**The Conflict Around Colombia’s Peace in Twitter**

**Abstract**

On August 24, 2016, the Government of Colombia and the FARC guerrillas announced a peace agreement after over 50 years of war that produced millions of victims and affected all generations actually living in the country. After being rejected in a plebiscite in the first days of October, a second version of the Final Agreement was signed on November 24, 2016, and ratified by the Camera of Representatives and Senate on November 30, 2016.

As the armed conflict was ending, peace became the subject of political conflict and controversies, with Twitter as one of the main sites where new and old political subjects would debate the most important events of 2016 in Colombia. This left traces of the transition from war to a conflict around peace, the roles played by leaders and influencers, and the language used by Colombians to shape up peace and conflict in a digital society.

**Introduction**

The high increase in audience and the large numbers of tweets sent during 2017 election day in the US convinced Mike Isaac y Sydney Emir[[1]](#footnote-1) from The New York Times that Twitter had won the battle for influence among social media. According to these journalists, around 10pm that day, users had sent around 40 million tweets related to the elections. The prolific use of Twitter by President Trump has rekindled the interest about the dynamics and effect of political debates and community formation within social media and on Twitter especially. The US is not the only country where Twitter has become a landmark that politicians and citizens turn to debate and negotiate their conflicts.

In Colombia, Twitter holds number 16 among the most visited sites, beneath some of the web sites of the traditional media outlets such as [Canalrcn.com](http://Canalrcn.com) y de [Eltiempo.com](http://Eltiempo.com), but above other traditional media like Elespectador.com y [noticiascrn.com](http://noticiascrn.com)[[2]](#footnote-2). However, the constant and effective use of the platform by politicians like former President Alvaro Uribe to directly address his audience, and the spikes in traffic on special days of 2016 Colombia’s political calendar, like the date of the plebiscite on the peace agreement, or the announcement of the Nobel Peace Prize to President Santos, talk to the importance that Twitter has acquired as a tool of political mass communication and conflict management in the country[[3]](#footnote-3).

One of the themes most debated recently around Twitter and politics is whether the platform provokes extreme polarization between groups of users with opposing views on an issue. Cass Sustein has approached this use by assuming that discussion is a game of iterations between rivals that progressively polarize the different opinions on a subject matter. For Sustein “group polarization means that members of a deliberating group predictably move toward a more extreme point in the direction indicated by the member’s pre-deliberation tendencies”[[4]](#footnote-4). Iyengar and collaborators proposed in 2012 to get away from classical arguments that interpreted polarization in terms of ideological positions and preferences in public policies. For these researchers, the key is not to look at the extremism of the ideological positions by the followers of different political parties, but on the game of emotions that is the base of modern political communication. These emotions would be part of the social identity, which requires both positive feelings about one’s own group as well as negative feelings about opponents. Political adscriptions would be therefore better understood taking into account the affective identity of elites and citizens. The mere belonging to a certain group would trigger the listening towards negative messages from opponents, something that it is reinforced through negative campaigning[[5]](#footnote-5). However, a recent work by Boxell et al. shows evidence against these arguments and point at focusing on demographics, not just Internet or social media, as an important factor in political polarization in the US. Polarization is more extreme for those groups less likely to use the new media technologies[[6]](#footnote-6). Barberá has used Twitter data from Spain, Germany and the US to argue that, contrary to the common opinion, social media reduces polarization because of two reasons: social media allows users to interact with other users through weak ties increasing the probability of acquiring novel information, and also due to the fact that most users of social media “embedded in ideologically diverse networks” what results in more exposure to political diversity[[7]](#footnote-7).

Scholars working on polarization in social media analyze its relation with the fragmentation of the political discourse due to the negative effects it has on the construction of a public sphere (Habermas etc). Conover et al. (2011)[[8]](#footnote-8) analyzed the content of over 250,000 political tweets of political content during the 2010 US Congressional elections to conclude that users are mostly exposed to like-minded information in the retweet network but not in the mentions network. Turning to Facebook, Bakshy et al. (2012) examined user exposure to website links using the social network data and tested that users are disproportionately exposed to likeminded information. Weber et al. (2013) examined over 18 million Twitter communications during 2013 in Egypt and showed that communications are religiously polarized and that this polarization is aggravated during periods of violence. Colleoni and collaborators[[9]](#footnote-9) have used machine learning and social network analysis of Twitter in the American context to establish that in general Democrats show a higher level of political homophily[[10]](#footnote-10) whereas it is Republicans following official Republican accounts who exhibit an even higher level of homophily. Halberstam and Knight[[11]](#footnote-11) reached a similar conclusion through a different method. These researchers not only looked into users’ exposure to information, but into the role played by the size of the group and homophily: “voters in the Twitter political network are disproportionately exposed to like-minded information. This holds true when measured by exposure to candidate tweets, exposure to candidate tweets via retweets, and exposure to mentions of candidates by voters.[[12]](#footnote-12)”

