

Social Problems that Emerged in the Treatment of Information on the Coronavirus Pandemic in the Cybermedia of *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*

Problemáticas sociales que emergieron en el tratamiento de la información sobre la pandemia de coronavirus en los cibermedios de *El Espectador* y *El Tiempo*

Received: 15/02/25 – **Approved:** 07/05/25

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to analyze the social issues that arose in the news coverage of the coronavirus pandemic in the online media outlets *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*. The research is based on discourse analysis from a sociolinguistic perspective, with a descriptive, cross-sectional, and qualitative approach. Data collection involved cybergraphic extraction using search operators, followed by web scraping. The data were subsequently cleaned and analyzed using Atlas Ti and Sketch Engine software. Based on textual statistics, the results were interpreted according to the proposed methodological framework. The analysis of pandemic discourse in these media outlets made it possible to identify how the discursive strategies employed in crisis contexts influence social formation, the configuration of power structures, and the dynamics of response to emergency situations, thus highlighting the impact of the psycho-biopolitical agenda on society.

Keywords: discourse analysis, biopolitics, coronavirus, psychopolitics, textolinguistics.

Resumen

El objetivo de este trabajo fue analizar las problemáticas sociales que surgieron en el tratamiento informativo de la pandemia de coronavirus en los cibermedios *El Espectador* y *El Tiempo*. La investigación se enmarca en el análisis del discurso desde una perspectiva sociolingüística, con un enfoque descriptivo, transversal y cualitativo. Para la recolección de datos, se empleó la extracción de cibergrafía mediante operadores de búsqueda, seguida de un proceso de *web scraping*. Posteriormente, los datos fueron depurados y analizados con los softwares Atlas Ti y Sketch Engine. A partir de la estadística textual, se interpretaron los resultados conforme a la estructura metodológica planteada. El análisis del discurso pandémico en estos medios permitió identificar cómo las estrategias discursivas empleadas en contextos de crisis influyen en la formación social, la configuración de las estructuras de poder y la dinámica de respuesta ante situaciones de emergencia, evidenciando así el impacto del programa psico-biopolítico en la sociedad.

Palabras clave: análisis del discurso, biopolítica, coronavirus, psicopolítica, textolinguística.

Introduction

Since the outbreak of SARS-CoV-2, the world has faced a global public health crisis that unleashed an avalanche of information in the media, addressing the multiple impacts of the pandemic on all spheres of human life. In this context, the overabundance of information has led to the emergence of poor communication practices, such as misinformation and post-truth, as well as the proliferation of biases, generalizations, and logical fallacies in media discourse. For this reason, it is essential to analyze discourse to identify and identify communication deficiencies during a health crisis, especially in a society increasingly interconnected through the media and social networks.

Consequently, it is necessary to investigate how communication and the media report on health emergency situations, considering that health is a social practice deeply influenced by the language used in the media (Urra et al., 2013). The volume of information generated about the coronavirus was so vast that, in many cases, the significance and clarity of communication were diluted, making discursive opacity more evident.

Furthermore, discourse analysis is presented as an essential tool for more accurately observing the communicative process. In this sense, the media outlets selected for the study, *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*, are popular and have a broad reach in Colombia. Both are traditional media outlets that, by adapting to technological advances, have consolidated their digital presence and maintain the prestige of being among the most recognized print media nationwide.

It should be noted that, in Colombia, *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo* are distinguished by their importance and high readership, as they are nationally circulated media outlets and are written in Spanish, the country's official language (Colombian Political Constitution, Art. 10, 1991). For these reasons, they were selected as the subject of analysis. Based on the above, the research poses the following question: What social issues emerged from the information and discourse coverage of the coronavirus pandemic in the online media outlets *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo* during the last quarter of 2020?

Methodology

This study was a descriptive study, the purpose of which was to detail the properties, characteristics, and profiles of individuals, groups, communities, processes, objects, or any other phenomenon subject to analysis (Hernández et al., 2014). Its design was cross-sectional, which implied focusing on describing variables and examining how they related and interacted at a specific point in time (Hernández et al., 2014). Furthermore, the approach adopted was qualitative, characterized by data collection and analysis that allowed not only to refine the research questions but also to uncover new insights during the interpretive process (Hernández et al., 2014).

Regarding its theoretical foundation, the research was framed within discourse analysis, with a close approximation to the sociolinguistic perspective. According to Calsamiglia & Tusón (2002), this approach was useful for examining interactions occurring in various social contexts, especially when participants maintained unequal relationships in communicative encounters.

Thus, the method implemented for data collection consisted of extracting cybergraphics using specific search operators. The collected data was subsequently processed with specialized software for analysis, from which the results of textual statistics were interpreted, ultimately leading to the writing of the final text.

Data processing, based on written discourse analysis, was carried out through a newspaper review of the selected corpus, considering several key dimensions. The indicators evaluated included the topics addressed, the sources consulted, and the political orientation of the discourse. The unit of analysis focused on headlines, quotes, and word and character density, allowing for an in-depth and critical reading of the political positions and ideologies reflected in the texts examined.

Corpus

The corpus was developed using Google's advanced search engine, collecting a total of 211 news articles located in the Health section of the websites of the newspapers *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*. Of these, 68 corresponded to *El Espectador* and 143 to *El Tiempo*. Texts that were excessively distant from the central topic, resulting from errors in the search performed by Google, were excluded.

Sampling

Stratified probability sampling was used, following the approach outlined by Prieto (2009). This type of sampling is used to ensure adequate representation of the different groups within a population, thereby increasing the precision of parameter estimation. To achieve this, a specific number of elements was randomly selected from each stratum, according to the proportion that stratum represents in the total population. It is also possible to extract an equal number of elements from each stratum and then adjust the results according to the actual proportion of

each group in the general population. In the case of probability sampling with proportional allocation, the formula $fh=nNfh=Nn$ was applied, although a simple rule of three can also be used to determine the sample size in each stratum.

The process

Through a Google search, time interval filters were applied from October 1 to December 31, 2020, using the keywords <coronavirus> site:elperiodico.com/salud and <coronavirus> site:eltiempo.com/salud, thereby limiting the news to the Health section of both newspapers during the corresponding quarter. From this search, a total of 211 news articles were retrieved. Subsequently, using the online calculator SurveyMonkey, a total sample of 67 articles was determined, considering a margin of error of 10% and a confidence level of 95%. Then, using a rule of three, proportional percentages corresponding to the population of each newspaper were calculated, and these percentages were multiplied by the total sample size to establish the number of articles selected for each newspaper.

This procedure corresponds to a stratified probability sampling, which ensures that the different subgroups (in this case, the texts of each newspaper) are represented in the sample according to their proportion in the total population, which improves the precision and representativeness of the results.

Sample

Table 1
Characteristics of the selected sample

Diary(ies)	Population	Percentage	Sample
<i>El Espectador</i>	68	32%	21
<i>El Tiempo</i>	143	68%	46
Total	211	100%	67

The sources of information came from cybergraphy collected through Google searches in the online media outlets *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*. Observation sheets generated using specialized software were used for data analysis. In addition, the triangulation model proposed by Pardo (2007) was applied to strengthen the validity and reliability of the findings. During the analytical process, various graphical and statistical techniques were employed to facilitate the organization and interpretation of the data obtained, such as curves relating two or more variables, pie charts, bar diagrams, and others.

Results and discussion

This attempt at anamnesis of the text is part of the rhetoric of iterability, given that textual statistics offers a systematic tool for reviewing the foundations of discourse (Pardo, 2021), enumerating the elements on which it is built. In this sense, words act as an interlude intended for both power and interlocutors. The frequency and association between these words constitute the evidence that supports the ideas and connections present in this metatext.

Figure 1
Lexicometric characterization of the corpus

CUENTA	
Tokens	64.943
Palabras	56.468
Oraciones	2063
Documentos	1

Source: Prepared using Sketch Engine software. Tokens are equivalent to characters

Ochoa, S., Rojas, L., & Ríos, F. (2025). Social problems that emerged in the treatment of information on the coronavirus pandemic in the cybermedia of *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*. *Human Network Journal*, 1, 1-23. <https://zenodo.org/records/15382303>

It is pertinent to clarify the operating method employed in this project. Aware of how easily one can fall into naiveté, a fundamental precaution was adopted: conducting a reading prior to in-depth analysis, a pre-literal reading that would serve to prepare the ground as best as possible. This reading, conceived from a biopolitical perspective, aimed to mitigate the storm of thought and recognize the patterns of intentionality present in the question of power. From this initial decision, an analytical process was undertaken that, even with this caution, resembles the dynamics of a game of blind man's buff—as Derrida describes in *The Monolingualism of the Other* (1997)—where progress is guided by two fundamental and enduring questions: why? and what for? of the dicendi text.

First, it seemed appropriate to recover the classic structure for writing a news story from the journalistic canon. Although the lead, body, highlights, and caption were not ranked or distinguished, the corpus was considered as a whole, without segmenting by newspaper, since segregating these elements would not contribute to the research objective. However, the headline did stand out, both for its structural importance and for its mnemonic properties in the newspaper exploration. Generally, the headline is composed of a subheading, title, and subheading. Since the analysis was purely textual, images and other visual elements were discarded, focusing exclusively on the linguistic sign, assuming the risks that this entails.

According to Van Dijk (1990), the headline constitutes the core of the information, where everything that follows is condensed. If the headline is the summary of the news, it makes sense that the preliminary draft background reflected a preference for analyzing this element exclusively. In fact, this work could have benefited and avoided complications if this trend had been followed from the outset.

