
120	med	2936	calid vid	236	pued lleg ser	34
121	activ	2913	violacion derech	235	armad marg ley	34
122	cost	2887	fiscal general	234	econom social cultural	34
123	decision	2862	sigl xxi	234	unid union europe	34
124	frent	2859	val pen	231	proces justici paz	34
125	qued	2858	social econom	229	pa segund vuelt	34
126	necesari	2844	polit segur	227	cad 100 habit	34
127	millon	2844	inversion extranjer	227	convivent segur ciudadan	34
128	aun	2837	desarroll rural	225	human derech internacional	33
129	vari	2832	diez años	225	orden territorial pot	33
130	tan	2823	impuest rent	225	organ orden territorial	33
131	situacion	2818	quier dec	224	grav violacion derech	33
132	ademas	2811	años despues	223	fin conflict armad	33
133	vot	2805	reform tributari	220	reform equilibri poder	33
134	eleccion	2789	polit colombian	218	organiz mundial salud	33
135	consider	2772	ta interes	218	medi masiv comun	33
136	general	2769	particip ciudadan	218	desarroll econom social	32
137	servici	2766	justici paz	217	unid colombi auc	32
138	estudi	2764	pa ser	217	van d hamm	32
139	armad	2747	parec hab	216	sistem general regal	32
140	posibl	2741	hab sid	215	ley organ orden	32
141	conoc	2719	administr justici	214	pued ser consider	32
142	candidat	2716	conflict intern	212	especial paz jep	32
143	reconoc	2713	restitu tierr	211	comision interamerican derech	32
144	histori	2697	mejor calid	211	grup marg ley	32
145	ba	2689	armad ilegal	210	acuerd gobiern farc	32
146	actual	2679	pod polit	210	cort internacional justici	32
147	especial	2677	organiz criminal	208	internacional derech human	32
148	plan	2676	pais desarroll	208	nacion unid drog	31
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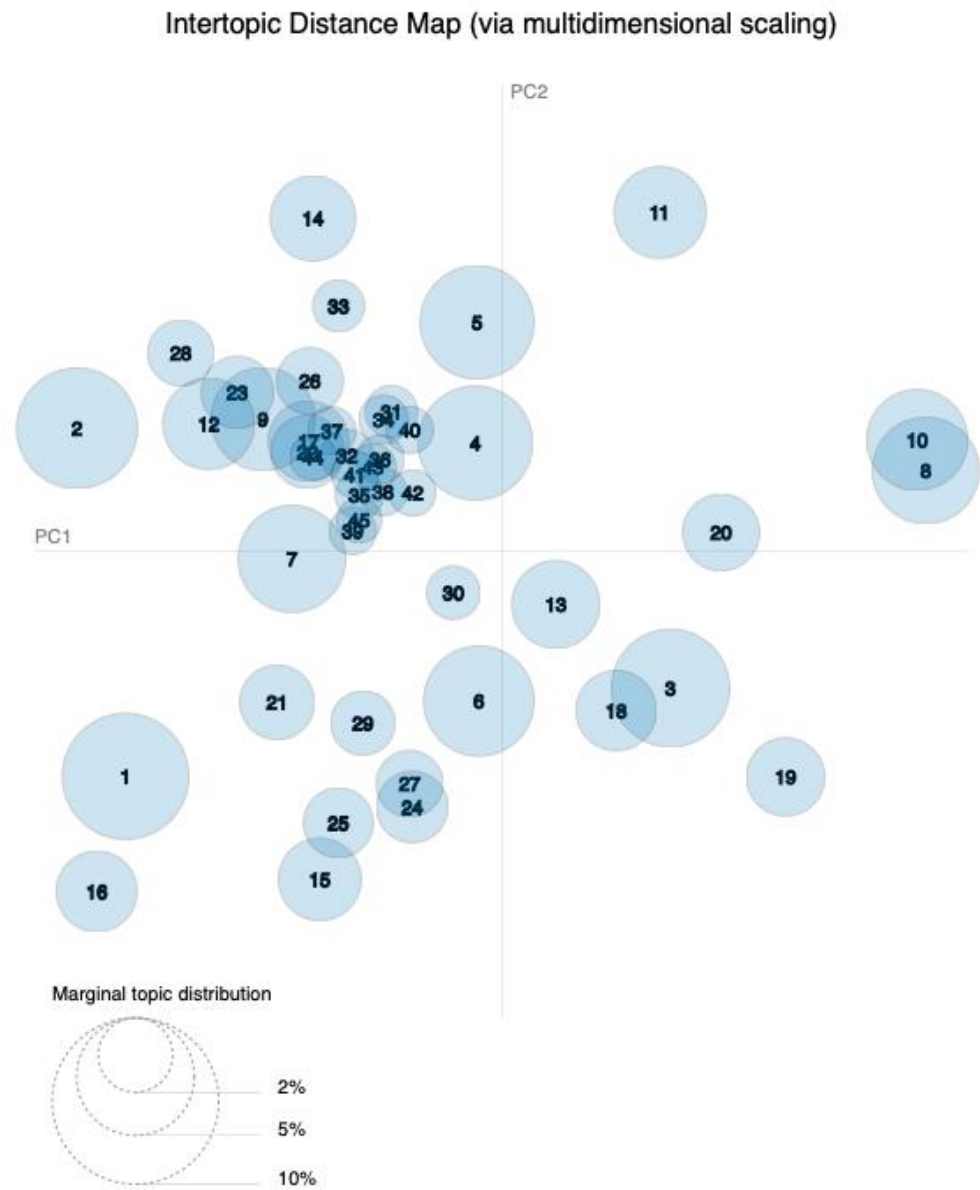
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151	apoy	2642	clas medium	204	grup armad marg	31
152	autor	2641	niñ niñ	203	magistr cort constitucional	31
153	tres	2624	cultiv coc	202	primer vuelt presidencial	31
154	gener	2623	univers public	202	social polit econom	31
155	ahor	2616	fuerz polit	202	carg eleccion popul	31
156	dia	2603	entidad territorial	200	gas efect invernader	31
157	tal	2600	recurs public	200	colombian desarroll rural	30
158	funcion	2583	cinc años	199	gobiern president sant	30
159	merc	2565	gustav petr	198	gobiern andres pastran	30
160	tom	2563	millon person	198	deficit cuent corrient	30
161	termin	2562	pued dec	197	part liberal conserv	30
162	region	2561	campañ electoral	197	sistem polit colombian	30
163	moment	2544	cienci tecnolog	194	paz gobiern farc	30
164	propuest	2542	polit drog	194	social econom polit	30
165	ten	2521	actor armad	193	geograf agustin codazzi	29
166	busc	2517	banc republ	193	oficin nacion unid	29
167	ciert	2515	ram judicial	192	primer guerr mundial	29
168	electoral	2511	puebl indigen	190	sal negoci conflict	29
169	haci	2483	sistem salud	190	sistem transport public	29
170	product	2457	polic nacional	189	fall cort constitucional	29
171	democrat	2433	movimient social	188	grup armad organiz	29
172	lug	2424	frent nacional	188	sector public priv	29
173	poblacion	2424	acuerd haban	187	presupuest general nacion	29
174	com	2423	hoy dia	187	magistr altas cort	29
175	empres	2422	polit nacional	187	proyect ley estatutari	29
176	interes	2419	pol democrat	187	polit exterior colombian	29
177	salud	2415	nuev gobiern	185	aument pie fuerz	29
178	bogot	2415	part verd	185	prox cuatr años	29
179	fiscal	2408	nacional internacional	184	val pen pregunt	29

180	valor	2405	gast public	183	tecnolog inform comun	29
181	period	2396	reform polit	183	part cambi radical	29
182	nivel	2384	bien public	182	prestacion servici public	29
183	orden	2368	cultiv ilicit	182	institut geograf agustin	28
184	debat	2366	guerr civil	182	comision nacion unid	28
185	inclu	2348	econom colombian	180	adapt cambi climat	28
186	pen	2339	garc marquez	180	magistr cort suprem	28
187	principal	2329	fals posit	179	actor armad ilegal	28
188	program	2326	regl jueg	178	context conflict armad	28
189	establec	2316	band criminal	178	aument salari minim	28
190	investig	2316	plan nacional	177	jorg eliec gaitan	28
191	respons	2308	negoci paz	177	general nacion unid	28
192	final	2305	lleg ser	177	mejor calid educ	28
193	llam	2289	form part	177	social sigl xxi	28
194	anterior	2274	orden territorial	176	jos obduli gaviri	28
195	entonc	2271	mejor condicion	175	obligatori salud po	28
196	capac	2266	cient total	175	part social unid	28
197	mientr	2265	miner energet	174	desarroll rural incod	27
198	despues	2264	clas polit	174	acuerd paz gobiern	27
199	sig	2263	segu siend	173	millon dolar anual	27
200	constitucional	2242	segund lug	172	sistem pe contrapes	27

Annex 3. Screenshot pyLDAvis finalist model with 15 topics

Annex 4. Screenshot pyLDAvis finalist model with 30 topics

Annex 5. Screenshot pyLDAvis finalist model with 45 topics



Annex 6. Topics of the finalists model with 15 and 45 topics

Model	Topic	Quality	Description *	Presumed tag	Top 10 terms (relevance =0.6) Cells highlighted in green indicate that a term was also selected as a topic presumed tag.
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mo del 15	topic 1	goo d	g	"conflict " + "paz"	farc	guerr	paz	confl ict	guerrill	polit	armad	milit	negoc i	fuerz
mo del 15	topic 2	goo d	g	"polit"	part	urib	polit	vot	candida t	elecci on	electo ral	sant	presid ent	demo crat
mo del 15	topic 3	goo d	g	(culture and entreinm ent)	hist ori	futbol	mun d	pelic ul	hac	cin	vid	depo rt	dia	obra
mo del 15	topic 4	goo d	g	"social"	der ech	social	pued	huma n	vid	mujer	ser	socie d	form	moral
mo del 15	topic 5	goo d	g	"econom "	cien t	empres	prod uct	ingre s	merc	trabaj	cost	servi ci	econo m	pobre z
mo del 15	topic 6	goo d	g	"ley"	refo rm	constitu cional	salud	ley	congres	cort	consti tu	siste m	legisl	aprob
mo del 15	topic 7	goo d	g	"ambient al" + "territori "	tierr	ambient al	territ ori	agu	miner	camp esin	zon	propie d	hectar	rural
mo del 15	topic 8	goo d	g	"drog"	dro g	polic	crimi nal	cocai n	segur	infor m	trafic	homi cidi	narcot raf	proble m
mo del 15	topic 9	goo d	g	"educ"	edu c	univers	calid	estud i	progra m	forma cion	desarr oll	doce nt	superi or	evalu
mo del 15	topic 10	goo d	g	"justici"	vict im	justici	derec h	delit	penal	repar	verd	paz	proce s	crime n
mo del 15	topic 11	goo d	g	"internac ional"	uni d	pais	vene zuel	cumb r	internac ional	colom bi	amer	brasi l	chin	ecua dor
mo del 15	topic 12	goo d	g	"econom "	cien t	preci	ta	econ om	aument	inflaci on	dolar	banc	pib	creci mient
mo del 15	topic 13	goo d	g	"ciud"	alca ld	bogot	ciud	distri tal	petr	peñal	conce j	local	admin istr	movil
mo del 15	topic 14	goo d	g	"ciudada n" + "institu"	poli t	corrupci on	pod	ciuda dan	judicial	public	funcio nari	instit u	demo craci	escan dal
mo del 15	topic 15	goo d	g	"religi"	reli gi	iglesi	catol	indig en	cristian	evang el	pap	dios	negr	etnic

mo del 45	to pi c 1	go od	g	"econom "	cient	ta	creci mient	aume nt	produc t	econo m	agu	climat	export	inflac cion
mo del 45	to pi c 2	go od	g	"ley" +"tributa ri"	ley	contrat	impue st	refor m	empres	admi nistr	proyec t	recurs	tributari	contra lor
mo del 45	to pi c 3	go od	g	"urib" +"sant"	urib	preside nt	polit	reelec cion	sant	part	opinio n	alvar	pod	libera l
mo del 45	to pi c 4	go od	g	"justici"	cort	judicia l	justici	penal	delit	magis tr	supre m	funcion ari	fiscal	conse j
mo del 45	to pi c 5	go od	g	"paz"	paz	farc	victi m	acuer d	justici	verd	conflic t	proces	repar	polit
mo del 45	to pi c 6	go od	g	"eleccion "	vot	candid at	elecci on	electo ral	part	electo r	congre s	campañ	vuelte	votaci on
mo del 45	to pi c 7	go od	g	"armad" +"narcotra fic"	farc	cultiv	grup	armad	coc	arma d	coc	guerrill	narcotra f	crimi nal
mo del 45	to pi c 8	go od	g	"histori" +"literat ur"	escrib	libr	histor i	literat ur	novel	escri or	lector	obra	literari	palabr
mo del 45	to pi c 9	go od	g	"educ"	educ	univers	estudi	calid	formac ion	superi or	progra m	docent	academ	cienci
mo del 45	to pi c 10	go od	g	"memori "	mem ori	violenc i	muert	victim	vid	dolor	hombr e	padr	histori	hij
mo del 45	to pi c 11	go od	g	"religi"	sexua l	iglesi	catol	religi	niñ	moral	famili	derech	pap	adole scent
mo del 45	to pi c 12	go od	g	"salud"	salud	sistem	servic i	medic	pensio n	eps	pacien t	atencion	enferme dad	afili
mo del 45	to pi c 13	go od	g	"ciud"	alcald	bogot	ciud	petr	izquier d	peñal	distrita l	pol	mockus	more n
mo del 45	to pi c 14	go od	g	"derech" +"comun "	derech	indige n	comu n	propie d	instituc ional	jurid	territor i	social	puebl	recon oc

mo del 45	to pi c 15	go od	g	(Americ as)	brasil	ecuado r	pais	andin	can	unasu r	region al	norteam erican	venezue l	merco sur
mo del 45	to pi c 16	go od	g	"petrole"	preci	dolar	cient	millon	petrole	petrol er	pe	ecopetr ol	barril	billon
mo del 45	to pi c 17	go od	g	"polit" +"cliente l"	polit	clientel	elit	pod	social	local	nacion al	bipartid	constitu cional	siste m
mo del 45	to pi c 18	go od	g	Eastern Hemisph ere	israel	siri	iran	palest in	guerr	unid	islam	arab	irak	terror
mo del 45	to pi c 19	go od	g	"deport"	futbol	deport	selecc ion	mundi al	equip	cop	club	jugador	aficion	olimp
mo del 45	to pi c 20	go od	g	(culture and entreinm ent)	cin	artist	music	pelicu l	festival	arte	televis ion	red	period	medi
mo del 45	to pi c 21	go od	g	"drog"	drog	consu m	marihu an	merc	prohibi cion	sustan ci	consu midor	tic	core	unid
mo del 45	to pi c 22	go od	g	"acuerd"	propu est	acuerd	segur	negoc i	tem	gobie rn	me	polit	convers	optim
mo del 45	to pi c 23	go od	g	"ambient al"	ambien tal	ambien t	licenc i	miner	natural	min	proyec t	ecosiste m	agu	zon
mo del 45	to pi c 24	go od	g	"rus" +"europ"	ru	europ	europ e	rusi	crisis	econo m	neolib eral	ucrani	deud	alema ni
mo del 45	to pi c 25	go od	g	"fronter" +"colom bi"	fronter	colom bi	fronter riz	nicara gu	colom bian	binaci onal	cocain	venezue l	contrab	ambo
mo del 45	to pi c 26	go od	g	"intelige nt" +"agenc"	inteli gent	agenci	polici al	misio n	tar	infor m	coordi n	segur	polic	funci on
mo del	to pi	go od	g	"interam erican"	cumb r	cub	carib	amer	unid	obam	oea	interam erican	panam	reuni on

45	c 27													
mo del 45	to pi c 28	go od	g	"tierr"	tierr	restitu	rural	camp esin	agrari	predi	despoj	baldi	propied	hectar
mo del 45	to pi c 29	go od	g	"venezue l"	oposi cion	asambl e	madu r	oposit or	chavis m	venez uel	venez olan	gobiern	chavist	chave z
mo del 45	to pi c 30	go od	g	"corrupci on"	peru	fujimo ri	perua n	1995	corrup cion	albert	lim	abril	odebrec ht	alejan dr
mo del 45	to pi c 31	go od	g	"ethnic"	negr	racial	etnic	raz	blanc	color	cens	piel	racism	inclus ion
mo del 45	to pi c 32	go od	g	"gobiern " +"colom bian"	gobie rn	deb	nuev	corru pcion	colom bian	ciuda dan	pued	ser	colombi	cambi
mo del 45	to pi c 33	go od	g	"mujer"	mujer	abort	embar az	muj	de	volun tari	penali z	interru mp	reprodu ct	nadi
mo del 45	to pi c 34	ba d	rand om	-	pued	ser	deb	proce s	años	nuev	hac	mism	colombi an	bien
mo del 45	to pi c 35	ba d	rand om	-	duart	ricard	empre sari	trabaj	colom bi	pais	part	colombi an	ser	sin
mo del 45	to pi c 36	go od	g	"territori al"	guajir	departa ment	territo rial	ruiz	part	nuev	polit	nacional	poblaci on	habit
mo del 45	to pi c 37	ba d	r	-	preca ri	polit	part	pued	social	deb	hac	nacional	ser	plan
mo del 45	to pi c 38	ba d	r	-	juev	part	polit	gobier n	deb	tem	logr	hac	tem	logr
mo del 45	to pi c 39	ba d	r	-	gobie rn	colom bi	años	pa	pais	hac	pued	deb	part	nuev

mo del 45	to pi c 40	ba d	r	-	pued	hac	polit	nuev	comun	deb	colom bi	ca	maner	hech
mo del 45	to pi c 41	ba d	r	-	deb	colom bi	ser	pais	pued	hech	part	colombi an	pa	argu ment
mo del 45	to pi c 42	ba d	r	-	polit	pais	part	pued	nacion al	hech	sin	años	form	hac
mo del 45	to pi c 43	ba d	r	-	colo mbi	polit	sid	ca	colom bian	medi	bien	pued	pais	part
mo del 45	to pi c 44	ba d	r	-	cland estin	descon exion	escuet	orden	ley	agent	estatal	plausibl	polit	aplic
mo del 45	to pi c 45	ba d	r	--	part	polit	deb	pued	pais	colo mbi	ca	hoy	result	cambi
*Descriptors (c= “chained”, g=“good”, i= “intruded”, r=“random”, u= “unbalanced”)														

Annex 7. Top 30 terms of each topic in the final model and their presumed tags.