There are three interconnected concepts relevant to our discussion. First, it is the concept of homophily, or the tendency to interact and create links with similar individuals due to processes of cognitive dissonance and selective exposure[[13]](#footnote-13). Homophily is crucial because it is the mechanism through which political fragmentation happens in social networks. The tendency to get closer to like-minded people and further away from people with different views is channeled through the topology of the network to create clusters or enclaves in which the users mostly share their views about the issues at stake. This is the second concept, the echo chamber effect, or the phenomenon by which political interactions in social network sites results mostly in people being exposed to content that reaffirms their affective and ideological affiliations. Instead of resulting in a more open and diverse space, social networks would default into a collection of echo chambers isolated from each other that would make it difficult for users to traverse across different XXXX of political information. For example, the study by Yarda and Boyd[[14]](#footnote-14) on 30,000 tweets about the shooting of George Tiler and the conversations between pro-life and pro-choice supporters showed that users’ in-group identity would strengthen as result of replies between like-minded individuals, and those between different-minded people would affect both in-group and out-group affiliations. Once these clusters are formed, a given piece of informational content travels better and faster among users who share a common view about that information. This brings us to the third concept, the public sphere, that Habermas[[15]](#footnote-15) proposed as one of the xxxxx of his dialogic ethics, and that it should facilitate the circulation of ideas and debates about political issues in democratic societies. The question here is whether social media is to expanding the positive qualities of Haberma’s public sphere or, on the contrary, it diminishes its value as a tool for open and democratic debate.

Zeitzoff has adopted an interesting approach about the intersection between the use of Twitter and political participation. He has focusedon the use of social media to mediate conflict. His framework of analysis is organized along four lines, that is, the reduction of communication costs, the increased speed of dissemination, the importance of paying attention to the adaptive moves by politicians participating in these ecosystems, and the value of social media data to understand conflict[[16]](#footnote-16). Zeitzoff pays special attention to the divide between the elite and populist use of social media in several recent episodes of contentious politics and revolts around the world, from the Syrian Civil War, to nonviolent social movements like the Women’s March on January 21, 2017 against President Trump. For this author, the influence on conflict through social media needs a nuanced analysis that distinguishes between the use and effects created by incumbents and challengers[[17]](#footnote-17) in specific cases.

Here we focus on the analysis of social media in the context of the Colombian conflict by turning our attention to the debates about peace taking place in Twitter during 2016. From 2012 to 2016 the Government and the FARC guerrillas negotiated in Havana around a document titled “General Agreement to End the Conflict and to Build a Stable and Long-Lasting Peace”. Thus, the peace process was supposed to the end of the internal armed conflict that had devastated Colombia for over 50 years, and bring out reparation and reconciliation for the victims and society at large. It ended with the de-movilization of the FARC guerrilla and, eventually, with their participation in the political life of the country through a set of mechanisms established in the Final Agreement that included special treatment under the system of transitional justice or Special Jurisdiction for Peace. However, the road towards the peace agreement did result in a transfer of the conflict about the issues being negotiated in Havana and the implications for the future of the country into the political debate. Peace became part of the political confrontation between various actors and this confrontation was evident in the evolution of the debates about peace in Twitter throughout 2016. In this regard, the transfer of the conflict from the battle fields to the public sphere was highlighted by the access of the public to a platform such as Twitter, but also due to the active participation of FARC leaders, politicians, journalists and media in the debates and events taking place in Twitter. Beyond the degree of polarization and the formation of echo-chambers, our analysis of over 3 million tweets produced in 2016 around Colombia’s peace shows that social media can be used as a tool for the transformation and management of conflicts. These processes can be traced through the analysis of the content created by users, the type of language around peace detected in tweets, and the dynamics of participation and silence strategically chosen by leaders and influencers around different political events throughout the year. The result is a nuanced picture in which

**Data and Methodology**

When we talk about popularity, we focus mainly on the messages and only partially on the popularity of the users who write or retweet those messages. Of course, there is a relationship between the popularity of the users and that of the messages, but this is not linear and not all top popular messages are issued by the most popular users of this sub-network.

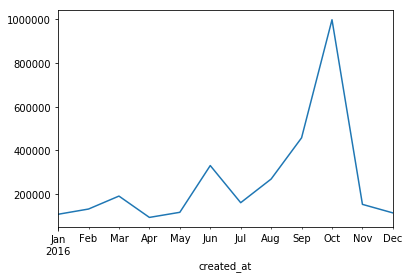
**Traces of the political conflict around peace in Twitter**

During 2016, the year of the peace agreement between the Government of Colombia and the FARC guerrillas, 627,780 users produced 3,239,045 messages with the words “peace” and/or “Colombia” in them. These messages contained 638,281 links to external sites and 34,714 hashtags.

The histogram of tweets about these two themes throughout the year serves as record of the key moments of the peace process, major announcements, activity around the plebiscite and even the impact of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to President Santos. In this respect, Twitter reflects at least in part the translation of the 50-year conflict between the FARC and the government to a conflict about dominating the communication. In this new conflict political actors realign themselves with themes, users and labels in an effort to control the political discourse/platform flocked to by the masses in a permanent attempt to influence the discursive behaviors of those masses.

The calendar of activity shows remarkable spikes in activity around key dates of the process taking place in Havana, but also of its repercussions in Colombia. Up to the last phases of the negotiations, there are only a few days in March and April that reflect some linguistic activity about peace and Colombia. The first of these dates in March 30 in which there is a production of 26,793 tweets related to this content. On March 30, The other date is ?????

It is in the second part of the year, when the negotiating parties in Havana pick up the pace and it starts to settle in Colombia the idea that there will be a peace agreement that activity in Twitter accelerates.