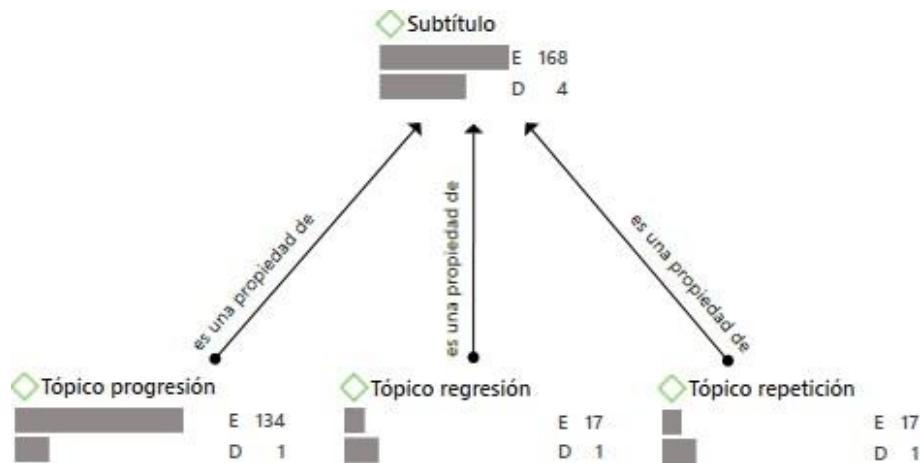
Table 2
Headline Frequency

Number of Preheadings	Number of Titles	Number of Subheadings
0	63	168

Source: Own elaboration

Table 2 shows the absence of subheadings, which gives greater importance to both titles and subheadings. In this analysis, only subheadings have been focused on, highlighting their deictic function in space and time: they act as the location of the information and guide the reading toward a specific syntagmatic referent. In this way, subheadings not only complement the content but also guide the reader's interpretation and journey within the text, playing a fundamental role in the information structure.

Figure 2
Topic network



Source: Prepared by the authors using Atlas Ti Software

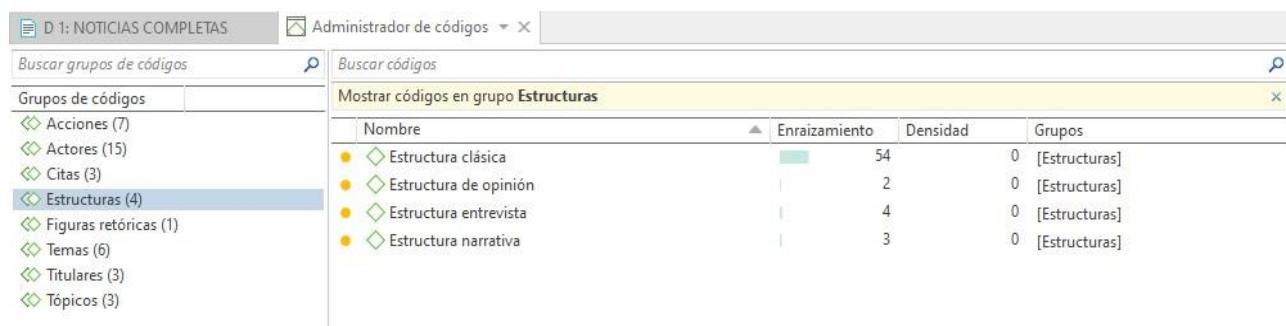
The division of topic types in journalistic discourse responds to the direction followed by the argument. According to Bardín (1986, cited in Sayago, 2014), if the argument precedes the conclusion, the discourse progresses in a logical and linear manner; however, when the premise appears after the result, the topic is considered regressive. In addition to these two categories, a third type of topic was identified in many news stories that feature a subtitle that simply repeats previously expressed information. For example, one subtitle reads: "*Unions ask for protective equipment*," while the preceding subtitle states: "*More than half were infected while treating patients. Unions ask for guaranteed protective equipment*." This repetition, or calque, does not add new information to the reading.

It is expected that the development of the news generally follows a linear chronological order, given that clarity and simplicity are standard prerogatives in journalism. This means that the topic progresses, linked to its development and the outcome of the news story. The information is initially packaged in the headline and progressively decompressed through the subheadings, which condense the organization of the discourse and define its structure.

Regarding the structure of the text, a theoretical reflection was proposed on how it is constructed. Intuitively, the project title used the term "information" even though the object of study was "news". This choice is not an evasion by the authors, but rather reflects a theoretical problem that journalism has had since its inception: the difficulty of precisely delimiting the nature and scope of informative texts within the journalistic field.

In short, journalistic discourse is organized around topics that can be progressive, regressive, or repetitive, and its development typically follows a linear chronological pattern that facilitates reader understanding. The terminology and classification of informative texts continue to be the subject of theoretical debate within journalism.

Figure 3
Types of information structures



Source: Own elaboration using Atlas Ti Software capture

A brief review of this coding reveals that the classic news structure predominates in the analyzed corpus. However, the question arises as to how to differentiate other journalistic genres, such as the column or editorial, the interview, or the narrative structures of the feature or chronicle. In some cases, this distinction is explicit; for example, one column clearly states: "*In a later column, I will describe the different aspects of this project that, in my view, could change the current healthcare system.*"

On other occasions, the structure differs markedly from the classic structure. For example, in the news article titled "*Our silence caused anguish, but in the end, I feel satisfaction*," after a brief introductory paragraph, questions and answers are presented to the Minister of Health, disregarding the traditional division into lead, body, or conclusion.

Regarding the narrative, the boundaries between news, feature, and chronicle are more flexible and are distinguished primarily by their development, rather than by strict rules. The vocabulary used and the approach adopted are elements that blur the generic identity. In narratives, it is common to express feelings and impressions, as well as to use rhetorical figures and language games more frequently.

Despite the filters applied during the research, both in the preliminary draft and during the development of the study, upon final reading, the presence of diverse formats was noted. Although counted interchangeably, they still exist in the corpus. This situation is explained by the fact that the boundaries between journalistic genres, especially news, are diffuse and poorly defined. As Bakhtin (1982) points out, "discursive genres are, compared to

linguistic forms, much more combinable, agile, and flexible, but the speaker has a normative importance: they are not created by the speaker, but are given to him" (p. 270).

On the one hand, this highlights the problem of discursive genres in modernity: genre is determined by the discursive situation, and the communicative process between speaker and addressee presents an infinite number of constitutive particularities. On the other hand, Bakhtin (1982) points out an important subtlety: "Unlike utterances and discursive genres, the signifying units of language (word and sentence), by their very nature, lack this destined character: they belong to no one, and are addressed to no one" (p. 289). This reflection suggests that language, as a system, persists even when specific contexts of use disappear, what Derrida and others have conceptualized as "archiwriting" or, in philosophical terms, the linguistic system that persists beyond the presence of the speaker.

In this context, the fundamental question posed by Agamben (2020) —"Where are we?" (p. 26)— becomes relevant for social analysis. In this sense, distinguishing between opinion and information can be irrelevant, since, for example, considering an interview not newsworthy when the interviewee is a figure of public interest would be a mistake. An illustrative case is the interview with the Minister of Health, whose newsworthy relevance at the time was evident. Similarly, denying the importance of reports or chronicles as news sources is inconceivable. Therefore, it was appropriate to use the term "information" instead of "news" in the title of this article, since generic labels are blurred in contemporary journalistic practice.

As García Márquez pointed out, "there is more journalism in vallenato and in the stories of minstrels than in any journalism manual" (Salcedo, 2014), an idea that resonates with poststructuralist thought. What, then, is the meaning of this apparent contradiction? One might think that classical structures have lost their validity or are useless, but this statement oversimplifies the cognitive process. A paradigm that seeks to dismantle other paradigms cannot fall into superficiality. Rather, it is prudent to evoke concepts such as the fluidity, liquidity, or viscosity of melted structures, or the modern unstructured order, as Bauman (2020) describes when referring to the "melted and unstructured state of the framing of the politics of life" (p. 14).

From this reflection, we conclude that journalistic structures function as a toolbox —a functionalist, formalist, and structural vision— that facilitate the reading and writing of texts. However, these tools do not follow a rigid step-by-step procedure; on the contrary, the richness of the text is informed by the very objective of its construction, allowing for flexibility and creativity.

It is important to highlight the supramundane and intangible nature of these tools, which makes them susceptible to more complex and dynamic interpretations. In their immateriality, it is incorrect to think of them as concrete objects; rather, their form and function are in constant metamorphosis, allowing them to be used simultaneously and flexibly, something that escapes conventional reasoning.

Finally, the interrelation of the foundations of journalism is established, and it is time to revisit the raw material, the clay of limits and the walls of contingency: the quality of words. It is necessary to seek what the text says through its signs, mediated by reiteration, because, although each sign is a trace of meaning (Derrida, 1989), the hegemony of this substance tacitly points to power.

