

Cyber-citizenship through Twitter: the case of Gran Marcha Carnaval and popular consultations against mining in La Colosa

Ciberciudadanía a través de Twitter: caso Gran Marcha Carnaval y consultas populares contra la minería en La Colosa

Cidadania cibernética através do Twitter: grande caso de carnaval de março e consultas populares contra a mineração em La Colosa

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the identification of cyber-citizen practices through Twitter, in collective actions, the Gran Marcha Carnaval and popular consultations against La Colosa. It uses case study and virtual ethnography, with observation techniques and quantitative content analysis on three accounts: @defensavida, @marchacarnaval and @VotoNOMineria, as well as a coding matrix. Cyber-citizen practices are tested in an ideology legitimized in emotions, the defense of nature and network actions that connect the identity, the local-global relationship and the mobilization of resources and subjects.

Keywords: cyber-citizenship; digital communication; Twitter; La Colosa; mining; social movements.

RESUMEN

Este artículo trata sobre la identificación de prácticas de ciberciudadanía a través de Twitter, en las acciones colectivas, la Gran Marcha Carnaval y las consultas populares contra la minería en La Colosa. Se utilizan el estudio de caso y la etnografía virtual, con técnicas de observación y análisis de contenido sobre tres cuentas: @defensavida, @marchacarnaval y @VotoNOMineria, así como la aplicación de una matriz de codificación. Se comprueban prácticas de ciberciudadanía en una ideología legitimada en las emociones, la defensa de la naturaleza y acciones en red que conectan la identidad, la relación local-global y la movilización de recursos y sujetos.

Palabras clave: ciberciudadanía; comunicación digital; Twitter; La Colosa; minería; movimientos sociales.

RESUMO

Este artigo trata da identificação de práticas de cibercidadania através do Twitter, nas ações coletivas, a Gran Marcha Carnaval e as consultas populares contra a mineração em La Colosa. São utilizados o estudo de caso e a etnografia virtual, com técnicas de observação e análise de conteúdo em três contas: @defensavida, @marchacarnaval e @VotoNOMineria, assim como a aplicação de uma matriz de codificação. São comprovadas práticas de cibercidadania com uma ideologia legitimada nas emoções, a defesa da natureza e ações de rede que conectam a identidade, a relação local-global e a mobilização de recursos e sujeitos.

Palavras-chave: cibercidadania; comunicação digital; Twitter; La Colosa; mineração; movimentos sociais.

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, collective action (Vargas, 2003; Melucci, 2002; Tilly, 2010) by social movements is not conceived without a decisive presence and use of digital media. In this context, collective action affects politics and the social appropriation of technology, redefining conventional participation linked to representative democracy, as well as unconventional political participation, aimed at activism and with a predominance of cyberspace as a strategic scenario (Robles, 2015).

Initially, it was characterized by the use of the benefits offered by the Internet; now, the uses have evolved towards interactions in digital networks and through actions of situated policy (Escobar, 2007), creating an ecosystem that transcends hacktivism and that shows configurations of citizen's new relations and communication models, based on its analogy with cyberspace, such as the so-called Network Society (Castells, 2000), communicative disintermediation and new models of interaction and social connection, such as network individualism (Castells, 2009) and hypermediations (Scolari, 2008).

This perspective is called cyber-citizenship, a concept that has become part of the theoretical approaches to political communication and cybercultural studies, but that still shows gaps as it identifies with digital citizenship, more aimed at the use of the functions of the State and the implementation of devices that boost representative democracy. On the other hand, these interactions and correlations that arise in processes of social activism between the digital spheres and on-site management are scenarios to which little attention has been paid and that, in the opinion of this research, are consolidated in new ways of interacting and illuminate recent dimensions of what is called a cyber-citizen.

The general objective of the investigation was to know if the information on digital media, collective actions and popular consultations are indeed manifestations of a cyber-citizenship against mining in the La Colosa project. In this article, we will present the results posted on Twitter, specifically through three accounts, on the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and popular consultations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CYBER-CITIZENSHIP

Internet and the promulgation of digital ecologies establish a variety of relations with society, generating practices such as electronic government, entertainment,

scientific development and daily life (Martínez, 2004; Finkelievich, Baumann, & Jara, 2001). Similarly, illiteracy, exclusion and inequity arise, demonstrating a differentiation in the quality of access to virtual devices (Robinson, 2005; Araya, 2005), which generates social classifications based on connectivity and technology.

Other relationships that emerge are the discourses, through actions, ideologies and power that operate through the Internet as social foundations (Porras, 2005), and cyber-citizenship, a category that adds to the crises of contemporary citizenship (Ariza, 2007; Bartolomé & Cabrera, 2003; Rueda, 2006), as a representation based on the configuration of a life crossed by technologies and the need to place differentiation and struggles for various rights in a public sphere.