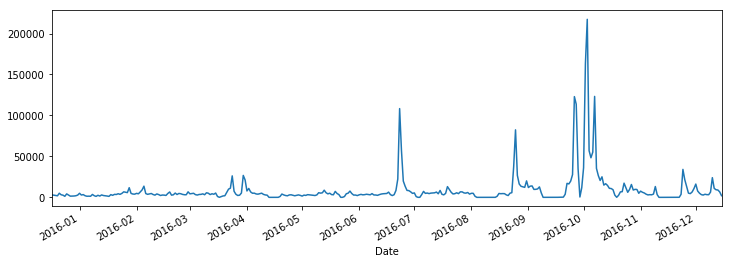
On the 23rd of June, there are 108,350 tweets and 57,170 more the next day, following the publication of two key documents on the web site of the Table of Conversations in Cuba. Both are part of the provisional agreements that would pave the way towards the elaboration of the Final Agreement and they were both non related to content topics of the negotiations –rural reform, illegal drugs, political participation, and victims–, but to the process of de-escalating the military conflict and handing over the weapons. Both texts feed of the provisional agreement on political participation and the first establishes the “definitive and bilateral ceasefire and handing-over of the weapons by the FARC” whereas the second is an agreement on the conditions of safety for the FARC members in order to prevent the killings by paramilitary forces that had taken place in previous episodes of the Colombian history.

The next big spike happens around the announcement from Havana on August 24

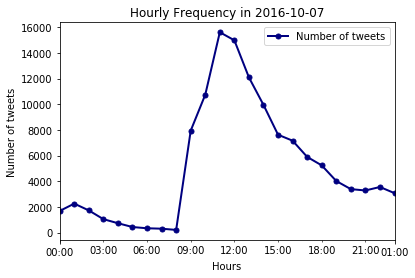
of a final peace agreement. It was Joint Media Release #93 from the Table of Conversations that communicated to the Colombian people that the delegations had reached an agreement that was integral and definitive and included all items contained in the General Agreement that they had signed in 2012 at the beginning of the negotiations. On August 24th users produced 37,486 tweets, on August 25th, 82405, and August 26th, 26841 for a total of 146,732 over the three-day period. Just two days earlier, on August 22 rumors about an imminent agreement had been all over the media in Colombia and the parties were forced to issue a media release clarifying that there were still some themes pending:

“Las delegaciones del Gobierno Nacional y las FARC-EP informamos que hemos avanzado en la construcción de acuerdos pero aún quedan temas pendientes. Seguimos trabajando en intensas jornadas. Una vez alcancemos el Acuerdo Final, el país lo conocerá.”

On September 26 the official ceremony to sign the first final agreement took place in Cartagena de Indias, with the presence of numerous international leaders, including the UN Secretary General Ban Kim Moon, and the US Vice-President Joe Biden. For four days, from September 25th to 28th Twitter registered the second highest increase of the year in activity around “peace” for a combined 299,588 tweets over the period.



The period with the highest activity about peace in Colombia covers the days leading up and following the plebiscite about the agreement held on October 2nd. It was a period of great polarization about the two sides that opened-up several days of even greater uncertainty about the legal and political consequences of the negative result for the government and for the future of peace. President Santos decided to send his negotiating team to talk now with the political forces supporting the no to the agreement. The goal was to amend the agreement to include the concerns of those groups and go back to Havana to negotiate those modifications with the FARC delegation. This was established in a joint media release by the delegations in Havana on October 7th, 2016, and the press release announcing a second Final Agreement would be issued in Cuba on November 12, 2016. The media release followed on the announcement of the day early from Europe, the communication of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to President Santos for his continuing effort to end a 50-year old civil war in the country. The reactions in Twitter reached 123,223 messages, the third highest of the year.



From October 1st to October 8th Twitter had registered 762,571 tweets, with a maximum of 217,316 tweets the day after the plebiscite, and 163,314 on voting day, mostly during the hours right after the publication of the results[[18]](#footnote-18). In total, there were 998,479 tweets directly related to the now political conflict about peace during October 2016.

The last moment of high activity around peace in 2016 took place on November 24th, date of the signing of the second Final Agreement at the Colón Theatre in Bogotá. The event provoked 34,138 tweets that day.

When we turn the attention towards the content produced around Colombia’s peace in 2016, an intriguing picture comes out of the tweets containing hashtags. These are hashtags of the type described by Shapp as tags, that is, hashtags used mainly as organizational tool for topics[[19]](#footnote-19) that help users both connect and find other tweets with the same tags. Zappavigna has described tagging hashtags as artifacts to facilitate community-building. For this author, these hashtags have an attribute function or “ambient affiliation” that serve two purposes, to organize topics and groups discussions, and to connect writers and readers in an ambient community of users with similar interest. The goal of using tagging hashtags is to create or strengthen an ambient community around specific topics. For Zappavigna, a tweet with a tagging hashtag is built so that the hashtag sets up a target that the content of the tweet evaluates, so that language “is used to upscale the call to affiliate with values expressed in the tweet”[[20]](#footnote-20). For example, in the case of the most used hashtag in our corpus (see below), the choice of #Colombia in many of the tweets as the target triggers the rest of the semantic content to evaluate and fill up what #Colombia means and how. At the same time, writers and readers interested in Colombia gravitate towards tweets using this hashtag and create a virtual community by the intermediation of the tag. As it will be seen, the double effect created by the use of hashtags –trigger the evaluation and creating a community that shares some interest and identity– happens around #Colombia and #peace, but also when the hashtags are #FARC, #Cuba, or #Venezuela.

