The revolution will not be tweeted
#TRWNBT

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ACTA: Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement

DANE: Departamento Nacional de Estadística de Colombia (Statistic National Department)

Abstract

Twitter is becoming popular among the new generations, the political interaction that has been happening inside this internet tool are part of a longer debate. However the current paper addresses the analysis of the copyright of the internet discussions that happened on twitter Colombia during a period of time in the 2012.

This interaction is showed in two ways; the first one the understanding of the people who is tweeting a demographic and economical view of the users of Twitter in Colombia. These users, as the evidence show, are digital elite, this contention based in the income levels, the location in the country and the education levels; there is a generational consideration in this way that shows that most of the users are part of the same generation.

The second way is the tracking of the discussion on Twitter, this method shows that there was a trend about the demand against one law; this process was headed by a politician. Analyze the process of the demand shows that Twitter is not a horizontal democratic space, the information and the power has clear vertical orientation.

Finally the research shows that there is no possibility to build networks trough Twitter, and in this way there is no possibility of transcend the participation into a social movement or a more organize form of action. In this way the youth political participation in this social network is based in specific events.

Keywords

1. #Introduction The revolution will not be #tweeted[1]

The Internet and new technologies have changed the way in which people interact with each other, and these changes have affected young people more than any other generation. According to Mesch and Talmud (2010: 5) there are two main ways to understand the Internet: as a culture or as cultural artefact. Understanding the Internet as culture is to understand it as a completely new space; in this way the users in the online world are completely new people Mesch and Talmud (2010, 5). Understanding the Internet as a cultural artefact is to understand this network as "an object immersed in a social context" Mesch and Talmud (2010, 6).

In this research, and in order to understand the different concepts and interactions that I studied, the Internet will be seen as a cultural artefact considering the dynamics that have occurred in the network as extensions of the offline world. In this way, the social, economic, political and generational factors that exist in the offline world shape the dynamics that happened on the Internet and vice versa. Nevertheless, and as is pointed out by Castels et al (2001) the way in which humans communicate and the tools that they use change the interaction itself. In this way, and even if I understand the Internet as an extension of the offline, the mutual reinforcement makes the dynamics of the online contribute to changes in offline interactions.

In this research it is important to understand that this is about Twitter as a tool and not about the Internet as a structure. In this way it is important to understand the tool and the specificities that make it different from others, as I will show in the third chapter, the main focus is the generational aspects and the citizenship factor that can be observed in this media. Most of the methodologies that I use for this research are not traditionally used by the social sciences, but for marketing proposes. This is related to a longer discussion that takes place in chapter two about how to research the Internet and how to adapt different methodologies to understand the online world and its relation with the offline.

In the research I borrow notions from economics, sociology the political sciences, development studies, youth studies and systems engineering. In the third chapter, it is possible to find the concepts that I am using and the way in which concepts will help to analyse and solve the question. But it is important also to understand the focus of the research and how this is related to the development and youth fields. The discussion then, is about youth as citizens and the interactions that they have on Twitter.

The interactions that I studied take place in two specific contexts: a spatial one and a thematic one, both crossed by a temporal dimension. The spaces in which I conducted this research are Colombia and Twitter, so this paper will understand the users of Twitter in Colombia; regarding the thematic dimension this investigation follows the discussion about freedom on the Internet, more precisely about the copyright agreements and laws. And the temporal dimension is two months, this time is for the current research but as it will be shown there are other aspects that have to be taken into account in this field.

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[1] Title inspired in the Article of Gladwell (2010)

The fourth chapter shows the demography of Twitter in Colombia, to understand who is tweeting; this chapter was built using the information of the survey I conducted. The objectives of this chapter are to show the differences between the users of Twitter in Colombia and the rest of the population and to show who the users are. For the first objective I compare items like education, income and location, this comparison led me to the category of the 'digital elite', to conceptualize the Twitter users. For the second objective I present some of the most important characteristics of this elite and the importance of it for the discussions.

The discussion of copyright laws is in chapter five. I followed 532 tweets that contain one of the following tags #Leylleras, #Leylleras2 and/or #ACTA. In this chapter I analyse the discussions that took place on Twitter, the lens that I use to make it are presented in the third chapter. However the focus is on the citizenship, the political participation and the global dimension; there is also a presentation about other voices inside the discussion.

At the end in the conclusions there is a reflection about citizenship, the youth and social networks, this final chapter is used to join the learning of each chapter, but also to make a general statement about the methodologies, concepts and findings. Finally I raise some questions for future research.

2. Researching #Twitter through Twitter

This chapter is about the methodology, to select and apply the methodologies that actually work to find the data is a challenge for any research. For the current paper a sub-question is about how to research on Twitter, because it is a concern of the researcher to contribute to this field. Online research is relatively new and as in the offline world researching in different context needs different methods; this paper then has the aim to contribute to the methodology of online research, centred on Twitter. It is important for the reader then to understand not only why, but also how the different research methods will be used, combined and the reflection about them.

In this point besides the challenge about online and offline research, there are two more challenges to reflex on; the first one is how to deal with the speed of the information on Twitter. As I will present in the next chapter one of the main characteristics of this tool is the velocity of the information. The second challenge is about the amount of information; thousands of tweets are produced every second in Colombia, how to select, arrange and analyse this tweets is a challenge is which is important to reflex.

The methods that were used in this research are connected for three methodological reasons: the understanding of the Internet as a cultural artefact, the search for social interactions and the analysis of discussions and actions on the online world. Based on these considerations, the methods were used in different ways to solve the research questions. The first way is to connect the offline and the online world, showing that the Twitter accounts correspond to real people that have some characteristics that shape participation on Twitter. The second way is to understand how this shape of the participation, which comes from the offline world, and the special characteristics of Twitter are connected and creates or not a new kind of citizenship.

This chapter is divided into four sections, in the first I will present the research questions, in the second the online survey, in the third you can find the discussion about tracking and in the fourth one some ethical considerations about this research. Finally, it is important to keep in mind that the methodologies are not isolated between them, the tools work in the way that the findings of each are not separate and that the information that I collect with each tool works to solve the questions.

2.1 Research Question

How do relations of power are shaped in Twitter in Colombia and how do these affect the potential of Twitter as a platform of youth citizenship?

2.1.1 Sub-questions

· What are the demographic characteristics of Twitter users in Colombia, and how does this (mis)represent the larger Colombian society?
· How do the hegemonic power relations work in Twitter Colombia?

·   How the youth citizenship is shape by the online activism on Twitter?

·   How do relations of power manifest in the exercise of citizenship on Twitter in debates on 'copyright?

2.2 Who are the users of #Twitter?, asking online

One of the main methods that was used in this research was an online survey designed for Twitter users in Colombia, in this section I will explain why and how this method were used; and also which questions were raised.

2.2.1   Reasons to use the online surveys

The survey is a tool that permits you to ask systematically the same questions to a considerable number of respondents. In this particular case an electronic survey was made with two different objectives, firstly to collect demographic information about Twitter users in Colombia. And the second was to collect information about some specific aspects such as affiliation to political parties and the time that they spend daily on Twitter, that will help us to understand the population on Twitter in Colombia.

The demographic information is important for the generation component of this research, Twitter does not ask about gender or age when someone opens an account; the location is asked, and Twitter knows it by the IP address; however, it is impossible for a user to really know where other users are located. On the other hand, asking this question user by user was not only time consuming but also a violation of Twitter's user's practice and considered 'spam'. The Twitter rules (Twitter, 2012) consider spam "If you post duplicate content over multiple accounts or multiple duplicate updates on one account".

Citizenship is another important focus of this research as can be seen in the second chapter; one of the main hypotheses of this paper is that with democracy in the digital age there is an digital elite, maybe not the traditional meaning of elites, but in an education and income level. This is information that is not easy to get, but with an anonymous electronic survey it is possible. Having this information can help us compare the income and education of the Twitter users with the data of the Colombian population.

That is why an electronic survey was the method that I chose, understanding the limitations and problems of it. The first problem is pointed by Kaye and Johnson (1999) and is about the technological skills that are needed to fill the surveys. To solve this problem, the system that was used (Netq), the way in which the survey was structured and the type of users that we wanted to get made it possible to be overcome.

The second limitation was about double respondents, people who intentionally or not, answered the survey two times; this problem not only could show a different reality, but violates the principle of viewing the Internet as a cultural artefact where offline life is projected. For this the solution was easy: the software that we used for the survey has an option to "block" two answers from the same computer; this option was enabled during the survey process. This limits the people who share computers, but was necessary to ensure the answers.

2.2.2 Technical aspects about the online survey

The first decision that was made in this sense was to do an electronic survey; the system that was used is NetQ Dutch software that the Institute of Social Studies is currently using for different research. This program presents some advantages, but for this research there are two which are really important: the possibility that it gives to have a "URL[2]" to promote the survey and the graphic design. According to Kaye and Johnson (1999) the electronic surveys that are posted on the web are technologically harder for the researcher, but easier to respond to for the users. The interface of the survey made this tool really easy for the respondents.

The next step was to get the respondents and ensuring that they were a sample of the population on Twitter in Colombia. The decision here was to start a viral snowball effect on Twitter Colombia. This snowball effect was started on the researcher's personal account @rauldc with the message "Estoy realizando una investigación sobre ciudadania y Twitter en Colombia, pueden ayudarme llenando la encuesta y dando RT" (I'm doing research about citizenship and Twitter in Colombia, you can help me filling it and doing RT -re tweet[3]-) and the link of the survey.

Though the followers of this account somehow are supposed to have similar interests, the viral snowball effect points at opinion leaders and ask them to retweet the survey in order to get different respondents. In appendix 1 it is possible to see the accounts that did it, the number of followers (the possible number of people who get the survey), and some notes about the opinion leaders. This process took place between the 28th of June and 17th of July 2012.

2.2.3 Which questions were asked?

This survey has two different parts, in the first one we wanted to know demographic information about the Twitter users in Colombia and in the second part we asked questions that helped us to understand and make a socio-economic profile of the users. This information was used to compare the results with the statistical information of Colombia. The last question of the survey was asking the respondents if they wanted to receive an electronic copy of the research paper. Here are the questions:

1. Date of birth
2. Gender
3. In which state do you live?
4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
5. Are you member of a political party?
6. What is your total household income?
7. Time spent on Twitter
8. Did you tweet only through your personal account?
9. If not how many other accounts did you use in the last year?
10. What devices do you use to tweet?
11. If you want to receive the final research in December put your e-mail here[4].

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[2] http://iss.survey.netq.nl/nq.cfm?q=cc068fd7-baeb-4da5-bf8b-cd923b1df422
[3] In the next chapter there is an explanation about Twitter and how it Works.
[4] 237 users gives the e-mail

2.3 Observing interactions through Twitter, tracking

To analyse the interactions and participation on Twitter there was the need for having a compilation of tweets. For this compilation, the method used in this research was tracking. The company Row feeder https://rowfeeder.com/ permits tracking of key words on Twitter with a specific time and with geo-reference. The output of this tool is an Excel document with the information about who tweets, at what time and the tweet content. This information helps then to track relevant topics and to have qualitative information. There is also some information about who tweets more about the topics and the Replies and Retweets.

This tool has been mainly used for marketing proposes, basically to research the market and product advertises, nevertheless I found examples for the use of this kind of technique (not exactly the tool) in two papers. Lampos et al (2010) shows how using Tracking on Twitter was possible to map a flu infection on the UK, this was helpful for public policy related issues; This tracking was done on Twitter searching for the different flu symptoms with a geo localization reference. On the other hand Oh et al (2011) shows how a group of terrorists used tracking to make his action stronger against the civil society. Both papers shows how it is possible to follow key words and collect relevant information. Both treat Twitter as a cultural artefact and they effectively used the method to study links between offline debates and online dynamics.