Figure 4
List of most common characters

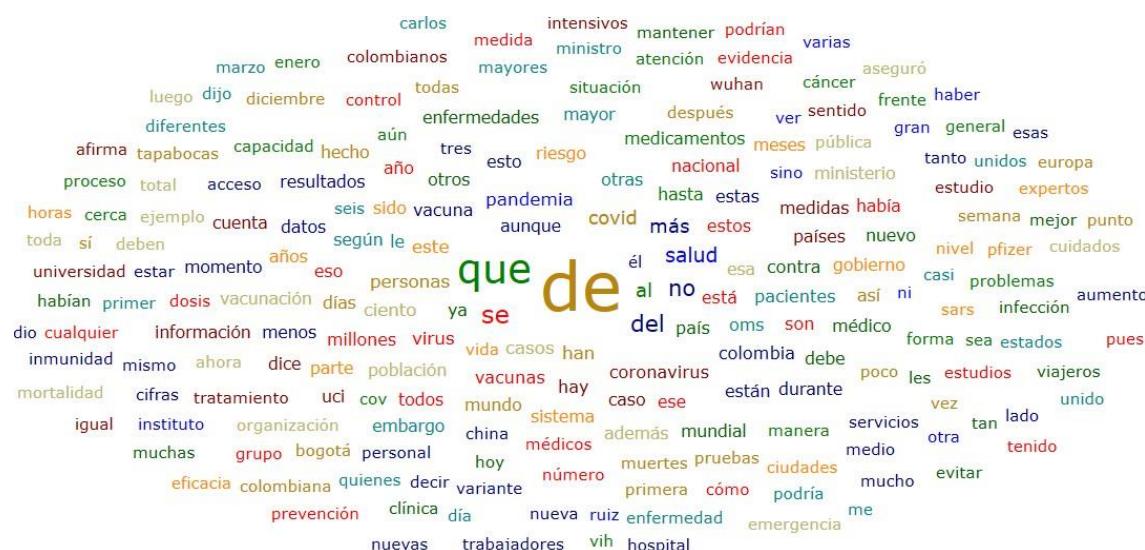
Forma	Frecuencia ↓	Forma	Frecuencia ↓	Forma	Frecuencia ↓	Forma	Frecuencia ↓
1 de	4083 ...	26 su	279 ...	51 son	109 ...	76 otras	69 ...
2 ,	3319 ...	27 al	274 ...	52 colombia	109 ...	77 según	69 ...
3 la	2298 ...	28 lo	254 ...	53 pacientes	108 ...	78 población	68 ...
4 .	2054 ...	29 como	252 ...	54 entre	106 ...	79 uso	68 ...
5 que	1950 ...	30 covid-19	228 ...	55 también	105 ...	80 nacional	67 ...
6 en	1812 ...	31 ha	178 ...	56 sus	105 ...	81 cada	67 ...
7 el	1692 ...	32 o	173 ...	57 contra	103 ...	82 fue	66 ...
8 y	1513 ...	33 :	168 ...	58 sin	101 ...	83 cuando	66 ...
9 a	1041 ...	34 pandemia	168 ...	59 vacuna	94 ...	84 caso	66 ...
10 los	994 ...	35 este	158 ...	60 ser	91 ...	85 medidas	66 ...
11 las	829 ...	36 esta	155 ...	61 está	90 ...	86 eso	65 ...
12 se	774 ...	37 personas	152 ...	62 le	90 ...	87 mundo	65 ...
13 por	736 ...	38 casos	151 ...	63 todo	89 ...	88 ese	65 ...
14 ~	727 ...	39 han	145 ...	64 ya	89 ...	89 muy	64 ...
15 para	605 ...	40 cliente	135 ...	65 '	88 ...	90 están	64 ...
16 del	573 ...	41 pero	132 ...	66 estos	83 ...	91 medicamentos	64 ...
17 con	565 ...	42 virus	127 ...	67 %	80 ...	92 esto	64 ...

Source: Prepared by the authors using Sketch Engine Software

Now, decoupling the potestative function of language from the text itself implies affirming that all words are important and that it is essential to observe the relationships between linguistic signs. This act becomes a true catharsis, revealing the connections not only between the elements of discourse, but also between individuals and the underlying human relationships. However, a paradox arises, for in both cases these relationships are not inalienable; any slightest fissure can shatter this subjective unity.

Interpretive recreation is driven by the responsibility and difficulty of not assuming the role of judge over each proposition. What at first may have been a spirit of cabala or the hope of a sophist transforms into the most common intuition: recognizing the traces of this corpus as one might identify a familiar face. For example, the frequent proximity between the terms “COVID-19” and “pandemic” seems almost predestined, while the association between “people” and “cases” is probably not random, reflecting semantic and discursive patterns that shape the meaning of the text.

Figure 5
Word cloud with the most frequent words



Source: Prepared by the authors using Atlas Ti Software

By more precisely refining the information —because, although punctuation is important, in this approach a comma is presumably anodyne—it is possible to observe how words engage in a dialogue. They are held hostage by key signs such as pandemic, patients, that, of, for, by, treatment, information, no, but, workers, people, other, others, Europe, China, Colombia, immunity, disease, life, and death. What can be said about them? Here, the anagnorisis of the text is revealed, since these linguistic signs are characteristic and specific to the whole "pandemic." To advance in the construction of this discourse, it will be necessary to resort to the philological brilliance of Paredes & Sánchez-Prieto (2021):

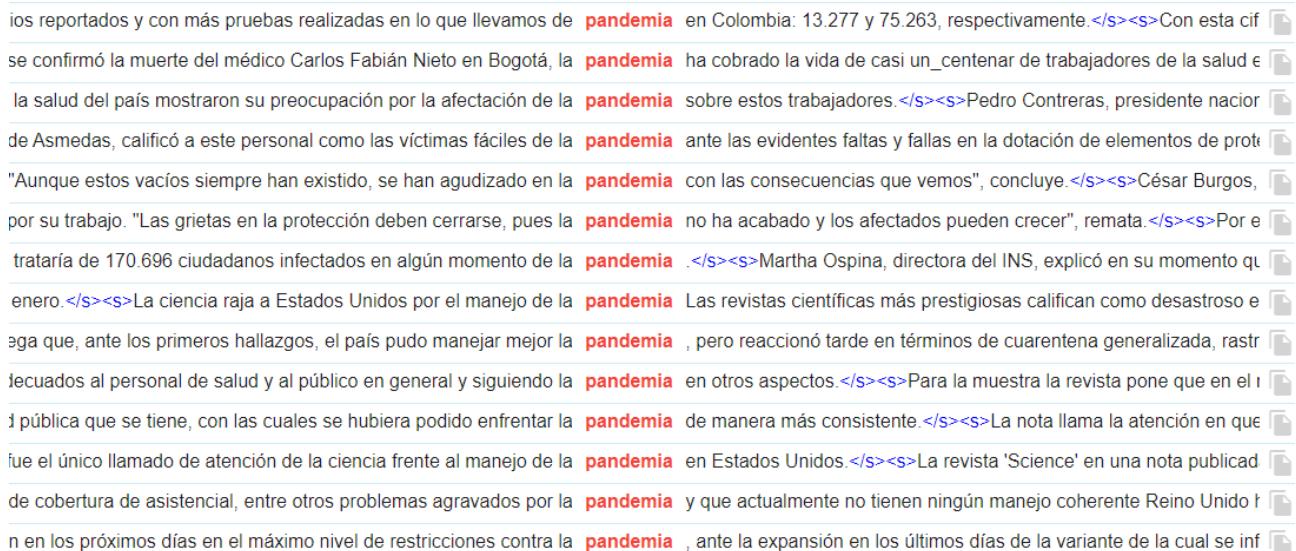
Medieval Spanish often used "peste" and "pestilencia" for infectious diseases. Later, "peste" was originally a generic term, used from the 15th century specifically for the Yersinian or bubonic plague. According to the diachronic corpus of Spanish, a new synonym is "épidemia," first used in 1410 in the Treatise on Epidemic and Pestilence by A. Velasco de Taranto (Ms. BNE I51).

In lexicographic sources, it appears in Minshue's 1617 Anglo-Spanish Dictionary. In Henríquez's 1679 dictionary, it is "morbus passim vagans, vulgo serpens," meaning a disease that spreads everywhere. In the Diccionario de Autoridades (1732, in the Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española NTLLE), it is "a disease that commonly spreads among people and generally wanders among many people." Pandemia ('that affects everyone') is still in Terreros & Pando (1788, in NTLLE) only the nickname of Venus, while in the Domínguez Dictionary of 1853 it is already 'the name given to any disease that attacks many individuals in the same country and that seems to depend on the same cause' (p. 94).

According to the Dictionary of the Spanish Language, the term "pandemic" comes from the French "*pandémie*," which in turn derives from the modern Latin "*panama*," and the latter from the Greek "*πᾶνδημος*" (*pándēmos*), meaning "affecting the entire population." It is composed of "*πᾶν-*" (*pan-*), meaning "all," and "*δῆμος*" (*dēmos*), meaning "people." The definition it offers is: "An epidemic disease that spreads to many countries or that attacks almost all individuals in a locality or region."

In this sense, a diachronic discursive transformation is evident, which invites a deeper analysis. Therefore, it was necessary to examine, through the concordances of "pandemia" and other related terms, the semantic and contextual particularities of the corpus. Before addressing co-occurrences, it is important to clarify the concept of co-text: "A co-text is the set of expressions that immediately precede and follow a keyword, which contribute to giving meaning to what is expressed" (Pardo, 2007, p. 131).