There are two sides to the studies that allow to approach cyber-citizenship: a first perspective from the management, linked to practices related to the use of technologies for the modernization of the State, greater efficiency and improvement of processes such as suffrage and exercise of democracy (Galindo, 1998; Porras, 2005), with concepts such as electronic government (Ruelas & Pérez, 2006), e-democracy, cyberdemocracy (Prats & Del Álamo, 2003) and electronic democracy (Van Dijk, 2000).

The second one addresses cyber-citizenship as a discourse, linked to social practices that consist of areas of meaning and enunciation; i.e., the issue is less of a technical nature and more focused on sociocultural interaction. These references are found in the First Online Congress of the Observatory for Cyber-Society, held in 2002 in Spain, where a Manifesto for the exercise of an active cyber-citizenship was promulgated. This discursive vision integrates analyzes formed by the triad of citizenship, cyberculture and globalization (Lozada, 2004) with guidelines of contemporary citizenship, consolidated from a vision of technologies that do not detract from sociocultural realities (De Moraes, 2004) and that have transformed the public sphere (Martín-Barbero, 2001). In this vein there are also studies of citizenship and technology, related to social representations (Lozada, 2004), linked to hegemony and the market (Páez, 2009) and opportunities to create a referential universe (Viché, 2008).

For this investigation, cyber-citizenship in general is dissociated from the conception of management in favor of a critical and sociocultural perspective. It is understood as the various relationships or manifestations of the subjects that underlie a society,

exercise rights and duties and, according to certain situations, mobilize collective actions, from an ecological vision of communication, acting from a posture that integrates the cybercultural and situated policy.

It is a derivation resulting from the crisis of Marshall's traditional concept (cited in Varela, 2008), based on civil, political and social rights and social phenomena such as globalization, the fall of the Nation States, sovereignty, the territory, identity, migration, gender, the environmental crisis, the transition from socio-spatial to socio-communication scenarios, and technological development.

The cybercitizen is considered a subject who is currently traveling through sociocultural rights or third generation rights, referring to specific collectivities, and even fourth generation rights, related to bioethics and, fundamentally, to the right to information and as a consumer of technologies. To these subjects, the needs of criteria and criticality are fundamental to guarantee better levels of empowerment and participation (Marta Lazo & Grandio, 2013).

To refer to a cybercultural logic is to understand cyberspace as an axis that complements the real and the virtual, consolidating in a public sphere (De Moraes, 2004), where the subjects expressions and actions and the ways of consuming and producing (Marta-Lazo, Segura-Anaya, & Martínez Oliván, 2017) are representations in the form of footprints left by citizens on the network, inaugurating a political space that poses risks and entails opportunities, such as: interactive communication, the creation of new identities, the development of cooperative projects, community development and overcoming social contradictions, factors that make cyberspace a socio-educational environment of crucial importance for the intervention of animators and social groups (Viché, 2008, p. 2).

An ecological vision of communication consolidates cyber-citizenship. This ecology adapts and allows the construction of new ways of meeting with local-global interactions, where technologies operate as mediations between actors and phenomena with a high capacity for adaptation, shaping what Scolari calls hypermediations, understood as a "set of exchanges, hybridizations and mediations within an environment where technologies, discourses and cultures converge" (2008, p. 26), without neglecting the possibilities related to the contents and the importance of a greater understanding of what communicates and learns (Hergueta -Covacho, Marta-Lazo, & Gabelas-Barroso, 2016).

In this regard, social networks have taken a leading role, used in different scenarios and protest actions, basically because they are autonomous scenarios, which allow freeing of intermediaries, provide access, immediacy, impact, attack the traditional mass media paradigm and renew public opinion and debate spaces. For this research, Twitter has a special interest since

It is a social network that allows the interrelation of information flows and collaborative design ideas in real time, the change and acceleration of the global processes of the collective mind. It differs from other social networks on the Internet, such as Facebook, for example, because it is independent of the relationships networks, including offline work. Twitter's focus is the quality and type of content (Alzamora & Braga, 2014, p. 19).

Regarding situated policy, cyberspace dynamics as a public sphere establishes associations between virtual actions and offline interaction (Rueda, 2006). The implications of cyberculture are evident in cyberspace, but the subjects live and act in the physical. Escobar (2007) points out that the political in cyberspace should not lose its territorial roots, since much of what needs to be transformed depends on power relations in the real world.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

This investigation took as a case study the mining project La Colosa, in Tolima, Colombia, where, in 2007 –and within the framework of a promulgation and implementation of an extractive policy in that country– the Anglo Gold Ashanti (AGA) company announced it had discovered one of the ten largest gold mines in the world (Mina de oro La Colosa..., 2009).

The geographical scenario is the Department of Tolima, whose capital is the city of Ibagué. It is in central western Colombia and has a population of 1,420,000 inhabitants; its economy is based on agribusiness, services and industry. It is made up of 47 municipalities, of which Cajamarca and Piedras have been axes of mining projects and, along with the capital, Ibagué, epicenters of resistance movements. According to the Observatorio de Conflictos Mineros (2014), La Colosa mining project would be regional in nature, integrating other mining projects that Anglo Gold Ashanti has in the region.

