

Twitter as an instrument of participation and deliberation. An approach to its use from the perspective of cyber-democracy. The Rafael Correa case

Twitter como instrumento de participación y deliberación. Una aproximación a su uso desde la perspectiva de la ciberdemocracia: Caso Rafael Correa

4

ARTICLE



Caroline Avila

School of Communication
University of Azuay

Professor and researcher in the University of Azuay . PhD in Communication from the Pontificia Universidad de Chile.

cavila@uazuay.edu.ec
ORCID: 0000-0003-4514-4860

María Belén Valdez

School of Communication
University of Azuay

Master in Communication by the Universidad de Salamanca. Public Relations Officer and Professor in the University of Azuay.

bvaldez@uazuay.edu.ec
ORCID: 0000-0002-8112-8393

Ximena Guerrero

School of Communication
University of Azuay

Master in Institutional and Political Communication for the Universidad de Sevilla. Researcher in the University of Azuay

xguerrero@uazuay.edu.ec
ORCID: 0000-0002-8018-9477

RECEIVED: May 7, 2019 / ACCEPTED: July 02, 2019

Abstract

This article analyzes the use of social networks in the field of political communication as spaces to promote citizen participation and democratic deliberation, which we call "cyber-democracy." The study is based on the description of this concept and its application in the analysis of the Twitter account of the former Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa (@MashiRafael) to determine its informative, deliberative and participatory potential. It is concluded that in spite of being one of the accounts with the greatest interaction at the regional level, its use maintained limitations in the promotion of participation and deliberation, key elements of "cyber-democracy".

Keywords

Cyber-democracy, Social networks, Twitter, Political communication, Rafael Correa.

Resumen

Este artículo analiza el uso de las redes sociales en el campo de la comunicación política como espacios para fomentar la participación ciudadana y deliberación democrática, a lo que llamamos "ciberdemocracia". El estudio parte de la descripción de este concepto para luego aplicarlo en el análisis de la cuenta de Twitter del expresidente ecuatoriano Rafael Correa (@MashiRafael) a fin de determinar su potencial informativo, deliberativo y participativo. Se concluye que, a pesar de ser una de las cuentas con mayor interacción a nivel regional, su uso mantuvo limitaciones en el fomento de la participación y deliberación, elementos clave de la "ciberdemocracia."

Palabras clave

Ciberdemocracia, redes sociales, Twitter, comunicación política, Rafael Correa.

1. INTRODUCTION

Digital platforms have revolutionized the world of communication mainly because Web 2.0 has eliminated the passivity of the viewer by increasing citizen participation, a characteristic of democracy (Menéndez, 2011). The role of passive receiver has been replaced by an active user who creates, shares, interacts and participates in communication processes.

The importance of the study of social networks in the framework of political communication lies in the extent to which they encourage the participation of their users in the information and political processes (Towner, 2013). In addition, they constitute "monumental deliberative spaces" that are ideal to generate and promote debate (Caldevilla, 2010).

Citizens, now turned into users, talk about what really interests them in these digital media and it is they who can generate the political and media agenda (Hernández, 2013). As Vaca (2013) states, in social networks "anyone is potentially a means of communication without the permission of the States" (p.225).

This dialogue now takes place within a digital space with the help of social networks, building what is known as the "online public sphere" (Posada, 2011). Paraphrasing Castells (2008), the information revolution has caused public opinion to globalize. That is, the public sphere, the voice of the people that defines the politics of society previously built in "socio-spatial" places, has been extended to a global environment based on the contents published by the media. There is talk of a global civil society and a "citizenship without borders" that shares, expres-

ses values and interests for universal well-being and manifests a form of global governance (Resina, 2010).

The internet and social networks welcome new virtual communities. These include a valuable and new space for political participation, playing a significant role in influencing government decision-making and shaping relationships between the executive, political and citizen powers and other social actors (Sandoval-Almazán and Gil-García, 2014). In the cyberspace, the user empowers himself as a citizen to comment and present his point of view to an online society that has more and more voices and receivers. The citizen now has the power that was once the privilege of journalists to question, criticize and comment (Rodríguez and Ureña, 2011).