Figure 6
Sample of concordances for "pandemic" in the corpus



ios reportados y con más pruebas realizadas en lo que llevamos de **pandemia** en Colombia: 13.277 y 75.263, respectivamente. </s><s>Con esta cif se confirmó la muerte del médico Carlos Fabián Nieto en Bogotá, la **pandemia** ha cobrado la vida de casi un_centenar de trabajadores de la salud e la salud del país mostraron su preocupación por la afectación de la **pandemia** sobre estos trabajadores. </s><s>Pedro Contreras, presidente nacion de Asmedas, calificó a este personal como las víctimas fáciles de la **pandemia** ante las evidentes faltas y fallas en la dotación de elementos de prot "Aunque estos vacíos siempre han existido, se han agudizado en la **pandemia** con las consecuencias que vemos", concluye. </s><s>César Burgos, por su trabajo. "Las grietas en la protección deben cerrarse, pues la **pandemia** no ha acabado y los afectados pueden crecer", remata. </s><s>Por e trataría de 170.696 ciudadanos infectados en algún momento de la **pandemia** . </s><s>Martha Ospina, directora del INS, explicó en su momento q enero. </s><s>La ciencia raja a Estados Unidos por el manejo de la **pandemia** Las revistas científicas más prestigiosas califican como desastroso e ega que, ante los primeros hallazgos, el país pudo manejar mejor la **pandemia** , pero reaccionó tarde en términos de cuarentena generalizada, rastre jecuados al personal de salud y al público en general y siguiendo la **pandemia** en otros aspectos. </s><s>Para la muestra la revista pone que en el i pública que se tiene, con las cuales se hubiera podido enfrentar la **pandemia** de manera más consistente. </s><s>La nota llama la atención en que fue el único llamado de atención de la ciencia frente al manejo de la **pandemia** en Estados Unidos. </s><s>La revista 'Science' en una nota publicad de cobertura de asistencial, entre otros problemas agravados por la **pandemia** y que actualmente no tienen ningún manejo coherente Reino Unido t n en los próximos días en el máximo nivel de restricciones contra la **pandemia** , ante la expansión en los últimos días de la variante de la cual se inf

Source: Prepared by the authors using Sketch Engine Software

Although the corpus is extensive, this exploration provides a glimpse into how the term "pandemic" is linked in multiple ways to the spatiotemporal dimensions and the subject-events present in the discourse. The pandemic extends to diverse spheres of life, including the epidemiological, sociological, psychological, cultural, familial, emotional, economic, religious, and political fields, among others.

From a perspective of the antepresent, the pandemic "invades life entirely" (Foucault, 2007, p. 169), thus reaffirming its universal character. This view coincides with the theoretical approach of social medicine and the foundations that support human health, as there was hardly any aspect of life that was not affected by the pandemic. In this sense, the pandemic constituted a global historical framework, a context that delimits universal experience. Therefore, communication during this period faithfully reflects an event that permeated all spheres of existence.

Figure 7
Combinations of the lemma “pandemic” in the corpus

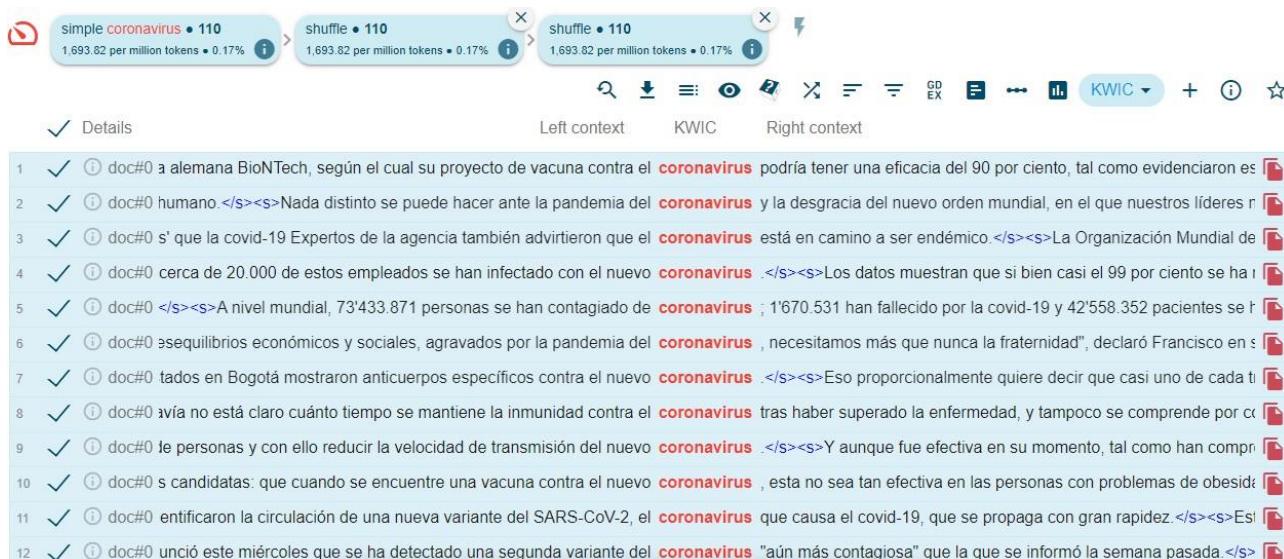
modifiers of “pandemia”	verbs with “pandemia” as object	verbs with “pandemia” as subject	prepositional phrases	“pandemia” and/or de “pandemia”
futuro de futuras pandemias	comenzar desde que comenzó la pandemia	dar pandemia no da	... de “pandemia” ... por “pandemia”	emergencia pandemias y otras emergencias	inicio desde el inicio de la pandemia
pleno plena pandemia	enfrentar enfrentar la pandemia en	golpear Pandemia ha golpeado	“pandemia” de ... “pandemia” en durante “pandemia”	rosario pandemia y un rosario	medio en medio de la pandemia
nuevo nueva pandemia	combatir para combatir la pandemia	acelerar pandemia ha acelerado	... en “pandemia” ... contra “pandemia” ... a “pandemia”	Colombia pandemia, y Colombia	control el control de la pandemia
	afrontar para afrontar la pandemia	acabar pandemia no ha acabado	“pandemia” por ante “pandemia” ... con “pandemia”	salud salud, y esta pandemia	curso hayan impactado el curso de la pandemia. Alvarez dice
	sortear sortear la pandemia	afectar pandemia ha afectado	... para “pandemia” “pandemia” sobre ...		avance el avance de la pandemia
	dibujar dibujar La pandemia	costrar pandemia ha cobrado	“pandemia” a ...		ola ola de la pandemia
	enseñar enseñado la pandemia	estar pandemia que ha estado	“pandemia” con ...		marco en el marco de la pandemia
	olvidar olvidar la pandemia	dejar pandemia dejó	“pandemia” ante ...		momento momento de la pandemia
	manejar manejar mejor la pandemia	demostrar pandemia demostró			manejo manejo de la pandemia
	traer trajo la pandemia	ser pandemia ha sido			atención

Source: Prepared by the authors using Sketch Engine Software

The most common combinations surrounding the word “pandemic” reveal certain key meanings: the pandemic represents the perplexity of a contemporary world. This is observed in the verbs associated with this term, whether as subject or object, where the relationship between pandemic and society is characterized by confrontation, intrusion, and impact.

Similarly, this same analysis must be applied to the term “coronavirus,” considered the archon of the pandemic. To refer to the pathogen that causes COVID-19, in addition to the scientific name SARS-CoV-2, the term coronavirus has also been used. According to Paredes & Sánchez-Prieto (2021, p. 94), the word “corona” applied to SARS-CoV-2 functions as a metaphor that refers to a previous one, since the image of the virus evokes the shape of a solar corona.

Figure 8
Sample of concordances for “coronavirus” in the corpus



Source: Prepared by the authors using Sketch Engine Software

An important clarification: throughout this analysis, words that share a similar semantic meaning are often grouped together as a single expression. For example, terms such as coronavirus, SARS-CoV-2, COVID, and COVID-19 are considered equivalent due to their obvious synonymy.

According to the Dictionary of the Spanish Language, "virus" is defined as: "An organism with a very simple structure, composed of proteins and nucleic acids, capable of reproducing only within specific living cells, using its metabolism." To better understand this unwavering formula of interpretation, it is useful to establish a microbiological parallel with another organism. A study of this type —focusing on the deuteragonism of an organism in human history— inevitably refers to the aforementioned pre-literal reading, where the biopolitical cosmos comes into play.

In this sense, Foucault historically reconstructs the process of the formation of medicine. When addressing bacteriology, Foucault (1999) refers to Koch's bacillus, using it as an example or excuse to reaffirm his ideas and continue expounding his thesis on the interweaving of medicine, life, and history. This soliloquy also answers the question about the mechanism related to the dissolution of the tuberculosis microorganism, demonstrating how medicine is intertwined with historical and biopolitical processes.

There is no doubt that the change in socioeconomic conditions, the phenomena of adaptation, those of the organism's resistance, the weakening of the bacillus itself, as well as hygiene and isolation measures, played an important role. Knowledge in this regard is far from complete, but it would be interesting to study the evolution of the relationships between the human species and its bacillary or viral field, and the interventions of hygiene, medicine and different therapeutic techniques. (p. 364).

A social problem already theorized in *The Will to Know* is identified, where Foucault (2007) prophesies unlimited medicalization and its inevitable consequence: "For the first time in history, without a doubt, the biological is reflected in the political" (p. 172). This approach gives rise to the largest medical prescription in history, which, in extreme times of crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, manifests itself with greater clarity and forcefulness.

If the pressures through which the movements of life and the processes of history interfere with each other can be called 'biohistory', we should speak of 'biopolitics' to designate what makes life and its mechanisms enter the domain of explicit calculations and turns power-knowledge into an agent of transformation of human life... (Foucault, 2007, p. 173).

It is not even possible to violate this paradigm, since, in essence, human beings continue to be permeated by this biopower, just as they were exiled, extorted, and stripped of their autonomy by the coronavirus; they remain precluded. This historical time, unstoppable, insurmountable, and counterintrusive —without the authority of those in power— is defined as "the moment in which the species enters as a stake in the game of its own political strategies" (Foucault, 2007, p. 173).