Topic number	Preliminary tag	Size (as %)	Rank 1 (as %)	Top 30 terms (relevance =1)
1	Politics (Colombia)	7.9	7.95	part', 'polit', 'urib', 'vot', 'eleccion', 'electoral', 'president', 'candidat', 'gobiern', 'represent', 'congres', 'sant', 'democrat', 'pod', 'oposicion', 'liberal', 'presidencial', 'mayor', 'apoy', 'nacional', 'cambi', 'elector', 'nuev', 'campañ', 'izquierd', 'opinion', 'coalicion', 'conserv', 'govern', 'segund',
2	Justice and courts	7.4	10.68	justici', 'cort', 'derech', 'ley', 'deb', 'constitucional', 'judicial', 'polit', 'ca', 'ser', 'pued', 'fiscal', 'congres', 'delit', 'proces', 'penal', 'victim', 'constitu', 'gobiern', 'verd', 'jurid', 'president', 'comision', 'public', 'investig', 'reform', 'respons', 'general', 'sentenci', 'decision',
3	History and humanities	7.3	8.40	histori', 'hac', 'ser', 'vid', 'mund', 'pa', 'mism', 'libr', 'años', 'tiemp', 'dia', 'sab', 'pued', 'dej',

				'propi', 'lleg', 'sin', 'obra', 'tan', 'viv', 'habl', 'tod', 'period', 'siembr', 'medi', 'colombian', 'cre', 'pais', 'public', 'colombi',
4	International conflicts	5.3	5.08	polit', 'guerr', 'pod', 'conflict', 'social', 'unid', 'fuerz', 'part', 'pais', 'milit', 'mund', 'mism', 'hac', 'socio', 'medi', 'terror', 'siri', 'regim', 'enemig', 'ser', 'comun', 'pued', 'nuev', 'internacional', 'pa', 'frent', 'discurs', 'ru', 'sin', 'militar',
5	Macro economy	5.1	4.58	cient', 'millon', 'empres', 'pe', 'impuest', 'inversion', 'pag', 'preci', 'gobiern', 'cost', 'ingres', 'recurs', 'aument', 'deb', 'tributari', 'dolar', 'gast', 'financi', 'billon', 'public', 'fiscal', 'sector', 'econom', 'valor', 'merc', 'deud', 'año', 'mayor', 'pais', 'años',
6	Drug trafficking and conflict	5.1	4.39	grup', 'drog', 'polit', 'organiz', 'cultiv', 'narcotraf', 'armad', 'criminal', 'violenci', 'farc', 'colombi', 'ilegal', 'segur', 'paramilitar', 'zon', 'guerrill', 'fuerz', 'coc', 'años', 'cocain', 'pais', 'part', 'control', 'conflict', 'colombian', 'guerr', 'gobiern', 'sid', 'polic', 'unid',
7	Peace	4.7	7.058	paz', 'farc', 'acuerd', 'negoci', 'proces', 'gobiern', 'polit', 'conflict', 'part', 'guerrill', 'haban', 'pued', 'sant', 'armad', 'me', 'deb', 'particip', 'guerr', 'dialog', 'punt', 'armas', 'ce', 'eln', 'hac', 'colombi', 'tem', 'logr', 'guerriller', 'import', 'colombian',
8	Public policy and territory	4.4	2.85	polit', 'public', 'reform', 'nacional', 'territorial', 'social', 'constitu', 'recurs', 'local', 'corrupcion', 'particip', 'desarroll', 'gobiern', 'ciudadan', 'deb', 'pod', 'ley', 'control', 'funcion', 'institucional', 'administr', 'proyect', 'sistem', 'orden', 'regional', 'econom', 'govern', 'fortalec', 'bien', 'part',
9	Macro economy	4.4	4.86	econom', 'cient', 'aument', 'crecimient', 'product', 'ta', 'cambi', 'polit', 'sector', 'pais', 'banc', 'merc', 'crisis', 'preci', 'import', 'colombi', 'export', 'efect', 'año', 'bien', 'desarroll', 'inflacion', 'nivel', 'emple', 'mayor', 'pued', 'gobiern', 'años', 'colombian', 'part',
10	Americas	3.8	3.431053203	pais', 'unid', 'president', 'amer', 'colombi', 'cumbr', 'brasil', 'latin', 'polit', 'mundial', 'region', 'internacional', 'argentin', 'gobiern', 'futbol', 'relacion', 'deport', 'latinoamerican', 'econom', 'regional', 'part', 'obam', 'colombian', 'nuev', 'estadounidens', 'gobi', 'cambi', 'apoy', 'tem', 'mund',
11	Environment	3.6	3.821932682	ambiental', 'agu', 'miner', 'proyect', 'min', 'zon', 'desarroll', 'territori', 'nacional', 'comun', 'rio',

				'natural', 'ambient', 'activ', 'are', 'plan', 'consult', 'recurs', 'region', 'gran', 'deb', 'grand', 'empres', 'urban', 'hac', 'ecosistem', 'ciud', 'licenci', 'explot', 'municipi',
12	Education	3.4	3.669923996	educ', 'univers', 'estudi', 'calid', 'public', 'social', 'formacion', 'program', 'superior', 'institu', 'investig', 'mejor', 'academ', 'joven', 'pued', 'cienci', 'tecnic', 'tecnolog', 'priv', 'docent', 'desarroll', 'colombi', 'sistem', 'colegi', 'ser', 'evalu', 'nivel', 'deb', 'nacional', 'problem',
13	Human rights	3.4	2.692725299	derech', 'ser', 'human', 'moral', 'mism', 'reconoc', 'pued', 'deb', 'person', 'argument', 'social', 'libr', 'socio', 'sin', 'valor', 'practic', 'ident', 'fundamental', 'part', 'jurid', 'vid', 'trat', 'diferent', 'hac', 'consider', 'dec', 'razon', 'autor', 'gener', 'constitucional',
14	Public services	3.2	3.235613464	salud', 'sistem', 'servici', 'public', 'social', 'deb', 'ley', 'transport', 'plan', 'atencion', 'model', 'segur', 'eps', 'mejor', 'nuev', 'administr', 'recurs', 'movil', 'usuari', 'derech', 'indigen', 'problem', 'gobiern', 'part', 'priv', 'cost', 'medic', 'oper', 'pag', 'hac',
15	Colombia and neighboring countries	2.9	2.909880565	colombi', 'pais', 'colombian', 'venezuel', 'relacion', 'internacional', 'fronter', 'venezolan', 'comerci', 'gobiern', 'ecuador', 'econom', 'trat', 'chavez', 'unid', 'pued', 'fronteriz', 'part', 'ambo', 'pa', 'president', 'nicaragu', 'comercial', 'vecin', 'hac', 'exterior', 'madur', 'andin', 'tlc', 'acuerd',
16	Labor and poverty	2.5	2.410423453	cient', 'trabaj', 'laboral', 'mayor', 'años', 'poblacion', 'person', 'salari', 'ingres', 'pobrez', 'aument', 'colombi', 'baj', 'indic', 'social', 'pension', 'ciudad', 'minim', 'pobr', 'emple', 'mejor', 'pais', 'desiguald', 'hac', 'segur', 'informal', 'mientr', 'sistem', 'result', 'pued',
17	land, communities	2.5	2.149837134	tierr', 'propied', 'rural', 'campesin', 'restitu', 'desarroll', 'territori', 'agrari', 'comun', 'indigen', 'polit', 'ley', 'proces', 'social', 'predi', 'despoj', 'derech', 'hectar', 'desplaz', 'titul', 'deb', 'gobiern', 'baldi', 'nacional', 'proyect', 'econom', 'part', 'camp', 'concentr', 'ser',
18	Freedoms, rights and duties	2.4	2.214983713	ca', 'pued', 'deb', 'salud', 'contrat', 'person', 'consum', 'ser', 'vid', 'problem', 'inform', 'hac', 'muert', 'medic', 'derech', 'colombi', 'control', 'razon', 'uso', 'trat', 'mism', 'riesg', 'prohibicion', 'ley', 'human', 'consider', 'pues', 'sistem', 'efect', 'public',
19	Background topic	2.3	0.2388707926	polit', 'deb', 'pued', 'part', 'ser', 'hac', 'colombi', 'problem', 'pais', 'hech', 'mism', 'nuev', 'podr',

				'sin', 'tem', 'gobiern', 'ca', 'import', 'dec', 'public', 'cre', 'parec', 'pa', 'comun', 'colombian', 'bien', 'razon', 'result', 'efect', 'sid',
20	Cities and urban administration	2.3	1.889250814	ciudadan', 'alcald', 'bogot', 'ciud', 'administr', 'polit', 'segur', 'deb', 'pued', 'gobiern', 'polic', 'hac', 'nuev', 'part', 'distrital', 'public', 'result', 'concej', 'mockus', 'ser', 'problem', 'accion', 'moren', 'plan', 'peñal', 'convivent', 'contrat', 'mejor', 'buen', 'respons',
21	Family and victims	2.3	1.411509229	mujer', 'niñ', 'victim', 'violenci', 'famili', 'ca', 'sexual', 'hij', 'muj', 'hombr', 'adolescent', 'person', 'vid', 'ser', 'padr', 'deb', 'hac', 'social', 'madr', 'gener', 'menor', 'años', 'form', 'derech', 'memori', 'part', 'armad', 'relacion', 'hech', 'puebl',
22	Electoral politics (Colombia)	2.1	1.737242128	candidat', 'petr', 'encuest', 'propuest', 'vuel', 'campañ', 'duqu', 'primer', 'cient', 'polit', 'call', 'segund', 'varg', 'tem', 'result', 'fajard', 'sant', 'vot', 'centr', 'pais', 'colombi', 'part', 'pued', 'logr', 'deb', 'dec', 'ser', 'pa', 'propon', 'mayor',
23	Communications and media	1.7	0.8034744843	red', 'inform', 'medi', 'internet', 'comun', 'form', 'public', 'hac', 'nuev', 'tecnolog', 'pued', 'part', 'social', 'acces', 'dat', 'canal', 'period', 'virtual', 'colombi', 'ca', 'digital', 'telefon', 'usuari', 'tradicional', 'sin', 'proces', 'trave', 'pod', 'cad', 'oper',
24	Film	1.7	0.7817589577	pelicul', 'cin', 'hac', 'ser', 'ca', 'mism', 'nuev', 'ciud', 'documental', 'pued', 'mal', 'produccion', 'form', 'vid', 'tan', 'dec', 'director', 'parec', 'siempr', 'pa', 'mejor', 'colombian', 'lleg', 'maner', 'pen', 'moment', 'bien', 'años', 'expresion', 'agu',
25	Environment	1.5	0.434310532	riesg', 'desastr', 'niñ', 'afect', 'fenomen', 'deb', 'ser', 'cambi', 'pued', 'derech', 'climat', 'comun', 'caus', 'dec', 'emergent', 'efect', 'human', 'pais', 'vulner', 'person', 'gobiern', 'alert', 'medi', 'part', 'nacional', 'nuev', 'maner', 'adapt', 'ca', 'sin',
26	Peace	1.5	0.2605863192	acuerd', 'deb', 'proces', 'paz', 'polit', 'part', 'ser', 'gobiern', 'pued', 'nuev', 'plebiscit', 'hac', 'colombi', 'implement', 'cre', 'public', 'comit', 'final', 'proyect', 'colombian', 'nacional', 'pregunt', 'mism', 'import', 'podr', 'cambi', 'logr', 'hech', 'ciudadan', 'maner',
27	Religion	1.4	0.6080347448	religi', 'iglesi', 'catol', 'pap', 'cristian', 'nuev', 'polit', 'dios', 'comun', 'part', 'colombi', 'evangel', 'organiz', 'mayor', 'francisc', 'colombian', 'fiel', 'lider', 'juan', 'visit', 'ser', 'hoy', 'tod', 'pued', 'hac', 'movimient', 'catolic',

				'diver', 'mism', 'especial',
28	International: focus on Middle East	1.4	0.217155266	israel', 'unid', 'palestin', 'internacional', 'gobiern', 'derech', 'polit', 'territori', 'ocup', 'cub', 'nacion', 'part', 'pais', 'cumbr', 'pa', 'president', 'puebl', 'onu', 'nuev', 'sin', 'consej', 'asamble', 'organiz', 'asent', 'reconoc', 'ser', 'conflict', 'segur', 'declar', 'debat',
29	Culture	1.4	0.6731813246	cultur', 'cultural', 'public', 'part', 'artist', 'festival', 'band', 'etb', 'nuev', 'bogot', 'patrimoni', 'nacional', 'polit', 'import', 'proyect', 'memori', 'comun', 'hac', 'deb', 'hoy', 'social', 'music', 'diferent', 'pa', 'ciud', 'event', 'ser', 'local', 'año', 'bien',
30	Background topic	1.3	0.2388707926	inteligent', 'agenci', 'part', 'deb', 'hech', 'polit', 'ser', 'result', 'hac', 'pued', 'nuev', 'colombian', 'pa', 'gobiern', 'tem', 'segur', 'tiemp', 'import', 'comun', 'nacional', 'mism', 'inform', 'pais', 'sid', 'ca', 'men', 'trat', 'discurs', 'mejor', 'form',

Annex 8. NMREB Approval



**Western
Research**

Date: 1 February 2019

To: Juan Suarez

Project ID: 112819

Study Title: Circumscribing Public Interest: a Case Study on Razón Pública

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Delegated

Full Board Reporting Date: March 1 2019

Date Approval Issued: 01/Feb/2019

REB Approval Expiry Date: 01/Feb/2020

Dear Juan Suarez

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. All other required institutional approvals must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
2.6 Interview guide	Interview Guide	07/Nov/2018	1
Interview Recruitment Email	Recruitment Materials	08/Jan/2019	
Interview information and consent letter (1)	Implied Consent/Assent	08/Jan/2019	
Interview information and consent letter C	Verbal Consent/Assent	24/Jan/2019	3
Qualtrics Survey Software Personal Identifier	Online Survey		
Reminder Survey email	Recruitment Materials	08/Jan/2019	
R Survey information and consent letter	Implied Consent/Assent	08/Jan/2019	2
Survey Recruitment Email	Recruitment Materials	08/Jan/2019	
Survey Razón Pública	Online Survey	08/Jan/2019	2
Thesis proposal, October 15, edited (1)	Protocol		

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Kelly Patterson, Research Ethics Officer on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Elemento 1

Carta de información

Circunscribir el interés público: un caso de estudio sobre Razón Pública

Investigador principal: Profesor Juan Luis Suárez, Vice Presidente Asociado de Investigación en la Universidad de Western Ontario (email address deleted following Western' Graduate and Posdoctorate Studies thesis formatting rules)

Investigador secundario: Emilio Calderon, estudiante de la Maestría en Estudios Hispánicos de la Universidad de Western Ontario. Asistente graduado de investigación en CulturePlex Western University, (email address deleted following Western' Graduate and Posdoctorate Studies thesis formatting rules)

1. Introducción:

Usted ha sido invitado para participar en este caso de estudio sobre Razón Pública y las perspectivas de su comunidad sobre el interés público. Ha recibido esta encuesta porque está suscrito a la lista de correo de Razón Pública. Los datos recogidos en este estudio serán usados para una tesis de grado de maestría.

2. Justificación del estudio:

La tesis propuesta es un caso de estudio sobre Razón Pública (una revista colombiana digital y sin ánimo de lucro) como esfera pública. Esta investigación busca reconstruir las perspectivas sobre el interés público -en el contexto de la actualidad colombiana- de la comunidad de Razón Pública, y la comparará con los contenidos producidos por la revista. El estudio implica encuestar y entrevistas a lectores suscritos a Razón Pública con el fin de identificar qué constituye el interés público para esta comunidad.

3. Duración de su participación en el estudio:
La primera parte de este estudio consiste en contestar una encuesta en línea que le tomará aproximadamente 15 minutos. El propósito de esta es caracterizar a la población de lectores suscritos a la revista. Adicionalmente, al final de la encuesta usted podrá postularse como voluntario para una entrevista en una fecha posterior. El propósito de la entrevista es profundizar sobre sus perspectivas en torno al interés público. Las entrevistas tendrán una duración aproximada de 45 minutos y la muestra de entrevistados se elegirá buscando representar la población de suscriptores de la lista de correo de Razón Pública.

4. ¿Qué pasará durante el estudio?

El criterio para reclutar participantes para este estudio es que estén suscritos a la revista Razón Pública. Si usted acepta participar en la encuesta se le pedirá-Contestar preguntas demográficas-Contestar preguntas sobre consumo de medios, interés por la política y noción de interés público.

5. ¿Cuáles son los riesgos o peligros de participar en este estudio?

No prevemos que se exponga a riesgos, peligros o incomodidades por participar en este estudio.

6. ¿Cuáles son los beneficios por participar en este estudio?

Puede que usted no se beneficie directamente por participar en este estudio, sin embargo la información reunida contribuirá a avanzar la investigación sobre periodismo digital y cívico en Colombia. Más específicamente, este proyecto busca servir de retroalimentación para Razón Pública en el sentido de que busca establecer hasta qué punto los temas y perspectivas priorizadas por Razón Pública en sus publicaciones convergen o divergen respecto a las concepciones de interés público de sus lectores.

7. ¿Pueden los participantes elegir abandonar el estudio?

Usted puede retirarse en cualquier momento cerrando la pestaña de la encuesta. Debido a la naturaleza anónima de los datos, una vez que usted la haya enviado el investigador no podrá retirarla de la base de datos.

8. ¿Cómo se mantendrá a salvo la información.

Sus respuestas a la encuesta serán recogidas por medio de una plataforma en línea segura llamada Qualtrics. Qualtrics usa encriptación y autorizaciones de acceso restringido para proteger todos los datos obtenidos. Además, el servidor de Western University está ubicado en Irlanda, país en el que los estándares de protección de datos recaen bajo el marco de la Unión Europea. Luego la información será exportada de Qualtrics y se guardará a salvo en los servidores de Western University. Si usted da su consentimiento para ser contactado para la entrevista de seguimiento, su dirección de correo se mantendrá en un archivo separado a sus respuestas de la encuesta. Tan pronto como sea posible, su dirección de correo será eliminada y reemplazada por un código de identificación único con el fin de proteger la confidencialidad y privacidad de sus respuestas. Así los investigadores podrán identificar respuestas individuales y seleccionar una muestra representativa, entre quienes estén interesados en participar. Por lo tanto, es posible que, aunque usted se ofrezca como voluntario para las entrevistas, no sea contactado para participar en esta actividad adicional del estudio.

Representantes del Comité de Ética de Investigación No Médica podrán requerir acceso a su registro de participación con el fin de monitorear el desarrollo de esta investigación

10. ¿Cuáles son los derechos de los participantes?

Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria y usted puede elegir no tomar parte en este. Incluso si usted acepta participar usted tendrá derecho a no contestar todas las preguntas o a retirarse en cualquier momento. Usted no renuncia a ningún derecho al firmar este formato de consentimiento.

11. ¿A quién contactar en caso de tener más preguntas?

Emilio Calderón, Estudiante de la Maestría en Estudios Hispánicos de Western University: email address deleted following Western' Graduate and Postdoctorate Studies thesis formatting rules. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante en una investigación o sobre los procedimientos de este estudio, puede contactar a la Oficina de Ética de Investigación Humana (The Office of Human Research Ethics), teléfono correo electrónico: (pone number and email address deleted following Western' Graduate and Postdoctorate Studies thesis formatting rules)

Sinceramente, Emilio Calderón. Estudiante graduado de la Facultad de Artes y Humanidades, Western University.

Pregunta 1 **¿Confirma haber leído la carta de información en su totalidad?**

☐ Sí (1)

☐ No (2)

Pregunta 2

¿Está de acuerdo en participar en esta encuesta?

Nota: En cualquier momento puede retirarse de esta encuesta cerrando la ventana antes de completarla; si lo hace sus respuestas serán eliminadas.

☐ Sí (5)

☐ No (6)

End of Block: Bloque 1

Start of Block: Bloque 2

Pregunta 3 Mencione tres temas que considere de gran importancia pública en Colombia actualmente.

End of Block: Bloque 2

Start of Block: Bloque 3

Pregunta 4 ¿En qué grado considera los siguientes temas de interés público?

Nota. Considere las situaciones en relación al contexto de Colombia, a menos que el tema se refiera explícitamente a algo local o internacional.

	Nada o muy poco (2)	Moderadamente (3)	Mucho (4)
Disputas fronterizas entre Colombia y un país vecino (2)	☐	☐	☐
Sistema pensional (3)	☐	☐	☐
Procesos de paz (4)	☐	☐	☐
Estatus legal de la eutanasia (5)	☐	☐	☐
Políticas públicas en educación (6)	☐	☐	☐
Desarrollo de investigaciones penales que involucren reconocidos políticos. (7)	☐	☐	☐
Conflicto árabe-israelí (8)	☐	☐	☐
Narcotráfico e inseguridad (9)	☐	☐	☐
Descentralización en la política pública (10)	☐	☐	☐
Violencia de género (11)	☐	☐	☐
Reforma a la salud (13)	☐	☐	☐

Comunicaciones y
tecnologías de la
información (14)



End of Block: Bloque 3

Start of Block: Bloque 4



Pregunta 5 ¿En qué grado considera los siguientes temas de interés público?