This network of e-citizens who interact and actively engage in political life and collective decisions within an online scenario is called “cyber-democracy” (Sánchez, 2008). Being a new and ambiguous term, there is no consensus in its definition. However, in this investigation we follow Martín (2004), who applies the term as a form of deliberative or participatory democracy against representative democracy, which allows to connect, communicate and share information with a global community.

The development of cyber-democracy has used several spaces to manage its digital operations, with Twitter as one of the central parts of this virtual public sphere (Sampedro and Resina, 2010). After thirteen years of existence, Twitter has established itself as the favorite network to inform and communicate by its microblogging nature (Caldevilla, 2010) that allows a greater content flow in less time.

In the world of political relations, this social network has reached great popularity especially when measuring the interaction between voters and leaders (Waisbord, 2013). Matthias

Lufkens (2015), said in a study conducted for Twiplomacy that the differences between politicians and countries are now reflected on Twitter, leading to a kind of “hashtag war” between embassies and foreign ministries. According to Deltell and Martínez (2014), several intellectuals and analysts believe that Twitter is a vital element for the consolidation of democracy, social values and freedom; a situation that has nominated him for the Nobel Peace Prize several times (Morozov, 2012).

This has not gone unnoticed in Latin American political reality. According to data from TwLat.com, the ten most active leaders in Latin America and in the Spanish language in 2013 exceeded a total of 100 million followers, with figures such as Hugo Chávez, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, Dilma Rousseff, among others. Rafael Correa has been considered one of the most influential political figures in the social networks of Ecuador. According to the ranking by Twiplomacy (2015), Correa was ranked # 22 of the world leaders with the most followers on Twitter, in addition to being the Latin American leader who generated the most conversation with 71% of user response tweets. Worldwide, Correa was in the third place of the leaders with the greatest online interaction (Espinosa, 2011).

These characteristics and the popularity in the network made Correa the most influential politician in the country on Twitter (Toral, 2013; Llorente and Cuenca, 2014), where the personality of the ex-president was reflected in many of his messages. Feeling this closeness, some citizens chose to express their complaints and requests, which the former president managed by delegating the problem to the responsible authority. You can even say that the then president ruled through his Twitter account (Ávila, 2017). “Government communication teams are forced to monitor any keyword that cites them,

whether or not they have Twitter and mentions” (Espinosa, 2011, p. 11).

For Mathew Carpenter (2015), former online manager of Google and Twitter for Latin America, Ecuador was the only country in the world where the public sector was more advanced than the private sector in the use of social networks. “I did not find in the world any government that understood the power of networks like this (referring to the government of Rafael Correa)” (p. 1).

Presenting this panorama, the national and international impact of Rafael Correa's Twitter account is evident. However, given the principles of deliberation and participation that the digital public sphere implies, how much has this instrument of communication and management been used to build and strengthen cyber-democracy? This research seeks to provide a descriptive analysis of the use, strategies and management of the Twitter account @MashiRafael.

2. METHOD

A methodology based on two investigations, “The Latin American Governor” of Valenti et al. (2015) and “Political Communication in Social Networks” by María Hernández (2013), was proposed to carry out an in-depth analysis that visualizes the use of the Twitter account of the former Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa. The first one proposes an information survey matrix and a methodological record to measure the democratic actions of the rulers in social networks. The second complements this information at the theoretical level. In turn, they rely on the proposal of Posada (2011) who analyzes integrated communication technologies or ICT as tools to reconnect the electorate with their representatives. In this study, Posada used

three axes as indicators of democratic quality applied to the web pages of political parties in Spain. The proposed axes are: informative, deliberative and participatory.

The methodological approach of this study is quantitative for performing a content analysis and its scope is descriptive. The tweet issued from Rafael Correa's Twitter account, @MashiRafael, and the response to the user were considered as the analysis units. The type of sampling is non-probabilistic and was obtained from the total tweets generated by this account during the period between February 1 and April 1 (n = 262) of 2015¹, together with the responses to users during the selected period (n = 180).

In the first stage of this research, a methodological worksheet was developed. It proposed the categories and indicators with the theoretical support mentioned above. The variables were coded and then tweets were recorded, filtered and categorized.