HASHTAGS AFTER THE TWO FIRST: SEMANTIC CONTENT: CO-OCCURRENCE

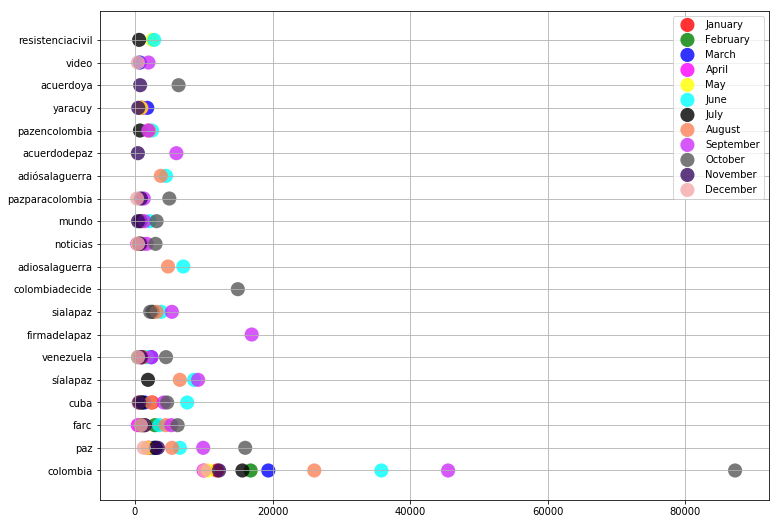
The other element important to consider is that these communities of interest in social media also follow a pattern by which for the most part users end up getting surrounded and connected to people who think or feel in similar ways. HOMOPHILY.

When these two properties –ambient affiliation and homophily– are considered together, we have that the hashtags users associate themselves with have an active effect when the purpose is to create a community around them and influence the content the hashtag will be evaluated on. But it also has a passive influence in that users that use the same hashtags will be considered, by the topics organizational properties of the tags, part of the same community. Even when the semantic content is not completely shared around a specific tag, the common use of multiple tags implies that ambient affiliation is produced around a dictionary of most used tags. The only ways not to be affiliated with certain groups and ideas are to avoid using the same hashtags those groups repeat to impose a certain semantic content, expand the dictionary of tags according to their own interests, and ultimately to create a community of users that allegedly share those ideas. As it will be explained below, this is one of the tactics –to develop his own dictionary and not include #peace in it– used in Colombia by former President Uribe to separate himself from the community around the peace discussions: to influence the peace process, talk about it without mentioning peace.

In our corpus, after the two keywords that make up our query (#Colombia has 309,755 occurrences, and #peace appears 58,453 times[[21]](#footnote-21)), three of the next four most used traditional hashtags refer to #farc (30,765), #Cuba (27,642), and #Venezuela (17,682). Position number 5 is taken by #yestopeace and similar slogans?XXXX are used in hashtags occupying 7 to 10: #signatureofpeace (17,481), #yestopeace (17,370) now without the accent on the “í” of the Spanish “sí” (“yes”), #Colombiatodecide (15,646), and #farewelltowar (12,373)[[22]](#footnote-22).

The semantic content built around peace in Colombia leaves no doubt about what users were linking it with. If #peace and #Colombia are two of the main political slogans being favored by the Government and the supporters of the peace process during the negotiations, the participants in the communication platform were surrounding those concepts with the name of the guerrillas group that many Colombian associate with killings, suffering and hatred (#farc), and the names of the country that hosted the negotiations (#Cuba) and one of the guarantor countries (#Venezuela) that along Norway and Chile accompanied the process. However, #Norway and #Chile are not to be seen in the list of most used hashtags. Two things are happening. First, that the FARC guerrillas were already very active in the Twittersphere and in their participation in social media in general. For a group that many journalistic reports talked about as their membership not having cell phones until after the agreement was signed and they were entering civil society, the leadership showed during 2016 a sophisticated handle of Twitter. This is clearly shown in the analysis of the most influential tweets during 2016 (below), whose authors are members of the FARC general secretariat and have very active accounts. Second, the intersection of most used hashtags brings together the Government and its supporters with the FARC, Cuba, and Venezuela, the three axes of the so-called “castrochavism”. This is the ideology permeating the guerrilla and the two countries that, according to ex-President Uribe and the opponents to the peace agreement, would be introduced in Colombia and destroy its free-market and democratic society if Santos peace agreement was to be signed. By virtue of connecting their language around peace to that of President Santos and the supporters of peace, the FARC and allies were also offering the opposition the evidence of the arguments they would use in the plebiscite campaign and during the months leading up to the 2018 elections, that is, that Santos was selling the country to his terrorist and communist allies. While negotiating the peace agreement, the FARC were already getting involved in, and likely doing its own transition into, the political arena that they will enjoy after the signing of the agreement and would guarantee them XXXX seats in Parliament. Also, the lack of substance behind the vocabulary of peace both in the documents produced by the Table of Conversations in Havana and in the public exchanges taking place in Twitter, made it into an empty shell that no one was able to fill up with specific ideas and measures, but was an easy target for slogans.

This dictionary of hashtags builds up along the year and it shows that those most used are constantly used month by month.



Going back to the period of maximum activity in Twitter, that is, from the plebiscite to the aftermaths of the announcement of the Nobel Peace Prize, October 1st to 8th, the creation and dispersion of hashtags XXXXXX

ENLAZAR

**The content of influential messages about the conflict**

The dynamics of influential messages offers another view on the nature of the political conflict about peace as shaped by interactions on Twitter. Influence or popularity here is measured through the different forms and the amount of reactions that a tweet provokes in other users’ messages, those being mentions, replies, likes, etc. It is important to note that popularity is a proxy for the network of a user and the level of engagement that the networks shows around a specific user and their messages. In this respect, the popularity of some users’ tweets is also the measure of the boundaries of their own networks. As in the case of the coming together around common hashtags, many of the reactions to the most popular messages are produced by users who agree or support to some extent the content of those messages; however, there are also groups of user who make the effort to react negatively or try to provoke a cascade of negative reactions about a user no matter what the user says. Their goal is to provoke a cascade of negative reactions and the polarization around the issue. These users usually show up early in the cascade of reactions to a specific user’s tweet.