Nota. Considere las situaciones en relación al contexto de Colombia, a menos que el tema se refiera explícitamente a algo local o internacional.

	Nada o muy poco (1)	Moderadamente (2)	Mucho (3)
Relaciones diplomáticas entre países latinoamericanos (5)	☐	☐	☐
Campañas electorales (8)	☐	☐	☐
Variaciones en el poder adquisitivo: inflación o deflación (9)	☐	☐	☐
Política de Bogotá (10)	☐	☐	☐
Protección y conservación de reservas naturales (12)	☐	☐	☐
Discriminación por clase social o género (15)	☐	☐	☐
Desempeño del sector petrolero en Colombia (16)	☐	☐	☐
Política y religión (20)	☐	☐	☐
Comunidades víctimas de despojo de tierras (35)	☐	☐	☐
Política y movimientos sociales en países árabes (36)	☐	☐	☐

Pregunta 6 ¿Está de acuerdo con el siguiente enunciado?

"En general, los medios de comunicación en Colombia cubren de forma suficiente los temas de interés público?"

- ☐ Sí (1)
 - ☐ No (2)
 - ☐ No sabe/ no responde (3)
-

Pregunta 7 ¿Está vinculado en alguno de los siguientes roles con Razón Pública? puede seleccionar más de una opción

- ☐ Autor (1)
 - ☐ Donante (2)
 - ☐ Empleado (3)
 - ☐ Suscrito al boletín de la revista (4)
-

Pregunta 8 En promedio ¿cuántas horas a la semana se expone usted a noticias?

- ☐ Menos de una (1)
- ☐ Entre una y cinco (2)
- ☐ Entre seis y diez (3)
- ☐ Más de diez (4)

End of Block: Bloque 4

Start of Block: Bloque 5

Pregunta 9

Seleccione los temas que le parecería que Razón Pública debería tratar más a menudo según la noción de interés público que usted tiene. Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

- ☐ Justicia y derecho (1)
- ☐ Asuntos internacionales (2)
- ☐ Política y gobierno (3)
- ☐ Economía (4)
- ☐ Desigualdad y asuntos laborales (5)
- ☐ Política de Bogotá (6)
- ☐ Territorios y comunidades (7)
- ☐ Deportes (8)
- ☐ Comunicación y tecnologías de la información (9)
- ☐ Género y familia (10)
- ☐ Cultura (12)
- ☐ Seguridad, conflicto y narcotráfico (13)

Pregunta 11 ¿Se identifica con alguno de los siguientes partidos políticos colombianos?

- ☐ Partido Centro Democrático (1)
- ☐ Polo Democrático Alternativo (2)
- ☐ Partido ASI (3)
- ☐ Partido Cambio Radical (4)
- ☐ Partido Conservador Colombiano (5)
- ☐ Partido Liberal Colombiano (6)
- ☐ Partido Social de la Unidad Nacional (la U) (7)
- ☐ Partido Alianza Verde (8)
- ☐ Partido Fuerza Alternativa del Común (FARC) (9)
- ☐ Partido Colombia Justa Libres (10)
- ☐ Partido Político MIRA (11)
- ☐ Partido Decentes (12)
- ☐ Partido AICO (13)
- ☐ Partido Colombia Humana (14)
- ☐ Partido MAIS (15)
- ☐ No se identifica con ninguno de estos partidos (16)
- ☐ Prefiere no responder/ no sabe (17)

End of Block: Bloque 6

Start of Block: Bloque 7

Pregunta 12 Gracias por llegar hasta aquí. Está a pocas preguntas de terminar la encuesta.

Pregunta 13 ¿Cuál es su edad?

Pregunta 14 Género

☐ Masculino (1)

☐ Femenino (2)

Pregunta 15 Máximo grado de educación alcanzado

☐ Primaria o secundaria (1)

☐ Bachillerato (2)

☐ Estudios universitarios incompletos (3)

☐ Educación técnica (4)

☐ Pregrado (5)

☐ Especialización o maestría (6)

☐ Doctorado (7)

Pregunta 16 ¿A qué actividad se dedica principalmente?

- ☐ Estudiar (1)
- ☐ Trabajar (2)
- ☐ Estudiar y trabajar (4)
- ☐ Retirado (6)
- ☐ Otra (7)

End of Block: Bloque 7

Start of Block: Bloque 8

Pregunta 17 ¿Trabaja en alguno de los siguientes sectores? (Puede marcar más de una opción)

- ☐ Educativo (1)
- ☐ Privado, con ánimo de lucro (2)
- ☐ Organizaciones sin ánimo de lucro (3)
- ☐ Periodismo y comunicaciones (6)
- ☐ Público (4)

End of Block: Bloque 8

Start of Block: Bloque 9

Pregunta 18 ¿Reside en Colombia?

☐ Sí (2)

☐ No (3)

End of Block: Bloque 9

Start of Block: Bloque 10

Pregunta 19 ¿En qué ciudad, pueblo o municipio reside?

Pregunta 20

¿Cuál es el estrato socio-económico de su residencia?

☐ 1 (1)

☐ 2 (2)

☐ 3 (3)

☐ 4 (4)

☐ 5 (5)

☐ 6 (6)

☐ No sabe / prefiere no responder (7)

End of Block: Bloque 10

Start of Block: Bloque 11

Pregunta 21 ¿Cuál es su país de residencia?

End of Block: Bloque 11

Start of Block: Bloque 12

Pregunta 22 ¿Estaría interesado en participar en una entrevista como continuación de este estudio?

☐ Sí (1)

☐ No (2)

Pregunta 23

Para que lo podamos contactar necesitamos que nos de una dirección de correo haciendo click en el enlace que le aparecerá al completar la encuesta.

Por último, necesitamos que escriba un código de identificación que deberá repetir cuando ingrese su dirección de correo.

Notas:

Para asegurar el anonimato, su código de identificación no debe ser su nombre real.

Sugerimos que su identificación consista de las dos primeras letras de su nombre seguidas por los dos últimos dígitos de su número de teléfono.

Cuando se finalice la ronda de entrevistas, las direcciones de correo serán borradas y solo quedará el registro de códigos de identificación.

End of Block: Bloque 12

				oferta electoral y mercado político
Tema 1	Presidente y Congreso 2012: conveniencia con tensiones estratégicas	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis de la unidad nacional en el 2012: y las relaciones y tensiones entre el gobierno y el congreso. Analiza qué buscan las diferentes facciones, y qué ha hecho la oposición. análisis centrado en la actividad legislativa y las relaciones con el gobierno en el 2012. también se refiere a la popularidad de Santos y las tensiones y relaciones con su coalición de gobierno
Tema 1	Atlántico: vino viejo en odre nuevo	Carlos Enrique Guzmán	10 marzo 2014	análisis de cómo votó el departamento del atlántico a representantes a la cámara. balance de cómo les fue a los partidos respecto a años pasados, quién gana y quién pierde. Tablas comparan los votos obtenidos por cada partido. enfoque regional a las elecciones al congreso
Tema 1	¿Qué proponen la oposición y los independientes?	Miguel Antonio Galvis	11 julio 2010	análisis de las propuestas legislativas de los partidos de oposición e independientes. que proponen estas facciones en diferentes áreas. revisión de qué proponen los partidos de oposición e independientes y sus fuerzas en el congreso.
Tema 1	Elección del Congreso: las cartas sobre la mesa	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis de los resultados de las elecciones de congreso del 2010. análisis de la conformación de los sectores de oposición, independiente y coalición de gobierno. análisis de qué busca cada partido y en qué posición se encuentra.
Tema 1	Las elecciones de medio tiempo en Argentina	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de las elecciones de medio tiempo en Argentina: balance de cómo les fue a los partidos de gobierno y oposición, así como quedan para las próximas elecciones presidenciales.
Tema 1	11 de marzo: ¿qué pasó y qué sigue?	Fernando Cepeda	19 marzo 2018	análisis resultados elecciones de Congreso 2018; balance de los votos obtenidos por cada partido político, el balance político, los temas que movieron la campaña y las implicaciones que estos resultados podrían tener para las elecciones presidenciales.
Tema 1	III. El Partido Conservador, una fuerza indecisa	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis del partido conservador en cuanto a votación y estrategias electorales. También se analiza las estrategias del partido en cuanto a la participación en coaliciones de gobierno y aspiraciones de aumentar poder político. También observa la relación del partido con su electorado.
Tema 1	¿Es la hora de Peñalosa?	Andrés Dávila	20 abril 2014	análisis de la campaña a la presidencia de Peñalosa en el 2014. Análisis de las estrategias electorales y apoyos de partidos y otros movimientos políticos.
Tema	Viejos y nuevos	Francisco	15 marzo	análisis de los partidos en el sistema

1	partidos políticos: todo cambia para que nada cambie	Leal Buitrago	2010	político colombiano. crítica al funcionamiento de los partidos políticos colombianos y de los problemas que tiene la democracia colombiana
Tema 2	La accidentada existencia del Consejo Superior de la Judicatura	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis del funcionamiento e intentos fallidos por reformar el consejo superior de la judicatura. Crítica que dicho órgano no esté cumpliendo con ser un tribunal disciplinario que juzgue a los altos jueces.. Se hace un recuento de la historia de la entidad y de los problemas que ha tenido a lo largo del tiempo que no se han podido resolver debido a las políticas de justicia y a decisiones de las demás Cortes.
Tema 2	Los desmovilizados en el limbo: la oportunidad que se perdió y los principios	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de un fallo de la Corte Constitucional que declaró inconstitucional el principio de oportunidad para desmovilizados de Justicia y Paz. Se analiza las implicaciones del fallo, el contexto y se argumenta que los mayores beneficiarios del fallo son las víctimas. Se argumenta que el fallo sigue los principios del derecho internacional y que es positivo para la institucionalidad. Por otra parte, señala que los desmovilizados aún tienen otras caminos para negociar con el estado siempre y cuando no retomen las armas y contribuyan al esclarecimiento de la verdad.
Tema 2	Los fueros de Uribe	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	primero se da un contexto sobre los acuerdos que han llegado las Farc y el gobierno en cuanto a justicia transicional y se dice que hay muchas preguntas pendientes, especialmente en cuanto a la presunta participación de mandatarios en el conflicto. Al respecto se analiza en el ordenamiento jurídico cuáles son los diferentes tipos de fueros existentes y, en el caso de que Uribe sea investigado, quién podría hacerlo. El artículo cierra diciendo que la Corte Suprema tendrá la última palabra sobre cuáles fueros se podrían aplicar en este caso.
Tema 2	El forzado primer paso hacia la segunda reelección	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis de la aprobación en el Congreso del proyecto para permitir la segunda reelección presidencial presentado durante el segundo gobierno de Uribe. Además del trámite en el Congreso, se hace un recuento de cuáles son las siguientes etapas en el proceso y se critica que el presidente debería estar inhabilitado porque el proyecto lo favorece a él específicamente..
Tema 2	El referendo y los impedimentos: otra	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis de la aprobación en el Congreso de la convocatoria a un plebiscito para la

	vuelta de la tuerca			segunda reelección en el 2009. se hace una crítica de que no haya habido transparencia al momento de evaluar los impedimentos en el Congreso.
Tema 2	los crímenes de guerra según el nuevo Acuerdo Final: ¿delimitación o “mico”?	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de un cambio en la redacción de un artículo del acuerdo de paz Farc Gobierno que estipula que cambia la delimitación de la posibilidad de indultos de la JEP en el contexto de crímenes de lesa humanidad. El autor critica esta decisión argumentando que podrá generar impunidad en casos de crímenes de guerra.
Tema 2	La ley estatutaria de la JEP: ¿una ley “mejorada”?	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis de los cambios a la JEP establecidos por el Congreso en la Ley estatutaria de la JEP. Se hace un análisis político del proceso de revisión y modificación sobre lo que antes había sido negociado entre las Farc y el Gobierno. También se hace un análisis de los artículos que presentan cambios más importantes y se presentan algunas posibles consecuencias. Termina con que le compete a la Corte Constitucional revisar la ley y al presidente firmar para que la JEP pueda empezar a funcionar.
Tema 2	Hay que asumir las responsabilidades políticas	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	reflexión sobre que en Colombia hace falta que los políticos asuman responsabilidades políticas en los escándalos en los que han estado involucrados y a que también hace falta que la sociedad civil exija rendición de cuentas en este sentido. Presenta las diferencias entre las responsabilidades administrativas, penales y fiscales.
Tema 2	La Procuraduría y la Contraloría: ¿para qué sirven y cómo mejorarlas?	David Quitián	25 octubre 2010	análisis sobre las funciones de la procuraduría y contraloría, crítica de los problemas que están teniendo dichas entidades en cuanto a gestión, transparencia y efectividad y propone una serie de reformas para resolver estas fallas y balancear mejor el sistema de pesos y contrapesos del estado. Concluye que dichas entidades tienen problemas estructurales más profundas que las polémicas de sus cabezas en el momento
Tema 2	El camino tortuoso del referendo reeleccionista	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis hasta el momento del proyecto para aprobar la segunda reelección de presidente en Colombia. Se hace un recuento de los problemas que ha tenido dicho proceso en el Congreso, especialmente en cuanto a la tramitación del mismo y las intervenciones de la Corte Suprema y Constitucional
Tema 3	El humor en Juan Rulfo: risa frente a	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis literario del humor en la obra de Juan Rulfo en conmemoración a los cien

	lo solemne			años del natalicio del autor
Tema 3	Poesía completa	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	reseña de una edición de la poesía completa de José Manuel Arango, análisis literario
Tema 3	Despedidas y negocios: la literatura en 2014	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	recuento de los acontecimientos del mundo editorial más importantes de un año tanto en términos comerciales como culturales: entre estos, fusiones de grandes editoriales, nuevas publicaciones y la muerte de varios escritores importantes (como García Márquez)
Tema 3	Luis Tejada Cano: el poeta de la crónica	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	recuento de la vida y obra de Luis Tejada Cano, un escritor cuyas crónicas representan la Colombia de principios del Siglo XX. En el texto se argumenta por qué este escritor debería ser más conocido.
Tema 3	Jorge Zalamea: la esperanza detrás de la cólera	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	recuento de la vida de Jorge Zalamea y análisis del poder, la política y el lenguaje en su obra literaria. Concluye que es un autor que debería ser redescubierto.
Tema 3	Los Beatles y el rock colombiano	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	recuento de la trayectoria de los Beatles, cómo se convirtieron en un fenómeno cultural global y la recepción que tuvieron en Colombia en los años cincuenta.
Tema 3	La historia de Colombia según Antonio Caballero	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	reseña crítica de la Historia de Colombia de Antonio Caballero. Se caracteriza a grandes rasgos el enfoque de esta obra y la perspectiva presentada por Caballero.
Tema 3	Lo horrible y lo bello en las novelas de Toni Morrison	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	recuento de la trayectoria literaria de Toni Morrison y análisis del racismo en sus novelas.
Tema 3	Las revistas culturales nacen...para morir	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	recuento de la historia de las revistas culturales en Colombia, sus logros y las dificultades que han tenido en perdurar como proyectos
Tema 3	Las polémicas de la Feria y el futuro del mundo editorial	José Fernando Flores	16 mayo 2011	análisis de una Feria del Libro de Bogotá, y de las discusiones que hubo en torno a la inclusión de un youtuber en la programación. El autor reflexiona que lo sucedido en la Feria demuestra las transformaciones del sector editorial en la medida en la que formatos como YouTube introducen nuevos formatos y formas de interacción entre autores y públicos.
Tema 4	Terrorismo y poder tras la muerte de Bin Laden	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis de la trayectoria y objetivos de Al Qaeda, así como de las implicaciones de la muerte de su líder Osama Bin Laden. También analiza las estrategias por medio de las cuales Estados Unidos se enfrentó a dicho grupo. Por último, cierra diciendo que la Primavera Árabe ha mostrado

				movimientos civiles en auge en el Medio Oriente
Tema 4	Egipto, o las posibilidades democráticas del Islam	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis de las causas que llevaron al golpe de estado contra M. Morsi en Egipto y las implicaciones de esto para la región. Se reflexiona que las posibilidades de una democratización de Egipto se han visto truncadas por el golpe de estado.
Tema 4	Siria: sin plazo para soluciones verdaderas	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis de las posibles implicaciones de una intervención militar por parte de Estados Unidos en Siria tanto en términos de política internacional como de los impactos sociales que podría tener en la población del país árabe.
Tema 4	Rusia, Ucrania y Europa: un presente turbulento, un futuro incierto	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis de las relaciones internacionales entre Europa y Rusia, especialmente al incremento de tensiones tras la anexión de Crimea a la Federación Rusa. Se analiza las causas de dicho fenómeno, especialmente en términos de lo que podrían estar buscando los rusos y sus áreas de influencia. También se mencionan las implicaciones de dicho fenómeno para América Latina, por ejemplo, en cuanto a los crecientes lazos de Rusia con algunos países de la región
Tema 4	Nuevos equilibrios en Oriente: el acuerdo nuclear con Irán	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre lo que se propone en el pacto nuclear entre Irán y las potencias con arsenales nucleares. Se analiza la situación geopolítica en el Oriente Medio en términos de las alianzas principales, y lo que está en juego en las negociaciones en curso.
Tema 4	¿Qué está haciendo Rusia en Siria?	Vladimir Rouvinski	04 octubre 2015	análisis de las negociaciones en Viena entre 19 países sobre propuestas para negociar la paz y estabilización de Siria. En especial, se habla del papel que está jugando Rusia en dirigir dichos diálogos, así como en la difícil situación al interior de Siria.
Tema 4	La crisis llega a Siria: ¿Quo vadis en el Camino de Damasco?	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis del inicio de la crisis en Siria por el surgimiento de diferentes movimientos que desafían al régimen de Al Asad. Análisis de las particularidades de este país en comparación a otros países árabes y lo que está en juego. El autor dice que el régimen está en una encrucijada entre empezar a dar reformas o aumentar la represión
Tema 4	Georgia y el futuro nuclear	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de las implicaciones del conflicto entre Georgia y Rusia para la paz, estabilidad global e incluso aumento de la proliferación nuclear.
Tema 4	Golpe de Estado en Egipto:	Jose Gregorio	16 mayo 2011	análisis del golpe de Estado contra Morsi en Egipto atribuido a: crisis económica,