The methodological structure presented three components, each corresponding to a specific objective. The first component was intended to identify the core issues, this allowed to visualize which issues the former president gave preference to.

The second component was the frequency and viral potential. Being an open and asymmetric public communication platform (Orihuela, 2011), it allows the contents to spread without limitations. With the exception of the maximum limit established by Twitter, which at that time

¹ It should be noted that this period corresponds to the months prior to the visit of Pope Francis to Ecuador, whose presence altered the normal development of communication in Twitter. In addition, the manifestations against the ruling president grew from May 2015 in Ecuador. This political situation would alter the findings, which is why the data was extended until April of that year.

was 140 characters per tweet, this network does not present obstacles when sharing information in an unlimited way (López, 2012). The proposed variables were: number of followers, number of retweets, number of favorites, number of daily publications and number of tweets.

The third component was intended to determine and classify the types of tweets. For this, the following categories proposed by Hernández were established: diversity and quantity of information, interaction, deliberation, citizen participation and account focus (2013, p. 61).

This structure, as proposed by Hernández (2013), aims to describe the opportunities offered by former President Rafael Correa to interact, deliberate with users and allow their participation.

3. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Tweets were classified according to 26 thematic categories and the most repeated words were counted to check the central themes and visualize the predominant thematic contents. The results of the analysis showed that the former president gave preference to issues related to works, visits and political travel (12%); opposition and non-supporters (11%) and communication, media and freedom of expression (8%). The content analysis visualized the recurring use of phrases such as “We are more”, “Ever onward to victory” and “Forbidden to Forget”. It is important to emphasize that 20% of the tweets contained a slogan or made some reference to the Alianza PAIS party or its “Revolución Ciudadana”. Although the repetition of these words demonstrated an effort to position and publicize the party and the government of Alianza PAIS, the use of tags or hashtags was not found on Rafael Correa’s Twitter.

The number of followers is considered as an indicator of the viral potential and the potential scope of the contents (Cha, Haddadi, Benevenuto and Gummad, 2010) although it is not the most relevant factor when talking about the influence of a political leader on Twitter. In the case of the @MashiRafael account, in August 2015 it had a total of 2,346,000 followers². The average of retweets was 570 and 330 favorites, which evidenced an average of 0.02% and 0.01% of potential readers who considered that the content of the tweet was interesting, relevant or “worthy of being disseminated” (Alonso, Gómez, Figuerola and Cordón, 2012; Jimenez, Artero and Marcos, 2014). According to traditional Twitter analysis metrics, the real reach that the @MashiRafael account maintained was low in proportion to the potential reach.

The amount of information issued is another indicator of activity on Twitter. Illustratively, Rafael Correa could be said to have a total of 8,962 tweets and a total of daily publications ranging from 1 to 20 tweets by the date of the study. The schedules did not seem to be stable either since activity was recorded at any time of the day, especially in the early hours of the morning when a large number of responses were generated.

The predominant type of information was “opinion.” The most repeated central issues were: opposition or non-sympathizers with 30% and communication, media and freedom of expression with 18%. A total of 262 tweets and 182 interactions were recorded during the studied period. That is, 69% of responses to users. Twiplomacy (2015), positioned Rafael Correa as the most conversational leader in Latin America and the third in the world ranking.

² As of the date of this publication, 2019, the total followers of the account reached 3.4 million.