Popularity does not equate with volume of production. There are users who are very prolific in using keywords like “peace” and “Colombia” (see Table XX), and in spite their higher production their effect is much more limited than that of the influential users, especially in as far as the most popular messages of the year are concerned.

INSERT

The popularity or total degree of a message adds up the number of times it was retweeted, the number of replies that it got, and the number of times it was quoted by other users. In this respect, the content and authorship of the most popular messages about peace in Colombia signal another dimension of the role of Twitter in the 2016 conflict abut peace[[23]](#footnote-23).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Username** | **Name** | **Role** | **Tweet** | **Degree** | **Date/Time** |
| @JuanManSantos | Juan Manuel Santos | President of Colombia | Abramos juntos una nueva etapa de nuestra historia. Hagamos de nuestra nación el país que hemos soñado: ¡UN PAÍS EN PAZ! #AdiósALaGuerra | 9600 | Thu Aug 25 01:00:59 +0000 2016 |
| @DCoronell | Daniel Coronell | Journalist | Amenazas, seguimientos ilegales, campañas de desprestigio, casi todo lo han ensayado para tratar de callarme https://t.co/pgk5zu0xt7 | 1683 | Wed Oct 26 01:08:35 +0000 2016 |
| @Timochenko\_FARC | Timoleón Jiménez | Leader of the FARC guerrillas | Hoy es Salud Hernández, mañana cualquier colombiano. Esas prácticas deben terminar para siempre en Colombia. La paz impone su libertad. | 1645 | Fri May 27 11:09:05 +0000 2016 |
| @agarzon | Alberto Garzón | General Coordinator of United Left (Spain) | El odio y el rencor ha ganado en el referéndum en Colombia. Malas noticias. Pero esperemos que la paz llegue igualmente. | 1550 | Mon Oct 03 06:37:43 +0000 2016 |
| @IvanMarquezFARC | Iván Márquez | Chief Negotiator and Member of the Secretariat of the FARC guerrillas | Ante este respaldo multitudinario de Colombia a la paz, juramos no dar marcha atrás https://t.co/zF8aD4gVc8 | 1440 | Thu Oct 06 02:03:50 +0000 2016 |
| @teleSURtv | teleSUR TV | TV network headquartered in Caracas, Venezuela.[[24]](#footnote-24) | #FARC-EP cumple 52 años de lucha por la paz de #Colombia https://t.co/AumMl4fXMR https://t.co/CS39EcLk0X | 1390 | Sat May 28 01:18:59 +0000 2016 |
| @DanielSamperO | Daniel Samper Ospina | Humorist and journalist | Sin paz, nos libramos del oso de que el Papa venga a Colombia. Extra de #HolaSoyDanny para animar a quienes aún vam… https://t.co/Yd7NFjN2Hc | 1251 | Wed Oct 05 03:17:34 +0000 2016 |
| @ELTIEMPO | El Tiempo | Main national newspaper | .@AlvaroUribeVel hace 'lobby' contra el 'fast track' en Washington https://t.co/lF7xsXCuZ8 https://t.co/udYKlSSGfT | 1232 | Fri Dec 09 18:00:38 +0000 2016 |
| @NicolasMaduro | Nicolás Maduro | President of Venezuela | Aterrizando en La Habana para participar en el Histórico evento por La Paz de nuestra Hermana Colombia...Con la Diplomacia de Paz Avanzamos. | 1102 | Thu Jun 23 02:05:08 +0000 2016 |
| @CGurisattiNTN24 | Claudia Gurisatti | Journalist | La firma de hoy entre Farc y GOB reta a la democracia. Acuerdo de paz débil y sin legitimidad. Gran parte de Colombia quedó desafiada. | 1063 | Thu Nov 24 16:53:11 +0000 2016 |

The most popular message of the year was authored by President Santos on August 25th, and its content confirms the deal reached between his government and the FARC in Havana “to end the armed conflict and build a stable and long-lasting peace”. The tweet got 9600 reactions IN HOW LONG, of which 9585 were quotes in other tweets[[25]](#footnote-25). After 20 tweets with mixed reactions to Santos’ message in the previous 21 hours, the fate of this tweet changed around 15:32 on August 25th, when the official account of President Obama, @POTUS published a tweet showing complete support to the peace agreement reached in Havana: “Felicitaciones, @JuanManSantos and Colombia. After decades of war, we stand with you in building a future of peace. <https://t.co/haXJaqgS9f>”. Obama’s message got XXXX retweets. This reaction to President Obamas’ tweet is consistent with Halberstam[[26]](#footnote-26) idea that “larger groups are exposed to more information and are exposed to this information more quickly. Also, consistent with homophily, we find that voters of all groups are disproportionately exposed to like-minded information.” In this case it is the larger network of Obama’s Twitter account that mobilizes a group of users to extend their support to Santos’ announcement of the peace agreement, that now looks also like an accomplishment of the US administration. It is like Obama’s account lends part of its users to Santos’ messages and through the retweeting tool make the latter much more popular that had been until that moment. If the association with Santos’ peace meant to also become associated with the FARC, Venezuela and Cuba, after Obama’s sanction of the agreement that association shifts positively thanks to the popularity of the former American President. At least at that moment, for many users the peace agreement turned into an internationally respected, American-backed agreement worth showing support to.