The key words that I tracked where #leylleras, #leylleras2 and #ACTA, those are names of a law (an offline issues) that are in discussion about copyright on the Internet (an online issue), the first two in Colombia (local) and the second one worldwide (global). The reason to choose these laws is based on two main criteria. The first is because these initiatives want to regulate the online behaviour of the population, the youth are one of the most important "targets" of them, and so I wanted to know how they discuss/act about them. The second reason is about globalization and the theories about global generation, these discussions are not only taking place in Colombia and one of the factors that I wanted to analyse is to what extent globalization affects or not citizenship in Colombia.

The number of tweets that were tracked was 532, a number of tweets that can be representative, but manageable amount of tweets; this is not the total number of tweets that were reviewed by the platform, but the actual number of tweets that had one of the three key words. There is a weakness in this research, there is some missing information, tweets that were discussing these laws but did not use the hash tags.

The analysis was centred in critical discourse analysis; This method has as one of its main objectives to understand the genealogy of the words that are used (Locke, 2004), and this was not possible with the information and time set for this paper, but some advice for future research is to use this methodology.

The main input from critical discourse analysis to this research is about the connection between reality and discourse. "Without discourse, there is no social reality, and without understanding discourse, we cannot understand our reality, our experiences, or ourselves" (Philips and Hardy, 2002; 2). In reality there is one aspect that is very important for this research and it is about the ideologies and identities, "The things that make up the social world—including our very identities—appear out of discourse. To put it another way, our talk, and what we are, are one and the same" (Philips and Hardy 2002).

Having this in mind this tool helped us understand some aspects about the language of the tweets: understanding the social reality about the gap of the population that we were studying. The

way in which we did this has two different focuses, but the methodology was the same, using the Microsoft Excel function of "search" we searched for specific terms and tried to understand how these terms had been used and how this spoke to the discussion about copyright on the Internet. The lens that I used to analyse the data are in the next chapter; basically what I did was contrast the theories with the data and find similarities and gaps.

In chapter four of this research we present the results of this exercise, nonetheless it is important to note that this was descriptive and qualitative. It is not the intention of this part of the research to generalize the action of youth on Twitter, but to understand some dynamics and uses of the platform that speak to citizenship.

2.4 Ethical considerations

It is very important for me to show ethical considerations about the research process, not only because of the importance of transparency for the field, but also for the reader to understand some of the points in the following chapters.

The first ethical issue is about privacy of the users on Twitter, regarding this concern the researcher is only using open tweets, the ones that can be found using Google. Some users have the option of closing the profile making their tweets private, even if the researcher has the possibility of accessing some of those profiles by his personal account these accounts were excluded from this research.

The second ethical issue is about language of the tweets that is Spanish and analysis was made in English. This is certainly a risk because with the translation the essence of the discourse can change. Regarding this issue, the researcher not only was careful with the translation (made by himself and not using a program), but when it is really important the tweets are quoted in Spanish, giving options to the reader. Also and not only in this area this research has the input of other scholars that speak Spanish, commenting about the findings.

The third ethical challenge is about identity. It is almost impossible (in some cases) to know the actual offline identity of the users of Twitter, sometimes the real offline identity is hidden behind an avatar and a fake name. When it was really important, and in order to make a clear analysis of the situation, I checked the identity of the user or at least that they are what they claim to be in the offline world.

The last ethical consideration is the participation of the researcher in this space (Twitter). As it was told in this chapter, the researcher has an account on Twitter @rauldc, when the tracked information gave us tweets or replies from this account they were erased. But the researcher also kept distance from the topics of the research on Twitter trying not to interfere in the results.

3 Framing the concepts, how to understand #Youth, #citizenship and #Twitter

This chapter has two main objectives; the first is to introduce Twitter and the principal aspects of this platform and the second is to present the different concepts that I use in the research. In the presentation of Twitter it is important to understand this platform not as a technological device, but the social implications of the tool for this research. Regarding the concepts it is important to understand it in two ways, as the explanation of the concepts that help me to show what I understand for each one, and as lenses to analyse the data that I got. The concepts are grouped by topics covering the different aspects of this research.

The reason that I have to create a theoretical chapter is the complexity of the connection between Twitter, generation and citizenship. I understand then the necessity to compile the concepts and to connect it to make the research flow. For that reason this chapter is divided into four main sections, one about Twitter, one about generation and youth concepts; a section about power and citizenship; and finally a section about participation and civil society always understanding this whole section as correlated and not as separate pieces in the research.

3.1 General aspects about #Twitter

Twitter is a microblogging platform. Java et al (2007; 1) defines this tool as "a form of blogging that lets you write brief text updates". There are then three differences between the usual blogs and the microblogs according to these authors, the first, as it was already pointed out, is the brevity of the updates, usually less than 200 characters (Java et al, 2007); the second one is the velocity of the communication, Twitter is faster than blogs in order to communicate news, events, sports results, etc (Java et al, 2007). The third differential factor between Twitter and traditional blogs is that Twitter users post more constantly than bloggers.

According to the web page[5], "Twitter is a real-time information network that connects you to the latest stories, ideas, opinions and news about what you find interesting. Simply find the accounts you find most compelling and follow the conversations" (Twitter, 2012). From that definition, it is possible to extract several concepts that will help us to understand this social media, information is a key one; Twitter wants to be a tool in which users find the information they need, but as it is possible to understand in the definition, they are focusing on the latest information; Finally they promote the site saying that users can not only follow news but opinions, stories and ideas;

The speed of information is then the core of Twitter and for this research and specifically for methodological reasons it is the characteristic that matters the most, because of the challenges that this has carried. Thousands of tweets are produced every minute in Colombia. Following all of them is impossible for a variety of reasons including that there are many different accounts and the different topics they are talking about. Because of this and taking into account that this research is about a specific discussion regarding freedom and copyrights on the Internet I took the decision to apply the Tracking method.

The other important point regarding Twitter for this research has a relation with the velocity and is the data about the users; Twitter wants to be a network with few barriers to access, that is why a person only needs an e-mail for opening an account, then has to choose a user name and a password, and it is part of the social media. This is a problem because it is not possible to know the age,

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[5] www.Twitter.com

the gender, the location and other demographic information about Twitter users (see ethical challenges in the 1 chapter). That's one of the main reasons to conduct an on-line survey.

3.1.1 **Characteristics about #Twitter**[6]

The experience on Twitter is based in the people that you follow, the information that they tweet will appear in your Time Line (TL). You can follow as many people as you want, but, unlike Facebook, Twitter has no automatic reciprocity that it is possible to follow the updates of someone that is not following you. This important feature helps the information to flow, it is not necessary to accept every follower. But it also creates a gap in this network, it is hard to find who is in your own network, which follows you and what audience you will get.

As you can read the updates of the people that you are following, the people that follow you can read your updates. The first rule of Twitter is that you can only use 140 characters to tweet, this include the spaces and links if you are using some. There are three main ways to tweet, a "normal" tweet, a reply or a Retweet (RT) (Image I) .The "normal" tweet is the one in which you express something, the characteristic of this kind of tweets is that you don't use any user name on it.

Image I Example of the kinds of Tweets, screenshot taken of my Time Line

The second kind of tweet is a reply, this is the one that people use to interact with other users, the main characteristic here is that you put the user name from the person that you want to interact with (you can use more than one). If you do so the people that you put will find the tweet in the button "Connect" in the web page. The last kind are the RTs basically with these kind of tweets you are reposting someone else's idea, nevertheless as you are reposting all the people can understand who was the first writer of the tweet.

As I already pointed out, there is a gap in the network inside Twitter; part of this is given by the kind of interaction that can exist. You can RT, or reply to everyone who is on Twitter it doesn't matter if they follow you or you follow them. In this way there is the possibility to interact with people that you will never have interaction again. According to (Mesch and Talmud, 2010, 18) one of the

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[6] This section is built regarding the experience of the author on Twitter

characteristics of social networks is the "Tie strength" that helps to create and maintain social networks (in the sociological sense); this seems to be missing on Twitter.

There is a characteristic about Twitter that needs to be addressed here and is about the Hastags, according to Twitter (2012) "The # symbol, called a hashtag, is used to mark keywords or topics in a Tweet. It was created organically by Twitter users as a way to categorize messages". This point is important cause the tracking method of this research is base in this characteristic.

Finally it is important to understand that Twitter is a free network, in the way that you don't have to pay to be on it, but this doesn't mean that there is no business behind it. Twitter as a business tool is determined by the rules of the market and in this way it is important to understand; this is not a neutral space.

3.2 #Youth, Generation and Internet

Some scholars like Castels, Herrera and Edmunds and Turner have youth as a base concept in Internet research, not only as a separate category but in relation with others. Castells et al. (2007) presents a vision about youth culture and how this culture is reinforced by new technologies.

Regarding the definition of youth in the literature there are at least two different main views. In the first one the researchers focus on youth as a category linked with age and they try to understand it. The other view links youth as a social construction and the main concern is to understand youth in relation with other social categories as race, gender, adults and so on. In the current research I adopt the second definition.

I centre the debate not only on the characteristics of the youth and the use of the social media, but in the intergenerational conflict that this creates in the same way that In the same line as Castells et al. (2007), Edmunds and Turner (2005), and Herrera (2011). Herrera (2011) introduces the concept of digital literacy in the generation 2.0. These two concepts separate the youth that are using the web 2.0 from the adults, but it also does with other youths that cannot access to this kind of technology.

Edmunds and Turner (2005) use the generation concept merging Mannheim's traditional definition, but adding theory from Bourdieu. The difference in this definition is the understanding that the generations are not a homogenous cohort of age, but an active group defined by sorts of categories as social, political, economic, cultural, and religious. This concept is used to understand the youth in a national context, but with globalization (another key concept in this topic) there is a new supranational youth. Castells et al, Edmunds and Turner, and Herrera believe in the capacity of the youth to change the world with the web 2.0 and to fight against the other generations.

Herrera (2011) emphasizes the reinforcement between youth and the Internet and how digital literacy makes them change society, not only in the 2.0 but in the offline world. The connections between the 2.0 and the offline world are theoretically important; as the reader can see in this chapter this relation defines in some aspects the citizenship. Regarding Twitter this generation 2.0 has a specific characteristic, the 140 characters has changed the form of communication (Thomas, 2007).

3.3 Power and #citizenship in the #Internet

Some scholars are researching how the Internet is not a free space and is co-opted by the elites and corporate power to impose views of the world. Castells et al. (2007), Cammaert (2008) and Remulla (2008) have some points in common; these authors argue that the Internet is a space in

which citizens can interact and in fact make activism; but the authors also point out some problems for this interaction. Castells et al. (2007) and Remulla set this problem in the market and the power relations that it has translated to the Internet.

Remulla (2008) points at neoliberalism and how this market system not only sets digital citizens as consumers, in the same way that it does offline, but mainly how it co-opts social movements. Remulla (2008) argues that the hegemony of the elites and the power of big media are present also in the Internet making cultural control (using Gramsci and his "Hegemony" concept). These concepts speak to the neoliberal state and cultural control over the 2.0, in other words it is about power and how the power in the real world is immediately placed in the 2.0.

In the same way Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) place the economic problem in the capitalist society call prosumption. For the authors capitalism has been changing and now the exploitation has been extended to the consumers, this in the offline world. As Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) also argue this kind of exploitation has been moved to the online world via the social networks, the consumers (users) of Facebook and Twitter are creating the content that generate traffic to these sites and that at the end this produces (via publicity) income for the owners of the social networks (corporations). Tapscott and Williams (2008, 132) have a different concept about the prosumers, for these authors prosumption is a win-win relation. This research will not take a specific place in this debate, but acknowledging the existence of this new capitalist form of production can help us to understand the different dynamics of the online world.

Castells et al. (2007) place power relations in the intergenerational debate, and how adults are using the Internet to make the youth consumers. This is a problem for the author in the way that he argues that the youth culture can be mined and the autonomy of the youth cohort can be determined by the market forces. In this way the entertainment system is really important in this equation, and who controls it will have the power.