From that moment, there were tensions between the State, the mining company and the community: since it would be a strip-mine, it would generate a high environmental impact in the region (Tamayo, González, & González, 2013). This process was characterized

by the manipulation of information, the partiality of national and regional media, and political and legal pressures for the development of the project (Corredor, 2014). The community responded through actions such as the generation and dissemination of content through digital media and social networks, the realization of blockades, protests and demonstrations in different regions, and popular consultations conducted in municipalities, in which the community voted to approve or not the implementation of the mining project in the region (Corredor, 2014). The impacts of these actions and, especially, the results of the Cajamarca consultation of March 26, 2017 led to the suspension of the project by AGA in April 2017 (Vargas, 2017).

On the other hand, we have the Colombian digital context: according to the 2018 ICTs Quarterly Bulletin, published by MINTIC, the country had 30.4 million Internet connections in the first quarter of that year, of which 23.9 million were mobile. According to the National Statistics Administrative Department (DANE) (2018), of an estimated population of 45.5 million people in 2018, 29 million were active users in virtual social networks, indicating a constantly evolving landscape of usage of ICTs in processes such as entertainment, electronic commerce and communications.

As for digital activism, the country has a history such as One million voices against the FARC (social mobilization in 2008 against the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, convened by Facebook); the Green Wave (a spontaneous mobilization in social networks to support the presidential candidate Antanas Mockus in 2010); the death of Rosa Elvira Cely (the femicide of Rosa Elvira in 2012 motivated a pressure on social networks that influenced the creation of the law with her name, achieving a breakthrough in the guarantees and recognition of women's rights); the 2013 National Agrarian Strike (mobilization of peasant organizations for 21 days, where the use of social networks built national and international networks and the abuses and dynamics of demonstrations and protests were shown); the YES or NO campaign (in 2016 the country directly faced the use of fake news, bots, hackers, in the framework of the vote for the Plebiscite for Peace in Colombia), and the 2017 presidential campaign, recent events where the contents in virtual social networks and particular motivations prevailed over controls, logic and communication ethics (MOE, 2018).

There is a historical conflict in Colombia between the urban and the rural country, the latter being marginalized and a direct victim of the social problems

of greater commotion; thus, the environmental impacts, and especially that of La Colosa, started in 2008 approximately and located in a rural sector, coexisted in the media with other social events in the country, such as the war against the insurgency between 2002 and 2010 and the signing of the peace agreements of Havana (2012-2016), which captured the country's attention. Therefore, what happened in La Colosa has a special interest, as they are scenarios in which, from various regions, citizens and social organizations struggled to place environmental issues on the political agenda and in the information sphere (Polo, 2017). At the environmental level, although there are actions, during the defense of the Santurban Paramo in Santander against mining exploitation by the Canadian company Greystar Resources LTDA, environmental movements began using virtual social networks for the actions of resistance (Páramo de Santurban..., 2018); more recent is the case of the hydroelectric project of Hidroituango, where the various emergencies had a mass diffusion through social networks and the Internet (Nuevo derrumbe..., 2018), as well as the 2018 oil spill by the Ecopetrol company in Barrancabermeja (Santander) (Algo huele mal..., 2018), in which the networks played a decisive role in informing and mobilizing public opinion on the subject. These events have strengthened the incorporation of the environmental into collective thinking, which has found mechanisms for the defense of the environment in social networks and in the media (Guhl, 2016).

Based on the theoretical assumptions indicated, we pose the following research question: Can we identify cyber-citizenship practices through the social network Twitter in the collective actions conducted, such as the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and the popular consultations against the La Colosa mining project, in Tolima, Colombia?

METHODOLOGY

The research methodology is mixed (Creswell, 2013) and of exploratory and descriptive scope. The case study is used based on the proposal by Galeano (2007), which establishes three phases for its development: exploration, targeting and deepening; for the analysis of digital platforms, we used virtual ethnography (Hine, 2004) and the Twitonomy software. Below we explain the design developed.

EXPLORATION PHASE

The first phase was based on the results of Badillo (2015) and Badillo & Marta-Lazo (2014), that analyzed

Account	Total tweets	Context unit: popular consultation	Context unit: <i>Gran Marcha Carnaval</i>
@defensavida	3201	593	113
@marchacarnaval	794	119	150
@VotoNOMineria	3191	891	74

Table 1. Sample of *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and popular consultation tweets

Source: Own elaboration with data from Twitonomy.