	reconciliación herida de muerte	Hernández		islam radical y negación de la oposición a negociar. El autor argumenta que este golpe de estado no contribuye a la democratización del país y argumenta que el plan de reconciliación de los hermanos musulmanes fracasó.
Tema 4	Siria: entre las armas químicas y el reparto del país	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis de la situación de Siria tras siete años de guerra, las victorias de Al Assad, y la ineffectividad del ataque con misiles ordenados por Donald Trump en consecuencia al empleo de armas químicas contra la población civil. Se argumenta que es posible que Siria se esté encaminando a un posconflicto que resulte de la negociación entre los actores internos y la comunidad internacional.
Tema 5	¿Regalías petroleras, o sociedad entre el Estado y la compañía explotadora?	Francisco Azuero	08 junio 2010	análisis contractual y tributario sobre la explotación petrolera. Se comparan dos sistemas (regalías y alianzas público privadas), y se establece cuáles deberían ser los estándares que estas figuras deberían cumplir.
Tema 5	Ecopetrol, 2003-2017 ¿quiebra privatización inducida?	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis financiero de Ecopetrol basado en los principales indicadores económicos de la empresa.
Tema 5	Reforma tributaria y minería: por el interés general de la Nación	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre los impuestos pagados por el sector de hidrocarburos y minería, se argumenta que es necesaria una reforma tributaria para reducir los beneficios fiscales que reciben dichas empresas.
Tema 5	Las cuatro claves de la reforma tributaria	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la reforma tributaria del 2014. Se argumenta que está pensada para cubrir huecos fiscales en el corto plazo sin dar una solución a largo plazo, y que se basa en la discutible premisa de que se mantendrá la bonanza de materias primas.
Tema 5	El enjambre petrolero	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre el sector petrolero en Colombia y argumenta la necesidad de una política pública para el sector que le dé transparencia al sector y afronte los problemas de inestabilidad en el sector
Tema 5	Balance y perspectivas de la industria extractiva en Colombia	Amylkar Acosta	08 junio 2010	análisis de la propuesta de reforma fiscal presentada en el 2014. Se argumenta que las propuestas se centran en cubrir los huecos fiscales a corto plazo pero no ofrecen soluciones a largo plazo, y sobrestima el dinero que se recibirá por rentas petroleras al igual que no es realista respecto al nivel de gasto del estado
Tema 5	La reforma tributaria: maniqueísmo	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la propuesta de reforma fiscal presentada en el 2014. Se argumenta que dicho proyecto no contribuye a disminuir la

	versus pacto fiscal			desigualdad en el país y beneficia a una minoría de empresarios con exenciones en perjuicio del interés colectivo. Se propone que hace falta un pacto por la equidad fiscal para equilibrar mejor las cargas fiscales.
Tema 5	La reforma tributaria ¿Por qué seguir con retazos y excepciones?	David Quitián	25 octubre 2010	análisis de las propuestas de reformas fiscal presentadas en el 2011 y crítica de que el sistema tributario del momento incluye muchas exenciones y excepciones que permiten diferentes tipos de evasiones y desequilibrios en las cargas fiscales. Se argumenta que la reforma fiscal necesaria debería simplificar el sistema, hacerlo más transparente y equitativo.
Tema 5	Refinería de Cartagena: ¿alguien pagará?	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	recuento de la corrupción en Reficar y denuncia de que la Contraloría archivo parte de la investigación abriendo la puerta a la impunidad
Tema 5	Ecopetrol pastorea sus vacas flacas	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis de la situación empresarial de Ecopetrol en el momento y recuento de los problemas financieros y de gestión que ha tenido. Se hacen sugerencias sobre cómo los diferentes actores de la sociedad podrían apoyar más a la empresa
Tema 6	De la ciudad al campo: los tránsitos del negocio de la droga en Colombia	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis de los cambios a grandes rasgos que ha habido en la historia del narcotráfico en Colombia. Se hace un recuento de cómo los carteles de droga han cambiado sus estrategias y han concentrado más sus operaciones en zonas periféricas. Si bien se dice que sigue habiendo bandas muy fuertes, se sostiene que los procesos de paz podrían contribuir a desmontar estas estructuras criminales.
Tema 6	Asesinatos, drogas y atentados: vuelve el terror del narcotráfico a la frontera colombo ecuatoriana	Hernan Moreano, María Fernanda Noboa	22 abril 2018	análisis del narcotráfico y bandas narcotraficantes en la frontera Ecuador Colombia. Se critica que hace falta mayor presencia del estado colombiano en su lado de la frontera, así como estrategias combinadas entre ambos países para enfrentar los nuevos retos presentados por las bandas armadas que operan en la región.
Tema 6	Las 1500 bandas delinuenciales	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de las causas y consecuencias del auge que ha habido en las grandes ciudades de bandas criminales. Se argumenta que hasta el momento, el estado no ha hecho mucho por luchar contra dichos grupos armados por haberse centrado únicamente en la lucha contra las guerrillas. Se argumenta que es necesario que el estado combata las causas de dicho fenómeno.

Tema 6	Drogas: la injusta imposición de Estados Unidos a Colombia	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis de las imposiciones que Estados Unidos le ha hecho a Colombia en cuanto a reducir los cultivos de cocaína o correr el riesgo de ser descertificado. Se argumenta que Estados Unidos no está asumiendo parte de su responsabilidad en este problema y ha usado argumentos errados para sostener dicha presión.
Tema 6	El narcotráfico después de las FARC	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis de las implicaciones de la desmovilización de las Farc en el narcotráfico en Colombia, se argumenta que incluso si la mayor parte de dicho grupo logra reintegrarse a la sociedad, el problema del narcotráfico persistirá porque hay muchos más actores involucrados en dicho negocio.
Tema 6	Drogas y dogmas, hacia un cambio del paradigma	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis de las cifras sobre erradicación y producción de cultivos ilícitos en Colombia y América latina. Se argumenta que el modelo prohibicionista promovido por Estados Unidos no ha dado fruto y ha generado ciclos viciosos cuyas consecuencias negativas afectan en mayor medida países como Colombia.
Tema 6	"El Loco" Barrera: más allá de la mafia	César Alarcón Gil	30 septiembre 2012	análisis de la trayectoria criminal de Daniel "el loco Barrera"; se habla de los cambios en los tipos de liderazgo en el narcotráfico y las conexiones que tuvo dicho narcotraficante, posiblemente con políticos tanto de Colombia como de Venezuela
Tema 6	México: transición democrática, organizaciones de traficantes e inseguridad	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la trayectoria del narcotráfico en México desde sus inicios hasta el 2009. Se expone cuáles han sido los grandes cambios que ha habido en la conformación y operación de dichos grupos así como sus alianzas internacionales y cómo perjudican la seguridad en México.
Tema 6	Aune iskuarumtu*: Tenemos miedo	María Victoria Duque	16 febrero 2009	análisis de las causas y efectos de una masacre llevada a cabo por las Farc contra la comunidad indígena Awa. La autora argumenta que es necesario replantear la estrategia de seguridad del gobierno para darle garantías a comunidades indígenas en situación de vulnerabilidad como los Awa.
Tema 6	¿Cómo queda realmente Colombia en el informe sobre drogas de Estados	Sergio Uribe	05 noviembre 2017	análisis del informe sobre drogas de la DEA en relación al narcotráfico en Colombia. Se argumenta que el estudio está bien sustentado e identifica que la gran mayoría de la cocaína en circulación en Estados Unidos proviene de Colombia.
Tema 7	Verificación del fin del conflicto	Francisco Leal	15 marzo 2010	análisis sobre cómo se podría materializar el acuerdo entre el gobierno y las Farc para

	armado: los retos y las opciones	Buitrago		una misión de observación y verificación para el fin del conflicto en Colombia. Se consideran diferentes opciones, por ejemplo, si debe ser nacional o internacional, civil o militar, y se insiste en que debe ser una opción negociada y creíble,
Tema 7	ELN: tan cerca y tan lejos de la paz	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la situación militar y política del ELN en relación a su disposición a iniciar un proceso de paz. Se compara el estado de esta guerrilla con el de las Farc y se argumenta que un proceso con este grupo tendría que seguir un estilo de negociación diferente al que hubo con las Farc
Tema 7	Nuevo protocolo del cese del fuego: beneficios y peligros	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el más reciente protocolo de cese al fuego entre Farc y el gobierno colombiano; se considera la justificación de la medida, sus características y los retos que presenta esta etapa del proceso de paz
Tema 7	El pasado reciente está en Ralito, no en El Caguán	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis de qué se podría aprender de las negociaciones de Ralito y el Caguán para lograr un proceso de paz con las Farc. Se argumenta que los acuerdos concretos y verificables que reduzcan el impacto del conflicto armado en las poblaciones afectadas sería lo primero que se debería acordar.
Tema 7	La dejación de armas de las FARC: incertidumbre y retrasos	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la planeación y acuerdos para la dejación de las armas por parte de las Farc; se afirma que es una etapa clave en el proceso de paz y una vez que concluya las Farc iniciará el proceso para convertirse en partido político. Se habla de las preguntas que aún no se han resuelto sobre cuántas armas se van a entregar y que, si bien ha habido algunos retrasos, las partes han mantenido la voluntad de llevar a cabo el proceso.
Tema 7	La mala hora del proceso de paz: anatomía de la crisis	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis de las dificultades que enfrentó el proceso de paz en el 2015, que según el autor fueron: los lentos avances en la agenda, falta de liderazgos a favor del proceso, el escepticismo de la opinión pública, la percepción de que el conflicto no se ha desescalado y el mismo contenido de los acuerdos. El análisis se centra dar un diagnóstico de la situación del proceso de paz en el momento.
Tema 7	Alto al fuego, cese de hostilidades y verificación internacional	Álvaro Villarraga	09 noviembre 2015	análisis del acuerdo para la terminación del conflicto, el último punto del acuerdo de paz Farc Gobierno. Se analiza la situación de la negociación en términos de los objetivos de las partes, así como de algunas de las

				posibilidades que se podrían acordar para lograr la paz, especialmente en cuanto a la participación de la comunidad internacional para verificar el alto al fuego y el cese de las hostilidades.
Tema 7	¿Por qué es tan difícil para las FARC decir adiós a las armas?	Daniel Ramiro Pardo	10 abril 2016	análisis de lo que significa la dejación de las armas por parte de las Farc tanto en términos logísticos como en cuanto a la identidad política y simbólica del grupo. Se argumenta que es necesario entender estas dos dimensiones implican un proceso difícil para la guerrilla y que el gobierno debe comprometerse a dar garantías para que estos dejen las armas.
Tema 7	El papel de Europa en las negociaciones con las FARC	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis del apoyo que Noruega y la Unión Europea ha prestado al proceso de paz, en especial en cuanto al plano de la legitimidad política, respaldo financiero y apoyo a las negociaciones. Se habla de la importancia de estos aportes en las diferentes etapas del proceso.
Tema 7	La paz en Colombia: sesenta años de éxitos y fracasos	David Quitián	25 octubre 2010	un recuento de los procesos de paz en Colombia de los últimos sesenta años. Se exponen argumentos por los que algunos procesos han dado resultados mientras que otros no, y se reflexiona sobre qué se puede aprender de dichas experiencias en relación a los procesos de paz en curso.
Tema 8	Descentralización en Colombia: 25 años preparando el territorio para la paz	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis de los resultados de 25 años de descentralización en Colombia. Se presentan los motivos que llevaron a la descentralización así como una periodización de las etapas que ha habido en el proceso. Como cierre, se argumenta que la descentralización se presta para sentar el andamiaje para la paz en Colombia.
Tema 8	La descentralización fiscal: obligación constitucional que no se ha honrado	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis del régimen fiscal, se argumenta que el sistema actual es centralista y poco se ha hecho para descentralizar. Se hace un recuento de la historia de los intentos de descentralización en Colombia, y se concluye que las medidas tomadas en cuanto a este tema no han dado suficientes resultados.
Tema 8	Régimen departamental: el gobierno no sabe lo que quiere	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis de la propuesta de reforma al régimen departamental presentada por el gobierno. Se argumenta que no es clara la dirección de las reformas ni su efectividad y es necesaria una reforma integral concertada con los departamentos y que obedezca a una discusión a mayor profundidad sobre las ventajas y desventajas de cada medida.

Tema 8	La ley 1551 de Régimen Municipal: ¿otra norma irrelevante?	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis de la ley de Régimen municipal aprobada por el Congreso. Se argumenta que la ley no propone ningún cambio de fondo respecto al funcionamiento de los municipios. Se critica que la ley no cumple con los posibles avances prometidos y que no mejora la situación de los municipios.
Tema 8	Eliminar las contralorías territoriales no es una solución	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de por qué no deberían eliminarse las contralorías departamentales. Se argumenta que, más allá de los escándalos de corrupción que ha habido, las contralorías departamentales hacen parte de un diseño institucional descentralizado y hacen parte del sistema de pesos y contrapeso del Estado.
Tema 8	El engendro de la “descentralización” en Bogotá: se necesitan cambios de	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis de la descentralización en Bogotá, especialmente en cuanto a las gestiones de las alcaldías locales y la participación ciudadana. Se argumenta que es necesario discutir si realmente es deseable la descentralización en la ciudad, y de ser así, de buscar implementar con efectividad. Se dice que aunque ha habido algunos cambios, la constante es que no hay un modelo de fondo y el tema no ha recibido la suficiente atención política.
Tema 8	La carrera diplomática en Colombia y en el mundo: de mal en peor	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la desprofesionalización de la democracia en el mundo y en Colombia. Se critica la decisión del gobierno colombiano en limitar el número de funcionarios de carrera que puedan llegar a ser embajadores al tiempo que insiste en nombramientos provisionales y políticos. Se denuncia que la contratación en el servicio exterior no es transparente.
Tema 8	Descentralización territorial: mala política, pésima rendición de cuentas	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis de las políticas públicas (principalmente el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo) y gestión del gobierno Santos para la descentralización. Se critica que, a pesar de los recursos destinados a la descentralización, los informes presentados no muestran resultados ni son transparentes. Se argumenta que dicha parálisis perjudica la economía, transparencia y la paz en el país.
Tema 8	¿Democracia? ¿Cuál democracia?	Francisco Cortés	19 septiembre 2010	análisis de la situación política de Colombia. Se critica que desde el 2002 se ha dado un proceso de alteración del sistema de pesos y contrapesos que ha perjudicado la salud de la democracia del país. Se argumenta que en Colombia hay una "patología de la política" en tanto que la presidencia ha asumido funciones de las demás ramas y afectado los mecanismos

				para el equilibrio de poderes en el país
Tema 8	Oír a los Costeños	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	recuento de algunos autores costeños que han abogado por la descentralización territorial. El autor se refiere a las preguntas que dichos autores han abierto sobre la descentralización fiscal y política del país, y sostiene que dichas preguntas deben ser puestas a discusión.
Tema 9	La desindustrialización en Colombia	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la desindustrialización en Colombia en términos de sus causas y relaciones con los diferentes sectores de la economía. Se argumenta que en este caso lo sucedido se relaciona con un boom en el sector minero energético y las fallas en la prestación de servicios básicos (como infraestructura y luz). Además se argumenta que Colombia padece de la enfermedad holandesa por su dependencia del sector minero energético.
Tema 9	2016: "annus horribilis" para la economía colombiana	Diego Guevara	18 diciembre 2016	análisis económico del año 2016 como un tiempo de crisis por la inflación, caída de las exportaciones y del crecimiento. Se argumenta que los indicadores económicos del país son preocupantes y que para salir de esta crisis se necesita reformas tributarias que generen mayor equidad, y esperar que la paz y las subidas de los precios del petróleo fortalezcan la economía.
Tema 9	Balances 2009: Los límites de la economía del rentista	Diego Cardona	18 enero 2010	análisis de la situación económica del país en el 2009. Se argumenta que la política monetaria del Banco de la República de mantener tasas de interés altas no han servido para reducir la desigualdad en el país, en el sentido de que favorecen más a los rentistas pero perjudican la creación de empleo. Argumenta que mientras las medidas permitirán que el sector financiero mantenga sus utilidades, no contribuirá a resolver la recesión del país.
Tema 9	Economía colombiana: el buen año que ya pasó y las perspectivas para 2012	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis económico del desempeño general de Colombia en el 2011 y previsiones sobre cómo podría ser el 2012. Se argumenta que Colombia no ha aprovechado el boom de materias primas del momento para ahorrar y que la economía del país depende en gran medida del desempeño de Europa, China y Estados Unidos. Menciona que, según el Banco de la República, hay señales de recalentamiento de la economía y que si bien ha sido un buen año hay problemas que deben ser tratados, como el déficit fiscal y la informalidad de la

				economía.
Tema 9	Materias Primas, Impulsos Contrarios	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de los precios de los commodities a nivel mundial y las implicaciones que tienen para la economía colombiana. Especialmente, se argumenta que la creciente demanda por productos agrícolas a nivel mundial podría generar una ola inflacionaria que afecta a Colombia
Tema 9	¿Cómo salir de la recesión? Lo que Colombia puede aprender de China	César Ferrari	02 noviembre 2009	análisis sobre la política monetaria en relación a la recesión de Colombia. Se argumenta que el país podría aprender de la política monetaria China que ha acumulado reservas de divisas extranjeras, una expansión monetaria, crecimiento y una inflación controlada. Se considera que se deben revisar los postulados sobre los que se basa la política monetaria del país con vistas a acordar soluciones que no sacrifiquen la competitividad a cambio de mantener a raya la inflación.
Tema 9	La crisis europea y su impacto en Colombia	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la crisis económica europea y el impacto de esta en la economía colombiana. Se argumenta que hay razones por las que estar preocupados respecto al pobre desempeño de la economía europea, que podría desencadenar una caída de los commodities del sector minero energético que exporta Colombia
Tema 9	El desbalance crítico en el sector externo colombiano	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis del déficit en la balanza de pagos en cuanto a que el país importa mucho más de lo que exporta y hay un flujo de capitales hacia el exterior. Se argumenta que la situación tenderá a agravarse a menos que se tomen medidas, como de devaluar el peso colombiano o imponer restricciones a las importaciones.
Tema 9	La nueva tragedia griega	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis de la crisis económica griega y las acciones que dicho país para salir de esta situación así como sus negociaciones con el resto de la comunidad de la Unión Europea. Se analiza la difícil situación del país (baja productividad, alto endeudamiento y otros indicadores económicos negativos) y el efecto que tiene para la estabilidad de la Unión Europea.
Tema 9	El plan de choque PIPE: contentar a productores, ilusionar a desempleados	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis del PIPE, plan del gobierno para aumentar la productividad y reducir el desempleo. Se argumenta que dicho plan no logrará su cometido porque las medidas que propone basadas en subsidios sólo tendrán efectos en el corto plazo y no están encaminados realmente a mejorar la

				productividad. Según el autor se trata de una estrategia preelectoral que le ofrece rebajas de impuestos y subsidios a los empresarios del sector productivo.
Tema 10	La XXIII Cumbre de Iberoamérica: a sacar conclusiones	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la Cumbre XXIII Iberoamericana. Se dice que ha habido muchas críticas a la pertinencia de esta cumbre y varios presidentes se ausentaron. La autora argumenta que este tipo de eventos debe reestructurarse y rediseñarse para mantener la relevancia en un mundo cambiante.
Tema 10	¿Qué pasó en Cartagena? Un balance de la Cumbre	Socorro Ramírez	22 abril 2012	análisis de la cumbre VI de las Américas en Cartagena. Se argumenta que la región atraviesa una fase de desconexión y que Colombia fracasó en lograr el protagonismo que esperaba. Sin embargo, se propone que sí se lograron acuerdos importantes en la política de drogas así como de la inclusión a Cuba, al igual que varios acuerdos que será cuestión de tiempo saber si se implementará o no.
Tema 10	Unasur: buen comienzo y grandes desafíos	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis de la crisis en Bolivia del 2008 y cómo Unasur contribuyó a estabilizar la situación desde la diplomacia. La crisis mostró la vulnerabilidad de la región a un conflicto, así como el potencial que tienen instancias multilaterales como Unasur para buscar consensos y llegar a acuerdos en beneficio de la región.
Tema 10	Nubarrones sobre la Cumbre	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	recuento de las más recientes cumbres de países americanos como contexto de la cumbre VIII de las Américas en Panamá. Se hace un recuento de las relaciones diplomáticas en la región, y se espera que la reintegración de Cuba y el respaldo al proceso de paz de Colombia sean algunos de los puntos tratados.
Tema 10	Fútbol colombiano en 2013: ¿este año sí?	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de los buenos resultados de la Selección Colombia en el 2013. En relación a lo bien que le ha ido al equipo en las eliminatorias, se plantea que podría tener buenos resultados en el Mundial.
Tema 10	¿Podremos llegar a Rusia 2018?	David Quitián	26 octubre 2015	análisis de la situación de la Selección Colombia en las eliminatorias para el mundial de Rusia del 2018. Se argumenta que aunque logre pasar las eliminatorias, el equipo está en una situación difícil porque Falcao ya no tiene el liderazgo de antes, además de que los demás equipos de las eliminatorias son difíciles de vencer.
Tema 10	Llegando a la meta: balance	José Fernando	16 mayo 2011	balance del desempeño de los deportistas colombianos en el 2016. Se consideran los