[INFLUENCERS]

The authors of the ten most popular tweets of the year were Juan Manuel Santos (President of Colombia), Daniel Coronell (Journalist), Timochenko (Leader of the FARC guerrillas), Alberto Garzón (General Coordinator of United Left in Spain), Iván Márquez (Chief Negotiator and Member of the Secretariat of the FARC guerrillas), TeleSurTV (the TV network with base in Caracas), Daniel Samper Ospina (humorist), the newspaper El Tiempo, Nicolás Maduro (President of Venezuela) and Claudia Gurisatti (News Editor for RCN and NTN24). With the exemption of Claudia Gurisatti, who has opposed the peace agreement between the Government and the FARC guerrillas, all other nine users were in favor of the agreement and supported the “yes” option in the plebiscite. To provide some context, the most popular tweet by former President Uribe appears only in position number XXX with a degree of XXX. Beyond President Santos, there is no other Colombian politician among the most influential, whereas there are three journalists, the two leaders of the FARC, the leader of the United Left and member of the Spanish Communist Party, the President of Venezuela and the TV station supported by the countries of the so-called Bolivarian revolution[[27]](#footnote-27) in Latin America. In terms of the media, the messages by the two Colombian media stations were [at the moment] less popular than the tweet by the pan-Latin American TV network from Venezuela.

Of these 10 most popular messages, all their authors but Claudia Gurisatti were in favor of the peace process. However, Gurisatti turns the rhetoric of peace onto itself and uses the term “peace” –Santos and the FARC’s peace– to identify it with an attack against democracy. She tweets this message when the second Final Agreement is announced on November 24th, and her arguments are clear: once the people defeated the first agreement in the October plebiscite, having a new version for the agreement renegotiated and passed by Congress without popular consultation is clearly antidemocratic. Her tweets reads: “Today’s signature between Farc and GOB challenges democracy. Weak and illegitimate peace agreement. Large part of Colombia was attacked”[[28]](#footnote-28). For Gurisatti, peace, weakness, illegitimacy, anti-democracy and attack to Colombia are all together and describe what the peace agreement is all about. If achieving peace was mostly heralded as a great success internationally, internally the opinions were much more polarized about what the real meaning of peace for Colombia was.

As far as other media are concerned, the list of most popular messages contains one by Venezuela-based TV station TeleSuR TV[[29]](#footnote-29) dated on May, 28th. This date is still well separated from the key moments of the political conflict around peace in Twitter during the seond-half of 2016. However, its success is predicated on the effectiveness of this station in its social media strategy and the popularity of the hashtag they use to attract the attention and support of the #FARC followers. The content celebrates the 52 anniversary of the guerrillas in their “struggle for the peace of #Colombia”. By using a location-based and country-related hashtag, the station attempts to leverage the attention garnered by themes normally associated by users, in this case, in Colombia, not in Venezuela, with local events and news[[30]](#footnote-30). It also followed a pattern in which the main clusters that use this type of hashtag are largely news media, celebrities, and commercial groups[[31]](#footnote-31).

The message by TeleSURtv is accompanied by two links. The first one is to the article by TeleSur about this anniversary, whose sub-heading reads: “This 27th of May, the FARC-EP reaches 52-years of existence as revolutionary, political, military force.[[32]](#footnote-32)” The second link is to the tweet itself and provoked a very negative reaction against the TV station and the FARC, filled up with insults and accusations of “murderers”, “rubbish”, “liers”, etc. to the guerrillas and their supporters, in some cases quoting the number of victims produced by their actions. For instance, @klon2122 says “5,7 millions of victims displaced, 220,000 deaths, 25,000 disappeared and 30,000 kidnapped…WORK OF PEACE?”[[33]](#footnote-33). Or @Diana\_Amores, who just replies “¿Peace? You are repugnant @TeleSURtv truly repugnant”[[34]](#footnote-34)

The Colombian newspaper El Tiempo, decides to tweet on December 9th to accuse former President Uribe of going to the US to lobby against the second agreement[[35]](#footnote-35). This message is published in the context of a trip by Uribe to meet with allies of then President-elect Trump right after the American elections. If Obama’s support had been critical to get an agreement and rally international support for it, the unexpected turn of events in the US Presidential elections is read by the opponents to the agreement as an opportunity to change things around and find a way to remedy the situation[[36]](#footnote-36). The implicit message is that in spite of his declarations against the intervention of foreigners in Colombia’s affairs, President Uribe goes to the US looking for the support of the new administration in the same way that President Santos had done with Obama’s. The structure of the message is the same used by TeleSURtv: a mention to the user –“@AlvaroUribeVel – that will attract the attention of the readers, the text of the message, and links to the paper’s news and to the tweet. In this case, the sub-headline in the news reports says that Uribe is meeting with Rudolf Giuliani at the newly inaugurated Trump Hotel in Washington. The reactions to the tweet are of the same type we saw in TeleSURtv’s, that is, a cascade of insults and accusations against former President Uribe that rapidly inundates the message’s stream[[37]](#footnote-37).