235 records that published content regarding the La Colosa mining project in digital media between 2008 and 2015. Based on this background, we recognized as the ultimate actors for online and offline actions against the La Colosa mining project the Environmental Committee in Defense of Life and the Network of Environmental Committees of Tolima. The selection, in addition to the contents of the publication records, was based on the following criteria: a social organization with a defined structure, communicative practices in traditional and digital formats, the use of a web page and a history of offline and online actions of complaint against the La Colosa mining project. Through a non-participant observation of the website <https://comiteambiental.com/>, the following Twitter accounts were found appropriate for our objective: @defensavida, @votoNoalamina and @Marchacarnaval, and were selected for this study. The ranges of dates chosen cover from the creation of the account, since it is interesting to know its general behavior and identify the moments in which there were significant variations.

TARGETING PHASE

In the second phase, we applied a content analysis to the accounts cited using the Twitter Twitonomy analytics software. This software allows to download tweets, retweets and various quantitative data related to the behavior of the accounts. Following Krippendorff (1990), for the exercise we defined:

- Sampling unit: tweets published in the accounts @defensavida, @marchacarnaval and @votoNoalamina from the date of creation until 2018.
- Record units: tweets, retweets and replicas (written texts only).
 - › Context unit: Gran Marcha Carnaval (GMC), popular consultation (PC).

With the data obtained, we constructed an analytical matrix of the three accounts.

DEEPENING PHASE

The selected tweets were downloaded through Twitonomy and we located the data of the context units. We used a non-probabilistic sampling for convenience, and selected the tweets published on the context units: *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and popular consultation, generating the following data from the initial results of the Twitonomy software (table 1).

On the selected data, we applied a qualitative and quantitative content analysis to the published text statements. We defined the analysis categories based on Bardin (1996), who states that “sort operation of constituent elements of a set, by differentiation, and then by regrouping according to genus (analogy) with previously defined criteria” (p. 90). In this way and on the theory drawn up on cyber-citizenship, we established the following categories: ideological framework, strategic perspective, communicational ecology and situated policy; according to their behavior, frequency and variability, these allow to verify the presence or not of manifestations of cyber-citizenship.

The data were analyzed from the following theoretical perspectives:

- Valuation theory (Kaplan, 2004), which allows us to locate the ideological and emotional posture of the statements’ experiential content; specifically, from this theory we will analyze the systems of valuation: attitude (judgment, affection and appreciation) and gradation (strength and focus of the statements).
- The communication and counter-information model of López and Roig (2006).
- Escobar’s (2007) concepts on ICTs and situated policy action.

Category	Analysis parameter
IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK:	
the Valuation theory consists in locating how language is used to evaluate, allowing to identify its ideological and attitudinal positions in the face of various phenomena; for this, the following will be analyzed in the tweets:	
	Judgment: characterization from emotions.
Attitude: statements that convey or invite to a negative or positive assessment.	Affection: evaluation of human behavior from institutionalized social norms.
	Appreciation: evaluation of objects, processes and constructs from other parameters and aesthetics.
	Focus: analyzes the status that the statement grants to the phenomenon.
Gradation: analyzes the way in which speakers intensify or sharpen their semantic characterizations.	Strength: identifies intensifiers (high and low) against the assessments in the statements.
	Strategic perspective
The use of Twitter in the perspective of communication management, planning and actions aimed at mobilization.	Sensitization-awareness.
	Coordination: action-pressure.
Communication ecology	
The construction of meanings from the articulation of contents from various communication scenarios.	Senses
	Media
Situated policy	
Processes that develop in temporal and spatial lines that integrate the online and offline.	Focus: analyzes the status that the statement grants to the phenomenon.
	Reality-identity: strengthening the problem in virtual-real scenarios.

Table 2. Coding matrix

Source: Own elaboration.

The coding matrix was built on these referents (table 2) and applied to the selected context units.

RESULTS

EXPLORATION PHASE

The Environmental Committee in Defense of Life (CADV, by its Spanish acronym) defines itself as a

Platform for integration and collective work of social organizations, environmental groups, corporations, foundations, student groups, peasants, indigenous people, alternative media and independent people that aim to promote public actions in defense of water, life, territory and collective right to a healthy environment. It was created in 2011 as part of the historical accumulation of socio-environmental movements in Colombia and Latin America, learning from the experience of mobilization, resistance and articulation of these movements (n.d.).

Among its actions is the conduction of the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and the support and accompaniment

to the popular consultations carried out in the municipalities of Piedras, Cajamarca and Ibagué.

Its website operates as an information management center with a multimedia proposal that integrates radio, video, press releases, publications and training activities with the development of environmental certificates. Its actions are complemented with social networks such as <https://Twitter.com/DefensaVida>, with 2626 followers and <https://www.facebook.com/oficialcomiteambiental/>, with 16,628 followers.

The communicative management has used Facebook, but with Twitter’s predominance, the dynamics have moved to that social network. Along with the @defensavida account, there are other accounts that have complemented the information management, such as @votonominearia, @marchacarnaval and the use of hashtags like #CarnavalesPorElAgua, #carnavalambiental, #CajamarcaSeRespeta, #consultespopulars, #WeLoveIbague and #CajamarcaNoSeArrepiete.