	deportivo de 2016	Flórez		resultados en fútbol, olimpiadas y ciclismo. Se sostiene que la política pública para el deporte debe orientarse a fomentar el deporte en la sociedad en general más que en cumplir una meta de reconocimientos y premios. Por último, se reconocen los triunfos de mujeres deportistas y se celebra que ahora están siendo más apoyadas que antes.
Tema 10	Balance de la CELAC: heterogeneidad sin antagonismos	Socorro Ramírez	02 febrero 2014	análisis de la cumbre de la Celac en Cuba, y la reintegración de dicho país a la comunidad de países americanos. Se argumenta que en el evento no hubo antagonismos y, en medio de las diferencias entre los países, hubo acercamientos entre estos. La autora sostiene que hace falta que se materialicen algunos de los acuerdos que se han logrado en estas cumbres.
Tema 10	El Banco Mundial y la hegemonía de Estados Unidos	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	recuento de la historia del Banco Mundial, su dependencia de Estados Unidos y los candidatos a la presidencia de la institución. Se presenta cómo dicha institución ha cambiado en función de la política estadounidense y mundial, así como de las tensiones entre los países del norte y del sur que tienen diferentes intereses en juego.
Tema 10	Cumbre de las Américas: confrontación y acercamiento	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis de la octava cumbre de las Américas en Panamá. Se habla de la importancia de la participación de Cuba en esta cumbre, así como de la disposición al diálogo entre Obama y Castro. Aunque no hubo confrontaciones en el evento, se sostiene que se evidenció una región dividida que no logra llegar a acuerdos de integración y algunos países abandonan la CIDH.
Tema 11	Páramo de Santurbán: El agua o el oro	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis del proyecto para desarrollar una mina a gran escala en el páramo de Santurbán. Se denuncia que la compañía minera haya manipulado la audiencia pública y se critica el impacto medioambiental y afectaciones a las fuentes de agua de las que la región depende.
Tema 11	La consulta previa: en el filo de la navaja	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la jurisprudencia en cuanto a las consultas previas y la minería en Colombia, especialmente cuando se van a desarrollar en territorios de comunidades étnicas. Se argumenta que los permisos para minería se están obteniendo por medio de un decreto inexecutable y que el Congreso no ha cumplido en reglamentar la

				situación por medio de una ley.
Tema 11	Un extraño híbrido: ¿un parque minero en Santurbán?	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis sobre la decisión de declarar el páramo de Santurbán parque natural. Se critica que a pesar de esta decisión no se impidió que la empresa minera continúe el desarrollo de su proyecto minero. Se critica que este proceso está avanzando a pesar de la oposición de grupos ciudadanos y de que el proyecto afectaría las fuentes hídricas de la región.
Tema 11	Cesar: la minería tiene un gran costo social y ambiental	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre los costos sociales y ambientales de la minería en Cesar. Se argumenta que es necesario que las autoridades, especialmente el ministerio de Medio Ambiente, intervenga para controlar el auge de la minería en Colombia y reducir su impacto negativo. Entre las medidas, se propone no expedir nuevos permisos hasta que no haya controles establecidos así como una auditoría internacional sobre los riesgos ambientales y sociales.
Tema 11	Locomotora minera... sin rieles	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el impacto social y ambiental de la minería en relación al Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. Se argumenta que a pesar de la ausencia de inventarios sobre los recursos naturales, de controles efectivos por parte del estado y del riesgo de violaciones a derechos humanos, el sector minero está avanzando con varios proyectos que implican riesgos ambientales y sociales.
Tema 11	Los principales problemas ambientales	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis medioambiental sobre Bogotá en el contexto de las elecciones de alcalde. Se argumenta que la ciudad tiene varios riesgos ambientales que no están siendo tratados por las autoridades y tampoco reciben la suficiente atención de los políticos y opinión pública. Se propone que hace falta que los candidatos propongan modelos de ciudad y urbanización sostenibles.
Tema 11	Las tareas urgentes para salvar la Ciénaga Grande de Santa Marta	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la situación medioambiental de la Ciénaga de Santa Marta. Se critica que a pesar de las múltiples acciones del Ministerio de Medio Ambiente, este tipo de gestión e instituciones no son suficientes para solucionar la crisis medioambiental y garantizar la conservación de los recursos hídricos y naturales.
Tema 11	La amazonia colombiana: ¿minería, agricultura o	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el desarrollo y conservación medioambiental del Amazonas en el contexto de las negociaciones de paz con las Farc. Se dice que es momento de

	riqueza ambiental?			decidir el uso de los suelos del Amazonas, respecto a si la prioridad debe ser la explotación minera, la agricultura o la conservación natural. Se argumenta que se trata de un ecosistema de importancia global y que en el largo plazo la conservación de este ecosistema es lo más valioso en términos sociales y ambientales. Ade,
Tema 11	Parque Nacional Chiribiquete: un ejemplo de conservación ambiental y	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la decisión de aumentar el parque nacional de Chiribiquete. Se argumenta que esta decisión es un ejemplo a seguir como decisión basada en el valor ambiental, cultural y social de conservar el ecosistema, y también marca un hito como política pública centrada en la ecología y procesos de paz. Aún así se señala que la región sigue estando expuesta a la deforestación y está en manos del siguiente gobierno que rumbo tomar. Va
Tema 11	Origen, prevención y solución de los conflictos ambientales en Colombia	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis de las causas y posibles soluciones a los problemas medioambientales en Colombia. Se argumenta que hace ya existen varios mecanismos para resolver problemas medioambientales (por ejemplo, las concertaciones, alertas tempranas y acompañamientos) que en algunos casos han servido para llegar a soluciones pero hace falta que estos mecanismos sean usados en mayor medida.
Tema 12	La educación en 2016: hay que apostarle a la calidad	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de los problemas de inequidad y baja calidad en la educación en Colombia. Se argumenta que hay fallas tanto en la preparación de los docentes como el "monopolio" que tiene el Icfes como evaluador de la educación. Se propone que se debe rediseñar el sistema educativo con el fin de subsanar las fallas de calidad.
Tema 12	Las ventajas del grado 12	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la educación media. Se propone añadir el grado 12 a la educación media con el fin de reducir la inequidad educativa al igual que darles a los jóvenes la oportunidad de un año adicional de educación media encaminada a que proyecten su vida en el futuro, exploren sus talentos, y se exponen a diferentes saberes y artes.
Tema 12	La crisis de la educación superior viene de la Ley 30	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la crisis en la educación superior a raíz de la desregularización del sector. Se argumenta que en el sistema actual las universidades públicas no están debidamente vigiladas por nadie. Se propone que aún no hay conciencia sobre la gravedad del problema, y que es

				necesario que el estado retome el control del sector prontamente.
Tema 12	La ciencia de enseñar ciencias	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	reseña sobre una guía didáctica para la enseñanza de ciencias. Se propone que este libro presenta una visión innovadora sobre las teorías y metodologías para la educación en ciencias.
Tema 12	Soluciones concertadas a los problemas de la universidad	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	reseña sobre "La educación superior en Colombia: retos y perspectivas" (Ed. Luis Enrique Orozco). Se plantea que el libro da múltiples miradas sobre el estado y desafíos de la educación en Colombia, y que además propone algunas soluciones concertadas.
Tema 12	La educación en 2016: lo privado le ganó a lo público	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de indicadores y políticas públicas de educación. Se argumenta que el programa Ser Pilo Paga debería ser revisado puesto que no se centra en financiar la universidad pública. Además se cuestiona que esté aumentando la deserción escolar y que a la educación pública debe hacer más para reducir la desigualdad de oportunidades que existe en el país. Además de hacer una evaluación de la gestión del gobierno, se identifican desafíos que se deberán afrontar el próximo año tanto en educación preescolar, media y superior.
Tema 12	Resultados de las pruebas PISA: no hay mucho que celebrar	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis de los bajos resultados de los estudiantes colombianos en las pruebas Pisa. Se argumenta que en Colombia hace falta una reforma integral para superar el bajísimo desempeño de muchos estudiantes en comprensión lectora, comunicación y resolución de problemas. Se reflexiona que, lejos de celebrar los resultados como lo ha hecho el gobierno y algunos medios de comunicación, estas pruebas son una oportunidad para reflexionar sobre los problemas y desafíos que enfrenta la sociedad colombiana.
Tema 12	Universidades latinoamericanas: malas condiciones, peores resultados	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis de las causas del bajo desempeño de las universidades latinoamericanas según los rankings internacionales. Se argumenta que la región está atrasada respecto a la financiación a la investigación y al desarrollo, y que es necesario que se empleen políticas públicas que mejoren la calidad de la educación que ofrecen en un contexto de internacionalización creciente.
Tema 12	El grado doce en la educación media: no siempre más es mejor	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre la propuesta de aumentar un año la escolaridad. Se argumenta que la propuesta planteada no ha sido debidamente desarrollada ni sustentada, y

				que sería de escasa utilidad hasta que no se haya mejorado la calidad de la educación, especialmente en la cobertura en primera infancia. También se señala que el sistema está desfinanciado, especialmente los colegios técnicos.
Tema 12	Sistema educativo colombiano: comenzar por el principio	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la inequidad en el sistema educativo colombiano. Se argumenta que el sistema está en una muy mala situación y es necesario rediseñar para generar una sociedad más justa, competitiva e inclusiva. Se reflexiona que el problema no se limita a la poca cobertura en educación superior, sino que se remonta a la falta de cobertura en la primera infancia y la baja calidad de los programas ofrecidos en las entidades públicas.
Tema 13	Desacuerdos, conflictos y valores en el Estado constitucional	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	reseña sobre "De la Constitución a la moral, conflictos entre valores en el Estado constitucional" de Pau Luque Sánchez. Del libro se dice que presenta una reflexión teórica sobre la interpretación de los conflictos en estados de derechos. Se recalca que la interpretación de la constitución implica que los jueces valoran en cada caso cuáles bienes o valores son superiores, y dicha interpretación se hace extensiva al resto del ordenamiento jurídico.
Tema 13	El derecho a familia de las parejas del mismo sexo	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre la propuesta de convocar a un plebiscito para establecer el derecho a parejas del mismo sexo a constituir familias. Se critica la propuesta por ser contraria a la Constitución laica de 1991, y se argumenta que, desde los estudios de género y las investigaciones sobre crianza de niños por parte de parejas del mismo sexo, no hay razones para prohibir la conformación de dichas familias.
Tema 13	Familias diversas, familias felices, y ahora constitucionales	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la Sentencia de la Corte Constitucional que reconoce el derecho de las parejas del mismo sexo a conformar familias y que le pide al Congreso legislar para protegerlas. Se presenta que el fallo le da al congreso dos años de plazo para legislar una vía para que las parejas del mismo sexo se puedan casar y que además cuenten con protección y reconocimiento equivalente al de matrimonios de personas heterosexuales.
Tema 13	¿Vale más ser feliz que actuar moralmente?	Diana González	07 diciembre 2014	reseña sobre el libro "Virtud, felicidad y religión en la filosofía moral de Kant" de Fabiola Rivera Castro. Se propone que el tema central del libro es la pregunta sobre la relación entre felicidad, ética y religión en

				la obra de Kant.
Tema 13	A un año de la muerte de Sergio Urrego	Sara Ferrer, Nina Chaparro	30 agosto 2015	análisis sobre las reacciones de la Procuraduría y de la Corte Constitucional un año después de la muerte de Sergio Urrego (un menor de edad que fue acosado y discriminado por su identidad sexual en el colegio y terminó suicidándose). Se argumenta que mientras el concepto de la procuraduría es discriminatoria e inconstitucional, la sentencia de la Corte que dictamina actos reparativos en memoria del joven si es conforme a los acuerdos internacionales y a los derechos a la igualdad y la educación, entre otros.
Tema 13	La coherencia en el derecho	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	reseña sobre The Tapestry of Reason: an Inquiry into the Nature of Coherence and its Role in Legal Argument de Amalia Amaya. Se presenta que el tema central del libro es la coherencia como principio para articular la teoría del derecho con las investigaciones empíricas sobre cómo toman decisiones y las justifican los jueces y otros agentes de los procesos legales. También se dice que el libro presenta modelos valiosos para apreciar cómo se institucionaliza el derecho en el tiempo a partir de las creencias y procesos cognitivos.
Tema 13	¿Cuántos más Gerlein habrá en nuestras instituciones?	Mauricio Albarracín	25 noviembre 2012	análisis sobre la homofobia en la institucionalidad y sociedad colombiana. Se argumenta que las parejas del mismo sexo siguen siendo discriminadas respecto a las parejas heterosexuales porque la homofobia está presente en diversos estilos (clásica, disfrazada de ciencia o "constitucionalista").
Tema 13	¿Confiar o desconfiar de los derechos humanos?	Tatiana Alfonso	03 diciembre 2017	reseña sobre "9 Razones para (desconfiar de las luchas por los derechos humanos" (Estevez y Vásquez). Se presenta que en el libro diferentes autores exponen sus argumentos a favor y en contra de la eficacia de los derechos humanos para lograr la transformación social y salvaguardar a las comunidades. La autora hace un balance entre los argumentos a favor y en contra, proponiendo que es importante considerar ambos lados para reflexionar sobre los límites y posibilidades de los derechos humanos.
Tema 13	Los derechos valen y cuestan	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	reseña sobre "The Costs of rights" de Holmes y Sunstein. Se propone que el libro presenta una argumentación a favor de considerar los costos y el valor de los

				derechos al momento en que se vaya a hacer una ponderación de derechos en conflicto. La autora de la reseña considera que este libro sirve para iniciar una reflexión sobre cómo se podrían calcular los costos y valores de los derechos.
Tema 13	Estado y sexualidad: ¿una relación constitutiva?	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	reseña sobre "Sexual States: Governance and the Struggle over the Antisodomy Law in India" de J. Puri. Se presenta como tema central del libro la regulación de las relaciones sexuales por parte del estado de la India, y se reflexiona que lo expuesto en dicho libro guarda relación con la situación de la comunidad LGBTI en Colombia.
Tema 14	¿La salud mercancía o el derecho a la salud? Análisis de los decretos de	Sergio Isaza Villa	08 febrero 2010	análisis sobre una reforma a la salud. Se argumenta que la propuesta presentada es un paso más hacia la mercantilización de la salud y en detrimento del derecho a la salud por privilegiar los negocios de las EPS sobre los servicios a los usuarios, la sostenibilidad del sistema y las condiciones laborales de los empleados.
Tema 14	Transmilenio, ¿perjudicial para la salud?	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el impacto en la calidad del aire del sistema Transmilenio, especialmente debido a que deberían haber sido renovados hace mucho tiempo. Se presentan estadísticas sobre el nivel de polución en el sistema para argumentar que es un problema de salud público grave que debe ser tratado aunque implique costos financieros y políticos.
Tema 14	Crece la audiencia en salud	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la crisis del sistema de salud. Se hace un recuento de las reformas más recientes a la salud y sobre la audiencia citada por la Corte Constitucional para pedirle cuentas al gobierno y establecer un diálogo con expertos, organismos de control y la sociedad civil. Se argumenta que el sistema de salud atraviesa una grave crisis y se requieren medidas de fondo financieras, transparencia y del modelo para mejorar la salud pública y reducir la inequidad del sistema.
Tema 14	La Ley estatutaria en salud no es como la pintan	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre una Ley estatutaria sobre el derecho a la salud aprobada por el Congreso. Se argumenta que la propuesta no es suficiente para detener los "paseos de la muerte", mantiene limitados la cobertura de los planes médicos básicos y mantiene un sistema en el que se trata la salud como negocio. Se argumenta que la sociedad debería manifestarse en contra de esta ley y presionar para cambiar a un sistema centrado en garantizar el derecho a

				la salud.
Tema 14	Presos colombianos: hacinados y sin salud	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la crisis carcelaria en cuanto a salud y hacinamiento. Se contextualiza el problema y se dan cifras sobre su gravedad. Se argumenta que es necesario que la crisis se manejó con más apoyo de las instituciones ligadas a la salud, pues hasta el momento el Ministerio de Justicia e Inpec han asumido la mayor parte de la carga.
Tema 14	La ley ordinaria de la salud: ¿qué podemos esperar?	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre la salud pública en Colombia y las propuestas del gobierno en políticas de salud. Se presenta el contexto del momento de descentralización del sector salud y aseguradores. Se argumenta que en medio de las dificultades del sistema y las demandas de los usuarios para obtener más cobertura, Medellín adoptó un buen modelo que mezcla elementos de empresa pública y privada que podría servir de modelo para otras regiones.
Tema 14	Transmilenio en el País de los Políticos	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la situación del sistema Transmilenio. Se argumenta que al sistema le ha hecho falta inversión, apoyo político y pedagogía para los usuarios. Según el autor, los problemas de Transmilenio se originan principalmente de la falta de apoyo político y de mala planeación urbana.
Tema 14	La salud en 2014: ajustes que no van al fondo de la crisis	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la salud pública en Colombia. Se argumenta que las medidas propuestas por el gobierno no mejoran la crisis del sistema en cuanto a (i) "paseos de la muerte" (ii) desfinanciación (iii) la desigualdad. Según el autor, para cambiar es necesario que la opinión pública se interese más por este tema y repensar en un sistema sin intermediarios financieros y centrado en garantizar el derecho a la salud a la población.
Tema 14	El Cartel de las EPS: una larga y triste historia	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis sobre el modelo de salud pública en Colombia. Se argumenta que el sistema está en crisis porque han utilizado estrategias de lucro en detrimento de su sostenibilidad financiera y recargando al sistema con tratamientos no incluidos en el POS. Se señala que el sistema actual se ha salido de control, y que las EPS forman un cartel, en el sentido en que manipulan los precios de sus servicios en detrimento de la libre competencia. A modo de cierre, se reflexiona que en Colombia no funcionó la definición de la salud como negocio y derecho a la vez.