Cammaert (2008) has some points in common with Castells et al. and Remulla, but he introduces five aspects which are problematic to freedom on the Internet and how these aspects can undermine the power of participation with this tool. Cammaert's research is based on blogs, Twitter as a microblogging network suffers these problems too. Not all the problematic aspects are relevant for this research, I will only introduce those that help to understand and solve the research questions.

The first aspect is the colonization of the market on the Internet (Cammaert 2008) in this aspect the author puts emphasis on information. As in newspapers offline, some blogs and information sites are not free to inform because they need money to survive and money is given by the economic powers that can attenuate the freedom of the writer.

The second aspect is censorship (Cammaert 2008) this problem is coming from two sides the first one is the governments, not only non-democratic governments are trying to censor the Internet; the other side that exercises censorship on the Internet are the enterprises, some of them are searching Internet history before the interviews for new jobs and in some cases they have fired people for their Internet comments (Cammaert 2008).

Appropriation by elites (Cammaert 2008) is the third aspect and is related to the elites in the offline world and how they can move their power to the online. In this way mainstream journalists and pop stars for example have blogs with lots of visits just for their name. To some extent they are setting the agenda on the Internet. This aspect is also touched by Edmunds and Turner (2005) they argue that in every generation no matter how the elites set the agenda, and Cammaert's research is proving it.

From these aspects that Cammaert introduces, there are two important aspects that are relevant for my research: the copyrights and geo-localization. Both concepts are in fact related, because even if the Internet is a global arena the power of the governments and citizens to change aspects in the Internet is local; actually the biggest policy discussion about freedom and Internet is based on the copyright laws: SINDE in "Spain", "SOPA" in the US or "Lleras" are proof of that. In fact this debate is related with the globalization against glocalization and even if there is a globalized world, the governments still have power.

3.4 #Participation in the social networks

Related with freedom and participation in the web 2.0, some scholars are researching about the activism and the possibilities of this tool to change the way in which the online society interacts with power, not only with governments but with parties and other institutions. In this way there is another debate about the effectiveness of this activism, the term slacktivism is taking power, generating a sensation that it is not possible to make activism through the Internet.

Remulla (2008), Castells (2001) and Cammaert (2008) present a vision of the Internet as a space of discussion, almost as a new agora. In fact Cammaert (2008) uses Habermas's theory to conceptualize the blogs as a public sphere and in this way the users are free citizens. Cammaert (2008) argues that this public sphere has the potential to change the system, but I already present the problems for this.

Castells (2001) goes beyond this public space concept, analysing the people who are interacting as part of civil society. Castells argues that the Internet creates a culture in which the citizens are moving and creating social networking, this culture is based on the use of the Internet as a tool and the mutual reinforcing of the citizen and the technology: ʹTechnological systems are socially produced' (Castells 2001; 37).

Remulla (2008) answers two questions in his work, why and how, people engaged in activism using the Internet. The author presents the thesis that the civil society uses the Internet mostly because it is a tool to endure the democratic deficit. In this way online activism can contribute to give voice to sectors that are normally excluded from the mainstream voice, due to gender, age, race, income or other reasons. Remulla (2008) is aware of the globalization process and how social participation in this context can be supported not only in the country;

But Remulla (2008) also responds to the question "how?" In this way there are three different ways to do online activism. The first one is called Awareness (Remulla, 2008) this level is only to have more sources of information, away from the mainstream media. For this level there are a lot of blogs and portals with information taken in the field and brought directly to the citizens. However, it is important to draw attention to one of Cammaert's (2008) points and that is that on the Internet there exist blogs that are fake blogs, so not all the information portals that claim to be underground are true.

The second level (Remulla 2008) is the community oriented sites that help the citizen to build relations and share dialogue. The main characteristic of this kind of activism is that it transcends the information and works in the construction of social networks. In this way Gladwell (2010) differs and points out that it is impossible to create activism networks in the web 2.0 because this activity needs a strong-tie and only when you know the group of people in the offline world can you do it.

The third level of activism on the Internet (Remulla 2008) is the action groups and in this level, the citizens raise support for specific social causes. This one has a limitation and it is that even if the support raised for one cause is really good, it is not enough if there is not offline activity. In this as-

pect Gladwell (2010) has a radical vision. He argues that the people can join social activism if it does not represent too much work, but when it is necessary to work it out they will not collaborate.

Gladwell (2010) also presents other critiques of online activism. The first one is kind of semantic and is that is that the activism is defined by the causes and not by the tools (Gladwell 2010), in this way we have to talk about anti-globalization activism, the pro poor activism but not about Facebook or Twitter activism. The second main critique is about the activism in the web, it is the solipsist (Gladwell, 2010) or the extreme egocentrism of the people in the Internet, thus they only want to support causes that are close to them or that give them visibility; in fact Gladwell argues that this causes mobility in the different causes making the activism pointless.

Gladwell's and Remulla's points regarding the importance of offline activism to Internet activism are probed by the experience, Herrera (2011) and Cogburn (2008) accounts about the Egypt revolution and the Obama campaign prove it. Herrera (2011) relates that in the Egyptian revolution even if Facebook played an important role, the people moving and fighting against the government was the key point. In the same way Cogburn (2008) relates that the Obama campaign uses the web 2.0 as a tool of communication between the volunteers and as a tool to raise the enthusiasm of the people, but most of the work was calling and real interaction with the people.

3.5 Closing the #frame

Having all the concepts from the scholars in this research I will understand citizenship on two levels regarding the social networks and the youth. The first level is a discursive one in which two points are important, who sets the agenda or in other words if the structure determines the discourse of the citizens or the citizen makes his own agenda; the second important point here is about the discourse itself and how this discourse is articulate in three different ways, the relation between citizens, the relation with power (state and political elites) and the content of the discourse.

The second level is about activism and the possibility of transforming the discourse, no matter which discourse, from the online social networks to the offline world. In this way even if we recognize the importance of the discussion on Twitter for the creation of a public agenda and as a level of citizenship, if this discourse is not translated to the transformation of the agency the power of the users will be reduced. Finally it is important to point out that there is not one way to transform reality, in this way it is important to recognize different approaches to political participation not only the formal elections or the social movements.

1. The #demographic characteristics of the #Twitter users in #Colombia

There are two objectives of this chapter: to describe the Twitter population in Colombia sociologically; the characteristics of the study population. The second is to situate this population sociologically, in relation to the wider society. To fulfil this objective empirical data is needed; the survey that was conducted for this research gives me some information about these objectives.

In this chapter I will present the results and make a profile of the population group who is using this social network in the country. To do this I will compare the data of the survey with official data about the population in Colombia, in order to understand to which extent the Twitter users represent, or not, the whole Colombian population.

The profile of the users of Twitter in Colombia is determined by two main concepts that in this case are highly correlated: youth and power. Regarding the youth concept there are specific points in the research that I am trying to follow or to point out in order to understand the population of the users in Colombia and that will be developed later on in this chapter: age, digital gap and time expended in the social network. Reviewing the power variable I will present the concept "elite" and in fact one of the main objectives of this chapter is to present the concept "digital elite" taking into an account: location in the country (urban-rural, the income of the city's, etc…), incomes of the household, time expended in Twitter, the education levels and the devices that are been using to tweet.

It is important to point out that one of the hypotheses of this research is that the users of Twitter in Colombia do not represent the population; they are digital elites that are setting the agenda not only in the social network but to some extent in the country. Nevertheless, these digital elite are not the traditional political, social and economic elite in Colombia, so our argument here in this research does not follow Remulla's (2008) argument in the way that the neoliberal forces just extend the power from the offline to the online world, but that the online world is creating new digital elite.

1.1 There is #Digital #elite in #Colombia?

The first key to find out the users of Twitter in Colombia as "elite" is the internet access in the country, according to the Ministry of the Technologies and Communication (Ministerio de Tecnologías de la Información y las Comunicaciones, 2011). In the second trimester of 2011 no more of the 13% of the Colombian population had access to the internet[7]. Figure 1 shows that even if in 2011 the percentage of connections increased every trimester it still very low overall. This has two different implications for the configuration of the digital elites, the first one regarding time and the second one regarding money and access.

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[7] Access understood as a contract to have internet in their home or/and on cellphones
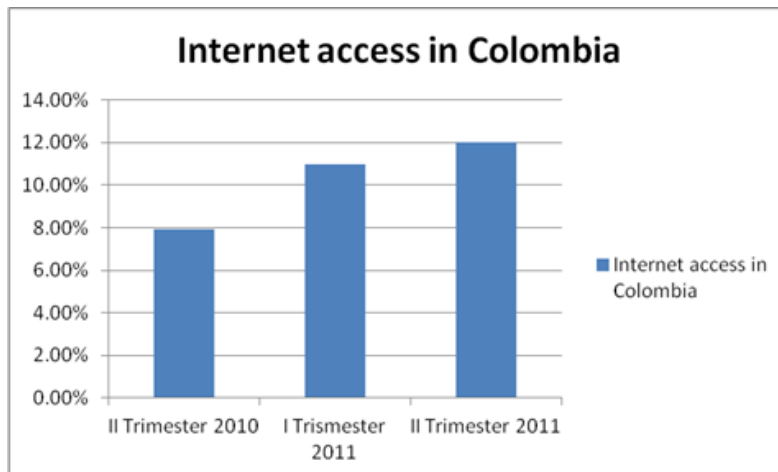
Figure I, internet access in Colombia, source Ministerio de Tecnologías de la Información y las Comunicaciones, 2011.

One of the main characteristics about Twitter is the speed of the information and the capacity to be informed about the latest events. These characteristics are linked with the variable time, in this way the time that the users spend on this network, matters. Two variables help to understand this point, the devices that the people are using and the time that they expend on Twitter.

The devices that are been used shows that most of the people who are tweeting (around 60%) use smartphones; they need contracts to be connected to the internet, so they are part of this 12% of the population (See figure number VII). The time used in Twitter is another variable that helps us to link the digital elite, regarding the number of hours that they spend every day on Twitter, it is not possible to do this without a permanent connection to the internet.

Making a closer analysis of the statistics about access to the internet in Colombia it is possible to observe that the states that have more access to the internet are, in most of the cases, the department that has contributed with the most to the Gross Domestic Product in the country (Figure II). It seems logical that the departments with more money will have more access to all the public services, nevertheless in most of the literature about internet and political participation this variable seems to be missing. It is a concern of this research to take distances from the studies that shows the internet as a free space in which the information flows and, is the perfect space to incubate changes in the political order, kind of a revolutionary network.
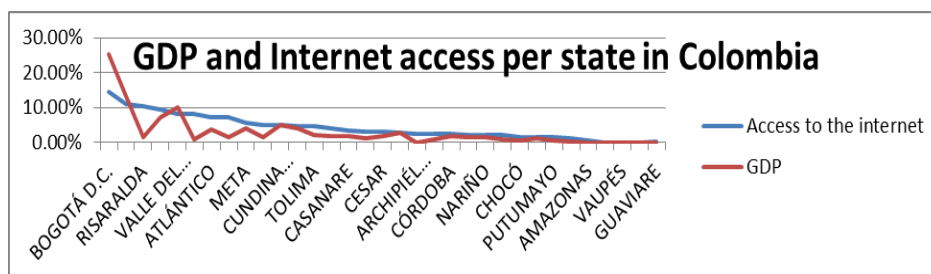

Figure II GDP and internet access in Colombia, source: Own creation with data of National department of Statistic (GDP), and Ministerio de Tecnologías de la Información y las Comunicaciones, 2011. (Access to the internet)

22

The first indication that I had for categorizing the users as a digital elite was in the results of the survey. The first question was "where do you live?" Interestingly the concentration of the population in Bogotá is disproportionally high. In figure III we can observe this tendency. The red line shows the survey results and the blue line shows the actual population in every department according to the Department of National Statistics (DANE in Spanish). It is possible to understand in the figure that even if Bogotá is the department with the highest population according to the last census, the difference between percentages is considerable.