Analysis Items/Account	@defensavida	@VotoNOMineria	@marchacarnaval
Definition of the account itself	Tolima social and environmental organizations platform	Space of articulation of social and environmental sectors that promote NO to megaprojects in popular consultations	"Follow me! Colombians from more than 34 municipalities join in the largest national mobilization against extractivism. #CarnavalesPorElAgua"
Date of the account's most activity	August 2017-news about agreement 012 that prohibits mining in Ibagué	March 27, 2017- triumph of the popular consultation in the municipality of Cajamarca	June 2, 2017, due to the Gran Marcha Carnaval.
Start date	March 26, 2013	July 21, 2016	June 1, 2017
Date of analysis	2014 - 2018	2016 - 2018	2017 - 2018
Tweet amount	5294	3314	789
Followers	2619	2929	281
Tweets per day	1.67	4.6	2.04
Hashtags	937	449	41
Most replicated user	@valentinacmpm	#consultapopular	@valentinacmpm
Most mentioned user	@Mineros_sa,	@Defensavida	@AGAColombia
Favorite tweet	11/15/2017: At this moment in the meeting in front of @MinAmbienteCo and @ANLA_Col citizens protest against the Soto Norte mining project of @Minesa_Col # SanturbánNOEstáEnVenta	03/26/2017: #CajamarcaVotaNo The atmosphere in Cajamarca is a party, to the sound of @systema_ solar promoting the #ConsultaCajamarca	06/07/2017: #JericoDiceNoMineria Jericó approves a municipal agreement that prohibits metal mining. And so the fence closes on Anglogold
Most used platforms	Facebook (1726), Twitter for Android (1394), WordPress.com (33), Twitter Web Client (28), Instagram (7), MailChimp (6), Google (3).	Twitter for Android (3167), Twitter Web Client (17).	Twitter for Android (720), Twitter Web Client (67).

Table 3. Descriptive analysis of selected accounts

Source: Own elaboration with data from Twitonomy.

TARGETING PHASE

In this phase, the Twitonomy software allows to achieve a quantitative and qualitative characterization of each account, allowing to know historical features and data about their behavior. For this, some analysis items have been selected as seen in table 3.

Analyzing the quantitative behavior of each of the accounts, we can see features that explain how Twitter acts as a cyber-citizenship device. The accounts @defensavida and @votonomineria are much older, which implies a greater number of followers and a represented management in terms of tweets and retweets. It is noteworthy that, although the La Colosa process begins towards 2008, the use of Twitter is evident in later

years. The @defensavida account has an institutional character, is the image of the environmental committee and therefore addresses various issues that, in the course of the process, have become part of the media and conflict agenda. The most prominent tweet is about an environmental conflict in Santurban, in Santander, a region other than where the La Colosa mining project, this research object of study, is located. The @marchacarnaval account is much more recent and therefore its figures are lower, but it is important to note that it is complemented with a series of hashtags such as #CarnavalesPorElAgua, #carnavalambiental, which display a traffic of specific contents to the different versions of the *Gran Marcha Carnaval*. This demonstrates a strategic use of this

account, concentrating in these scenarios the different actions conducted in each event, such as the calls, and becoming the motto of the mobilizations. Finally, the @votonomineria account has more followers, more retweets, mentions and favorites, showing its impact and the interest in popular consultations. It has evolved with the conflict, since as popular consultations became the axis of the strategy against mining companies in Colombia, information and interest traffic increased. Its focus, like the @marchacarnaval account, is that the most prominent tweet is consistent with its strategic and thematic perspectives. Other relevant aspects are that among the users with the greatest interaction, there is @valentinacmpm, an environmental journalist from Ibagué, as well as that the platforms with the greatest interactions are Facebook and Twitter. The coincidence of the schedules and the days of publication should be noted: at dawn and on Sunday and Monday; also, by the platforms used, the role that Twitter has taken in the process is verified.

DEEPENING PHASE

Regarding the purpose of the investigation, we describe the context of each collective action, which are the scenarios in which the presence of cyber-citizenship practices will be identified.

Gran Marcha Carnaval

It is a community action conducted since 2010. So far, there have been ten events, in which different representatives of civil society march with songs, there are cultural events, concerts and speeches through the streets of the city of Ibagué, to finish in the city's biggest park, where the attendees congregate and speeches, denunciations, manifestos, among other series of activities, are conducted. According to the Environmental Committee, it started with 3,000 attendees and there are attendance figures of more than 100,000 people in the latest versions.

The demonstrations were created to achieve a national and international media presence, through a peaceful and cultural environment. The interactions emerged when integrating fundamental actors, such as social movements, teachers, regional media, community sectors, academia and public figures (TV actors, musicians). As the impacts progressed, the event was institutionalized to be held on June 5, World Environment Day, connecting with global celebrations related to the issue, evolving its expansion and organization.