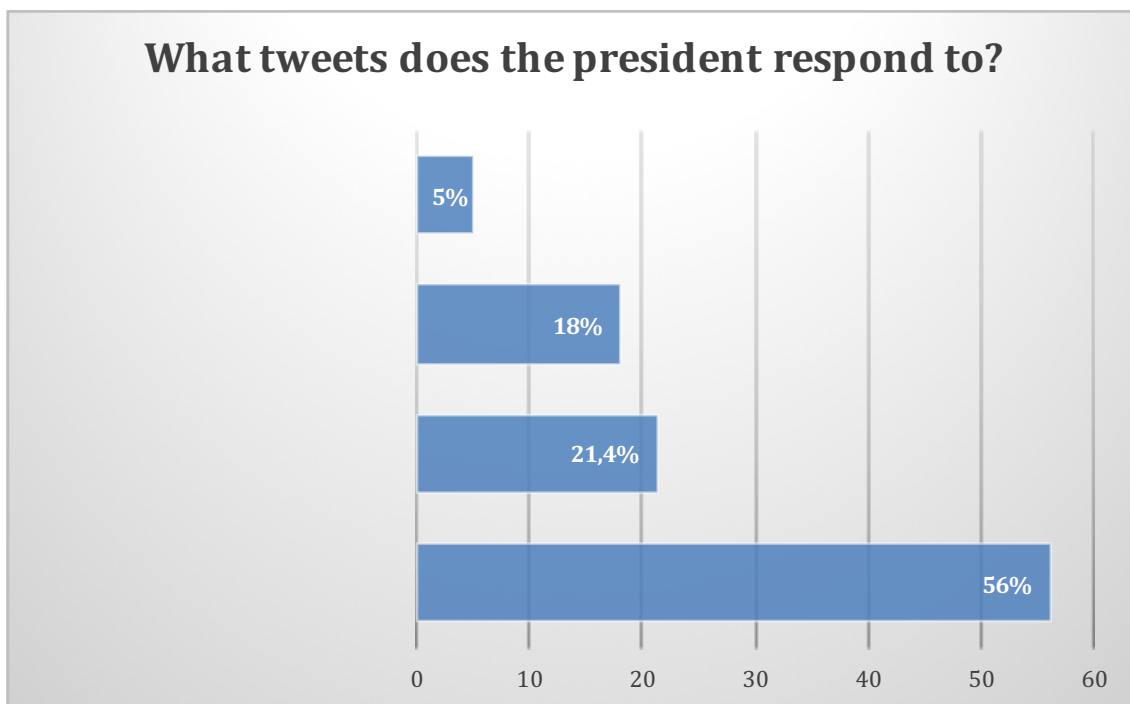


Figure 1. Percentage of responses according to the type of mention.

When responding to a mention, the former president was not only interacting with users but was making visible those who were answered and their tweets. Before this a question arises: Which tweets did the former president respond to? 56% of responses to users corresponded to complaints, requests and complaints, followed by a high level of response to sympathetic messages. See Figure 1.

The results of this investigation showed that the @MashiRafael Twitter account promoted few spaces for deliberation. 1% of the tweets contained links or were submitted in the form of an electronic consultation. No tweets had links to applications, citizen debate forums, electronic surveys about projects, reforms or political processes.

It was also found that Rafael Correa did not give priority to his Twitter as a tool for citizen participation. Of the tweets that contained links, only 3% led to citizen participation platforms.

1% of the tweets contained links to contests or applications. The access to the construction of content or online requests was not promoted through links.

3% of the tweets in this account invited citizens to be part of mobilizations and public events. Only 5.3% of tweets were written as a question. 13% of tweets contained a link. Of these tweets, 47% led to media and 26% to photos, reflecting that an informative approach predominated.

4. CONCLUSIONS

One of the results that attracted attention is the low average active audience with more than 2 million followers (August 2015). The average of retweets was only 570 and 330 favorites, equivalent to 0.02% and 0.01% of active audience. Beyond reflecting that the viral potential and the scope of this account was not being exploited, it is questioned why users did not identify themselves with the content or did not consi-

der the it “worthy of being disseminated” (Alonso, Gómez, Figuerola and Córdón, 2012). One of the explanations for this fact may be the time at which the ex-president tweeted, which could generate less reaction in the audience. Another factor was the absence of a hashtag that generally facilitates greater interaction (Suh, B., Hong, L., Pirolli, P. and Chi, E. H. 2010).

This investigation allowed to visualize that Correa gave priority to three issues: works and political path; opposition or non-sympathizers and communication, media and freedom of expression. The immediacy and control of the message made this network perfect for informing the public about the political journey. Accountability is permanent and was shown as an action inherent in political life. Therefore, it is common for rulers to use their social networks to communicate to citizens about activities that are being carried out for the benefit of society.