Tema 14	¿Podemos esperar un transporte público razonable?	César Ferrari	16 septiembre 2012	análisis sobre la puesta en marcha del Sistema Integrado de Transporte en Bogotá. Se argumenta que, a pesar de sus costos sociales y políticos, la implementación de este sistema beneficiará al grueso de la población y hará más competitiva a la ciudad. Según el autor, es necesario sustituir el caótico sistema actual por uno más ordenado y regulado, teniendo en cuenta el tamaño de la ciudad
Tema 15	Ecuador y Colombia: Peligroso espiral de sanciones y retaliaciones	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis sobre la crisis diplomática entre Ecuador y Colombia tras el bombardeo a un campamento de las Farc en territorio ecuatoriano por parte de las Farc. Se critica que la disputa entre ambos países ha sido usada por sus gobiernos como cortinas de humo para desviar la atención de los problemas internos de sus propios países. Se reflexiona que la crisis actual perjudica a las comunidades a ambos lados de las fronteras y es preciso que ambos gobiernos retomen los diálogos para sobrepasar la disputa y cooperar en los asuntos fronterizos.
Tema 15	Colombia Ecuador: Cómo se mejora el clima de confianza	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre los avances en el restablecimiento de las relaciones entre Ecuador y Colombia en el 2011. Se argumenta que ha habido avances importantes en la diplomacia entre ambos países, especialmente en temas como seguridad, comercio, infraestructura y funcionamiento de la frontera. La autora espera que esta fase dé resultados y que ambos países puedan desarrollar relaciones más cooperativas y dejar atrás la crisis diplomática.
Tema 15	Colombia Nicaragua: ¿Dónde estamos y para dónde vamos?	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la reacción del gobierno colombiano al fallo de la Haya sobre la disputa territorial con Nicaragua. Se argumenta que el alcance de las acciones del gobierno es poco efectivo y ambiguo, así mismo señala que sería mejor que Colombia busque llegar a un acuerdo con Nicaragua a sabiendas de que este proceso implicaría que las dos partes cedieron. Además se señala que la reserva natural de Seaflower está en peligro y es necesario llegar a acuerdos sobre la explotación de los recursos naturales que sea sostenible y tenga en cuenta a las comunidades que habitan en la zona.
Tema 15	La Alianza del Pacífico: en busca de un mercado	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las negociaciones de la Alianza del Pacífico en Cali, así como sobre la comunidad andina como precedente. Se

	gigantesco			argumenta que este tipo de acuerdos plurinacionales exigen que los países tengan metas en común a mediano y largo plazo, y que en el caso de los países de la Alianza debería ser cooperar para lograr una mejor entrada a los mercados asiáticos y generar cadenas de valor entre ellos.
Tema 15	Colombia y Venezuela: una relación difícil aunque necesaria	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre las relaciones diplomáticas y asuntos fronterizos entre Venezuela y Colombia. Se argumenta que las disputas entre ambos gobiernos ha generado un ambiente de incertidumbre y ha dificultado la colaboración para trabajar por metas comunes, como combatir el contrabando y narcotráfico así como promover el comercio entre las partes.
Tema 15	El fallo de La Haya en el caso Chile Perú: antecedentes e implicaciones	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre el fallo del Tribunal de la Haya sobre la disputa territorial entre Chile y Perú. Se argumenta que sería favorable para ambos países acatar el fallo y tomarlo como una oportunidad para sanar heridas históricas. Se argumenta que un mal escenario posible es que Chile dilatará el reconocimiento del fallo adverso así como lo hizo Colombia
Tema 15	San Andrés y Providencia: en defensa del archipiélago y de sus pobladores	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el fallo de la Corte Internacional de Justicia sobre las disputas fronterizas entre Colombia y Nicaragua. Se consideran las acciones de los últimos gobiernos de Colombia y cómo las actuaciones de todos influyeron en el resultado final. Se argumenta que hasta ahora no ha habido una estrategia apropiada y centrada en la protección de los Sanandresanos para enfrentar las consecuencias de la sentencia.
Tema 15	Las nuevas demandas de Nicaragua y el manejo del fallo de La Haya: ¿la prudencia como último recurso?	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las consecuencias del fallo de la Corte Internacional de Justicia sobre las disputas territoriales entre Colombia y Nicaragua. Se argumenta que Colombia no salió tan perjudicada por el fallo como el gobierno hizo creer, y critica que la estrategia de desacato del gobierno colombiano pueda tener efectos negativos.
Tema 15	Colombia está descubriendo a China	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre los acercamientos diplomáticos y comerciales del gobierno colombiano a China. Se argumenta que así como hay oportunidades de negocios, es necesario considerar también el contexto geopolítico en lo que concierne a la creciente competencia entre Estados Unidos. Se argumenta que es tiempo de que Colombia sea más estratégica en sus relaciones con ambas potencias, y que no

				pierda de vista sus intereses propios.
Tema 15	Colombia Ecuador: acercamientos entre naciones siamesas*	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre las relaciones comerciales, de seguridad, diplomáticas y culturales de Ecuador y Colombia. Se argumenta que es necesario ahondar los lazos y el reconocimiento mutuo para construir una relación de mayor cooperación y beneficio de los dos países.
Tema 16	Pensiones: no basta con reformar el régimen de Colpensiones	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las reformas pensionales. Se argumenta que no es suficiente hacer cambios en el sistema de Prima Media sin tener en cuenta el sistema De Ahorro Individual con Solidaridad, ni la baja rentabilidad que han tenido los fondos.
Tema 16	Desigualdad en las ciudades de Colombia: ¿cómo vamos?	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis sobre la desigualdad social y económica en las ciudades de Colombia. Se argumenta que las cifras longitudinales muestran que el país sigue teniendo un nivel elevado de desigualdad, que este repercute negativamente en la inseguridad y pobreza. Como conclusión se propone que desde el urbanismo y la arquitectura se podría trabajar para hacer más equitativas dichas ciudades.
Tema 16	La informalidad laboral: qué es, qué tanto nos afecta y cómo llegar al fondo	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre la informalidad en el mercado laboral colombiano. Se argumenta que debido a la informalidad un segmento considerable de la población no cuenta con cobertura de pensión y salud. También se argumenta que esta informalidad se relaciona con el modelo económico del país, especialmente en cuanto a la flexibilización de los términos de contratación.
Tema 16	Los colombianos, cada vez más viejos: ¿será un problema?	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el aumento de personas viejas viviendo solas en Colombia. Se argumenta que este fenómeno demográfico va a tener implicaciones sociales en el largo plazo que se deben prever y ameritan reflexionar sobre el auge de hogares unipersonales y de personas viejas que viven solas.
Tema 16	¿Es conveniente reducir el tiempo para la pensión de las mujeres?	Flor Esther Salazar	26 junio 2017	análisis sobre la situación pensional de las mujeres en Colombia y del proyecto de ley presentado para bajarles la edad de pensión. Se argumenta que las mujeres del país están en una situación pensional más precaria que la de los hombres en general. Sin embargo, se señalan las limitaciones de la medida y se cuestiona que esta sea una solución óptima considerando que tan solo beneficiaría a las mujeres que han cotizado de forma regular en el sistema de Renta

				Media.
Tema 16	Medellín y Antioquia: las cifras y las políticas	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las estadísticas de pobreza en Antioquía en comparación al resto del país. Se argumenta que las cifras indican que la región ha logrado avanzar gracias a las políticas públicas, el impulso a la educación y el crecimiento económico. Se concluye que aunque los logros son importantes, aún hace falta disminuir la desigualdad, especialmente en las diferencias que hay entre municipios así como por género.
Tema 16	Horas extras y jornada nocturna: ¿vale la pena volver al sistema de antes?	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la reforma laboral del 2002, cómo afectó el mercado laboral y qué consecuencias traería revertir la reforma. Se argumenta que no hay evidencias de que revertir la reforma laboral generaría más puestos de trabajo. Se concluye que no hay evidencias suficientes de los beneficios de revertir la reforma y que insistir en hacerlo genera incertidumbre perjudicial para los negocios.
Tema 16	El salario mínimo diferencial por regiones: un elemento para la reducción de la informalidad	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre informalidad, empleo y salario mínimo. Se argumenta que acordar diferentes salarios mínimos a nivel regional según los niveles de informalidad podría servir para incentivar la formalidad laboral en las zonas en las que menos hay. También se argumenta que en materia laboral hace falta aumentar la productividad de los trabajadores así como fomentar que las personas asuman sus deberes tributarios.
Tema 16	Colombia: ¿un país de clase media?	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la clase media en Colombia. Se argumenta que a pesar del aumento reportado por las cifras oficiales de la clase media, la mayor parte de la población del país sigue estando en una situación económica vulnerable. Se afirma que aún hace falta medidas encaminadas a consolidar y proteger a la clase en media en Colombia.
Tema 16	Las mujeres, los hombres y el mercado laboral: ¿por qué las diferencias?	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre los factores sociales y económicos relacionados con las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres en el mercado laboral colombiano. Se argumenta que las profundas diferencias que hay entre el tipo de cargos, remuneración y tasa de desempleo entre los géneros requieren medidas de peso para promover que las mujeres emprendan, se formen a la vez que les des un respaldo institucional y se tomen medidas que les garanticen sus derechos a

				la igualdad en el mercado laboral.
Tema 17	Las formas legales del despojo de la tierra	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	reseña del libro ¡La tierra no se vende! Las tierras y los territorios de los pueblos indígenas en México. Se expone la tesis del libro respecto a que las comunidades indígenas mexicanas han sido desposeídas de sus tierras tanto por mecanismos legales como ilegales. Se argumenta que tanto en este contexto como en el de Colombia, se deben reorientar los marcos legales para revertir dicho desistimiento.
Tema 17	La reforma del régimen de baldíos: se necesita una política integral de tierras	David Quitián	25 octubre 2010	análisis del proyecto de ley de Tierras baldías retirado del Congreso. Se argumenta que el proyecto tenía artículos ambiguos que podrían agravar el problema de la concentración de la tierra en el país. Se concluye que es necesario que la sociedad esté más pendiente de lo que se legisle en este tema contribuya a solucionar los problemas de concentración de la tierra en el país.
Tema 17	Acuerdo sobre desarrollo rural: acceso a la tierra y carrusel de procesos agrarios	Yesid Castro Forero, Manuel Ramos Bermúdez	23 junio 2013	análisis sobre el proyecto de Fondo de Tierras para la paz. Se argumenta que las fuentes previstas en el proyecto de ley implican procesos legales que tardarán en resolverse y que, en el contexto colombiano, estos mecanismos no podrán ser suficientes para enfrentar la apropiación de baldíos y proveer las tierras que se necesitarán para cumplir con las propuestas sobre desarrollo rural que se están negociando en la Habana.
Tema 17	La tierra y cómo repartirla: el caso de la Unidad Agrícola Familiar	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la Unidad Agrícola Familiar. Se explica en qué consiste dicho concepto, para qué sirve y por qué este término se está discutiendo en relación a la ley de víctimas. Se argumenta que las mejores formas para combatir la concentración de la tierra son aumentar impuestos, expropiaciones y extinción de dominio en vez de usar la Unidad Agrícola Familiar como criterio para limitar la adquisición de tierras.
Tema 17	Concentración de la tierra y reformas legales en Colombia	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	reseña sobre La Función Social de la Propiedad en las Constituciones Colombianas. Se expone que el libro analiza la acumulación de tierras en el país y los intentos de reforma que ha habido. Se cierra la reseña diciendo que las iniciativas legales encaminadas a reconocer el derecho a la propiedad como sujeto a responsabilidades sociales no han sido implementadas exitosamente.

Tema 17	La tierra, Santos II y el Plan de Desarrollo	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el Plan de Desarrollo de Santos en su segundo periodo en relación a la política de tierras. Se argumenta que aunque el proyecto presenta avances respecto a la construcción de una política de tierras, aún hace falta mucho para llegar a un sistema moderno y eficiente para fomentar el desarrollo rural.
Tema 17	La tierra en el posconflicto: una mirada a dos experiencias internacionales	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el posconflicto en Guatemala y Sudáfrica y la distribución de la tierras. El análisis de ambos casos se orienta a las lecciones que dejan ambas experiencias para pensar en el posconflicto en Colombia. Se argumenta que es necesario que además del diseño de políticas se asegure que el estado se encargue de velar por el cumplimiento de lo acordado y de asegurar la participación de los diferentes sectores de la sociedad.
Tema 17	La escandalosa desigualdad de la propiedad rural en Colombia	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la desigualdad en la propiedad de tierras. A partir de las estadísticas sobre distribución de tierra en el país se argumenta que la desigualdad ha aumentado y que, a pesar de los compromisos asumidos por el gobierno de Santos en el acuerdo de paz, su gobierno no se ha comprometido con un modelo de desarrollo rural que le dé oportunidades a los campesinos y pequeños propietarios.
Tema 17	Restitución de tierras: problemas y tareas pendientes	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre los resultados de la Ley de víctimas y restitución de tierras cinco años después de su aprobación. Se argumenta que en la implementación ha hecho falta hacer más énfasis en el seguimiento a nivel regional y local así como de un enfoque integral a la reparación a las víctimas.
Tema 17	Una política de tierras que naufraga	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis de balance en la política de tierras del gobierno Santos. Se argumenta que los resultados de la gestión de tierras muestran pocos avances en la restitución y recuperaciones de tierras y que esto se debe en parte a la falta de liderazgo y conocimiento político así como de una política pública sólida e integrada a los procesos de paz.
Tema 18	Eutanasia: ¿Qué Razones son buenas para morir?	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	Análisis filosófico y legal sobre el derecho a la muerte. Se presenta el caso de un hombre que solicita el derecho a la muerte asistida. Se analiza la decisión de la Corte en términos de la diferenciación jurídica entre el derecho a la muerte asistida, el suicidio y el asesinato. Se plantea que el marco legal colombiano está basado en el principio filosófico de que la vida no es un

				valor absoluto o “derecho sagrado”, pero que igualmente el derecho a la muerte está limitado a circunstancias en las que la dignidad humana de la persona esté comprometida.
Tema 18	Colombia sin asbesto	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	El artículo habla sobre los avances en la aprobación de un proyecto de ley para prohibir el asbesto. Se mencionan los efectos negativos que tiene el asbesto y se propone como un problema de salud pública. Se atribuye que el Proyecto ha avanzado gracias a la presión ciudadana
Tema 18	La eutanasia en Colombia: una pregunta a medias	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	El artículo propone, respecto a los debates sobre la eutanasia en Colombia, que esta debe ser entendida como una medida de última instancia. Se propone que al debate sobre el asunto ha faltado considerar y darle importancia a la implementación de una política pública de cuidados paliativos. El artículo contextualiza la eutanasia en Colombia diciendo que, al contrario de países desarrollados que han legalizado la eutanasia (por ejemplo, Holanda y Suiza), hay que tener en cuenta las limitaciones del sistema de salud colombiano y el escaso acceso que hay a los cuidados paliativos.
Tema 18	Los tres strikes para los conductores ebrios: ¿será que aprendemos?	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	En el artículo se habla sobre la legislación para reducir los accidentes causados por conductores borrachos. Se dice que la ley vigente contempla sanciones de alerta temprana para quienes manejen en grado cero de embriaguez, y que sirva como una alerta temprana.
Tema 18	La influenza A (H1N1): más preguntas que respuestas	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	El artículo explica, a partir de lo que sabe hasta el momento, por qué la influenza A(H1N1) no parece ser una pandemia. El texto presenta varias preguntas sobre el tema, que si bien son tratadas por el autor, este mismo dice que aún hay cuatro controversias importantes: ¿Dónde se originó el virus? ¿Han respondido efectivamente las autoridades? ¿Cómo ha sido la cobertura en medios? ¿Qué intereses de fondo están en juego? Por último, el artículo dice que se debe tener en cuenta la proporción de los riesgos que implica el A(H1N1) en relación a los problemas generales de la salud pública en Colombia.
Tema 18	¿Caerá alguien por los papeles de Panamá?	Wilson Alejandro Martínez	17 abril 2016	análisis sobre las investigaciones sobre lavado de dinero en los Panama Papers. Se argumenta que a pesar de la cantidad de información filtrada, es poco probable que el caso termine en condenas porque la

				Fiscalía no tiene la capacidad para judicializar e investigar operaciones financieras tan complejas y opacas.
Tema 18	Aborto, pluralismo y política criminal	Rodrigo Uprimny	30 septiembre 2012	El autor identifica dos visiones contrapuestas respecto al aborto, y propone que debe haber un diálogo entre los valores y visiones de ambas partes y que sobre este consenso se debe trazar la política pública en torno al aborto. Luego el autor hace una lista de cinco “concordancias de valor” entre los dos grupos a los que se refirió antes. Luego el autor se refiere a 3 conclusiones de estudios sobre el aborto: (y) la penalización del aborto no es una medida sancionatoria efectiva ni sirve para prevenirlo, (ii) la penalización del aborto fomenta los abortos clandestinos, que ponen en mayor riesgo a las mujeres, (iii) la penalización es discriminatoria frente a las mujeres más vulnerables, pues las opciones que cuentan para hacerlo ponen en mayor riesgo su salud, (iv) si la despenalización del aborto se acompaña de educación sexual no tiene por qué llevar a un aumento en los abortos. Teniendo en cuenta que el autor considera como punto de posible consenso que es deseable proteger la salud de las mujeres que abortan, reducir el número de abortos y los embarazos no deseados, el autor dice que se deberían expandir las circunstancias contempladas para la despenalización del aborto.
Tema 18	¿Qué sabemos sobre la marihuana medicinal?	Angélica Durán	02 noviembre 2014	El artículo empieza con un recuento de estudios sobre los efectos de la legalización de la marihuana medicinal en términos de consumo, salud pública y criminalidad. Luego se analiza la relación y diferencias que hay entre la legalización del uso recreativo y el medicinal de la marihuana. Por último, el texto presenta cinco grandes desafíos de salud pública que significarán la legalización del uso medicinal
Tema 18	Aborto, pluralismo y política criminal	Rodrigo Uprimny	30 septiembre 2012	El autor identifica dos visiones contrapuestas respecto al aborto, y propone que debe haber un diálogo entre los valores y visiones de ambas partes y que sobre este consenso se debe trazar la política pública en torno al aborto. Luego el autor hace una lista de cinco “concordancias de valor” entre los dos grupos a los que se refirió antes. Luego el autor se refiere a 3 conclusiones de estudios sobre el aborto: (i)

				la penalización del aborto no es una medida sancionatoria efectiva ni sirve para prevenirlo, (ii) la penalización del aborto fomenta los abortos clandestinos, que ponen en mayor riesgo a las mujeres, (iii) la penalización es discriminatoria frente a las mujeres más vulnerables, pues las opciones que cuentan para hacerlo ponen en mayor riesgo su salud, (iv) si la despenalización del aborto se acompaña de educación sexual no tiene por qué llevar a un aumento en los abortos. Teniendo en cuenta que el autor considera como punto de posible consenso que es deseable proteger la salud de las mujeres que abortan, reducir el número de abortos y los embarazos no deseados, el autor dice que se deberían expandir las circunstancias contempladas para la despenalización del aborto.
Tema 18	Zika y aborto: ¿qué sabemos?	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	El artículo empieza con un resumen sobre lo que sabe sobre la relación entre el zika y el embarazo y dice que hasta el momento no se ha podido establecer una relación de causalidad entre el Zika y la microcefalia en gestantes. Si bien en el artículo se reconoce los riesgos que puede presentar el virus para un gestante, aseguran que se debe tener un diagnóstico completo para que las mujeres tomen una decisión informada sobre la continuación de sus embarazos
Tema 20	¿Cómo será la cultura ciudadana en la era Peñalosa?	Sergio Angel, Nasstasja Rojas	19 junio 2016	análisis sobre las políticas públicas en cultura ciudadana de las alcaldías más recientes en Bogotá. Se argumenta que es necesario que en la segunda administración de Peñalosa integre elementos de sus antecesores en el cargo y que a la vez busque ser más participativa y deliberativa.
Tema 20	El Concejo en el ojo del huracán	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis sobre la crisis de legitimidad y corrupción del Concejo de Bogotá. Se argumenta que El Carrusel de la contratación ha dejado en evidencia el clientelismo y falta de transparencia del Concejo, así como la falta de control político. Se concluye argumentando que la ciudad necesita un acuerdo mínimo entre los diferentes sectores políticos y la ciudadanía respecto a estándares para la gestión pública a nivel distrital.
Tema 20	La “rumba extendida”: decisión apresurada e inútil	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la decisión de ampliar los horarios de establecimientos nocturnos bajo la iniciativa "la rumba extendida". Se argumenta que en medio del aumento de la