Both messages by media outlets are responded in a way that exemplifies the polarization that the conflict about peace has caused Colombian society. The mechanism here is the phenomenon of moral outrage amplified by the architecture and algorithms of social media and the behavior of many of their users. According to Crockett, what has constituted a normal process of in societal regulation may be exacerbated in digital media by three factors: “inflating its triggering stimuli, reducing some of its costs and amplifying many of its personal benefits.[[38]](#footnote-38)” The fact that the chain of negative tweets against the protagonists of the news gets in both cases unaffected by messages expressing with nuanced or dissimilar opinions to the majority, reinforces the idea that social media contributes to the grouping of people in eco chambers of shared and unquestioned opinions[[39]](#footnote-39). By contributing to the self-selection of people into these closed groups the possibilities afforded by the translation of the conflict in Colombia from the battle-field to politics and social media get reduced due to the subsequent polarization that social media creates. The discussion about peace in Twitter is much more peaceful, or less lethal, than through weapons and military operations, but at the same time, its potential for civil discussion and further resolution of the issues about peace is not realized due to the limitations of the platform.

On the other side of the spectrum in Twitter, peace had brought together President Santos with the leaders of the FARC, the President of Venezuela, TeleSUR, and a humorist considered by many “disrespectful” of religion (Daniel Samper Ospina). This network association around the peace process would give reason to those who criticized the agreement on the basis of the hidden ideology it contained. This alleged ideology has been named as “castrochavism”, and it would be exemplified by the Venezuelan regimen led first by President Chavez and the by his successor, President Maduro, and supported by Cuba and its leaders, Fidel and Raúl Castro. “Castrochavism” is identified with communism, anti-democracy, destroyer of cultural and religious traditions and anti the traditional model of family. According to the users of this label, the goal of the FARC guerrillas, first through war and then through the peace negotiations, was to introduce in Colombia a regime similar to Venezuela’s. President Santos and his peace agreement would be just opening the door for “castrochavism” to enter the country and eliminate Colombia’s democracy, collapse the economy, and attack traditional institutions.

Three other tweets were issued during the period after the plebiscite in October. The first one was written by Alberto Garzón, the General Coordinator of United Left in Spain. On Monday, October 3rd, in a very negative tone he disqualifies the result of the plebiscite as the outcome of what he calls “hatred and rancor” over peace. And he concludes: “We hope that peace arrives no matter what”. On October 5th, satirist Daniel Samper Ospina wrote that since the result has been negative, there is a “positive spin” to it: the Pope will not visit Colombia[[40]](#footnote-40), something that he explains in an attached video of his Youtuber personae, #HolaSoyDanny, to cheer all those who still support the “yes” option. Finally, on October 6th, Iván Márquez, the chief negotiator of the FARC in Havana, writes in the middle of very turbulent week in which many Colombians feared that the ceasefire would break, to assure that they were committed to the peace agreement. Márquez refers to the march in Bogotá in which thousands of Colombians, mostly youth according to media reports, walked over the Bolivar Square at the same time that President Santos was meeting former President Uribe to negotiate an exit after the victory of the “no” in the previous Sunday’s plebiscite. The masses requested peace.

These popular messages can be grouped according to the categories described by Yang et al.[[41]](#footnote-41) This authors identify two types of topics in their study of the controversy about the right to be forgotten in the European Union. The first is what they call “latent topic”, that is, a theme that is pervasive and dominant “the focus on a single topic kept the discussion alive and functioned as a recurring theme in the narrative”[[42]](#footnote-42). In our case, this topic is the peace agreement and it appears in the second part of the year, once the first announcement of its completion is announced on Santos’ tweet of August 25, 2016. The recurrences of this topic can be found in all tweets published during the tumultuous first week of October around the victory of the “no” in the plebiscite, the subsequent negotiations, the popular marches in favor of the agreement in Bogotá, and the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to President Santos at the end of that week. Although later in November and December, the tweets by Claudia Gurisatti and El Tiempo are also part of the same theme as both sides are still trying to set up the content and connotations of the agreement in relation to many different issues, but specially towards the political future of Colombia and the 2018 elections[[43]](#footnote-43). The second type of topics are called “flare” and normally come up, occupy the discussions for a few days, and leave the platform as suddenly as they have first emerged[[44]](#footnote-44). In the case of the Colombian conflict, flare topics make use of the term peace, but they do not necessarily refer to the agreement, but to a constellation of issues related to the peace process in general. The messages by journalist Daniel Coronel –denouncing constant threats against his life–, Timochenko –on the kidnapping of a Spanish journalist by the ELN in May and distancing himself from those practices–, and Nicolás Maduro –announcing his arivel to Havana in June to support the peace dialogue– are examples of these flare topics that surround fade faster than the topic of the peace agreement.

**The leaders’ battlefield of #peace in #Colombia**

One important issue in relation with the conflict around peace in Colombia is the extent to which the conflict is monopolized by the political elites. In the context of Twitter this problem resonates with the ideal that the platform would somehow realize the ideal of a truly public sphere (Habermas XXX; XXXX) thanks to the affordances that the technology would create to facilitate the empowerment of citizens. Yang et al. have paid special attention to this issue when they studied the debate about the right to be forgotten in the European Union. They link the concept of influence in social media –measured through level of activity and centrality of accounts in the network structure– to the roles played by elites and influencers vis a vis normal citizens in such a public debate. They conclude that “ Twitter was not able to fulfil its function as a virtual public sphere, as information did not diffuse in an unfettered manner, but rather was controlled by a few key influencers. On Twitter, we continue to see this elite being highly involved and central to the RTBF debate.”[[45]](#footnote-45)

In our case, we have detected a similar pattern as media outlets such as El Tiempo, TeleSur, or NTN24 play a central role in broadcasting some of the most influential messages in the debates about Colombia’s peace process. The same can be said about influencers belonging to the realm of journalism and politics like Coronell, Daniel Samper, or Nicolás Maduro. These influential users try to set the agenda, create stories using specific hashtags and move the perception about peace in one direction or another depending on how they position themselves. News portals also benefit from having large subnets of users associated with them, what helps amplifying their messages and influencing the whole network. For example, among the 15 bigger subnetworks, NoticiasRCN enjoys the following of 5018 accounts; TeleSUR, 4782; El Espectador, 3890; BluRadio 3448; El Tiempo, 3347; CNNEE, 3379; and BBCMundo, 2087. Theyare also among the 15 users most retweeted and quoted by other users.