A review of the concept of life in the *Dictionary of the Spanish Language* reveals eighteen different definitions, one of which is framed in a religious context, which is unusual, as a smaller number of meanings are commonly found. The term comes from the Latin *vita*, and its meanings include:

1. Essential force or activity through which the being that possesses it acts.
2. Energy of organic beings.
3. The fact of being alive. Example: It owes its life to a medicine.
4. The existence of living beings in a place. Example: Life is not possible on Mars.
5. Living being. Example: He gave birth to life in this garden.
6. Way of life. Example: His daughter changed their lives.
7. State or condition to which a person's way of life is subject. Example: Monastic life, soldier's life.
8. Activity carried out by a person or a community. Example: Political, social, sexual life.
9. Time that elapses from the birth of a being until its death or until the present. Example: A long life.
10. Duration of something. Example: A short-lived household appliance.
11. Narration of the main events in a person's life. Example: Read the lives of saints.
12. Animation, vitality of a person or thing. Example: This city has little nightlife. It is a picture with a lot of life.
13. Liveliness or ardor, especially of the eyes.
14. Something that causes great pleasure. Example: This breeze is life.
15. Something that contributes or serves the existence or preservation of another. Example: Water is life.
16. The set of goods necessary for living. Example: Life in this city is very expensive.

17. Existence after death.

18. Religious. Vision and joy of God in heaven. Example: Better life. Eternal life.

In the Colombian case, life is the first fundamental right recognized in its Political Constitution (1991) and establishes: "The right to life is inviolable. There shall be no death penalty." This invites reflection: should we think of life as a right? Rather, life is the right itself. Underscoring this idea implies recognizing life as the primary objective of all political persecution; it is no coincidence that it is the original right, since all possible jurisdiction is based on it.

However, the inviolability of life does not respond to an altruistic evolution of humanity or to an implacable protection of human rights. Foucault (2007) explains: "Since power assumed the function of managing life, it was not the birth of humanitarian feelings that made the application of the death penalty increasingly difficult, but the reason for power and the logic of its exercise." (p. 166). In this sense, it could be said that life is at the service of power.

So, is life a state, a thing, a force, a narrative, or a burning in the eyes? Does it exist after death? Is life? So far, there is no definitive answer, for life faces the same problem as, for example, literature or history: it is not known where consensus or dissent resides. Likewise, it is unknown whether this text —whether writing itself— brings life or death. The textual fabric, which seems dead, embraces the absurdity of these fundamental questions and, at the same time, burns in the soul of the observer, who perhaps, only with time, will be able to reach an absolute determination.

Figure 9
Combinations of the lemma "coronavirus" in the corpus

modifiers of "coronavirus"	verbs with "coronavirus" as object	verbs with "coronavirus" as subject	prepositional phrases	"coronavirus" and/or de "coronavirus"	"coronavirus" de ...
nuevo el nuevo coronavirus	detectar nueva variante de coronavirus detectada en el Reino	continuar coronavirus continuará	... de "coronavirus" contra "coronavirus" por "coronavirus" con "coronavirus" a "coronavirus" ... "coronavirus" en ... "coronavirus" para ... "coronavirus" a ... "coronavirus" con ... "coronavirus" de para "coronavirus" sin "coronavirus" sobre "coronavirus" ...	desgracia coronavirus y la desgracia	caso nuevos casos de coronavirus y	Salud coronavirus Ministro de Salud
	sonar coronavirus más sonadas	causar coronavirus que causa		investigador coronavirus , y los investigadores	variante contra la nueva variante de coronavirus detectada en el	
	curar curar el coronavirus	parecer coronavirus parece		enfermedad coronavirus y otras enfermedades	destino destino de este coronavirus	
	descubrir coronavirus descubierta	llegar coronavirus había llegado			huella huella de coronavirus	
	contraer contraido el coronavirus				contagio contagio de coronavirus	
	confirmar coronavirus confirmados				cifra cifras de coronavirus	
	tener tener coronavirus				paciente pacientes de coronavirus	
	ser es el coronavirus				tiempo tiempos de coronavirus	
					prueba pruebas de coronavirus	

Source: Prepared by the authors using Sketch Engine Software

The relationship between history and life also reflects a profound problem, as phylogeny and the diversification of life raise the question of our connection with viruses and other microorganisms. Although this relationship may seem exclusively parasitic, in reality, their coexistence is fundamental to the very conception of life (Briones, 2020). This network of interactions gives rise to medicine, whose classic practice focuses on caring for life through three fundamental actions: monitoring, preventing, and controlling.

As Castilleja (2021, min. 33) points out: "Medicine is also accustomed to doing, not not doing; in medicine, as a production chain, it is easier to do than not to do." This procedure, corresponding to traditional medical dogma, coexists with other entropic characteristics of medicine, such as its frequentist —rather than personalized— formulation, its subservience to the executive branch and, by extension, the corruption and mismanagement that this can entail, as well as the very indomitable nature of the system: the antibiotic crisis and the emergence of multi-resistant bacteria.

In this context, a general immunization of medical expertise is presented, vindicating the thinking of Foucault (1999), who argues that the crisis of medicine lies in its expansive zeal, which takes it beyond its own limits. The shortcomings of medicine in real life are no longer restricted to errors in calculation or execution of its services;

Even more worrying is the so-called "positive iatrogenesis," that is, "the harmful effects... that are not due to diagnostic errors or the accidental ingestion of a substance, but rather to the very action of the medical intervention on its rational basis" (p. 349).

This iatrogenesis represents one of the major contemporary social problems. The "side effects" of this "*phármakon*" to which human beings resort, as Esposito (2005) points out, function as a kind of "ancient *katékhon* with respect to anomie" (p. 181). The "*katékhon*" is a Pauline figure that appears in the *Second Epistle to the Thessalonians* and refers to something or someone who halts the parousia: "The *katékhon* halts evil by containing it, preserving it, detaining it within itself. It confronts it, but from within: harboring and welcoming it to the point of linking its presence to its very nature" (Esposito, 2005, p. 92).

Consequently, the term "*phármakon*" possesses a fundamental ambivalence, meaning both "remedy" and "poison." This duality refers to the typical antidote procedure, which consists of inoculating a smaller dose of the evil one wishes to combat so that the immune system, through this preventive measure, is able to eliminate it. If moral values are assigned to it, we could say that good feeds on evil and evil feeds on good, in a dynamic and complex balance.

This means that the mechanism of immunity presupposes the existence of the evil it must confront. And this is not only in the sense that it derives its own necessity from the latter—it is the risk of infection that justifies the prophylactic measure—but also in the more compromised sense that it functions precisely through its use. It reproduces, in a controlled manner, the evil it is meant to protect against. The dialectical figure thus outlined is that of an exclusive inclusion or of an exclusion through inclusion. The poison is defeated by the organism not when it is expelled from it, but when it somehow becomes part of it (Esposito, 2005, pp. 17, 18).

However, this mechanism, before originating in religion, comes from law, and law in turn derives from biology. That is to say, politics and the state are deeply imbued—and although it can be argued that there is a politics completely removed from theology, especially when oriented toward the anthropological turn—they do not escape biologism. The ontopolitics proposed here is mediated by the logic of immunity. The catastrophic consequences of this political model based on immunization will be revealed later: the virus as a phenomenon, medicine transformed into religion, health as an ideal state, and life erected as the central axis of the world.

(...) Power is no longer the center of imputation, and also of exclusion, of life, but life, the ultimate criterion of legitimization of power (...) the living enters the horizon of visibility of modern knowledge at the moment in which its constitutive relationship with that which constantly threatens to extinguish it emerges. Illness and death are the cone of shadow within which the science of life is outlined (Esposito, 2005, pp. 26, 27).

The practice of immunity is characterized by "excluding by including and affirming by denying," and iatrogenesis shares this same nature, involving addiction and the circumscription of the self to a dependency that generates a snowball effect, which is, to say the least, traumatic. Indeed, "immunitarian logic, more than an affirmation, refers to a non-denial, to the negation of a negation (...) it is like a fire extinguished by another fire" (Esposito, 2005, pp. 178, 179). Therefore, it is worth reflecting on the colossal withdrawal syndrome that could be unleashed if someone managed to break away from the hegemony of immunity.

Where there is disease, there is medicine; where there is medicine, there is disease (...) while for classical medicine, healing an organic imbalance determined by a deficiency or excess of one of the body's four humors meant adding what was missing or removing what was superfluous according to a compensatory logic, Paracelsus inaugurated a diametrically opposed approach: what heals is not the allopathic principle of the contrary, but the homeopathic principle of the similar. (Paracelsus, 1944, cited by Esposito, 2005, pp. 177, 178).

Historically, soteriological immunological praxis is already recorded in *Lucan's Pharsalia*, where, according to Esposito (2005, p. 16), there appears "the first record of an African tribe resistant to snake venom." However, it is in modernity that this medical dictum is restructured and radicalized, establishing immunity as a fundamental principle. Medical prophylaxis becomes necessary, and as Esposito (2005, p. 200) points out, "the risk of therapy is not the consequence of the defect, but of progress, of medical knowledge."

However, already from this point, a profound tension can be seen: "politics is trapped in the trap of biology without the possibility of reply" (Esposito, 2006, p. 41). This reflects how immunity, beyond its biological dimension, becomes a political paradigm that determines social strategies and responses to health crises, consolidating a model where life and health are established as central and sacred axes of the contemporary order.