Popular consultation

In Colombia, there has been a total of seven, five of them during 2017 (Carmen del Darién, 2009; Piedras, 2013; Cabrera, Cajamarca, Pijao, Arbeláez, & Jesús María, 2017). They are a mechanism of participatory democracy, are enshrined in the Political Constitution of 1991 and are regulated by articles 50 to 57 of the National Participation Law (Law 134 of 1994). Article 33 of the Municipal Law (Law 136 of 1994) authorizes local governments the right to conduct popular consultations on certain matters. Law 1757 of 2015 opened the possibility for the municipalities to conduct their citizens' popular consultations through the collection of signatures. The procedure requires that these consultations initially go through the Municipal Council and have a minimum participation of 33% of the census population.

Popular consultations are framed in what Dietz (2017) calls structures of political opportunity, direct and indirect dissemination and participation; they consist of democratic mechanisms to influence the implementation and development of mining projects in Colombia.

The first consultation was held in the municipality of Piedras on July 28, 2012, where AGA planned an expansion of the mining project. In the presence of the company, consultations and protests were initiated by the community (blockade of the municipality of Doima, police repression). With the support of various organizations, the consultation, which had a 58% of participation, was conducted. In the light of this result, two other municipalities (Ibagué and Cajamarca) were motivated to carry out consultations, but due to the incidence and threats of the AGA company and the State, the respective municipal councils rejected them. Subsequently, with the ruling of the Constitutional Court of October 2016 (T-445/16), although in Ibagué the consultation was not conducted, there was an agreement of the Municipal Council, on August 2, 2017, prohibiting the development of metal mining activities and of the large and medium mining of other minerals in the jurisdiction of the municipality (Concejo Municipal Ibagué, 2017, p. 3).

In Cajamarca, the mechanism was different: it started from the collection of signatures according to Law 1757 of 2015, which states that to start a consultation based on the collection of signatures it must be supported by 10% of the voters. The consultation was held on March 26, 2017, with a result of 36.05%, exceeding the threshold.

Category	Analysis parameter	@defensavida		@VotoNOMineria		@marchacarnaval	
		GMC	CP	GMC	CP	GMC	CP
Ideological framework							
Attitude	Judgment	70%	62%	80%	45%	40%	90%
	Affection	45%	17%	70%	20%	50%	88%
	Appreciation	38%	20%	60%	35%	50%	85%
Gradation	Focus	86%	90%	95%	87%	70%	89%
	Strength	70%	60%	90%	80%	57%	90%
Total		62%	49%	79%	53%	53%	88%
Strategic perspective							
	Sensitization-awareness	85%	90%	90%	75%	80%	90%
	Coordination: action-pressure	70%	78%	90%	73%	60%	85%
Total		77%	84%	90%	74%	70%	87%
Communication ecology							
	Senses	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Media	Multimedia, digital signatures, twiteraton	Multimedia	Multimedia, digital signatures, twiteraton	Multimedia	Multimedia, digital signatures, twiteraton	Multimedia
Situated policy							
	Focus	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Reality-identity	Hashtags, accounts, maps, graphics	Hashtags, accounts, maps, graphics	Hashtags, accounts, maps, graphics	Hashtags, accounts, maps, graphics	Hashtags, accounts, maps, graphics	Hashtags, accounts, maps, graphics

Table 4. Quantitative identification of cyber-citizenship categories

GMC: Gran Marcha Carnaval - PC: Popular Consultation.

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 4 shows how the content on Twitter demonstrates the behavior of the ideological framework, strategic perspective, communicational ecology and policy categories located in the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* (GMC) and Popular Consultation (PC) context units, which allows to verify the practice of cyber-citizenship in collective actions.

For this, the data were organized on a range scheme in four quartiles: first quartile (Q1), between zero and 25%, evidences a low manifestation of cyber-citizenship; second quartile (Q2), between 26% and 50%, with a medium manifestation; third quartile (Q3), between 51% and 75%, which indicates a medium-high manifestation of cyber-citizenship, and a last quartile (Q4), between 76% and 100%, with high evidence of cyber-citizenship.

IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In the popular consultations, we identified that the tweets of the @defensavida and @votonomineria accounts transmit valuation with high intensity and strength, while in those related to the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* the valuation is more balanced. On the contrary, the @marchacarnaval account has a lower level of valuation compared to the contents related to the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* where the emotional, assessment and strength have a higher level of content. Thus, it is found that the three accounts show ideological and attitudinal positions on the processes, and the percentages place the data in quartiles 3 and 4, evidencing a medium-high and high manifestation of cyber-citizenship. These aspects are reflected in examples such as:

@Defensavida: Last year we were 120,000 voices against mining extraction, this year we will be more! #Junio2MarchaCarnaval (@Defensavida, 2017, March 9)