A characteristic result of the Ecuadorian government in the presidency of Rafael Correa was the importance attributed to issues related to opposition, communication, media and freedom of expression. This allowed to contemplate the constant confrontation of the government with the opposition groups and the media. This confrontation was also evident on Twitter. This investigation showed that 27% of the tweets targeted the “corrupt press” and 13% targeted opponents or non-sympathizers. 67% of tweets that referred to some individual were expressed in a negative tone. The content analysis showed that among the most repeated words in the @MashiRafael account were “corrupt press” and “mercantilist press.” These results warn of possible discrimination against private media (UN criticism, 2012).

Another important conclusion that allowed to envision the management and administration of Rafael Correa’s account was the percentage

of response to his followers, which corresponded to 69% of the total content. This situation placed him as the most conversational leader in Latin America. The content analysis showed in more detail that 56% of the mentions received were “Complaints, requests and claims”, 96% of these were answered and delegated to the responsible authority. It can be concluded that Rafael Correa assumed his role as president on Twitter to delegate responsibilities and solve specific problems of citizenship.

This form of interaction between the ruler and the citizens was closer to the practices of Latin American populism where there is a strong and direct involvement with the electorate (Avila, 2017). The former Ecuadorian governor was characterized throughout his management for maintaining a close relationship with people, which was reflected in the high response of the complaints that people gave him on Twitter.

This work concludes that there was a government management by Rafael Correa on Twitter, who kept interacting with the user maintaining a bi-directional use of the mean. Even so, an informative approach predominated over a participatory approach in Rafael Correa’s speech on Twitter.

The amount of tweets written as questions was 5.3%. Asking a question on Twitter means opening a space for participation. As Sánchez, Duarte and Rodríguez Esperanza (2013) mention, it is not enough to be present on social networks or increase the number of messages that are published to politically and electorally make these communication channels profitable. This feature has been underestimated by the Ecuadorian former president.

As mentioned earlier, the level of retweets and favorites was low compared to the number of followers that the @MashiRafael account maintained. One of these causes could be that the

messages were written to inform or communicate his opinion to the followers instead of presenting the same content but with a more attractive and inclusive approach that manifests an interest in knowing public opinion (Toral, 2013). Another indicator that allowed to verify the informative approach of the account was the predominance of links to media, photos and videos related to existing links to participation platforms, contests or surveys.

The importance of the amount of information that is delivered through this channel should not be underestimated, since a more informed user is more willing to participate (Posada, 2011). The @MashiRafael Twitter account mainly focuses on informing. However, the theoretical basis of this research proposes a new virtual scenario for politics, a “must be” of social networks in a democratic state. This scenario demands the existence of spaces for deliberation and citizen participation. Literature reaffirms the idea that the key to Twitter is its dialogic potential, in which the voter not only listens but also participates and expresses (Criado, Martínez-Fuentes and Silván, 2013).

For Posada (2011), this participatory component corresponds to the maximum expression of democracy on the internet. However, it is an element that has been ignored and relegated to the Twitter account of the now former president of the Republic of Ecuador.

This scenario of virtual democracy requires important actions on the part of the rulers, such as access to content construction, the possibility of sending proposals, the creation of forums for debates, events and all those efforts that allow citizens to empower themselves of the political processes and intervene in them (Hernández, 2013). Despite having digital platforms that promoted dialogue and the submission of proposals in Ecuador, such as [\[cional.gob.ec\]\(http://cional.gob.ec\) \(page created and enabled in July 2015 by the Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo -Senplades\), this study did not identify that the use of this tool was encouraged or promoted through Rafael Correa’s Twitter.](http://www.dialogona-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

This investigation could verify that Rafael Correa’s Twitter account was not used as a democratic tool but as a government management tool. The ex-president delegated and proposed exits to real problems of the citizens through Twitter, this is understood as government management by Twitter. However, it is not possible to talk about cyber-democracy because the spaces and tools have not been promoted enough for citizens to actively empower themselves with political processes.

The content analysis of this research left an interesting reading that reflects what was a big part of the communicational reality of the country. This Twitter account allowed to notice the reactions and listen to the official voice of the president in specific events. However, as long as the rulers do not build spaces for citizen participation and deliberation and the people are not educated to make use of them, it can be said that the “must be” of social networks in a democratic state has not yet been fulfilled.

5. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors thank the Vice-Rectorate of Research of the Universidad del Azuay and the School of Communication for their support in conducting the study.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alonso, J., Gómez, R., Figuerola, C. & Cerdón, J. (2012). *Propuesta de estudio del campo semántico de los libros electrónicos en Twitter*. Scire: representación y organización del conocimiento, 18(2), 87-97.
- Alonso-Muñoz, L., Miquel-Segarra, S. & Casero-Ripollés, A. (2016). *Un potencial comunicativo desaprovechado. Twitter como mecanismo generador de diálogo en campaña electoral*. *Obra digital: revista de comunicación*, 11, 39-59.
- Ávila, C. (2017). *Comunicación de gobierno en el populismo latinoamericano: el caso de Rafael Correa, Ecuador*. (Tesis Doctoral. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago). Recuperado de <https://repositorio.uc.cl/handle/11534/21604>
- Caldevilla, D. (2010). Democracia 2.0: *La política se introduce en las redes sociales*. *Revista Internacional de Investigaciones Publicitarias*, 3(2), 31-48.
- Carpenter, M. (24 de febrero de 2015). *Carpenter: Gobierno sobreestima su influencia en redes sociales*. Política. (M. Cevallos, Entrevistador) *Diario Universo*. Recuperado 1 de abril 2016, de <http://www.eluniverso.com/noticias/2015/02/24/nota/4587446/carpenter-gobierno-sobreestima-su-influencia-redes-sociales>
- Castells, M. (2008). *The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication, Networks and Global Governance*. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1), 78-93. doi:10.1177/0002716207311877
- Cha, M., Haddadi, H., Benevenuto, F. & Gummadi, K. (2010). *Measuring user influence on twitter: The million follower fallacy*. *Proceedings of the Fourth International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media (ICWSM 2010)* (págs. 10-17). Menlo Park: CA: AAAI Press.
- Criado, J.I., Martínez-Fuentes, G. y Silván, A. (2013). *Twitter en campaña: las elecciones municipales españolas de 2011*. *Revista de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociológicas*, 12(1), 93-113.
- Deltell, L. & Martínez Torres, A. G. (2014). *Perfiles de los presidentes latinoamericanos en Twitter*. *Telos*, 99, 114-125.
- Espinosa, C. (4 de diciembre de 2011). *Rafael Correa en Twitter: Conectar vs. discutir con el presidente*. Recuperado 1 de abril 2016, de *CoBERTura Digital*: <http://www.coberturadigital.com/2011/12/04/rafael-correa-en-twitter-conectar-vs-discutir-con-el-presidente/>
- Hernández, M. (2013). *Comunicación Política en Redes Sociales*. (Tesis de Maestría en Comunicación. Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas, El Salvador). Recuperado de <http://www.uca.edu.sv/gescom/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/tesis20.pdf>