Table 3
Most frequent grammatical categories in the corpus

Item (shorttags)	Frequency
N (noun)	15367
EN (apposition)	10454
Y (verb)	8885
DE (determiner)	8631
F (punctuation)	7508
A (adjective)	3964
C (conjunction)	3472
P (pronoun)	2922
R (adverb)	2296
Z (number)	1434
I (interjection)	9

Source: Prepared by the authors using Sketch Engine Software

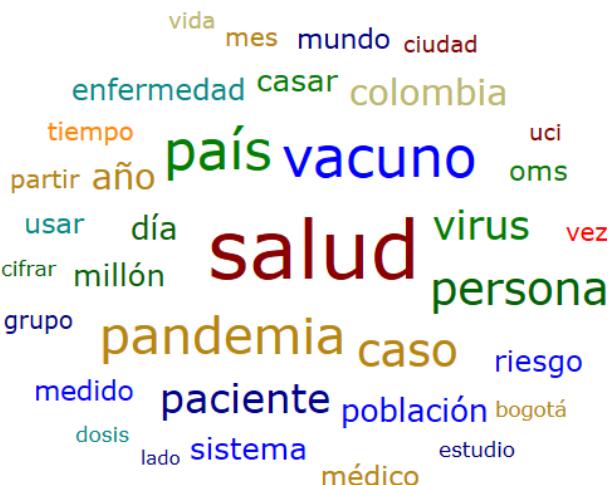
Now, after analyzing the repetitions of some nouns —which, according to the statistics in the table, constitute the predominant category— it is observed that one outstanding aspect was prepositions. These words, along with nouns, have a great preponderance in the corpus; they occupy second place in frequency, and some stand out especially. On the other hand, this type of word has relegated the verb to third place, with the most common being: *ser* (to be), *haber* (to have), *tener* (to have), *poder* (to be), *estar* (to do), *decir* (to say), *deber* (to be), *dar* (to give) —and in particular, prepositions: above all *de* (of), *por* (by), and *para* (for)— appearing as the second most repeated category. Their main uses are as follows:

- **De (of/from):** Indicates possession, origin, provenance, material, and other relationships.
- **Por (by):** Indicates cause, motive, means, place through which, or a specific time.
- **Para (for/to):** Expresses purpose, destination, or purpose.

These particles are fundamental because they organize the text in its syntagmatic aspect and are essential for understanding sentences. According to Belinchón et al. (1992), they are considered "lexical representations endowed with meaning (the so-called 'open-class' words, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and some adverbs), as well as both lexical and sublexical elements carrying structurally relevant information: 'closed-class' words (articles, pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions)" (p. 367).

Of course, one could delve deeper into the analysis of the nouns, which constitute the ceiling and face of the text, but much of these reflections will be reserved for a later analysis, dedicated to the true protagonists of this story. However, based on the above, one can recall Borges's (1952) dictum: "reality is not verbal" (p. 26). This statement confirms an evident truth: there is no action without an actor; Perhaps without living beings, life has no purpose. Thus, this text can be understood as, in a sense, a biopsy of itself, made possible only by the presence of life.

Figure 10
Concept cloud



Source: Prepared by the authors using Atlas Ti Software

Now it's time to address the fundamental aspects revealed by the text (and the software). At this point, many nouns take on special relevance, so we will briefly discuss health, the central theme of this series of texts. What is health? What is its relationship to the world and to human beings? Does it have a moral value? Why does it appear in this text? How is the idea of health played with in the contemporary world?

According to the *Dictionary of the Spanish Language*, the word "salud" (health), derived from the Latin "salus," -ūtis, can be defined as:

- The state in which an organic being normally performs all its functions.
- The set of physical conditions in which an organism finds itself at a given time.
- Freedom or the public or private good of each individual.
- In Christianity, a state of spiritual grace.

On the other hand, the definition of health -salūt(em)- according to the *Medical-biological, Historical and Etymological Dictionary* of the University of Salamanca is:

f. (Medicine). According to the World Health Organization (WHO), in its Magna Carta (1946), it refers to the state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. From archaic Latin with a range of meanings similar to the current one; it passed into medieval Latin and is documented in Spanish since 1188.

Health also emerges from the legal sphere, where legislation repeatedly recognizes it as a fundamental pillar of society. A clear example is found in Chapter 2 of the *Colombian Political Constitution* (1991), entitled "On Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights," whose Article 44 states:

Health care and environmental sanitation are public services provided by the State. All persons are guaranteed access to health promotion, protection, and recovery services. The State is responsible for organizing, directing, and regulating the provision of health services to residents and environmental sanitation services in accordance with the principles of efficiency, universality, and solidarity. It is also responsible for establishing policies for the provision of health services by private entities and exercising oversight and control. Health services shall be organized in a decentralized manner, by level of care, and with community participation. The law shall establish the terms under which basic care for all residents shall be free and mandatory.

The final lines of the law are highlighted, which state: "Every person has the duty to provide comprehensive care for their own health and that of their community" (Colombian Constitution, 1991). This obligation is reiterated

in various sections; for example, in Title V, under the heading "Duties and Obligations," Article 95, paragraph 2, states: "Act in accordance with the principle of social solidarity, responding with humanitarian actions to situations that endanger the life or health of people" (Colombian Constitution, 1991).

The history of urban medicine is also recalled in Title III, dedicated to "Collective Rights and the Environment," where its first article (78) states:

The law shall regulate the quality control of goods and services offered and provided to the community, as well as the information that must be provided to the public when marketing them. Those who, in the production and marketing of goods and services, threaten health, safety, and other rights shall be held responsible in accordance with the law (Colombian Constitution, 1991).

The law is almost a faithful reflection of the status quo of urban medicine oriented toward health: "a medicine of things, of air, of water, of decompositions and fermentations; it was a medicine of the living conditions of the environment" (Foucault, 1999, p. 378). Continuing with the historical review of medicine as a biopolitical strategy — as proposed by the French philosopher — it is necessary to point out the limits it has transgressed. For, as has been shown, at the apex of the law lie life, health, and medicine, forming a fundamental triangle that sustains the contemporary social order. Zylberman (2013), cited by Agamben (2020), says:

(...) a new State technique is outlined: in three points: 1) construction, on the basis of a possible risk, of a fictitious scenario, in which the data are presented in a way that favors behaviors that allow governing an extreme situation; 2) adoption of the logic of the worst as a regime of political rationality; 3) integral organization of the body of citizens in such a way as to reinforce as much as possible the adherence to the institutions of government, producing a kind of superlative civic spirit in which the imposed obligations are presented as proof of altruism and the citizen no longer has a right to health 'health safety', but becomes legally obliged to health 'biosecurity'. (p. 74).

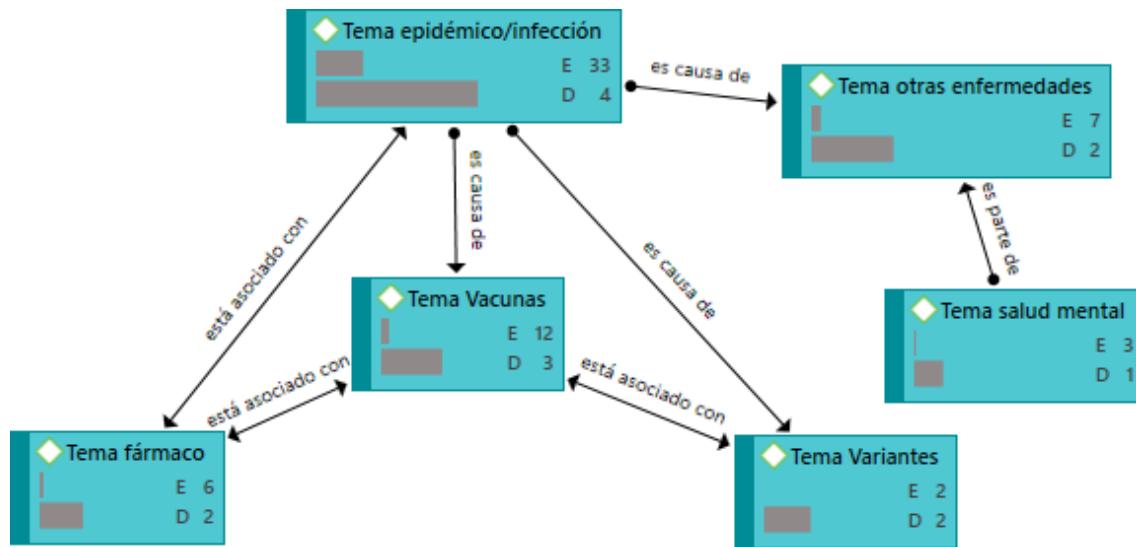
Health is a complex system that has been analyzed by figures such as Johann Peter Frank, John Simon, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, and Georges Rosen, among others. These thinkers examined both the strengths and weaknesses of medical systems, laying the foundation for the emergence of social medicine. Today's medicine is inherited from the European system, particularly the legacy of Morgagni and Bichat, as well as from the perfected English model, in which medicine is characterized by being hyper-efficient, hyper-productive, and hyper-mediated.

The English system of Simon and his successors allowed, on the one hand, the establishment of three things: medical care for the poor, health monitoring of the workforce, and general public health control, thus protecting the wealthier classes from the greatest dangers. On the other hand — and this is its originality — it allowed for the creation of three overlapping and coexisting medical systems: a healthcare system dedicated to the poorest, an administrative system responsible for general problems, such as vaccination, epidemics, etc., and a private system that benefited those who could afford to pay for it (Foucault, 1999, p. 384).

Health and illness are often presented as a binomial, a dichotomy that has characterized traditional thought. However, it would be hasty to assert that these are simply opposing polarities; rather, they could be considered complementary. If this were not the case, why did the autopsy give rise to contemporary medicine? Why are attenuated virulent agents inoculated to generate immunity? Therefore, health cannot be morally placed on the side of good, opposed to illness as evil, not only because of the complexity of the moral spectrum, but also because, when reviewing specialized definitions, the possibility of a perfect state of being for the human person is questionable.

Health, then, is configured as a form of monopoly in the interpretation of the world. There is probably no effective resistance to this hegemony, given that it has become deeply rooted in the game of human survival, in its inalienable connection with the formation of the body and life itself.