@ehsalah1: Suspend POPULAR CONSULTATIONS is an ATTACK against democracy and the fundamental right to participation, against the decentralizing spirit of our Political Constitution, I share my opinion column from today <https://goo.gl/UEdDJT> (@ehsalah1, 2018, April 26)

@VotoNoMineria: @consejodeestado ratified the constitutionality of the question raised in the #ConsultaPasca we will be communicating the date soon #PascaVotaNO (@VotoNoMineria, 2017, November 9)

STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE

With percentages higher than 70% (third and fourth quartile), the contents generated are aimed at raising awareness, motivating the action their continuity promotes pressure on the various processes, which shows a high level of cyber-citizenship in their management. In this regard, Twitter acts from a strategic perspective, which has been necessary, since it is an unprecedented phenomenon in the country; the confrontation against the strategies of the State, of AGA and of the entities interested in the mining project has required notorious efforts to initially generate awareness and, after that, a mobilization and then the responses represented in the achievements of each action, as evidenced in the following tweets.

@mambientalistac: If you are in Bogotá, we are waiting for you today at 12 noon in the Plaza de Bolívar. Blockage and mobilization in rejection of the environmental tragedy in Lizama. (@mambientalistac, 2018, April 3)

@ambienteysoc: Methodological Guide for Popular Consultations in Colombia ---> <http://bit.ly/2EBKzqS> via @Defensavida (@ambienteysoc, 2018, February 19)

COMMUNICATION ECOLOGY

The result of this category is conclusive, located in quartile 4, with a high level of cyber-citizenship, starting from two processes with a high communicational sense of transformation: the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and the popular consultation. They are two discursive constructs conformed by logics of collective action, which have been deployed on Twitter, where communication repertoires have been activated in order to put on pressure, through targeting and intensification. Communication networks are based on the interaction between Facebook, Twitter, Instagram,

digital signature forms, Twitter campaigns, web pages, blogs, YouTube, and traditional media that circulate and recirculate the contents, as can be seen in the following examples:

@TejidoT: Forum "Popular Education and collective action in defense of the territory" begins, it can be followed at <https://t.co/DeuUebDUPA> (@TejidoT, 2017, August 25)

@VotoNOMineria: Broadcasting of the political control debate on the #ConsultasPopulares, find out why we are #DictaduraMinera (@VotoNOMineria, 2017, September 26)

@VotoNOMineria: Graphic description of what @OscarBarretoTol intends to do with the 012 agreement that prohibits mega-mining in Ibagué #NoMásMineroPolitica (@VotoNOMineria, 2017, September 12)

SITUATED POLICY

Regions, contexts, events, citizen action are deployed, facts are covered, and actors and projections are identified. Twitter becomes a strategic action focused and contextualized, where the identity is reinforced with cultural features of each region, which can be seen since 100% of the contents are accompanied by hashtags with names of regions, people, illustrated with images, maps, photographs, among other elements, such as:

@Asonalca: #PoliticaMineroEnergéticaMata In Meta, Santanderes and Antioquia, they want to force the interests of entrepreneurs as common (@Asonalca, 2017, August 20)

@valentinacmpm: Aprobado acuerdo 012 por medio del cual se prohíbe la minería contaminante en Ibagué. #IbaguéSinMineríaContaminante (@valentinacmpm, 2017, July 31)

CONCLUSIONS

This research was conducted to deepen a perspective of cyber-citizenship and how its presence is reflected in the use of the social network Twitter, in the different processes that have consolidated the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and popular consultations, as two large collective actions of great impact on the community's fight against the development of the La Colosa mining project in Tolima, Colombia.

With regards to the proposed theory, we can conclude that cyber-citizenship as a discourse allows us to understand the phenomenon with greater scope and displace it from a determinism that indicates

only a series of digital communication practices, activism and the perspective from e-government or e-democracy. Similarly, the research shows how from the concepts indicated and the results there is a clear series of cyber-citizenship practices through Twitter, as analyzed below.

The first identification arises with the importance that cyberspace has for the Environmental Committee in Defense of Life and the Network of Environmental Committees of Tolima, making it a strategic fighting space. Thus, the Committee deploys resources through the web site, social networks on Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Instagram. Specifically, Twitter has been managed as an institutional account and from there, based on the narratives and logics of digital communication, it has added as a hypermedia other accounts, hashtags, photo broadcasts, videos, documents, audios, memes, links, digital signatures, days of intensive Twitter use, Periscope and Facebook Live. In this regard, it builds a meta-narrative based on hypertext, where global understanding is sustained from the ideological framework, by the different events and the evolutionary line of the phenomenon that determines content, replicas, retweets and the participation of other accounts that disseminate information.

The targeting phase shows how the accounts analyzed play a decisive role in the dynamics of the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and the popular consultations, showing frequency peaks of publication on crucial dates, generating an informative positioning and allowing the assessment of the facts and reactions, especially on popular consultations, which generated responses on the results from the various sectors involved; thus, on Twitter, the information on possible processes to be carried out was disseminated and updated in real time. The descriptive data of each account show how it is necessary to use these metrics to develop a planned management of communication in this type of environment. The accounts operate on specific actions, the realization of the demonstrations, the processes of the consultations, and it is important to analyze the management conducted when integrating other problems from other regions.