In the first part of this chapter we have already shown that Bogotá has contributes a large portion of the GDP of the country, but this is not all. Before the 1991 constitution Colombia was a centralist state and almost all political and economic decisions took place in Bogotá. In fact the mayors of every city and the governors of every department were appointed from the capital until 1986. A lot of things have changed but certainly the influence of the capital over the country is still big, Bogotá has the best hospitals and universities; also the political, economic and judicial power is concentrated in the capital of the country. As is possible to compare with the last figure, the population and the GDP do not go hand by hand in the states.
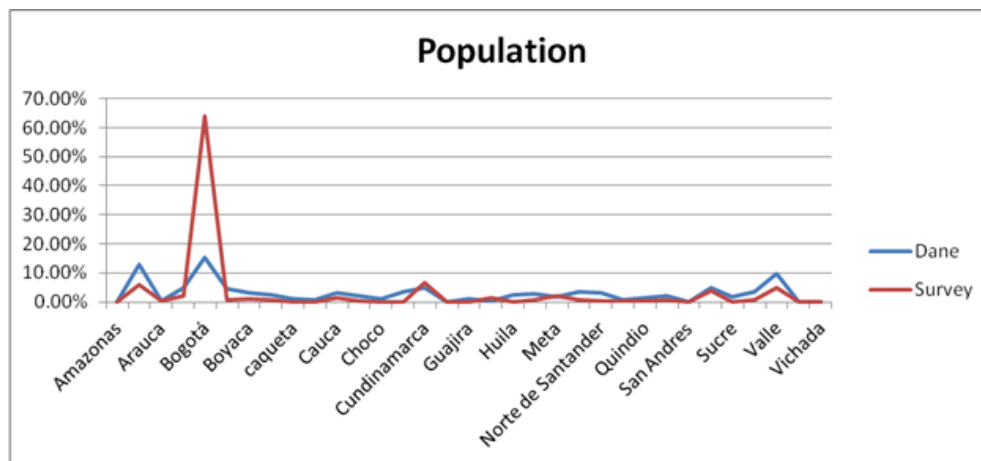
Figure III, Population in Colombia by State and users in Colombia by state: source own creation with information from DANE and the results of the survey

Is a huge mistake to categorize all the people who live in Bogotá as rich. The Colombian capital is marked by inequalities. However and using the data of the survey we can understand the economic profile of the households. Figure VI shows that just 16% of the households of users who live in Bogotá live with less than 1'700.000 Colombian pesos (937 US Dollars) per month; the percentage of households that live with more than 5'100.301 is 25% higher that another department of the country. In fact Bogotá has the 81% of the users in the category above 5'100.000. Basically what I am trying to understand is that even if living in Bogota doesn't make you automatically part of the elite, the conditions in which the users live are not common in Colombia, as we will show with the incomes of the households and the level of studies of this population, the users of Twitter in Colombia are above of the rest of the people in Colombia.
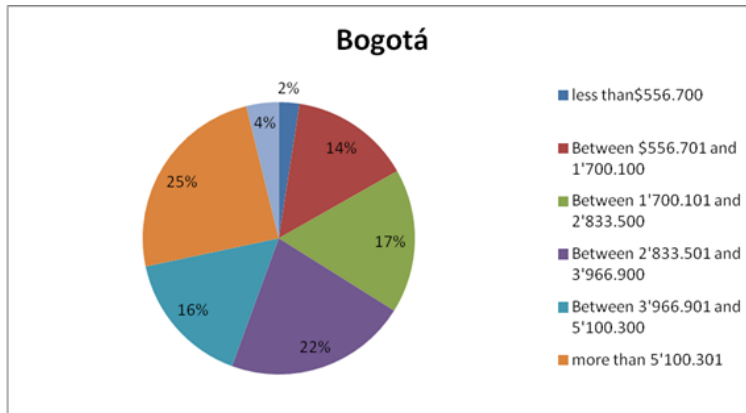
Figure IV Income per household in Bogotá, source: own creation with information of the survey

Regarding the income, as figure V shows, the distribution of the different range of incomes of the user's households, the income is organized taking into an account the minimal wage in Colombia that is for 2012 $555.670 Colombian pesos that are the equivalent of $304.978 US dollars[8]. Before analyzing the implication of this data for the current research; it is important to understand some general aspects about development and economics in Colombia. About 37% of the population in Colombia live in economic poverty conditions according to the DANE (2012), so even if overall the country's economy is growing faster than the other economies in the region, the inequalities are still growing, in fact the Gini coefficient of Colombia is 56.9% (Dane, 2012).

The other ranges that help us to identify users as digital elite are the ranges "between 3'966.901 and 5'100.300" and "5'100.301 or more", as already pointed out our hypothesis is that there is a creation of a new elite, a digital one. In this elite the economic aspect is an important one, this gap of the users (34%) have more income than the average of the population (approximately 1'700.000)[9]. But there are another two gaps "between 1'700.101 and 2'833.500" and "2.833.501 and 3'966.900" that are beside the average and that have an important portion of the users. In fact if we sum up these four gaps, 71% of the Twitter users in Colombia are above average, making a tendency about the use of this social network in the country, again this chapter is not an attempt to categorize the users, it is an attempt to understand who is tweeting in the country.

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[8] On the date of the survey

[9] The DANE is not making the average per household anymore, this calculation is based in the last average (2007) and the increase of the minimal wage.
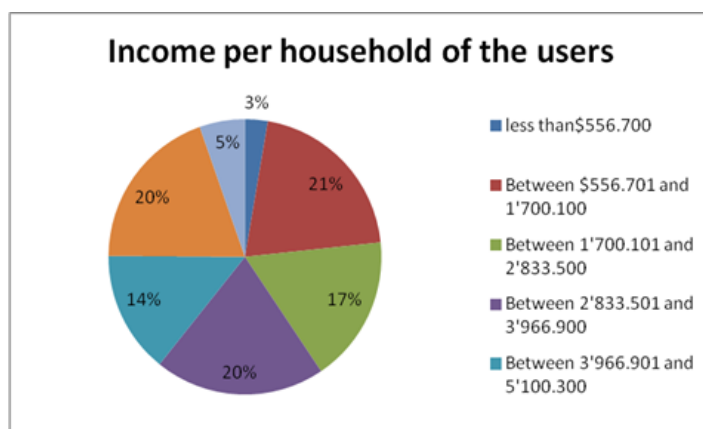
Figure V, income per household, source: own creation with data of the survey

The devices in which the users are tweeting show another dimension of the elite. Figure VI shows the percentage of users that tweet on different devices (apart from the web). The importance of the devices is twofold; the first one is the possibility of mobility and the use of Twitter away from cables; and the other is about the cost and possibilities to afford these kinds of services. Regarding mobility it is important to remember the kind of networks that we are talking about and the importance of the velocity of the network, if someone missed an important event it is impossible later to follow it up; for example Michele Obama's speech to the Democrat Convention in 2012 produced 28,000 tweets per minute. So to have the possibility to be constantly producing information on Twitter gives the possibility to interact differently with people, it is not the same if you can reply to someone in real time than if you have to wait until you get onto a computer to do it, the conversation is lost in time and is not relevant anymore.

Regarding money I will present the cost[10] (in minimal wage) of the smart phones, tablets and iPod in order to understand why there are goods that only some part of the population can afford. The three principal smart phones of the market (Samsung Galaxy, Blackberry and iPhone) cost between 80% of the minimal wage (for a month) and 3 minimal wages (this is the minimal that you can get the phones). But buying the phone is not enough to use it to tweet, it is necessary to have a phone plan that allows you to connect to the internet, and the cheapest plan to do it is about 15% percent of the minimal wage in Colombia. That 60% of the users use a smart phone talks about the purchasing power of them.

The cost of the tablets (iPad and Samsung galaxy) is on average two minimal wages and the iPod costs as much as a minimal wage, and again without internet connection having these devices is pointless for the purposes of this research. Taking into the account the explanations that we already have about the Colombian economy and the inequality in the country, the number of people who have access to the internet from a device that is not a computer have a privileged position in the country, of course it is possible to find people that make sacrifices to have this kind of technology, but still the access is really expensive and is reserved for people with purchasing power.

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[10] This cost was taken from the webpages of the distributors.
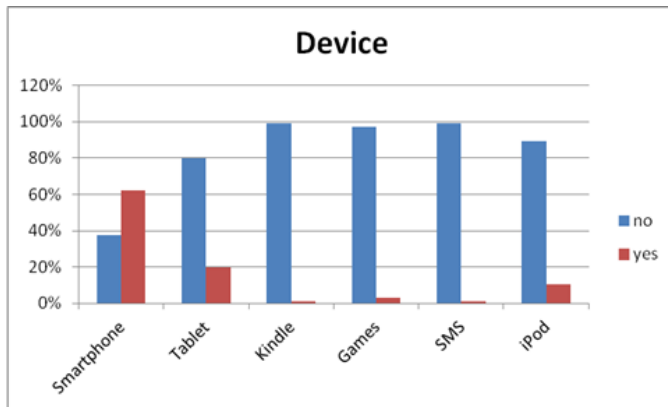
Figure VI Devices that the users use to tweet, source own creation with data of the survey

But in order to understand the digital elite money and space are not the only concerns, education is a key element in this research, access to the formal education system. Figure VII shows how the users answered the question about the highest completed level of education, in the figure there are two possibilities that I did not include, because no one selected them, "None" and "Primary education". This is a first signal of educated elite, in Colombia the universal education policies are just starting and where 9%[11] of the population above 18 years old hasn't completed a single year in school and 31% of the Colombians above 18 years have not completed primary school.

The percentage of the users that have completed secondary school is 20%, in Colombia the percentage of people who have completed secondary education or less is about 71%. With this statistic it is possible to understand the digital elite as an educated one, they have received education in the formal system, and half of them have completed a Bachelor degree. This variable is highly correlated with money; university education in Colombia has been historically "reserved" for the highest classes, the private universities have been expensive and the public ones use filters that most of the time stop people who studied in public schools to enter, as admission tests.
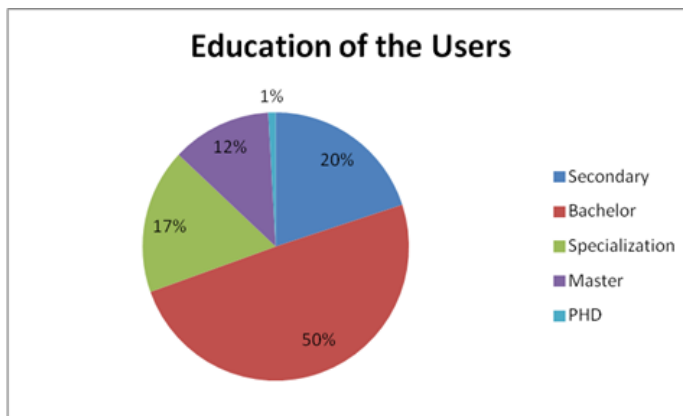
Figure VII education of the Users, source own creation with data of the survey

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[11] This data was created by the writer with information of the Minister of education, see appendices II for more information

All the variables mentioned above consolidate the argument about the "digital elite", the differences between the users and the population in Colombia is notorious. The economic variable is key in this definition, but as we show it is not the only one, the picture is bigger and includes the concentration in Bogotá, the education levels, the devices that they use to tweet and the fact that they have an internet connection are some other aspects that create the users as an elite in Colombia. There are differences between the users, we cannot deny it, but somehow the fact that the livings conditions of them are better that the rest of the Colombians make the analysis that we can make about Twitter different. I cannot generalize the conclusions of this research to all the Colombians, and this is an important point in this research. So analyzing the way in which the citizenship is or not exercised in Twitter, is analyzing the behaviour of these elite in the social network. In this way it is important to know more about the characteristic of this group, that is why the next part of this chapter has to be a description of them with a generation perspective.