Figure 11
Topic network

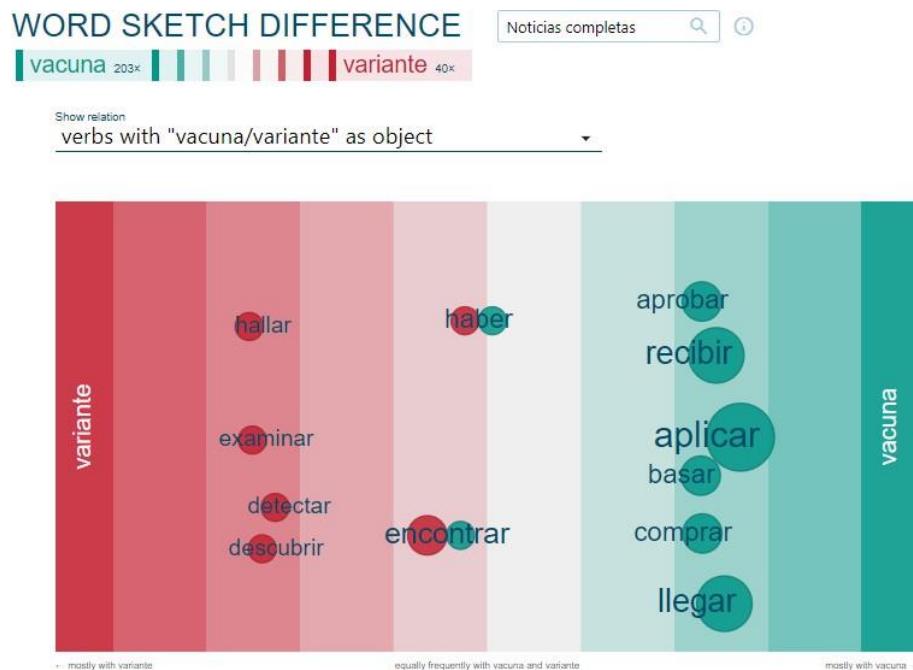


Source: Prepared by the authors using Atlas Ti Software

Health can be considered a macro-theme, within which the infectious aspect occupies a central place. This theme refers to all those occasions in which the news focuses on the spread of the virus, the number of deaths caused by the disease, health recommendations, testimonies from key players during the pandemic —such as doctors, doctors who were also patients, and politicians— as well as the particularities of human behavior in the pandemic context. This infectious axis acts as the main cause of the domino effect that gives rise to other related topics. For example, in the case of other diseases, the coexistence of COVID-19 with other conditions is addressed, whether infectious such as HIV, Ebola, or Dengue, or non-infectious pathologies, whether chronic or acute, such as cancer, osteoporosis, or depression.

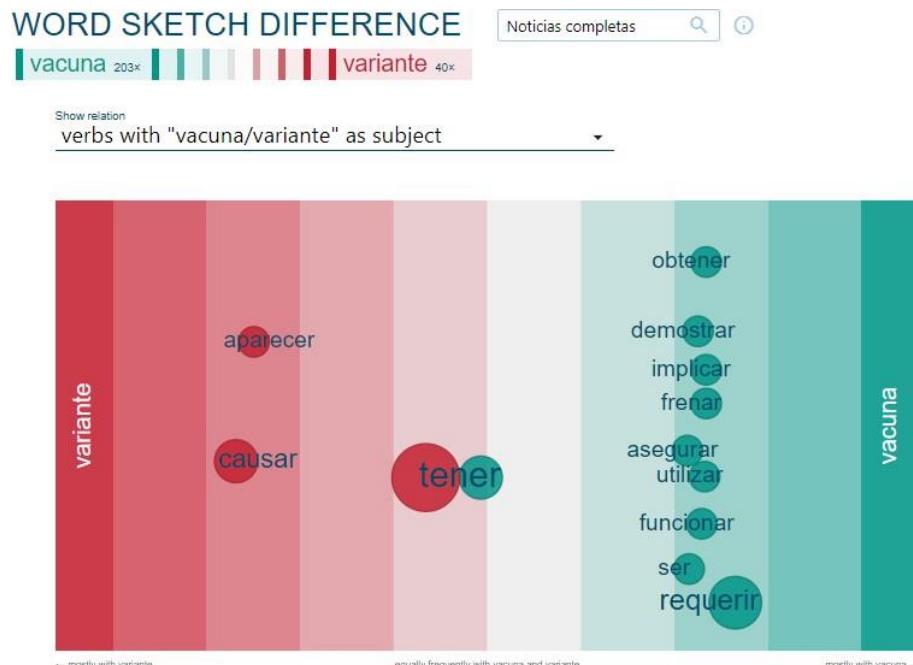
Likewise, the infectious aspect is closely linked to the pharmacological field, which includes problems such as the shortage of medical supplies, the proliferation of pseudotherapies, and overdoses of non-prescription medications. During the period covered in the news, the first vaccine projects also emerged, along with the emergence of new virus variants. The triad of vaccines, variants, and drugs converge on a common goal: combating the spread of the epidemic. In this sense, "*phármakon*" is once again presented as a fundamental social practice, reflecting both the therapeutic dimension and the inherent ambivalence between medicine and poison.

Figure 12
Verbs that coincide in the corpus between vaccine and variant as an object



Source: Prepared by the authors using Sketch Engine Software

Figure 13
Verbs that coincide in the corpus between vaccine and variant as an object

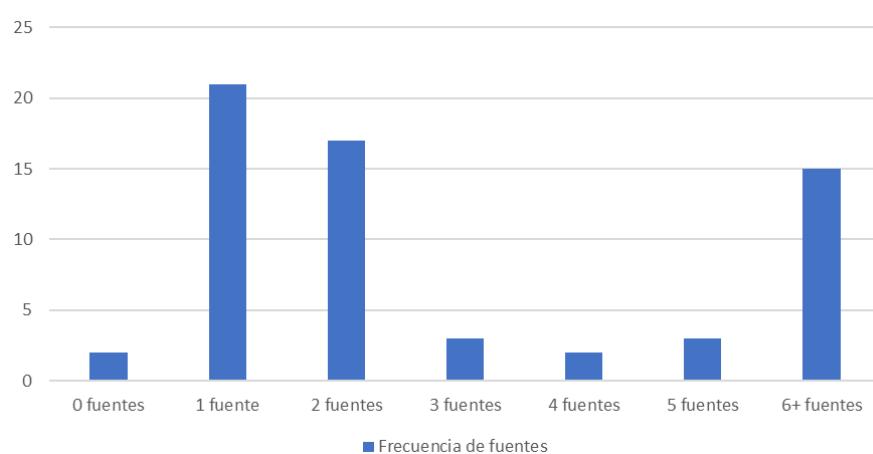


Source: Prepared by the authors using Sketch Engine Software

As for the verbs, they refer to an "event," but the perpendicularity shared by *haber* (have), *encontrar* (find) and *tener* (have) in relation to seemingly antinomic themes such as the variant and the vaccine points to the same type of action: the confirmation that they occur, that they exist. A narrative of possession is thus constructed, a story of conquest. Even the marginal verbs, especially at their extremes, are linked to this type of "discovery." In essence, the aim is to portray the text and discourse as a constant search; if variants and vaccines exist, are found, and are possessed, it is because the events emerge from our measurements. In this way, the epidemic is presented as a pendulum swinging between two powers: the power of the vaccine and the power of the variant.

Thus, the pinnacle of power is recaptured. The etymology of epidemic—*epi* (upon) and *demos* (people)—reveals how the dichotomous pair disease-health, like variant-vaccine, is at the very center of politics. Therefore, the policy of any government is limited to the archetype of medical policy, the biopolitical archetype. By conceiving itself as a political organism, the State is confined to the sphere of medical policy. One possible conclusion that can be drawn is that a democracy, before being a democracy, is a somatocracy. This outcome is independent of any particular legislation or political tendency—whether liberal or orthodox.

Figure 14
Number of sources per news item



Source: Prepared by the authors using data from Atlas Ti

Figure 14 will be essential for achieving a horizon of understanding, as much of the news presents a univocal character—a single voice. This observation must be linked to some type of media construction of the news, which will be analyzed later. To consolidate discursive consistency and coherence, the linguistic processes present in the quotes are outlined. Although some news items are monotonous in terms of their sources, this does not significantly affect the discursive path, as they all converge on the same biopolitical plot, given the uniform nature of their themes, actors, actions, and relationships.

Furthermore, examining the following representative news items will allow us to more accurately describe the naturalization, essence, and emergence of this sociocultural phenomenon.

Table 4

Sample of the structural analysis of the citation methods of the World Health Organization (WHO) as a discursive actor

Type of quote	Introductory expression	Quote	Discourse actor	Assigned meaning
Hint	Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen revealed that cases of Covid-19 have been found in mink at 217 of the country's 1,139 farms: A mutated virus could pose a risk that future vaccines may not work as intended.	The appearance of the virus in these animals is not primarily a problem in Denmark. The World Health Organization (WHO) stated that farms in the United States, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Spain (where more than 92,000 were slaughtered in July of this year) are also experiencing this situation.	WHO (Corporate Attribution)	The WHO is a global organization; it has more information and complements the above panorama.
Direct	This weekend, the entire world was once again filled with fear following the announcement of a new coronavirus variant discovered in the United Kingdom. Although British health authorities assured that this variant spreads more rapidly, today the World Health Organization assured that it is not true that it is "out of control."	"The current measures are the right ones. We must continue doing what we have done so far," the senior WHO official said.	WHO (Corporate Attribution)	WHO rectifies and establishes the meaning of information.
Mixed		"WHO warns of the danger of future pandemics 'worse' than COVID-19. Experts from the agency also warned that the coronavirus is on its way to becoming endemic."	WHO: -Michael Ryan -Bruce Aylward -David Heymann	The WHO predicts the need to maintain security measures and constant surveillance in the area of public health.