				inseguridad de Bogotá, aumentar las horas en las que los bares pueden estar abiertos no es una solución. Se concluye que mejor sería buscar la formalización de los "amanecederos", establecer criterios y requisitos para que los bares puedan funcionar hasta más tarde e insistir en la educación ciudadana.
Tema 20	Inseguridad en Bogotá: lo que empieza mal, termina mal	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las cifras de seguridad en Bogotá. Se argumenta que ha habido un declive considerable en la seguridad, principalmente por el aumento de crímenes violentos, y se propone que esto ha sido causado en parte por la administración del alcalde de la ciudad de aquel entonces.
Tema 20	La mala idea de apoyar la Policía Cívica	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre el proyecto de policía cívica para Bogotá. Se argumenta que una policía de tal tipo no es necesario pues la mayor parte de sus funciones pueden ser asumidas por ciudadanos sin necesidad de hacer parte de ninguna entidad. En cambio, se propone que mejor sería apoyar la policía metropolitana y fortalecer los mecanismos de rendición de cuentas.
Tema 20	Mentiras y verdades sobre la seguridad en Bogotá (II)	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la seguridad en Bogotá. Se argumenta que la policía de la ciudad necesita mejores equipos y capacitaciones, así como de mejores estadísticas para reporte de crímenes, proyectos de cultura ciudadana e intervenciones sociales.
Tema 20	Nuevo Código de Policía: ¿por qué se necesita?	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las relaciones entre el nuevo Código de Policía y la cultura ciudadana. Se argumenta que para mejorar la seguridad de Bogotá es necesario cambiar comportamientos a través tanto de la moral, cultura como de la ley. Se concluye que se debe buscar alinear estos tres elementos para lograr cambios en cómo convive la población de la ciudad.
Tema 20	Cambio en el gabinete distrital: Razones, costos y oportunidades	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre los cambios de gabinete en la alcaldía Petro. Se argumenta que, a cinco meses de iniciada la administración, los cambios en el gabinete se hicieron de forma inesperada y muestran las dificultades que ha tenido esta administración en mantener un equipo cohesionado. Se concluye que aún estará por verse si los cambios resultan efectivos y justifican el tiempo de transición que requerirán.
Tema 20	Gobernabilidad en Bogotá: el Concejo Distrital y el carrusel de la	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el Concejo Distrital de Bogotá y su relación con el Carrusel de la Contratación y la gobernabilidad de la ciudad. Se argumenta que la institución

	contratación			atraviesa una crisis de credibilidad por los lazos de algunos de sus miembros con escándalos de corrupción y la falta de control político que han ejercido. Se argumenta que además de establecer parámetros de transparencia y anticorrupción, es necesario que el Concejo se centre en su propósito como órgano deliberativo y de debate político.
Tema 20	La seguridad ciudadana de Peñalosa: vino viejo en botellas nuevas	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las políticas públicas de seguridad en Bogotá de Peñalosa. Se argumenta que es posible que el alcalde esté buscando replicar propuestas de otras administraciones sin adaptarlas al contexto y problemas contemporáneos de la ciudad. Se concluye que a pesar de las limitaciones de algunas de las propuestas, algunas señales positivas son la creación de una Secretaría de Seguridad y la selección del equipo de trabajo.
Tema 21	La guerra inscrita en el cuerpo de las mujeres	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre la violencia sexual en el marco del conflicto armado colombiano. El texto presenta algunos de los hallazgos del informe "La guerra inscrita en el cuerpo" respecto a los "usos" y objetivos con los que la violencia sexual se usó como estrategia de guerra. Se argumenta que la violencia de género está muy arraigada en el país y que incluso tras los acuerdos de paz y el posconflicto será necesario trabajar para erradicarlo.
Tema 21	La familia en Córdoba: el cambio cultural acelerado y sus efectos	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre los cambios en las familias de la región de Córdoba. Primero se presentan unas anécdotas representativas de cambios en las familias y tradiciones de la región. Luego el análisis se centra en las estadísticas sobre los cambios demográficos de los últimos treinta años en la región. Se concluye que los cambios más recientes están relacionados con el conflicto armado, concentración de tierras, y que es necesario más investigación y estadísticas para identificar los cambios que se están dando en cuanto a la familia.
Tema 21	Ocultos a plena luz: la violencia contra niños y niñas	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la violencia contra los niños en el marco del conflicto armado. Se argumenta que los niños en Colombia son altamente vulnerables a la violencia y que hace falta visibilizar este problema así como tomar medidas políticas para proteger a la infancia. Se concluye que la violencia contra los niños está arraigada en la cultura colombiana y que incluso llegado el posconflicto será necesario tomar medidas

				de fondo para tratar este problema.
Tema 21	El feminicidio: más allá de la violencia de género	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre la violencia contra las mujeres en Colombia. Se argumenta que los feminicidios son crímenes políticos en tanto que el Estado ha fallado en proteger a las mujeres. Tras hacer un recuento de las estadísticas sobre violencia contra las mujeres, se identifica que la mayoría de estos casos están relacionados con el conflicto armado o son perpetrados por hombres cercanos a las víctimas; a modo de conclusión se propone que hace falta más programas e investigación en este campo.
Tema 21	Familias colombianas: diversidad, normas y realidad social	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis de la redefinición de familia hecha por el Consejo de Estado para reconocer las parejas del mismo sexo. Se argumenta que la decisión de la Corte corresponde a cambios sociales, culturales y demográficos en la conformación de familias diversas en el país.
Tema 21	Idioma y visibilidad de la mujer	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	reflexión sobre el lenguaje inclusivo. Se afirma que el lenguaje inclusivo no contribuirá a mejorar las condiciones de vida de las mujeres alrededor del mundo.
Tema 21	El embarazo adolescente: un problema de toda la sociedad	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre los embarazos adolescentes. Se argumenta que esta situación está marcada por la desigualdad entre clases sociales y regiones, y que las madres adolescentes ven limitadas sus opciones laborales y educativas. Se propone que la educación sexual debería revisarse para garantizarles a los adolescentes el derecho a una vida sexual libre y responsable. También se concluye que combatir la desigualdad es necesario proponer medidas con enfoque de género relacionadas con el embarazo de adolescentes.
Tema 21	El largo camino de la no violencia contra las mujeres	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre la violencia contra las mujeres. Se argumenta que aunque ha habido avances en medidas legales contra el feminicidio, es necesario que se haga más para combatir las raíces sociales y culturales de dicha violencia.
Tema 21	Adopción por parejas del mismo sexo: los hechos y los prejuicios	Daniel Verástegui, Mauricio Noguera	25 enero 2015	análisis sobre adopción y diversidad familiar en Colombia en términos legales y del desarrollo psicológico de los niños. Se argumenta que el debate sobre la adopción por parejas del mismo sexo debería tener en cuenta no solamente el bienestar de los niños sino también reconocer la diversidad de familias que existen en el país.

Tema 21	Cuerpos de mujer, territorio de guerra	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la violencia sexual en Colombia. Se argumenta que en el país ha habido total impunidad frente a la violencia sexual en el marco del conflicto armado. Se concluye afirmando la importancia de presionar para que se haga justicia en estos casos.
Tema 22	La primera vuelta: cómo llegamos y en qué quedamos	David Quitián	25 octubre 2010	análisis sobre los resultados de la primera vuelta de las presidenciales del 2018. Se argumenta que los resultados estuvieron marcados por la polarización que resultará en la victoria de Duque debido a podrá contar con el apoyo de múltiples sectores de la derecha y centro en un "todos contra Petro".
Tema 22	El panorama electoral en segunda vuelta: la lucha por el centro	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre el tramo final de la segunda vuelta de la campaña presidencial del 2018. Se argumenta que la lucha entre Petro y Duque se centrará en capturar a los votantes de centro mayoritariamente urbano y de clase media, y que esta es la clave para llegar a la presidencia.
Tema 22	El regreso atropellado del uribismo	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre la campaña y los resultados de la segunda vuelta de la campaña presidencial del 2018. Se argumenta que los resultados muestran la polarización política del país, y que esta realidad política marcará las dinámicas entre la oposición y el gobierno.
Tema 22	Twitter: ¿qué muestran las cuentas de los presidenciables?	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis sobre los discursos en Twitter de los candidatos a la presidencia del 2018. Usando técnicas de procesamiento de lenguaje natural se analiza qué tan cercanos o distantes son los discursos de los candidatos y los temas de los que más hablan.
Tema 22	Las estrategias para la segunda vuelta	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre los discursos de los candidatos finalistas que compiten en la segunda vuelta de las presidenciales del 2014. Se argumenta que los discursos de ambos presentan las estrategias que usarán para convencer a los abstencionistas y extender sus alianzas.
Tema 22	¿Quién ganará la elección presidencial? Lo que dicen las encuestas	Hernando Gómez Buendía	01 octubre 2017	análisis sobre las encuestas sobre los precandidatos a la presidencia del 2018. Se argumenta que las encuestas hechas hasta el momento son insuficiente para pronosticar quién podría ganar la primera vuelta de las elecciones. Se critica que en los medios no se reconozcan las limitaciones de las encuestas y que se las estén sobreinterpretación.
Tema	Noticias entre	José	16 mayo	análisis sobre los resultados de las

22	elecciones: deseos, devaneos y decisiones	Fernando Flórez	2011	elecciones de Congreso y el panorama que presentan en relación a la campaña presidencial. Se argumenta que si bien los resultados de la votación al Congreso dejan ver la composición de los diferentes sectores políticos, aún es muy temprano para que estos resultados puedan pronosticar quién ganará las presidenciales. Se concluye afirmando que la actual campaña política está marcada por la incertidumbre.
Tema 22	¿Duque o Petro?: dos modelos de país	Nicolás Liendo	21 mayo 2018	análisis sobre la primera vuelta de las presidenciales del 2018. Se argumenta, a partir de las encuestas, que las elecciones se centrarán en la competencia entre Duque y Petro y sus proyectos políticos opuestos. Se argumenta que si bien los resultados sobre quién ganará son inciertos, en cualquier caso traerán cambios profundos respecto a lo que se hizo en los gobiernos de Santos.
Tema 22	Política exterior	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las propuestas de los candidatos a la presidencia del 2018 en materia de política exterior. A partir de un análisis de notas de prensa, debates y programas de gobierno, se identifican las propuestas de los candidatos en relación a los siguientes temas: principios generales, relación con Venezuela, Estados Unidos y Nicaragua, integración con países Latinoamericanos, comunidad internacional y procesos de paz, tratados de libre comercio.
Tema 22	La izquierda tras las elecciones de 2018	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre los resultados de la segunda vuelta a la presidencia del 2018 en relación a los logros de los sectores de centro e izquierda. Se argumenta que, a pesar de no haber ganado, los votos obtenidos por Petro y Fajardo muestran una transformación electoral profunda que los dejan fortalecidos para proyectar su futuro político.
Tema 23	¿Qué significa la virtualidad de Internet?*	Marcello Rosati	04 mayo 2010	análisis sobre lo virtual en el internet y otras tecnologías de la información. El análisis se centra en el significado y definición del término "virtual".
Tema 23	Masificación de internet: una necesidad para Colombia	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la masificación del internet en Colombia. Se argumenta que ha habido avances importantes en la cobertura y acceso a internet en el país, aunque aún falta cerrar brechas de cobertura en municipios y por sectores sociales, así como entender que la conectividad no es solo cuestión de infraestructura sino

				también de usuarios, servicios y aplicaciones.
Tema 23	El poder cotidiano de los burócratas	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	reseña sobre el libro "Activismo Burocrático. La construcción cotidiana del principio de legalidad". Se reflexiona sobre el papel que cumplen los "burócratas callejeros" (como las madres comunitarias) en la relación de los ciudadanos con el Estado en Colombia, y se argumenta que esta relación sienta las bases de las sociedades democráticas.
Tema 23	La subasta del espectro: mucho más que la telefonía celular en juego	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la subasta del espectro electromagnético presentada por el gobierno. Se argumenta que esta subasta es fundamental para aumentar la cobertura en el país, pero que preocupa que los términos de la subasta permitan que la empresa que ocupa la mayor parte del mercado consolide una posición dominante de monopolio.
Tema 23	Medios de comunicación y plataformas: traficantes de datos	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el valor de los datos e información en el contexto digital contemporáneo y cómo afecta a los ciudadanos. Se argumenta que los medios colombianos están en crisis porque no han podido convencer a los usuarios que paguen más para compensar la disminución de ingresos por cuenta de la publicidad, y que es necesario que los ciudadanos adquieran conciencia sobre el valor de sus datos. Se concluye que Facebook, Google y las grandes plataformas tecnológicas son las mayores ganadoras por la falta de regulación y transparencia en el sector.
Tema 23	La Registraduría y la información electoral	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre los problemas que tuvo la Registraduría para reportar los resultados de las elecciones de Congreso y consultas del 2010. Se argumenta que la institución falló en lograr comunicar los resultados parciales de forma clara, pertinente y transparente, y que fue necesario que algunos periodistas hicieran cálculos para interpretar las cifras segmentadas de la Registraduría.
Tema 23	Subasta del espectro electromagnético: ¿todo bien?	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la subasta del espectro electromagnético presentada en 2013. Se argumenta que esta medida era necesaria para aumentar la conectividad del país. Se concluye que la subasta dio participación a diferentes empresas pero aún quedan inquietudes de fondo sobre el compromiso de los empresarios por apostar por nuevas tecnologías y de que la subasta logre

				disminuir la inequidad en la brecha digital.
Tema 23	Telefonía móvil: el adiós a la cláusula de permanencia	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el fin de las cláusulas de permanencia en los planes de telefonía. Se argumenta que esta decisión hará que las empresas del sector tengan que competir más para mantener a sus usuarios y que además llevará a que los precios de los equipos se reduzcan en el largo plazo porque habrá más oferta.
Tema 23	De la democracia de papel a la democracia virtual	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis sobre el papel que jugaron los medios de comunicación en la campaña electoral del 2010. Se argumenta que la democracia colombiana ha entrado en el plano de lo "virtual" en el sentido de simulación dirigida por los medios de comunicación están concentrados, están ideologizados y cerraron la deliberación política en las elecciones.
Tema 23	Balances 2009: Las comunicaciones: sucesos que no ocurrieron y progresos que no se ven	Germán Rey	18 enero 2010	análisis sobre las comunicaciones y tecnologías de la información al cierre del 2009. Aunque fracasaron los dos grandes temas del año la adjudicación del tercer canal y el lanzamiento del primer satélite colombiano, se argumenta que las tecnologías de la información han tenido avances considerables por ejemplo, en el aumento de cobertura de telefonía y que quedará por verse si estos cambios servirán para fortalecer la democracia colombiana.
Tema 24	Jericó, el infinito vuelo de los días: decir sin mostrar	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	reseña y crítica de la película "Jericó". Se argumenta que la obra es un homenaje a las vidas de sus protagonistas y que la obra logra una conmovedora mezcla de documental y ficción.
Tema 24	Manos sucias: Buenaventura en la pantalla	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	reseña de la película "Manos sucias". Además de presentar el filme, el documento presenta el contexto de Buenaventura que se muestra y habla sobre la vida de uno de los protagonistas.
Tema 24	Las películas premiadas de 2010: Avatar y En tierra hostil (The Hurt Locker)	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre los Premios de la Academia ganados por "Avatar" y "The Hurt Locker" en 2010. Se argumenta que mientras la primera cinta es una contradictoria crítica del capitalismo en tanto que dice criticarlo al tiempo que es una superproducción de Hollywood la segunda presenta una fusión entre cine de acción y cine de ideas.
Tema 24	Las interconexiones que no vemos	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	reseña sobre el libro "City of Flows. Modernity, Nature, and the City". Se reflexiona sobre las interconexiones entre las ciudades y la naturaleza, que para muchos solo se hacen evidentes cuando

				hay crisis en los servicios a los que las poblaciones urbanas están acostumbradas.
Tema 24	El cine nacional, entre luces y sombras	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	análisis sobre el panorama del cine colombiano, tanto en cortometrajes, documentales como ficción. Se argumenta que si bien los apoyos institucionales han llevado a cierto crecimiento en la actividad cinematográfica, persisten los siguientes problemas: "más negocio que arte, más entretenimiento que memoria, más palomitas de maíz que espejo para construir identidad nacional"
Tema 24	A propósito de La Sirga, película de William Vega: Noche y niebla	Pedro Adrián Zuluaga	09 septiembre 2012	reseña y crítica de "La Sirga". Se argumenta que este largometraje hace parte de una nueva tendencia en el cine colombiano que logra, con diferentes matices, reflexionar desde el cine sobre la sociedad, y en especial en relación al conflicto.
Tema 24	El cartel de los sapos o el narcotráfico como parque temático	Néstor Rojas	22 noviembre 2010	crítica de la nominación por parte de la Academia Colombiana de "El cartel de los sapos" al Oscar. Se argumenta que, además de que resulta sospechoso que la mayoría de los miembros hubiera votado por una cinta que ni se había estrenado en el país, la decisión no fue acertada porque tiene una estética "de cómic" y es amarillista en la representación de la violencia y el narcotráfico de Colombia.
Tema 24	El Higgs: la partícula de Dios	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	explicación sobre qué son las partículas Higgs y por qué su descubrimiento es tan importante para la física.
Tema 24	La nueva ley de cine, o el paisaje que seremos	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre la segunda ley del cine de Colombia. Se argumenta que la ley aprobada favorece a los capitales extranjeros y a las grandes empresas y pocas de Colombia en detrimento de los trabajadores del sector y que no fortalecerá el cine colombiano en su conjunto.
Tema 24	Paciente: un documental para asumir nuestra humanidad	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	crítica de cine y análisis de "Paciente". Se presenta la trama del largometraje y se propone que esta confronta a los espectadores con la situación de una madre que cuida a su hija con cáncer en medio del sistema de salud colombiano. Se argumenta que el estilo de la cinta está pensado para que los espectadores saquen sus propias conclusiones sobre lo que ha visto.
Tema 25	Tragedias sin asombro: la violencia contra niños y niñas en	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre la violencia contra los niños en Colombia y la vulnerabilidad de estos. Se argumenta que las raíces de este problema están en el conflicto, la pobreza y

	Colombia			las faltas de oportunidades, y que hacen falta presupuesto y políticas públicas de fondo para garantizar los derechos a los niños del país.
Tema 25	Los desastres no "naturales": una propuesta para la recuperación con enfoque de derechos	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre por qué los "desastres no naturales" deben ser entendidos en relación la interacción humana con fenómenos climáticos. Se argumenta que, por lo tanto, a los afectados por estos se les debe reconocer derechos sociales, a la reparación, participación, entre otros.
Tema 25	La oleada invernal: el clima y el modelo de desarrollo	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre la oleada invernal del 2010. Se reflexiona que no se trata de una catástrofe natural, sino de la incapacidad humana de responder a la interacción con fenómenos climáticos y del impacto que hemos generado en los ecosistemas. Se concluye que las crisis como esta deberían servir de alerta para repensar la economía y orientarla hacia lo sostenible.
Tema 25	Un desastre más humano que natural	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis sobre las reacciones del Estado colombiano al desastre humanitario de la ola invernal de finales del 2010. Se argumenta que lo sucedido fue grave por la falta atención a la población y la vulnerabilidad de quienes sufrieron los mayores efectos. Se concluye con que el estado debe prepararse mejor para reaccionar ante los crecientes efectos del cambio climático.
Tema 25	Arde Rusia, naufraga Pakistán, se hunde el mundo	Manuel Guzmán Hennessey	22 agosto 2010	analisis sobre las crisis medioambientales en Rusia y Pakistán. Se argumenta que, según lo reconoce la comunidad científica, ambos eventos son manifestaciones del cambio climático causado por la intervencion humana en el medioambiente. Se argumenta que es necesario que la prensa cubra dichos eventos en relacion al cambio climático. Además se critica la falta de un liderazgo mundial para afrontar la crisis del cambio climático.
Tema 25	Entre el cambio climático y la maldita Niña: ¿hasta dónde llega la responsabilidad del gobierno?	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	analisis sobre el manejo del gobierno al fenómeno de la Niña en el 2011. Se argumenta que el estado no logró articular una respuesta adecuada al fenómeno, y que falló en proteger a la población más vulnerable de los efectos adversos. También se cuestiona el diagnostico del gobierno de la situacion, su falta de preparación y liderazgo.
Tema 25	Los otros desplazados: los ambientales	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	analisis sobre la situación de los desplazados por los desastres ambientales. Se argumenta que aunque la figura del "desplazamiento por desastres

				ambientales" no existe en Colombia, es necesario que se desarrollen estrategias y proyectos para prevenir y mitigar los riesgos asociados a los desastres ambientales, pues este tipo de fenómenos están generando cada vez más desplazamientos forzados a lo largo del país.
Tema 25	El Niño 2015: una muestra de lo que puede ser nuestro futuro climático	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	explicación sobre el Fenómeno del Niño y análisis sobre la prevención y manejo de desastres ambientales en Colombia. Se argumenta que es muy grave que el país no haya avanzado en diseñar e implementar una política de atención a desastres ambientales que proteja efectivamente a la población y que responda al incremento de riesgos asociados al cambio climático. Se concluye que llegar a un acuerdo de paz con las Farc sería un paso importante en relación a que el país reoriente sus esfuerzos a adaptarse al cambio climático y replantearse el modelo de desarrollo para que sea sostenible.
Tema 25	La ola invernal: por qué los daños y cómo prevenirlos	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre la crisis invernal del 2011, sobre las fallas que hubo en la respuesta por parte de las autoridades así como de lo que se debería cambiar. Se argumenta que en la crisis fallaron los sistemas de prevención y atención a desastres. Como conclusión se propone que se deben tomar medidas frente a la deforestación y vulnerabilidad de las poblaciones que aumentan los riesgos ambientales, y que las autoridades deben retomar las buenas prácticas de atención y prevención de desastres.
Tema 25	Tragedias en Manizales: ¿Alertas tempranas para proteger a las comunidades... o a las autoridades?	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el manejo de la emergencia de deslizamientos en Manizales en el 2011. Se argumenta que las autoridades no hicieron buen uso de las alertas tempranas para proteger a la población, pues no hicieron nada para evacuar a las comunidades en peligro. Se concluye que es necesario que las autoridades asuman un manejo político y técnico más responsable respecto a las medidas que se deben tomar para prevenir y reaccionar ante catástrofes ambientales.
Tema 26	Los integrantes de la justicia transicional: ¿cómo van a escucharse?	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el proceso de elección de los funcionarios de la JEP, y de las implicaciones que tiene dicho proceso para darle credibilidad e independencia a la corte.