1.2 How are these #digital #Elite? The #generation factor

The general theories about social media and political participation talk about youth as actors in this process. This research links these two variables with sorts of theories, in which we can include: The youth as digital natives or early learners, the lack of democratic spaces in the country (Remulla, 2008) and generational changes (Castels, 2001) and (Larsson, 2002). But it is hard to find a description of which the youth are that use the social networks, we made the attempt to conceptualize them. We have to understand the youth concept as a social construction; there are three variables that we will use to understand this concept: age, time spent on Twitter, and formal political participation. Like in the first part of this chapter much of the data was collected in the RP survey, but contrasting and using other sources.

Age is the first variable, as is known this is not the constituency of the youth, at least in the academic debates. In public policy debates age is almost the only concern when they are categorizing the youth and it changes from country to country and from the different international agreements. In Colombia the law 375 of 1997 set the youth age between 14 and 26, but in the country there is not a consensus about this age, in the recent years there was a discussion about a new "youth law" and one of the debates centred on age. There were two main discussions, one about if it is appropriate to "mix" under 18 and above 18 for "legal" reasons and the other one was about "lengthening" the years and have it as 14-30. In the end as it was not consensus the decision was to leave it the same as in the old law.

Age then is important; however it is not appropriate to understand the social construction of youth that is why we are using the Mannheim generational concept. This is linked to ages but recognizing the importance of cultural, social and economic events in the generation. Certainly there are some points that we have to take into account regarding age and the users. The first point is that most of the users are 30 or younger and a big segment is 16-25 years old, this segment can be considered youth regarding not only the Colombian law but international agreements, but again it is not enough for our research and the analysis that we will do.

Talking about generation there is one set of events that has been happening and in my perspective is really important and they are related to the creation and expansion of the internet and social networks. I will set the context in 1982 (30 years ago) and just make some remarks to understand the generational aspect of the users, I understand that categorizing all of them with the same characteristics is almost impossible. In 1982 the term INTERNET is coined (Internet Society, 2012), until this

year there were some attempts to do networking with the computers in academic and security environments, but it was until 1982 that this network goes public.

1991 and 1992 were key years for the internet, in 1991 (Internet society, 2012) the World Wide Web software was realized by the European agency, and in 1992 there was the first live broadcast with audio and video (Internet society, 2012). In 1996 ten million people were connected to the internet and the US government passed a bill to change the education system adding digital education. In 1996 (Marketing Directo, 2011) the first social network, as we know it today, goes online. Geocities gives the possibility to each user to personalize his webpage. On 2004 Facebook goes online, having half of the Harvard students as users in less than a month; finally in 2006 Twitter is created (Marketing Directo, 2011). The estimates say that Twitter has more than 200 million users.

The users then grew up in a world in which the internet was simultaneously growing and expanding, they are in fact parts of a digital generation. As we said it is impossible to tag the users as internet generation, but certainly they were marked by this network and the possibilities that it gives for communication proposes, there is a key concept in this research, that will be developed in the next chapter which is globalization. Internet helps the users to be connected with the outside world, events like 9/11 in New York City or the major sports events have been spread in real time on the Internet. The other important variable here and that we will work later on is about information, the Internet helps the users to share information and data easier than before, for some people this is a huge advantage, but for some others it is a problem as we will point it out with the laws that want to regulate the internet.
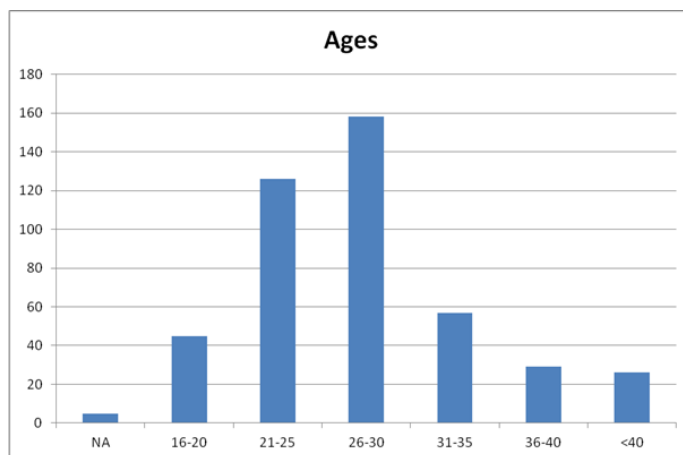
Figure VII age of the users, source: own creation with information from the survey

Another point that is important in this conceptualization about youth and new media is the time that the users have and they spend on Twitter. This variable is really difficult to conceptualize with the information that I have, but there are some key issues that we can present and that will help us to understand, also we will present some questions for future research in this field. The first issue is that we have to clarify that the time that the people expend in Twitter is not "real" time, what we want to tell is that most of the time when the people are on Twitter they are doing something else, they are studying and checking Twitter or working and tweeting o and doing any other activity.

Another clarification is about the prosumption, there is not a clarification about if the users are tweeting or just reading the tweets, these two activities are completely different and they require a different level of concentration and effort. When someone tweets they have to be aware that the tweet can have replies or start a conversation, reading tweets on the other hand can be done without an effort, skipping and just putting attention to the topics that you like. So there is a difference if you are using Twitter to tweet and read or just to read. This is a question that we will not answer and that has to be with the different uses of the platform.

Finally and to take into consideration the previous information about the time that the youth spends on Twitter in the figure IX, it is possible to see how much time the users spend per day in Twitter, even if we already did make some clarifications spending more than one hour of the day using Twitter means that you are consuming or producing (or both) a certain amount of information that can be the equivalent of reading a newspaper or a magazine. Of course the content of the information depends on which people you follow, so it can be a sports magazine, a political newspaper, a fashion magazine or a combination of everything.
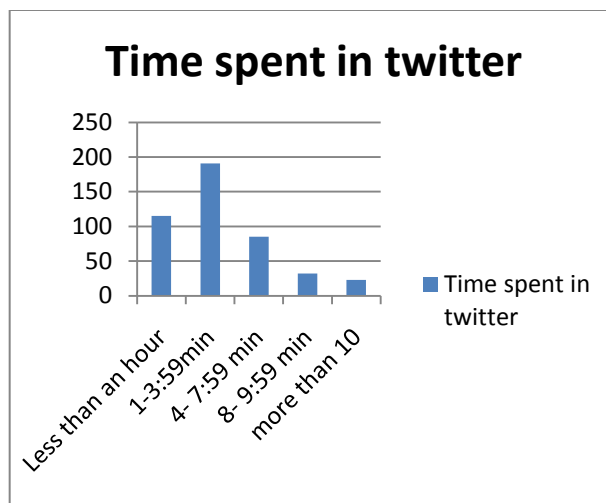
Figure IX, time that the users spend on Twitter, source: own creation with information from the survey

The last variable that I consider in this chapter is the affiliation to a political party, the discussion about the uses of Twitter in political campaigns is not on the table, the presidential election of 2010 shows us the power of this tool in setting the agenda and in creating discussions, but the inefficiency in terms of real votes. The question here was then if the users are members of a political party (Figure X), and 93% of the users are not. The interpretation here can take two roads "blaming" the citizens for not being involved with the political parties or blaming the parties for not creating a trusting environment in which the citizens feel comfortable. But that is the easy way to the question; we will try to take into an account different factors to understand this; in the next chapter then we will have a special part regarding political parties.
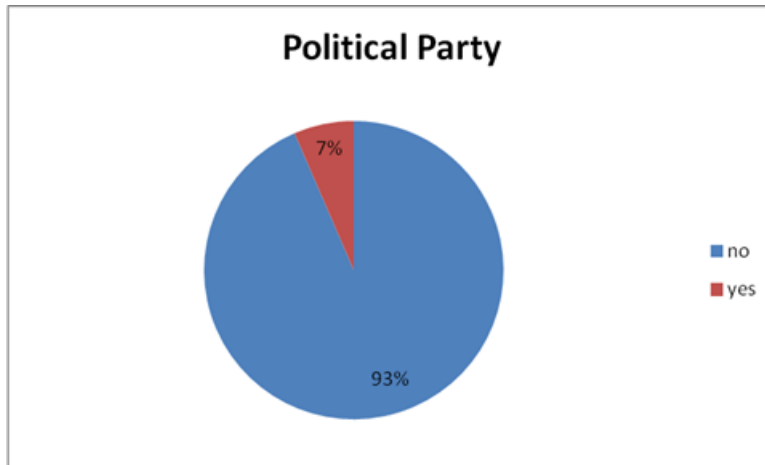
Figure X, Affiliation to a political party, source: own creation with information from the survey

1.3 Understanding #Digital #Elite in context

Only a gap of the Colombian population is using Twitter, the digital elite. In this chapter I showed the main finding that led me to that conclusion: the economical access to the internet, the income and the education level are the most important issues here. This show the nature of the people who is tweeting and move me into the first conclusion, the findings of the next chapter can't be generalized to all the Colombian population.

I also present in this chapter how the digital elite is, in this point and regarding the focus of this research is important to show the generation mark in the elite. As was showed in this chapter the users of Twitter in Colombia are part of a generation that has been growing with the internet, digital natives that understand the logic behind the network.

Going back to the theory Edmond and Turner (2005) argue that the changes in the generations are promoted by the elites, so the data and analysis in the next chapter will show how the elite of the generation cohort is understanding/exercising citizenship in Twitter. In this way we can understand at least one side of the people that will lead this generation.

2. #leylleras #leylleras2 #acta, how was the discussion of the copyright laws in #Twitter #Colombia?

There is nothing completely new in the way in which the youth exercise citizenship through the social networks, at least in the specific discussion in Colombia about the laws and agreements regarding freedom on the internet. There are three main points that support my findings and that will be developed in this chapter: 1. One Politician set the agenda. 2. The action in political participation is marginal and reduced to sign a petition or spread the word and 3. Glocalization is the concept that better explain the relations with the rest of the world.

The statement that I am making is supported by the evidence collected using the tracking method that was already explained in chapter two, the results were collected and analyzed and contrasted to give an explanation to the concept of citizenship on Twitter in Colombia. In this chapter I will present this analysis and the way in which the data was set to understand the implication of the new technologies and in this specific case, Twitter. The main analysis is base in Remulla (2008) levels of participation online: awareness, networking and action. Before introducing the data it is important to set the context in context, as I said the results only have relevance settled in a particular context and it is impossible, at least in this point, to generalize it.

2.1 Legislating about the #Freedom in the #Internet

The freedom of the internet is a debate which is currently taking place all over the world: States, multilateral institutions, NGO's and the citizens of the world are discussing about to what extent it is important to regulate the contents of the internet. This debate is used in this research to understand some aspects about citizenship and Twitter. This debate was chosen for four particular reasons: the first was because it is part of a current discussion, as we already know the topics that are discussed on Twitter are about current events.

The second reason was the possibility of linking a debate that was happening in Colombia to a debate that was happening worldwide in order to understand the globalization variable; the third reason was because this debate directly affects the youth. And the final reason is because this has a relation with the topics of this research, and is part of the scholarly debates about youth and new media, in fact as was presented previously in this research one of the problems about freedom and internet that Cammaert (2008) shows is the censorship by the governments.

I will now present some context about the three initiatives that we follow-up: ACTA- Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement-; Ley lleras (Por la cual se regula la responsabilidad por las infracciones al derecho de autor y los derechos conexos en internet- By which regulates liability for infringements of copyright and related rights on the Internet -) and Ley lleras 2 (Por medio de la cual se implementan compromisos adquiridos por virtud del "acuerdo de promoción comercial", suscrito entre la república de Colombia y los Estados Unidos de América y su "Protocolo modificatorio, en el marco de la política exterior e integración Económica"- Through which implement commitments under the "Trade Promotion Agreement" signed between the Republic of Colombia and the United States of America and its "Protocol amending, in the framework of foreign policy and economic integration"-)

"On October 1, 2011, eight ACTA negotiating partners signed what will become the highest-standard plurilateral agreement ever achieved concerning the enforcement of intellectual property rights" (Office of the United States Trade Representative, 2011). This agreement is based on the

recognition of intellectual property as important to economic growth (Ministry of foreign affairs of Japan, 2012), and is not only subscribed at the internet level, but in different levels of the economy. According to the official web page of the European Commission, "ACTA will not monitor the internet", and they emphasized the right to every citizen to privacy and that ACTA will not change current regulation regarding the internet in the European Union (European Commission, 2012).