Source: Corpus News

This last mixed-item news story is particularly comprehensive and clearly exemplifies this citation format. This type of structure takes on great importance by combining the journalist's explanation and contextualization with direct testimony from sources. Many news stories adopt this interwoven dynamic, which likely explains the high frequency of this type of citation (see Figure 15).

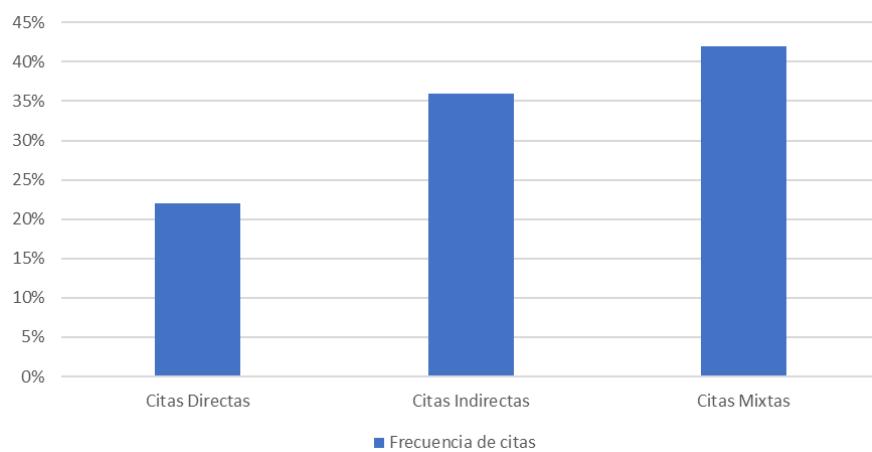
The World Health Organization (WHO) presents itself as an authoritative voice, possessing in-depth knowledge that allows it to impose official authority on the narrative and even make inferences about the future of the pandemic. The high level of authority of this institution is evidenced by the fact that, for example, an entire news story may consist solely of a mixed-item quote from the WHO, where its voice dominates the entire narrative. As for the representation of the WHO by other actors, this is usually equally univocal, validating its institutional self-portrait. Only very slight contradictions with its overall meaning are observed, as reflected in the following table:

Table 5*Sample of the structural analysis of the citation forms of WHO as an object of discourse*

Type of quote	Introductory expression	Quote	Discourse actor	Assigned meaning
Mixed	"On June 17, Al Jazeera reporters shared the results of an indirect experiment testing the veracity of coronavirus figures around the world".	The WHO's infection figures are based on reports from its Member States. The WHO cannot verify these numbers, explained Michael Meyer-Resende, executive director of Democracy Reporting International. So to test Meyer-Resende's theory that less government transparency equals less transparent COVID-19 case data, they used Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index and The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index.	Al Jazeera Michael Meyer-Resende	The WHO is a supporter of democracy and, in purely objective terms, is not as omniscient as it appears.

Source: Corpus News

In addition to raising the issue of democracy and uncertainty, this is the only fragment that does not use the WHO as an argument to explain, justify, or promote action against the pandemic, but rather to question its version. This citation pattern is monotonous among discursive actors, as they generally maintain a one-dimensional identity that their co-participants in the discourse validate, presenting very few singularities that contradict the discursive image of their counterpart. Later, this dynamic will be verified through the analysis of actor networks and the frequency of nominations intertwined in the discourse.

Figure 15*Frequency of citation types***Source:** Prepared by the authors using data from Atlas Ti

As can be seen in the graph, mixed-type quotes predominate, as the news writer generally seeks to explain, complement, and connect the testimonies of their sources to form a more understandable and detailed block of information. Analyzing the quotes reveals how social actors converge toward a news story, whose structure typically

consists of describing administrative events, deducing consequences, calculating epidemiological and social trajectories, and projecting monologues or dialogues oriented toward prophylactic action or the cognitive transmission of the current public health situation.

The text is dominated by the linguistic process of focalization, which is very common in discourse. Regarding discursive strategies, integration and ambivalence stand out, while isolated co-texts are unrepresentative and infrequent, as co-texts tend to assiduously point in a single conceptual direction, ruling out segmentation. On the other hand, it is observed that the topics tend to progress within the topic being discussed, which helps avoid emphatic contradictions regarding the central idea; however, the topics do vary (see the most frequent topics in Figure 11). Below, these aspects are illustrated with three news stories with six or more sources:

- ***Covid-19 among healthcare workers: 99 deaths and nearly 20,000 cases. More than half were infected while caring for patients. Unions call for guaranteed protective equipment:*** In this news story, the coded theme is epidemic-infection, and the topicalization is linear and progressive, as a fragment of the subtitle is even repeated in another subtitle: "Unions call for protective equipment." The writer uses the strategy of highlighting a weakness in the healthcare system through the voices of unions and associations, social actors traditionally recognized as parastatal organizations that, on this occasion, concretely expose the need to protect their niche or community through a call for attention. As a result, the news story appears monochromatic; in short, theme, topic, cotexts, and quotations are closely related, thus constituting a discursive strategy of integration.
- ***The United Kingdom has discovered a second, even more contagious variant of SARS-CoV-2. Although it is transmitted more quickly, it is neither more aggressive nor more deadly, according to British authorities:*** In this news story, the main topic is the variant. The emphasis on "more contagious" is topicalized, and the initial impact is mitigated with expressions such as "another previous variant" and "normal process in viruses," although the core of the message retains the notion of variant. The cotext is similar, since the news story recognizes a discovery framed within the pandemic, with the antithesis of highlighting virulence and then appeasing its biological characteristic. There are no cotexts outside the semantic-pragmatic epidemiological framework. The writer expands the information from the particular (United Kingdom) to the general (Europe and the world). Regarding the voices, although they come from different fields, their citation is used to validate what, in theory, their opposites say (integration). In case this is a logical-theoretical fallacy, the dilemma refers to the meaning of the "closeness" of the voices between the definition and the prejudice of his stance or pragmatism and position-taking. A preemptive disclaimer would be to accept and stack ambivalence as the predominant strategy in this text.
- ***Those leading the race for Covid-19 vaccines. There are several vaccine projects in phase 3. However, there is no need to declare victory yet:*** Here, the discursive strategy of ambivalence is applied. The macro-theme is vaccines, which can be broken down into aspects such as operation (pharmaceutical supply), productive business race, administrative logistics, and state funding. The voices vary: institutes, pharmaceutical companies, academics and scientists, the WHO, and other media come together to address the issues most closely related to the scientific development of the vaccine, while geopolitical actors, government officials, and ministries focus on the economic dimension. The role of each voice is consistent with their social position, which explains the distance between these two types of voices. The co-texts remain close because, although the themes diverge, the unifying concept is the medicating of the population through a biopolitical race. The use of the metaphor "race" is notable —recalling examples such as the space race in the Cold War or the atomic race in World War II— to describe the struggle between commercial and scientific relations. The narrative of this State-science operation unfolds from the general (global) to the particular (Colombia), all of it oriented and justified toward the objective of prevailing public health.

Overall, this review clarifies the consistency and coherence of the discourse, primarily due to the pragmatic-semantic relationship involved: the assigned meaning is linked to the direction each news item adopts and to the demarcation of voices, according to the point of view that the social actors and their roles express in constructing the discourse.

Conclusions

Throughout this research, the inseparable relationship between politics and life, and vice versa, is recognized, focusing primarily on its dimension as a living mechanism —sociovirology— rather than on anatonomopolitics, the latter perhaps relegated or overwhelmed by the predominant focus on discursive issues. I hope the kind reader has understood this decision and this elision, motivated by the fervor of the social search addressed here.

The COVID-19 pandemic, and in particular the analysis of the social issues emerging in the news coverage of the online media outlets *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*, has provided a glimpse into aspects derived from the psychobiopolitical program. Understanding how discursive strategies are employed in times of crisis reveals the influence and impact of discourse on social formation, power structures, and the dynamics of response to emergency situations. Likewise, it highlights the importance of a critical discourse analysis to decipher control mechanisms by following textual patterns that shape a narrative that conceives of death as a perverse observation of life.

El Tiempo and *El Espectador* are part of the psychobiopolitical orientation of modernity, acting as tools of power that allow us to examine the discursive construction surrounding epidemiology and immunization, as well as reflect on the relationship between health communication and social medicine. This perspective reinforces assertions such as that of Sábato (1951), who points out that the main problem of current medicine lies in its flawed philosophical foundation, inherited from the last three centuries, characterized by a naive separation between soul and body, and a simplistic materialism that reduces all illness to the purely physical.

This life imbued with medicine and power is the biopolitical key that spreads like the infectious "waves" of the coronavirus, an invisible disease. The fact that power is invisible and inaccessible leads to a life disguised as harmless, but which harbors the deepest evil within: a contained violence, the outbreak of which is unpredictable.

Today we discover something new: "The history of man and life are profoundly intertwined. The history of man does not simply continue life, nor does it merely reproduce it, but rather takes it up again, to a certain extent, and can exert a series of absolutely fundamental effects on its process" (Foucault, 1999, p. 351).

This type of coercion exerted by medical politics on society achieves its purpose: everything is absolutely controlled and legitimized from a positive perspective, that is, from the opposite of classic disciplinary repression, but under a friendly mask. In communication, only vestiges of resistance are observed through the emergence of emotions or doubts, but they are quickly absorbed by the biopolitical channel.

The great system faces a problem of identification, since it is perfectly hidden by being present everywhere. From the structural perspective of "getting down to business," the proposal does not propose a revolution of the system, but rather reforms that mitigate any rebellious intentions. The system has subjugated logic and social discourse to such an extent that it is impossible to propose an epistemology outside of this type of praxis and cognition.

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