Tema 26	La crisis del proceso de paz y la fragilidad del futuro	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el estado del proceso de paz y el apoyo y oposición política al mismo. Se argumenta que el proceso de paz está en un punto crítico porque el grueso de la población ha sido indolente y poco empático con las víctimas del conflicto
Tema 26	Refrendación nacional o regional: el nuevo debate sobre el Acuerdo	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis político sobre las implicaciones y posibles consecuencias de la refrendación de los procesos de paz. Se hace un balance entre las ventajas de dicho proceso y los posibles riesgos que se corren en caso de que la votación rechace los acuerdos.
Tema 26	La paz empantanada: ¿cómo superar los obstáculos?	David Quitián	25 octubre 2010	análisis sobre las dificultades del proceso de paz respecto a las modificaciones de los acuerdos por el Congreso y la Corte Constitucional así como el sabotaje por parte de un sector político. Se argumenta que es necesario que la población se comprometa a apoyar la implementación del proceso de paz a pesar de la dificultades, los ataques y los retos por superar como los riesgos a los desmovilizados.
Tema 26	Vamos hacia un acuerdo nuevo con las FARC	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis sobre el futuro del proceso de paz un mes después del triunfo del "no" en el plebiscito. Se argumenta que para ninguna de las partes resultaría provechoso dar vuelta atrás el proceso de paz y que aunque la votación implica que el acuerdo debe ser revisado y renegociado, en últimas el presidente sigue teniendo la opción de firmar un nuevo acuerdo.
Tema 27	La canonización de Juan Pablo II y Juan XXIII: política y espectáculo	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis político y social de las motivaciones e importancia de la canonización de dos Papas de la Iglesia Católica. Se argumenta que dicha decisión es importante porque muestra la política del Papa Francisco para gobernar la Iglesia, y que además la Canonización es un ritual sagrado de gran importancia para buena parte de los practicantes de dicha religión.
Tema 27	La crisis de la Iglesia católica	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la crisis que atraviesa la Iglesia Católica por las denuncias de pedofilia y abusos cometidos por sacerdotes. Se argumenta que la Iglesia está en un momento de tensión entre tendencias opuestas (como ha sucedido en diferentes ocasiones a lo largo de la historia) y que en este caso la discusión se ha ventilado a los medios. Se propone que es tiempo de que la Iglesia se adapte a los cambios sociales que ha vivido la sociedad en años recientes, y que el Papa actual ha

				tomado medidas en esta dirección pero se enfrenta a una oposición considerable. Se concluye que, aunque la institucionalidad eclesiástica está en crisis, la Iglesia entendida como comunidad de creyentes sigue siendo tan fuerte como antes.
Tema 27	La mutación del cristianismo colombiano: de católico a pentecostal	Armando Borrero	08 junio 2010	análisis sobre el auge del cristianismo pentecostal en Colombia en detrimento del catolicismo. Se argumenta que dichos cambios se deben en que las iglesias pentecostales han logrado apelar a diferentes segmentos de la sociedad refiriéndose a sus preocupaciones, intereses y prioridades. Muchas de estas iglesias tienen líderes carismáticos o hacen uso de tecnología de la información, mercadeo y la comunicación con sus fieles. Además, algunas de estas iglesias llegan a convertirse en negocios rentables.
Tema 27	Movimiento MIRA: el conflictivo matrimonio entre política y religión	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el Movimiento Mira en términos políticos, religiosos y económicos. Se argumenta que el país vive un boom de Iglesias multinacionales que logran congrega multitudes y amasar poder, votos y dinero, y que Mira es un ejemplo de estos movimientos. Se concluye con que si bien el partido sigue pudiendo movilizar a sus fieles para votar, aún está por verse si logran mantener dicha fuerza.
Tema 27	El Papa en Brasil: entre la esperanza y la incertidumbre	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre el liderazgo del Papa Francisco. Se argumenta que si bien su llegada al poder es el resultado de una apuesta de la Iglesia por conservar sus fieles en América Latina (especialmente los jóvenes y más vulnerables) y proponer reformas de modernización, aún está por verse el alcance de los cambios que tiene en mente y si logra concretarlos a pesar de la oposición de los sectores más conservadores.
Tema 27	Las transformaciones del catolicismo en Colombia	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las transformaciones del catolicismo en Colombia, influido por los vientos de cambio a nivel internacional como a la secularización del país y la creciente diversidad religiosa. Se argumenta que a la Iglesia Católica le ha costado adaptarse a estos cambios y que hay división sobre lo que se debería hacer. Se concluye que a pesar del poder que ha tenido la Iglesia en el país, no ha logrado movilizar a la población a favor de la paz y que en la sociedad colombiana se ha practicado a menudo un cristianismo de apariencias.

Tema 27	Política, cristianos y diversidad religiosa en Colombia	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la conformación y objetivos de los partidos políticos cristianos. Se argumenta que dichos partidos hacen uso del proselitismo y logran convencer a buena parte de sus fieles a que voten por ellos. Se concluye que aunque estos partidos han llegado a existir debido a la creciente diversidad religiosa del país, resulta paradójica que buena parte de su agenda esté basada en rechazar el reconocimiento de derechos a minorías como las minorías sexuales,
Tema 27	Los evangélicos y las elecciones del 2018	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la participación en elecciones de los grupos evangélicos. Se argumenta que si bien son un segmento grande de la población, en las elecciones tienden a dividirse y tienen diferentes inclinaciones políticas, por esto resulta difícil pronosticar por quién votarán.
Tema 27	El Santísimo de Santander: despropósito o inversión	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre la decisión de la Gobernación de Santander de construir un Monumento Religioso. Se argumenta que el proyecto es justificable como inversión en la medida en que atraiga turismo, sin desconocer que el hecho de que el Estado invierta en símbolos de una religión constituye de una actitud preferente hacia esta.
Tema 27	Francisco en Colombia: una oportunidad para el reconocimiento de los derechos de las mujeres	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la visita del Papa Francisco como una oportunidad para que en Colombia se reflexione sobre los derechos de las mujeres. Se argumenta que en la Iglesia Católica en Colombia no ha hecho lo suficiente para movilizarse a favor de los derechos de las mujeres, ser más incluyente ni apoyar la paz. Se concluye que la visita Papal es una oportunidad para que la Iglesia revise su rumbo.
Tema 28	Palestina y la paz de los sionistas	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre los acercamientos de paz entre Palestina e Israel. Se analiza la historia del conflicto y de los diferentes intentos de paz o negociación entre las partes. Se argumenta que los acuerdos de paz de los últimos años no han mejorado las condiciones de vida de los palestinos ni puesto fin a la ocupación de asentamientos por parte de los israelíes, y que por lo tanto los intentos de paz terminarán fracasando.
Tema 28	Palestina, el precio de querer ser Estado	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre las iniciativas diplomáticas de Palestina para ser reconocida como Estado. Se argumenta que aunque fue un logro la aceptación de Palestina en la Unesco, una repercusión de esta fue la desfinanciación de Estados Unidos del organismo. Se concluye que aunque

				Palestina ha logrado mostrar iniciativa política y diplomática, es incierto si llegará a ser reconocido como estado y cuál precio tendría que llegar a pagar por eso.
Tema 28	Los asentamientos judíos en Palestina	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el conflicto palestino israelí centrado en los asentamientos israelíes en Palestina. Se argumenta que dichos asentamientos constituyen ocupaciones ilegales y crímenes de guerra. Se concluye que Obama no es claro ni transparente en su agenda internacional porque así como ha apoyado mudar la capital de Israel a Jerusalén, también ha dicho estar a favor de restituir la frontera a como estuvo en 1967.
Tema 28	VI Cumbre de las Américas: otra vez Cuba, otra vez sin Cuba	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis sobre por qué se sigue excluyendo a Cuba de la OEA a pesar de que el panorama político de la región ha cambiado tanto desde la Guerra Fría. Se argumenta que, en antesala a las elecciones, Obama pudo haber planeado postponer la discusión para la siguiente cumbre. Se argumenta que aunque no hubo muchos avances en esta cumbre, se podría esperar que en las próximas cumbres se tomen medidas para incluir a Cuba.
Tema 28	Apuesta Palestina en clarooscuro	Pamela Urrutia A.	25 septiembre 2011	análisis de la iniciativa diplomática de Palestina para ser reconocida como país por la ONU. Se argumenta que dicha propuesta se enfrentará a mucha oposición por parte de Israel y Estados Unidos, y difícilmente llegará a cambiar el status quo. Se concluye que es incierto si dicha iniciativa aumentará o disminuirá la intensidad del conflicto, y que lo único claro es que ha logrado es capturar la atención internacional.
Tema 28	La creación del Estado palestino, tan cerca y tan lejos	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la votación en la que la plenaria de la ONU decidirá si reconoce a Palestina como estado. Se argumenta que si bien la mayoría de la comunidad internacional apoya la iniciativa, difícilmente esta prosperará pues se enfrenta al veto de Estados Unidos en el Consejo de Seguridad. Se concluye que lo mejor que se puede esperar de la votación es que Palestina e Israel se acerquen y dialoguen sobre su conflicto.
Tema 28	La debacle diplomática de Colombia en Naciones Unidas	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el fracaso de Colombia en la disputa territorial con Nicaragua. Se argumenta que la estrategia de Santos para enfrentar el litigio con Nicaragua fracasó porque no se basó en los principios del derecho internacional, no buscó negociar

				con la contraparte y que para la comunidad internacional no era claro que hubiese una intención expansionista por parte de Nicaragua. También se sostiene que los medios de comunicación colombiano no fueron críticos ni profundos al abordar el tema.
Tema 28	Antisionismo y antisemitismo no son lo mismo	Pedro Valenzuela	10 agosto 2014	análisis sobre el antisemitismo y el antisionismo, dos términos frecuentemente confundidos. El autor critica que algunos asuman que son antisemitas todas las críticas a la expansión de los asentamientos israelíes y en contra de las violaciones a los derechos humanos contra palestinos. Así mismo, el autor considera que al hablar sobre el estado israelí se debe evitar expresiones que den continuidad al antisemitismo.
Tema 28	Conflicto palestino israelí: sin solución a la vista	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el conflicto palestino israelí. A partir de la historia y actualidad, se argumenta que no en el corto plazo no se ve una salida al conflicto pues los palestinos están muy divididos y no hay ningún proceso de paz en marcha.
Tema 28	El intrincado contexto de la VI Cumbre de las Américas	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis del contexto en el que se desarrollará la Sexta cumbre de las Américas. Se argumenta que la región atraviesa un momento de división y desequilibrio, así como de escepticismo sobre la relevancia de las instancias multilaterales y de las cumbres. Se argumenta que si bien la inclusión de Cuba y la revisión de estrategias contra las drogas están en la agenda. Se concluye que lo más importante de la cumbre son los procesos de
Tema 29	Rock al Parque: para salir de la adolescencia	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el Festival Rock al Parque como política pública cultural. Se argumenta que si bien el festival a lo largo de su historia ha logrado un alto nivel de convocatoria, hace falta repensar el evento como parte de una política cultura más ambiciosa a nivel distrital para promover la cultura urbana y abrir espacios para los jóvenes.
Tema 29	Rock al Parque: misiones y mutaciones	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el Festival Rock al Parque como política pública cultural. Se reflexiona sobre la historia y trayectoria del Festival para argumentar que es necesario revisar la programación y curaduría para responder a las preferencias del público actual y hacer apuestas nuevas para volver a posicionar al evento como un referente de cultura rock en Latinoamérica.

Tema 29	XVI Festival de Música del Pacífico "Petronio Álvarez": el 'Currulao' más grande del mundo.	Francisco Leal Buitrago	15 marzo 2010	análisis sobre el valor cultural del Festival Petronio Álvarez. Se argumenta que este evento ha sido un éxito como preservación del patrimonio cultural del pacífico y afro debido a que logra reunir a la comunidad, da espacio a la diversidad cultural de la región en sus múltiples manifestaciones.
Tema 29	Cultura subterránea desde la institucionalidad	Mauricio Puello	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el Festival Hip Hop en relación a las culturas urbanas y las políticas públicas culturales. Tras definir el Hip Hop, rap y break dance, se habla de la importancia de estos movimientos culturales para muchos jóvenes y del valor que le dan a diversas expresiones artísticas derivadas del Hip Hop. Por último se reflexiona que si bien el género tiene un origen contestatario y crítico, es posible que los artistas, gestores culturales y públicos trabajen en conjunto y que haya políticas públicas para reconocer al género como parte de la multiculturalidad del país.
Tema 29	Gozosos y dolorosos de las declaratorias Unesco	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre lo que significa el reconocimiento como patrimonio cultural de la Humanidad del vallenato, la música de marimbas del sur de Colombia y el parque arqueológico de Tierradentro. Se analiza las implicaciones de estas declaraciones en términos políticos, económicos y comunicacionales. Se concluye que en relación al proceso de conservación del patrimonio cultural, los reconocimientos internacionales solo son un "momento gozoso" que contrastan con las dificultades que hay para mantener estas manifestaciones culturales.
Tema 29	Patrimonio en disputa: sobre la estatuaria de San Agustín	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre la disputa respecto a dónde deben mantenerse las estatuas de San Agustín. Se argumenta que todas las piezas deberían volver a San Agustín y se critica que el gobierno no haya reconocido la relación entre estos y el patrimonio cultural representado por las estatuas.
Tema 29	ETB: A conseguir billete y tecnología	Jose Gregorio Hernández	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el estado de ETB en términos financieros, empresariales y tecnológicos. Se argumenta que es necesario que la empresa busque capitalizarse para mejorar los servicios que brinda, extender las redes y actualizar su tecnología. Para lograr dicho fin, se argumenta que la mejor solución sería una mezcla entre mantener parte de la compañía como pública y vender una participación de esta a actores del sector privado que puedan aportar experticias y gerencia.

Tema 29	Rock independiente en Bogotá: el reto es no llamarse cumbia	Medófilo Medina	19 marzo 2018	análisis sobre el estado del rock alternativo en Colombia. Se argumenta que ha habido un resurgir del género con la aparición de nuevas bandas y proyectos, impulsados en parte por nuevas formas de interacción con el público por medios virtuales y de dinámicas de producción. Se concluye que aunque hay buenas señales, hace falta que el sector se siga profesionalizando y mantenga el impulso.
Tema 29	El encanto de los festivales independientes de cine	Mario Hernández	06 marzo 2016	análisis sobre los festivales de cine alternativo como eventos que forman públicos en torno a temáticas e intereses específicos. Se mencionan varios casos en Colombia, los propósitos de cada proyecto y también los desafíos de consolidar audiencias.
Tema 29	La venta de la ETB: ¿finanzas o ideología?	José Fernando Flórez	16 mayo 2011	análisis sobre el estado de ETB en términos financieros y tecnológicos. Se argumenta que, en vez de vender la empresa desvalorizada, sería más provechoso para Bogotá revalorizar, vender una participación y conservar otra parte como fuente de ingresos. Se argumenta que la empresa se enfrenta a un mercado muy competitivo y de innovación sin estar debidamente preparada para ello pues le hace falta gestión, tecnología y capital.

Curriculum Vitae

Name: Emilio Calderón Reyes

Post-secondary Universidad de los Andes

Education and Bogotá, Colombia

Degrees: 2010-2014 B.A. Literary studies

Utrecht Summer School

Utrecht, Netherlands

2016 Certificate. Alternative education

Instituto Caro y Cuervo

Bogotá, Colombia

2016-2019 Diploma. Teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language

The University of Western Ontario

London, Ontario, Canada

Teaching Assistant Training Program Certificate

The University of Western Ontario

London, Ontario, Canada

2016-2019 M.A. Hispanic Studies (candidate)

Honors and

Awards:

Western Graduate Research Assistantship

2017-2019

A&H - Chair's Entrance Scholarship. Western University

2017.

**Related Work
Experience**

High school and middle school teacher of Spanish Language and Culture
Colegio Ekirayá Educación Montessori, La Calera, Colombia
2015 -2017

High school/ middle school teacher of Spanish and English Literature and
Language
Gimnasio la Montaña, Bogotá, Colombia
2014- 2015

Teaching assistant (“monitor”)
Department of Literature and Humanities. Universidad de los Andes,
Bogotá Colombia
August 2011 – December 2011; August- December 2012; August 2013 -
December 2013; January-May 2014

Graduate Teaching Assistant
The University of Western Ontario
2017-2019

Graduate Research Assistant
The University of Western Ontario. CulturePlex Laboratory
2018-2019

Conferences:

Calderón Reyes, Emilio (2018, February 9). El video en el aula ELE. Canadian Spanish Teaching Assistant Dialogues. University of Toronto, Victoria College.

Angel Baquero, Andrea & Calderón Reyes, Emilio (2019, February 8). Literatura infantil en la clase de ELE. Canadian Spanish Teaching Assistant Dialogues. Western University, Department of Modern Languages and Cultures.

Calderón Reyes, Emilio (2019, March 8). Circumscribing public interest for Razón Pública readers. Colombia 2020 Seminar. Western University, Department of Modern Languages and Cultures

Calderón Reyes, Emilio (2019, June 4). “Public Interest and Current Affairs in Colombia; a topic model of Razón Pública” (Canadian Society of Digital Humanities). Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

Calderón Reyes, Emilio (2019, June 7). “Antígonas colombianas: un foro de víctimas”. (Canadian Association of Hispanic Studies). Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.