Nevertheless not all the countries inside the European Union think in the same way, for example the Dutch parliament banned ACTA (Solon, 2012) and made a pact to forbid any law that can go against the freedom on the internet. The Dutch parliament adds that this kind of agreement affects the individual liberty of the users and their privacy on the internet. This research will not take any specific place in the debate, but shows that there are two different visions about the Agreement and freedom on the internet, and this debate was the first tag that we tracked #ACTA, always localized to tweets from Colombia.

The second tag that we followed up was #leylleras (#lleraslaw) this name was given by the Twitter users to the law project that was presented to the congress by the government, more specifically by the government minister German Vargas Lleras. This law project (The project was not turned into a law by the congress), was centred on copyright on the internet. The project included a series of tools for the government with sanctions for infractions to the law, basically this project wanted to control the p2p sharing of files, the streaming of events and the uploading/download of protected files (Project of law)(Colombian congress, 2011).

In this Legislation about copyright there was a specific space into the project who gives responsibility/power to the internet providers to block some content and to sanction the users without a legislative order. This content generates a reaction in the Colombian congress and the project was Twill discuss it before with the stakeholders. Nevertheless and according to some users of Twitter in Colombia one of the laws that the congress has to approve in record time to implement the Free Trade Agreement with the United States of America was a related law, they call this law Ley Lleras 2 (Colombian Congress, 2012). So our second and third tags are #Leylleras and #Leylleras2, we only track tweets from Colombia.

2.2   What the #tweets can tell about the discussion

There is a key Twitter user in the different discussions about freedom in the internet, Camilo Romero. The snapshot analysis (Appendix 2, Figure XI) was the first clue in this analysis, 26% of the tweets include @camiloromero user name, being the second more used term, after "demanda" (Demand) that in fact and as I will show in this chapter is also linked with this user. But that was not the only clue analyzing the tweets, in fact one of the most RT tweets (Write by anonymous Colombia) with information about the legal actions that the people can take against the "Lleras law 2" was a link to the web page of @camiloromero.

Camilo Romero is a Colombian Senator, who is member of the left wing opposition party Polo Democratico Alernativo. Romero was elected in 2010 when he was 35 years old, becoming one of the youngest members of the Colombian congress (Congreso Visible, 2012). In fact Romero can be seen as a non-traditional politician. He is not part of the traditional families in Colombia, he came from the southern region of the country and he did his social communication studies in a University that is not part of the biggest in Colombia (Romero, 2012).

However Romero is a good example of the third aspect that Cammaert (2008) points out regarding dangers from the freedom on the internet and it is the appropriation by elites. Even if as I present the Senator is not part of the traditional elite, this point shows how the internet work as a

cultural artefact Romero is not a leader that came from the Internet; he won the elections having a popular base created in the Offline world, opens a Twitter account and with the political capital accumulated is converted to an agenda settler.

The reason why studying Romero as was already pointed out is because in the exercise that we made it was easy to track him as the one who is setting the agenda, at least in these topics, in Twitter Colombia; two types of evidence will be presented: the results of the tracking and an observation of his Time Line (www.Twitter.com/Camiloromero). It is possible to observe two main pieces of evidence that support the argument, the first evidence is linked with the kind of tweets that the people Retweet from Camilo Romero (Images II, III and IV), those tweets either calling the people to sign a petition to the constitutional court or to show the results of the signing campaign. The second is linked with interaction between the users with the Senator; there is no interaction at all in the tweets that we track and giving a closer view to the TL the interaction is very limited.

Image II tweet from @camiloromero I source:
https://Twitter.com/camiloromero/status/236095080543436801

Image III tweet from @camiloromero II, source:
https://Twitter.com/camiloromero/status/239394273370439680
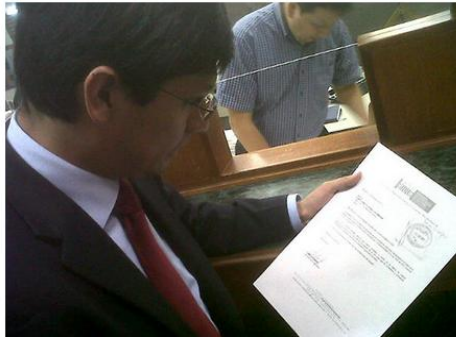
Image IV Tweet from @camiloromero III, Source:
https://Twitter.com/camiloromero/status/240621604726517760

However and centring the analysis to the citizens, the interaction using the tags that we follow is small or nonexistent, in fact only 14% of the tweets are mentions. As was mentioned in the Twitter explanation on the third chapter this kind of tweets are the one who create interactions. I'm aware that most of the time when people start a conversation via Twitter they stop using the hashtags, but certainly what can be observed in the tracking is that there is no conversation at all. Part of the explanation of this is that 60% of the tweets that were Retweets, this means that more than the half of the tweets that we track weren't original tweets. Doing a parallel with the offline world is like the user where delivering flyers from a campaign without talking to the people, just delivering the information that someone prints.

In fact another point that can be raised and will help to understand the broader picture and the relation between the evidence and the analysis is about the information, as was observed in the tweets that the people send there are no links to the laws or information about the contents. It is important to recognize that there were some attempts to circulate information about the laws and examples of activism in other countries to neutralize it but most of the tweets and especially the "popular" ones were attempts to make the people participate and not to create a consciousness.

In fact there is a sensation of a consensus about the initiatives, just one tweet (Image IV) is supporting the Lleras law and the rest of them are against. @Carlosandres076 was the only one who tweets pro the Lleras law, in fact the tweet is a mention and says: "@Pinocalad #lleraslaw don't affect the press liberty, the article number 178 permits to tv signals to be used with educational and informative proposes" (Image V). The text suggest a clarification and not a strong defence of the law, nevertheless a search on the profile of the user, is possible to see that he is arguing pro copyrights; the question here is Why just one tweet about the law? With the information that I collect is almost impossible to solve this question, however the number of tweets again the law suggest a wear of a single man arguing.
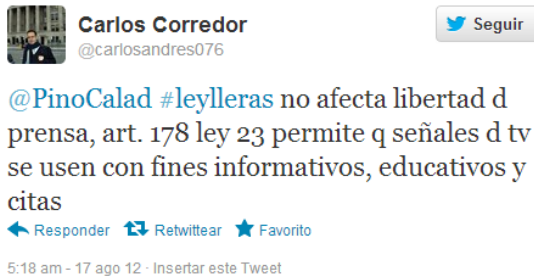
Image V, tweet from@carlosandres076, source: Twitter.com/carlosandres076/status/236436736656412672

As was pointed the biggest amount of tweets were about a demand to the Lleras law, I will then analyse this process taking into the account the levels of participation that Remulla presents, however I recognize the importance of the Tweets that weren't part of the trend, so there will be a presentation and analysis of them later on in this chapter. The three levels of the participation those are included in helps to analyze the way in which the citizenship and the political participation of the youth are being structured in this case. These levels are awareness, networking and action. Is important to say that Remulla (2008) doesn't categorize these levels of activism as 'musts' in the process of participation, he is using these levels to show how it is working. In this paper I use these levels of participation as conceptual categories to track it into the discussion about freedom on the internet, with this analysis I show if these levels of participation are actually happening or not and how.

2.3   Are the users creating awareness on Twitter?

Awareness is the first level in which Remulla (2008) says that the new media can help with participation; the author has no direct work in Twitter or any other social network, but on the internet as platform. In this level it is important to recognize that the research can have a bias. The first Lleras law was presented in November of 2011 and the ACTA has been discussed since 2008, and the track was started in July 2012. In the gap that we have it is possible to find some tweets that are linked to the awareness about the dangers of the laws to the freedom of the Internet.

However it is possible to see some attempts to create consciousness about the danger of these laws, in the Image I is possible to see a tweet by Alejandro Pino (web manager of the football web page of Caracol Televisión, one of the two Colombian private tv channels). In this tweet that contains a link to a video embedded in Caracol tv web page (Gol caracol, 2012): *"The Assange situation should make us remember that in Colombia they already mess with the freedom of the press" (Quote from the tweet Image VI).* The video is an explanation of how the ley Lleras 2 that was (at the time of the video) recently approved will affect the football fans. The video is centred on how the law penalizes the people who stream a game with 8 years of jail. Some important points in this video is the introduction Pino explains why in his point of view the outcomes of the law affect all the aspects of the lives of the citizens and they have to be more aware of the situation.

Image VI, tweet of @Pinocalad, source:
https://Twitter.com/juliomauricio/status/236120540962754561

For the analysis I will compare the video of Gol Caracol with a video from a collective called Internautismo and that can be found in YouTube[12]. The idea of this comparison is to show how the different networks have different interactions and different meanings, but also to compare how the source of the video (a civil society organization and a mainstream media) has a different focus about the youth and how to approach them.

The two videos have something in common, in the Internautismo video there are constant allusions to porn and music; the second video is totally centred on football; this speaks direct to Gladwell's (2010) theory and the solipsism concept, the authors of the two videos recognize the importance to be close to the interests of the youth to move them to participate in the debate as is expressed in (Internautismo, 2012) and (Gol Caracol, 2012). The tweet of Pino also has a mention to Julian Assange and uses this figure to elevate the user's interest in the link. Nevertheless the videos have a notable difference in two points; the first one is the source and the second one the way in which the videos have been structured.

Internautismo is a collective of people, who work with multimedia resources for different goals, they are not part of a big company and don't follow any particular political line (Internautismo, 2012). They are a root base organization. Gol Caracol is part of the traditional media, owned by one of the more rich families in the country, the Santo Domingo family. The differences do go beyond it, as is possible to see in the videos the Internautismo one is doing a parody of two popular songs (Ai Se Eu Te Pego of Michel Telo and Party Rock of LMFAO), and changing the lyrics to raise awareness about the problems of the agreements. The Gol Caracol Video is more "traditional" one person speaking to a camera telling a story, more coldly to some extent.

I categorize these videos in the awareness level (Remulla 2008) because they are non-traditional ways in which the citizens can be informed; however each video does not have the same effect on youth awareness. The Internautismo video wants to be closer to the users (Internautismo, 2012) and can be categorized as internet activism that helps in enduring of democracy (Castels (2001), Cammaert (2008) and Remulla (2008)).

On the other hand the Gol Caracol video presents balanced information (comparing with the text of the law) and it seems that the video has no other intention than awareness of the citizens, but it is difficult to know the real intention of this media. Based on the preoccupation about elites and appropriation of internet that is expressed by (Cammaert 2008), it is clear that this media has a traditional power over the agenda in the country; hegemony problem is not only in the ideas, but in the

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[12] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wqZRCeX-aQs

economy Remulla (2008) and Cammaert (2008) made the point about freedom of information and capital and how these are opposites in a democracy.

2.4 Building #relations and acting the paradox about #Twitter

The second and third level of participation (Building of relations and action) will be analyzed together because if there is an understanding of how the process of action was structured and conducted then it will be possible to understand to what extent Twitter is helping or not to create networks and to build relations. The theories of Castels (2001), Remulla, (2008), Cammaert (2008) and to some extent Herrera (2011) about the internet and the possibility of the citizens to use this tool in order to have a new space to have public discussions speaks directly to these levels.