- Jimenez, G., Artero, M. & Marcos, R. (2014). *Extracción, análisis y visualización de información social desde Twitter*. Recuperado de Repositorio de la producción académica. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: <http://eprints.ucm.es/26486/1/Memoria%20SSII.pdf>
- LLorente, & Cuenca. (Julio de 2014). *Mapa de Poder Ecuador. Poder online de los políticos*. Recuperado de <http://www.mapadepoderecuador.com/>
- López, M. (2012). Twitter como instrumento de comunicación política en campaña: Elecciones Generales 2011. Cuadernos de Gestión de Información, 69-84.
- Lüfkens, M. (28 de abril de 2015). *Twiplomacy study 2015*. Twiplomacy.com. Recuperado de <http://twiplomacy.com/blog/twiplomacy-study-2015/>
- Martín, M. A. (2004). *Ciberdemocracia y opinión pública, "luces y sombras"*. Palabra Clave (10), 85-99. Recuperado de <http://palabraclave.unisabana.edu.co/index.php/palabraclave/article/view/434/572>
- Menéndez, M. (2011). *Las redes sociales y su efecto político: ¿Nuevas fuentes ovejunas digitales?* Telos (89), 74-83. Recuperado de <https://telos.fundaciontelefonica.com/url-direct/pdf-generator?tipoContenido=articuloTelos&idContenido=2011102411390001&idioma=es>
- ONU critica al presidente ecuatoriano Rafael Correa por censurar a la prensa. (20 de junio de 2012). El Universo. Recuperado 01 abril 2016, de <http://www.eluniverso.com/2012/06/20/1/1355/onu-critica-presidente-ecuatoriano-rafael-correa-censurar-prensa.html>
- Orihuela, J. L. (16 de abril de 2011). *Políticos en campaña y Redes Sociales*. Recuperado 01 de abril 2016, de <https://www.ecuaderno.com/2011/04/16/politicos-en-campana-y-redes-sociales/>
- Posada, L. (2011). *MIRA: Internet, participación y democracia. Las nuevas tecnologías y la reconexión con el ciudadano*. Civilizar. Ciencias Sociales y Humanas, 11(20), 57-74.
- Resina, J. (2010). *Ciberpolítica, redes sociales y nuevas movilizaciones en España: el impacto digital en los procesos de deliberación y participación ciudadana*. Mediaciones Sociales (7), 143-164.
- Rodriguez, R. & Ureña, D. (2011). *Diez razones para el uso de Twitter como herramienta en la comunicación política y electoral*. Comunicación y pluralismo (10), 89-116. ISSN 1885-8201
- Sánchez, J. R. (2008). *Perspectivas de la información en internet; ciberdemocracia, redes sociales y web semántica*. Zer. Revista de Estudios de Comunicación, 13(25), 61-81.

- Sandoval-Almazán, R. & Gil-García, JR. (2014). *Towards cyberactivism 2.0? Understanding the use of social media and other information technologies for political activism and social movements*. *Government Information Quarterly*, 31 (3), pp. 365-378. doi:10.1016/j.giq.2013.10.016
- Sampedro, V. y Resina, J. (2010). *Opinión pública y democracia deliberativa en la Sociedad Red*. *Ayer, Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, 4(80), 139-162. ISSN: 1134-2277
- Segado-Boj, F., Díaz-Campo, J. & Lloves-Sobrado, B. (2015). *Líderes latinoamericanos en Twitter. Viejas costumbres para nuevos medios en tiempos de crisis políticas*. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 70, 156-174. doi:10.4185/RLCS-2015-1040
- Suh, B., Hong, L., Pirolli, P. & Chi, E. H. (2010, August). *Want to be Retweeted? Large Scale Analytics on Factors Impacting Retweet in Twitter Network*. In *Social computing (socialcom)*, IEEE second international conference ON (pp. 177-184). IEEE. doi:10.1109/SocialCom.2010.33
- Toral, A. M. (2013). *Política 2.0, alcances, penetraciones y limitaciones en la realidad ecuatoriana*. (Tesis de Maestría en Comunicación y Marketing. Universidad del Azuay, Cuenca). Recuperado de <http://dspace.uazuay.edu.ec/handle/datos/3330>
- Towner, T. L. (2013): *All political participation is socially networked?: New media and the 2012 election*. *Social Science Computer Review*, 31 (5), pp. 527-541. doi:10.1177/0894439313489656
- Twiplomacy. (26 de noviembre de 2015). *Twiplomacy*. Recuperado de <http://twiplomacy.com/blog/twiplomacy-study-2014-update/>
- Vacas, F. (2013). *Gobierno y ciudadanía: Nodos en la red*. En L. Elizalde, & M. Riorda (Edits.), *Comunicación Gubernamental 360*. Buenos Aires: La Crujía.
- Valenti, P., Lopez, R., Riorda, M., Straface, F. & Santamaria, M. (2015). *El gobernante latinoamericano. Estudio del perfil de los gobernantes latinoamericanos en redes sociales*. Recuperado de https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/6956/ICS_DP_Resumen_Ejecutivo_El_gobernante_latinoamericano.pdf?sequence=1
- Waisbord, S. (2013). *America Media policies and the blindspots of media globalization: insights from Latin*. *Media Culture Society*, 35(1), en., 132-138. doi:10.1177/0163443712464567