The deepening phase is based on the definition that cyber-citizenship comprises a series of categories managed through Twitter. An ideological framework prevails, characterized by a negative assessment towards the State, the AGA company and various pro-mining actors, while consolidating a discourse in

defense of natural resources and inviting to consider new development alternatives. There is an emotional component, constantly combined with messages that invite to reflection and action. There is a strategic perspective at the level of awareness and organization, which is efficient, but that requires moving to other states where communication through Twitter is less reactive and informative and outlines other scenarios in the discursive dynamics; i.e., consider what should come after the collective, communicational and educational action.

As for the media ecology, the contents on the *Gran Marcha Carnaval* and the popular consultations achieve an impact due to the possibility of acting on networks that allow diverse, direct and massive flows of information. From the beginning of the protest agenda, the contents were generated and disseminated, acting as social representations that simplified the message, the meaning and allowed to adapt it to the realities, contexts and cement them in specific scenarios: carnival demonstrations and popular consultations. On the basis of the common good, there was an interaction and interconnection of individuals generally unknown to each other, integrating a mobilization of resources and a collective approach (Conover et al., 2013, p. 1) on the narratives they generated, which were enhanced by the mobility of digital communication.

The media structured political opportunities, showing legal, social and economic gaps, as well as their impacts, creating the scenarios for collective action, whereby participation in demonstrations and consultations became scenarios crossed by the data, facilitating awareness, coordination and action (Martínez Romero, 2012).

DISCUSSION

The complexity of the phenomenon has involved structuring a series of categories that operate as detectors of actions and practices that allow verification. Thus, from an interdisciplinary position through an analysis matrix, cybercitizen actions are evidenced in the contents analyzed in various ideological practices through a defined discourse, a series of defined strategies, an ecological vision of communication and political action in the territory.

This research corroborates the logic on which communication in social networks –as in this case– and its articulation with in-territory facts configure on horizontal modes, with diverse production and

dissemination parameters, sometimes chaotic. These platforms run parallel to traditional media; we must not forget that they feed on the spirit of conflict and seek visibility by taking advantage of the convergence culture. Only from that perspective we can understand the methods by which communication is managed; thus, all the followers of these accounts may not be on the streets or directly attend the popular consultation, but they are part of a collaborative dynamic that intersects the problem, configuring the so-called networked, connected, hybrid society. Thus, social movements, when addressing online and offline environments, display repertoires with a high level of intensity and strength.

It is essential to understand that communication ecology operates on the logic of networks. Each account has a direct relationship with a subject, but it is not exclusive; thus, the amount of tweets they handle and the percentages related to each context unit are low: @defensavida, 22%, @VotoNOMineria, 29% and @MarchaCarnaval, 33%; i.e., a large amount of related information circulates, but that connects with other types of topics, as hermeneutic networks that configure the meaning. These connections are mobilized at publication frequencies depending on the incidence of the events and the strategic perspective defined at the level of awareness, action or pressure. At this point, it is relevant to analyze the distance between the beginning of the conflict, approximately 2008, and the creation of the Twitter accounts, on March 26, 2013, July 21, 2016 and June 1, 2017, which happens due to the period in which this type of social networks were integrated into users' consumption and, especially, because at the beginning of the process there was a larger use of web sites, blogs and Facebook.

The action of situated policy is clear from the actions of the groups linked to the collective action. They start from the territory, from the local, from the municipalities, and with all their differences and interests they manage to consolidate representations that are mediated and that facilitate the identity, such as #noalacolosahorrorosa, #NoalaMINA, "if we can stop La Colosa, we can stop anything", #cajamarcadiceno, #dictaduraminera, #aquíNadiesemuere deHambre, #Pijaovotono, #yoatacolagranmineria, which were conceived as multimedia strategies, as they were projected on hashtags to be used on social networks. From these spaces, they faced hegemonic development models based on their local commitment to economic stability, which depended on themselves and not on imposed macroeconomic models.

The research proposes a series of categories and a methodology to address how in social networks, in this case Twitter, conflicts find in cyberspace an area in which specific dynamics are developed. The concept of cyber-citizenship as discourse aims to address what happens in digital communication with a greater level of complexity and, especially, its correlations with the way in which social movements develop their actions in this sphere. The work focused on the statements published on Twitter and opens interesting scenarios of study by designing some categories that allow to specify that relationship and methodologies such as the metrics analysis. In any case, there is a need for studies that address other communicative aspects, such as audiovisual and multimedia, which play a predominant role in focusing and intensifying messages, shaping many of the meanings and methods that characterize the importance of digital platforms in the actions of social movements today.

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