There are in the tweets some elements that can be defined as action, the senator Camilo Romero presents to the Constitutional Court a document demanding this institution to declare unconstitutional the Lleras law 2. The document was signed by 12.000 citizens virtually and presentably. In Image IV is possible to see the tweet of the Senator in the moment that he presented the signatures. In fact after the analysis of the tweets is possible to tell that the main trend was this demand, as can be seen in the figure XI all the common terms in the tweets where Demanda, Demanda contra, @camiloromero, cualquier documento, Corte Constitucional, @anonymous_col and urgente (Demand, Demand against, @camiloromero, any document, Constitutional court, @anonymous_col and urgent). All those words are linked to the demand that the citizens made.
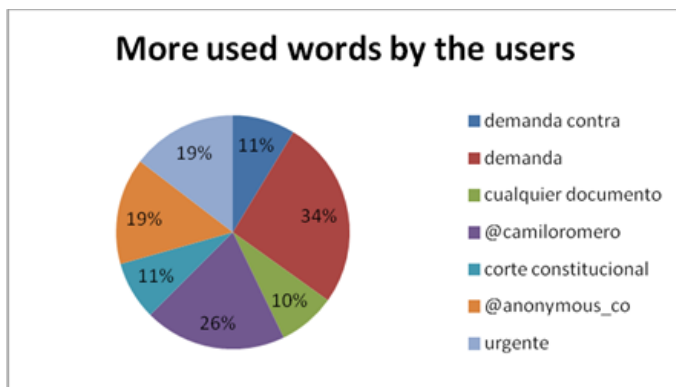
Figure XI More used words by the users, source snapshot (appendices III).

However is important here again the how and not only what and why. As it can be understood based on the data the process was totally vertical guide by a politician that at the end of the day is the one who is claiming the credit, as is possible to see in the image II Romero wrote: "This document certify the deliver to the Constitutional Court of 12000 signatures who *support* (sic) our demand to the #leylleras2". Based on this tweet and the use of the word support it is possible then to ensure that Camilo Romero is demanding the law and a lot of people support him and not that these people are also demanding (in the legal system in Colombia all the citizens can demand the laws, not only the senators).

There are two important elements in this demand that help us to understand political participation and citizenship, the first element is the process itself and the second the information, more specifically the sources. Regarding the process, it was similar to the one that exists in Colombia (Vista semanal, 2009) the Constitutional Court was discussing the referendum that wanted to change the constitution to make presidential re-election for a third period legal. At that time a group of civil so-

ciety organizations organized a demand and recollect signs in order to go against the referendum, at the end the court rule against the referendum (Mora, 2010).

This process has the intrinsic difference of the communications means, but not a difference in the way that the promoters understanding citizenship and to some extent in the way that the youth are used as a political actor or part of the mass. It is important here to analyses the process, taking into account the debate about intergenerational relations and the problems for freedom on the internet. This specific example here is showing Castells et al (2007) main concern about the intergenerational relations, the youth cohort actions in the social networks is determined by the market, in this case a political market who see the youth not as citizens but as consumers; Cammaert (2008) alerts us about this situation when he speaks about elites and the appropriation of the agenda. Camilo Romero in this case is a youth but as Edmund and Turner (2005) point it out in every generation the elites set the agenda.

The evidence about information supports the last point, doing a tracking about the links that the people sent or Retweet it is possible to find a common source (Romero, 2012). Image VII shows a tweet with a link to a Facebook page (Image VIII); this tweet contains the original link that was used by anonymous in one of the most Retweeted tweets of the tracking. The tweet says "#Leylleras we have to help to the demand about the unconstitutionality, more information e instructions in" and the link. Image IV shows the Facebook page that is linked, the page, basically explains how to download the document, change the name, sign and deliver it. The web page from which the users can download the document is Camilo Romero's web page[13] and the e-mail that they are using to provide more information is also from this senator. We can't argue that the organizations are working for the senator, but is clear that he is setting the agenda and has the "monopoly" of information.
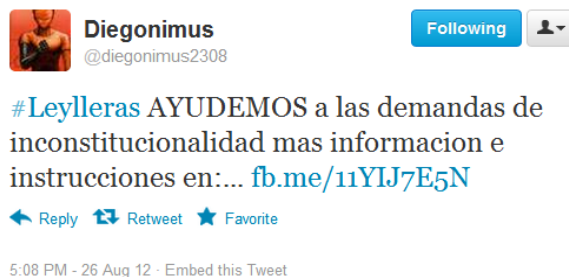
Image VII tweet from @diegonimus2308, source :
https://Twitter.com/diegonimus2308/status/239741234816614400

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[13] http://camiloromero.co/en-el-senado/no-leylleras2-0/
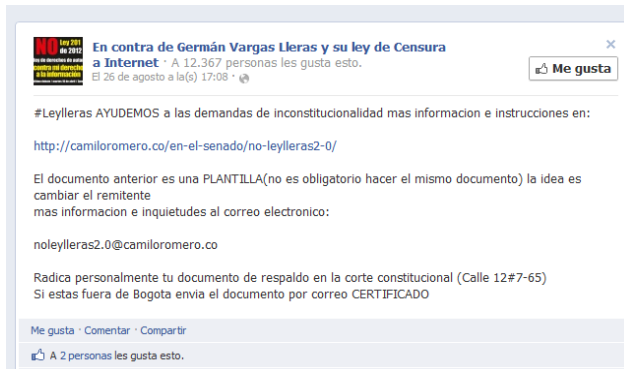
Image VIII facebook page from Anonymus source :
https://www.facebook.com/NOLeyLLeras/posts/355372034537761

That takes me to the last point in this argument, regarding social organization and the possibility to build relations. In the tracked tweets this element is complete missing; there is no attempt to build an organization or to create or to construct social networks (in the sociologic sense of the term). There are two elements about the context that can help to explain this, the first one is the nature of Twitter, the speed of the network and the way in which is structured does not permit creation of a community. Unlike Facebook you cannot create on Twitter a horizontal group in which the users can share ideas and contents; this is linked with the idea of Castells (2001) about the reinforcing between the social networks and the citizens. The other key point is about the urgency of the message, in the time that the tracking took place the demand has to be place; there was no time to create community or have discussions just to act.

2.5   Other voices in the discussion about #copyrights

As I presented at the beginning of the chapter there were other voices that the Tracking process show and there were not part of the trend about the demand. These voices can be separate in three, tweet asking about the law (Image IX), tweet pointing contradictions (Image X) and tweets attacking politicians (Images XI and XII). The Tweets that are presented here are the only tweets that were no part of the trend about the demand or that I can catalogue as part of the globalization-Glocalization sphere. Is important to tell that none of these tweets has replies, so no one

In image IX the user is asking "*The Lleras law is valid now or not?*", this user was asking about the process of approbation of the law, but no one care, not even the people that was working on the demand for trying to get more people. This tweet can be related with the awareness a user is asking about the process and the citizens did not answer showing that the main intention was not to aware about the problem.

#LeyLleras Ley Lleras ya vigente o no?
← Responder ⇄ Retwittear ★ Favorito

9:11 pm - 2 ago 12 · Insertar este Tweet

Image IX tweet from @Radicaly2k, source:
http://Twitter.com/Radicaly2k/status/231240924049596416

Image X shows someone point it out a contradiction of the users *"Some people fight against the Lleras law, trying to make the information free, but they fight when someone steal one fucking tweet"*, this tweet is a reply, this means that he is talking to someone specific, even so, no one answer him. He is not against the law, but is showing to the people that the world is not black or white, and that sometimes the law that they are criticizing can help them, no one care.

Juan XII
@Luziferino

@Catarsisp Es como quienes "luchan" contra #LeyLleras para que la información sea libre, y se emputan por que se les copian un puto twitt...
← Responder ⇄ Retwittear ★ Favorito
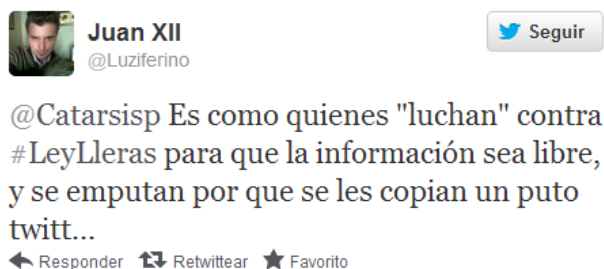
Image X tweet from @Luziferino, source:
http://Twitter.com/Luziferino/status/233364995482726400

Images XI and XII shows attacks against German Vargas Lleras, he is the minister who presents the law. During this year this minister was switched by the president from the Minister of government to the housing Minister, image XI is telling that this change was in order to clean the image that was poor because of the law. Image XII is posting a news report which tells that according to some demobilized paramilitary force, the minister receive support for his failure presidential campaign. This tweet shows how to politicize the debate attacking not the ideas but the person, Image XII shows a user that is against the law as could be seen in the image VII.

diego almanza
@darkdevil121

Lo que hizo Vargas Lleras es limpiar su nombre con lo del Min de vivienda para esconder lo de su reforma y su #LeyLleras
← Reply ⇄ Retweet ★ Favorite ⋯ More

6:42 PM - 14 Aug 12 · Embed this Tweet

Image XI tweet from @Darkdevil121, source

https://Twitter.com/darkdevil121/status/235416043076599809

Image XII tweet from @diegonimus2308 I, source

https://Twitter.com/diegonimus2308/status/239736678355456000

2.6 #Globalization or #Glocalization? Understanding the relation with the world

The last point in this chapter is about globalization, the users are using a global system the internet and specifically a global platform Twitter. Some of them are tweeting in a different language (English) and as is possible to see in image XII, XV and XVI some of them are using examples from other countries (in this case Brazil). Nevertheless we can argue that we are not seeing the supranational youth that is theorized by Edmunds and Turner (2005). Images XIII to XVII are all the tweets that are related with the global dimension.

However there is a point of concern and that is important for future research, it seems like the Glocalization process is really strong. The youth are discussing and taking actions on the local level and not on the global one. The point in this argument is that even if the ACTA were discussed in the time of the tracking and that these will affect the users live, there is not discussion/action at all about this. In fact there are only 4 tweets that contain the tag about the agreement. 3 of them are using the tag to promote the demand against the Lleras law2 and one (Image VI) is actually raising awareness about the ACTA. The local then took the centre place on the discussion displacing the global.

In fact the tweets that were linked to the global dimension and have no relation with ACTA, but with the Lleras law are news about other countries (Brasil, France and USA). This news are connected to Colombia in the way that they are asking to the people to see other experiences to act in Colombia, this is globalization as the famous Starbucks logo says "*Think globally, act locally*".

Image XIII tweet from @alexhidrobo, source:
https://Twitter.com/alexhidrobo/status/232992521196822529

41

W. Alex Sanchez
@W_Alex_Sanchez

Seguir

My new piece: #Hacking freedom of speech
in #Chavez's #Venezuela and Latin America
voxxi.com/hacking-freedo... #Colombia
#Mexico #ACTA #LeyLleras

← Responder ⇄ Retwittear ★ Favorito

1:35 pm - 7 ago 12 · Insertar este Tweet

Image XIV tweet from @W_Alex_Sanchez, source
http://Twitter.com/W_Alex_Sanchez/status/232937980371804160

Mauricio Fino-Garzón
@maolibrarian

Follow

Brazil: Will the Pioneering Internet Bill of
Rights Pass?
globalvoicesonline.org/2012/08/06/bra...
#LeyLleras cc @carobotero

← Reply ⇄ Retweet ★ Favorite ••• More

1 RETWEET   1 FAVORITE

1:19 AM - 7 Aug 12 · Embed this Tweet
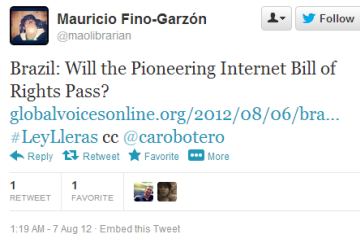
Image XV tweet from @maolibrarian, source

https://Twitter.com/maolibrarian/status/232616906182492160

Luis Munoz Roldan
@Lfmroldan

Follow

El Marco Civil de Internet: Brasil protege la
neutralidad de la red goo.gl/bKNS1 //
aprende un poco #leylleras

← Reply ⇄ Retweet ★ Favorite ••• More

7:41 AM - 8 Aug 12 · Embed this Tweet

Image XVI tweet from @Lfmroldan, source :
http://Twitter.com/lfmroldan/status/233075390237782016

Red Pa Todos
@RedPaTo2

Following

Ministra de cultura francesa: "Hadopi no ha
cumplido su objetivo" bit.ly/TcIy72
#LeyLleras #DerechosDigitales

← Reply ⇄ Retweet ★ Favorite ••• More

6:45 PM - 7 Aug 12 · Embed this Tweet

Image XVII tweet from @redpato2, source:
http://Twitter.com/RedPaTo2/status/232880070866399232

Image XVIII tweet from @WilsonArguello, source
http://Twitter.com/WilsonArguello/status/240410334203088897

Image XIX tweet from @mcyorian, source

https://Twitter.com/mcyorian/status/236624528749510656

2.7   Final thoughts about the discussions.

I presented in this chapter the discussions about #Leylleras, #leylleras2 and #ACTA on Twitter in Colombia. This discussion has a trend about the initiative of a Senator against the Lleras law. The first conclusion of this chapter is then, that the offline in this case was easily take into the online world, at least in this discussion the power relations are completely vertical and not horizontal. Twitter then is not a democratic space in which the voices of all the people can be raised easily.

In this way information is a key issue here, the one who control this item control the network. Twitter show how this tool is not a social network but an information network and this is important for the participation, as was introduce in the theoretical chapter there is a mutual reinforcement between the tools and the users. Connecting this discussion with the methodological discussions of this research, is really important not to take the internet or the social networks as one unit of analysis, is important to understand tool by tool.

Finally the youth are losing the intergenerational fight in this specific social network, the political market, is using them as prosumers and not as agents of change. It doesn't matter if the youth that is in Twitter are part of digital elite, or if they are digital natives, the internet as a cultural artefact helps the hegemonic powers from the offline world to co-opt the online world and block the change intentions.

6. Conclusions

Understand the specific context in which this research was conducted and the topics that I followed during the process are really important for understanding the findings of the research. This particular analysis is centre on the users of Twitter in Colombia and the discussion was about the copyrights laws and Agreements. In this context then the online and offline world are intrinsically related.

Regarding the online world and Twitter is really important to understand the mutual reinforcement about the cultural artefact and the offline world. As the theory suggest and as was showed with the data and the analysis the online world is a continuity of the offline one, in other words the online world is real the acts of the people in this world reflex who they are in the offline one. However it is possible that the people act different in the Internet they also act different on the phone or at the parties.

In relation with the last point, understanding how the users are in the offline world was really important for this research. Education level, level of income, age, affiliation to a political party and location in the country of the users was important to understand the context of the discussion and how these were shaped. There is digital elite and the people who tweet in Colombia is part of it the results of this research then will be applicable for this elite and not for all the Colombians, because they only lives in the offline world.

Theory plays a really important role in this research, for the understanding of the interactions and the citizenship dimension in the online world was necessary to integrate theories from different fields. The simplification to the concepts is dangerous for the analysis that's why I took the sociological, economic, political and generational dimensions to fully understand the context and the data.

There were two methods in this research, the online survey and the tracking. The first one come from the offline traditional methods, the differences here are linked with the technological issues that were addressed in the second chapter; the second method is from the marketing tools and was adapted for the social sciences as was also show in the second chapter.

Both methods have two main challenges the amount of data that I get and the velocity of the network, however there was a way to solve both problems. About the velocity of the network this challenge was turn in favour of the survey with the viral tweet about the survey as can be seen in the appendices I, in the tracking the velocity was sorted with the system that keep the tweets, row feeder.

With the amount of data, this was not a problem for the survey; the data was managed as in the offline surveys. For the tracking the key point was to find trends with key words and to understand the tweets that were not part of the trend. Researching online then is not different of researching offline; there is only matter to select the proper techniques for the context and not to be afraid of innovate with it.

The analysis of the data about youth citizenship and Twitter conduct to the conclusion that information is a key issue. The source and content of the information does not determine the participation, but shape it. The tweets showed that there was just one source, and when this happened the participation is biased. In the analysis the problem is worst there were cooptation by one politician, Senator Camilo Romero who imposes his view over the problem with no interaction at all with the youth.

Twitter is a space of elites as was demonstrate by the survey, not the traditional Colombian elite but still. In the comparison that were made in the third chapter I show that the elite are young and had in common aspects regarding income, education and time. Even if there are an educate elite the behaviour inside Twitter is to follow the trend, there are one politician set the agenda and has the monopoly of the information.

This last point shows that Twitter is not a horizontal democratic space in which all the voices can be raised and has the same power; in the mutual reinforcement power of the offline world can be translated to this social network. In this way one of the objectives of this research was to understand how the citizenship was taking place in Twitter, to understand this I used the three levels of participation of Remulla (2008) awareness, networking and activism.

In the awareness level there were a problem in this research, I recognize a bias in the time of the research, in the way that when I start the tracking the Lleras law was already approved by the Colombian Congress and the initiative of the demand against this law was already started. So there is a recognition that maybe some information is missing. However and as was showed there were no interest to aware the people about the problems of the law more than the "is against us".

In this point we also compare two videos, one from a mainstream media (posted on Twitter) and one from a group of youth (shared in YouTube). The mainstream media is not close to the youth in the style of the video since it is using a monologue and the youth organization is using popular music videos to approach to the youth. This section shows some point about hegemony that where develop in the next levels.

There is a special thing about Twitter that did not help to activate the citizenship and is the lack of networking possibilities into the tool, in this point is important to divide the conclusion in two points, the tool and the users. Regarding the tool there is no possibility to structure a network in Twitter since there are no groups or any other kind of organization (like in Facebook). But in addition there is no interest from the agenda settlers to create networking, this is supported by the one way and vertical information that I founded.

According to the findings and referring to the last level of participation, there were actions in the offline world coming from the online world. Even if the initiative is coming from a small group, this is a huge potential for the network. It does not matter if the information is vertical in this point it flows virally helping to spread the word in a very short time.

Finally there are some elements that show glocalization in the discussion, the users are using the platform to show global elements of other countries in order to build the action in Colombia. There are no discussions about ACTA or the effects of this agreement in Colombia, but there are experiences, mostly from Brazil to evaluate the possibility to ground it to the Lleras law.

The revolution will not be tweeted, or maybe it will, but it will not start in this social network.

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Appendices I Users that Retweet the Survey

Viral snow ball effect, the number of followers are the potential number of viewers of the survey.

User	Number of followers	Comments
popcorndurocore	252	
Caso59	62	
RosaMonteroT	641	
georgenavarroc	599	
carmenhelena12	86	
dedth33	70	
ypayares	150	
fer_jaramillo	176	
LettyDulceMANYa	58	
gusgomez1701	75647	Media Journalist
Yosoymimo	81	
angelamrobledo	16497	Congressman, Green Party
YolandaRCN	58051	Media Journalist
jjgongora3	1071	
juansevilla1970	66	
Andresnavas	139	
jimenarivera	291	
jmaquino	839	
nanita_barreto	357	
ferdiaze	542	
Julioc_herrera	42415	Soap opera Actor
deborahreyesalv	26	
colombiascopio	6002	Media
Ocasajovenes	1379	Youth NGO
Lemasacdlm	2531	
libiacarolina	2123	
Daniela_MFC	2173	
Maugor	421	
amarilloazulado	1855	
velnestor_MFC	384	
Helenacontador	27	
Miguelgaviriach	394	
camiloromero	10105	Congressman, Polo Democratico Alternativo
Link73	1996	
DamnTatis	248	

elpalabrista	3034	
lauravizcaino	272	
oscarsolanoM	195	
cynosargo	1214	
yankeerolo	539	
306deportes	735	Internet Media network
santiquinones	229	
bandaazurra	453	
onarkb	235	
Kroliinzul	84	
jennieling	293	
gen1379	28	
pabbskings	24	
graficomundo	240	
Estebanoli	453	
Colfuturo	9073	Scholarship
jenemarie	165	
vassengard	826	
paolabg	105	
hectorfrancoj	591	
udsnoexisten	27293	Media Journalist
Sebastianvalenciaq	532	
Srcendales	2206	
siempreconusted	11063	Media Journalist
fjacobsen	429	
jdmartinezq	1757	
cabagars	133	
Danielitobang	3356	
momographic	355	
daveatle	252	
anamariaesma	92	
Camilo_Villa	1171	
Total	295.181	

Appendices II Education levels in Colombia
Table made by the researcher with information of the minister of education.

	ninguno	0 años	1 año	2 años	3 años	4 años	5 años	6 años	7 años	8 años	9 años	10 años	11 años	12 años	no aplica	No informa	Menores de 18
0 años															856.763		856.763
1 años															816.117		816.117
2 años															809.719		809.719
3 años	570.999	233.165															804.164
4 años	439.882	382.216															822.098
5 años	249.187	553.760	56.086					10				5		2	1.165	17.076	877.291
6 años	103.143	422.376	273.213	43.682				5				15		1	1.044	13.896	857.376
7 años	52.495	137.136	373.783	219.615	37.827			2				2			939	13.196	834.995
8 años	35.790	36.983	195.645	340.411	201.695	33.185	33.185					3			484	12.171	856.367
9 años	26.923	14.916	77.335	195.279	324.997	188.540	188.540	4				1		1	605	11.705	869.884
10 años	24.828	7.835	41.451	90.582	199.904	311.630	311.630	27.069			11	5			478	12.455	888.174
11 años	20.602	4.485	24.391	49.443	96.930	198.765	198.765	155.989	25.040		18	6			340	12.093	878.515
12 años	19.679	2.888	15.254	31.352	56.018	100.331	100.331	258.062	137.233	22.565	10	7			249	11.627	857.485
13 años	18.792	1.909	10.182	21.021	37.637	61.519	61.519	185.779	235.290	126.104	19.312	2		1	539	13.944	859.409
14 años	19.338	1.392	6.979	15.177	26.572	40.568	40.568	111.070	173.876	217.675	111.423	20.497	38	1	798	16.989	855.463
15 años	21.779	1.172	5.968	12.740	21.876	30.316	30.316	73.852	105.945	162.333	191.829	103.806	17.450	3	12	12.560	839.300
16 años	20.690	906	4.936	11.180	18.941	24.206	24.206	51.088	69.992	100.536	152.587	178.395	94.069	7.063	425	12.849	816.298
17 años	21.285	755	4.759	11.249	19.090	23.272	23.272	40.254	49.450	63.907	96.932	136.502	184.953	38.957	475	13.245	784.913
	1.645.412	1.801.894	1.089.982	1.041.731	1.041.487	1.012.332	1.012.332	903.184	796.826	693.120	572.122	439.246	296.510	46.029	2.490.152	173.806	15.184.331
	3.899.961	1.809.341	1.696.529	2.433.526	2.683.089	2.108.510	2.108.510	1.885.175	1.851.830	1.734.357	1.780.684	1.024.033	5.384.005	508.036	2.494.499	847.186	41.468.384
	2.254.549	7.447	606.547	1.391.795	1.641.602	1.096.178	1.096.178	981.991	1.055.004	1.041.237	1.208.562	584.787	5.087.495	462.007	4.347	673.380	26.284.053

TOP KEYWORDS & FREQUENCY WITHIN POSTS

532
181
60
55
136
56
102
101

Total Posts   demanda   @camiloromero   @anonymous_co

TWITTER POST TYPE MIX

Other
26%

"@"
Mention
14%

Retweet
60%

TWITTER POSTS & POTENTIAL IMPRESSIONS

Total Posts   Potential Impressions

9:31 AM, 10:31 AM, 11:31 AM, 12:31 PM, 1:31 PM, 2:31 PM, 3:31 PM, 4:31 PM, 5:31 PM, 6:31 PM, 7:31 PM, 8:31 PM, 9:31 PM, 10:31 PM, 11:31 PM, 12:31 AM, 1:31 AM, 2:31 AM, 3:31 AM, 4:31 AM, 5:31 AM, 6:31 AM, 7:31 AM, 8:31 AM