Some of these elite players also had a continuous influential presence throughout the 2016 controversies thanks to their centrality in the network. These are the cases of accounts like XXXX

In our 2016 network [INSERT Table], the top two players by degree are Juan Manuel Santos and Álvaro Uribe. This does not come as a surprise since the political scene in Colombia has been dominated in the last 8 years by the current and the former Presidents. They are also the at the top of the list of users more mentioned in other tweets [INSERT Table]. This is consistent with the analysis by Zeitzoff and Barberá about the increased use of social networks by world leaders. It is clear that Santos and Uribe are part of this phenomenon, in which the role of gatekeeping of political messaging by journalists[[46]](#footnote-46) is reduced only in part as they have been able to occupy important positions in networks like Twitter in Colombia. Both use Twitter to directly engage the attention of numerous users, and at the same time they take advantage of the traditional media’s tendency to reproduce everything they publish on the platform. For them, politics happens in Twitter as much as in any other arena.

In Colombia, before the rejection of the peace agreement by popular vote in the plebiscite of October 3, 2016, most politicians and media were, with some nuances, in favor of the negotiations of peace that the Government and the FARC had been carrying out in Havana for the previous four years. There were some doubts about the commitment of the guerrillas to the process and a lot of uncertainty about the so-called “post-conflict”, but a lot hope about the new age for Colombia. This apparent and loud support for peace was shattered as the plebiscite showed that most of the population did not care to vote on the peace agreement or was mostly disengaged from politics as the rate of abstention reached 63%.[[47]](#footnote-47)

The only voice that had clearly and consistently been against the peace negotiations was that of senator and former President Alvaro Uribe. Uribe had become the de facto leader of the political opposition during the first mandate of President Santos, who had served as Minister of Defense (and Vice-President) under Uribe. This confrontation between the former political allies had permeated the political life in Colombia during the time of negotiations in Havana. Uribe’s alliance with religious and conservative groups paved the way for a strong opposition to the Havana agreement on the bases of it hiding a “gender ideology”[[48]](#footnote-48) that would undermine the foundations of the traditional Colombian family.

Uribe had become a master user of Twitter since he registered his account @AlvaroUribeVel in 2009 and the platform was used to directly communicate with his following without the intermediation of traditional media. By May 2017, Uribe had built a robust network of communication around Twitter based on a continuous broadcasting of a total of 56,400 messages, or ??/year, 4,720,000 followers, and a very small group of users being followed by the ex-President. His digital rhetoric is marked by the combination of mostly original text and videos whose content refers to political events of the day, criticism of Santos’ policies, and open denouncement of Santos government’s inefficacy or corruption. In some cases, the most critical content is crafted by using mentions, links and some retweets of external publications. Two important aspects of this communications strategy are the limited used of the mention functionality to refer to other tweets and the scarcity of “likes” to other tweets. By May 2017, there were just 18 “likes”.

Although Santos had also registered his @JuanManSantos in 2009 and by May of 2017 had achieved a similar number of followers –4,800,000–, his pattern of use seems to lack the intensity of his previous boss as it had only published 14,000 messages, four times less than Uribe. The usage of Twitter as a broadcasting platform and not as a true social network[[49]](#footnote-49) is also present in Santos case. @JuanManSantos only followed 1,685 accounts. But his use is slightly different from that of Uribe’s in that the President used mostly text, mentioned other tweets more often –normally tweets by other governmental departments– and accounts of mass media outlets, and just a few “likes”.[[50]](#footnote-50)

Of a total of XXXX collected from @AlvaroUribeVel in 2016 fulfilling the conditions of our query, there are just 181 occurrences of the unigram “peace”, what shows a very low pattern of use during the year of peace. Colombia appears 152 times, followed by the acronym of the FARC guerrillas (90), the last name of the President (60). The words “impunity” and “agreement” follow closely right beneath with almost the same number of occurrences, 34 and 33, respectively. In the lower part of this list both “Venezuela” and “terrorism” have 15 occurrences each. Uribe’s Twitter account refuses to engage with the language of peace that for many months had presided over the political debate in Colombia and that still in 2017 would be one of the axis of political activity in preparation for Congress and Presidential elections in 2018.

paz 181

colombia 152

farc 90

santos 60

impunidad 34

acuerdo 33

uribe 31

plebiscito 25

queremos 22

gbno 21

gobierno 19

democracia 18

acuerdos 17

comunidad 17

venezuela 15

terrorismo 15

eln 13

justicia 13

habana 12

proceso 12

@JuanManSantos is more expressive in his use of the rhetoric of peace in Twitter. His account shows 324 occurrences of “peace”, 216 of “Colombia” and 60 of “country”. Beyond the words “conflict’ (34) and “war” (29), the vocabulary of Santos’ account is mostly positive arounds terms like “support”, “I thank”, “gratitude” (both related to the messages issued around the announcement of the Nobel Prize), “hope”, or “future”. The President also used the hashtags “yestopeace” and “peaceagreement” several times.

paz 324

colombia 216

país 60

apoyo 46

conflicto 34

guerra 29

proceso 28

acuerdo 26

agradezco 26

colombianos 22

gratitud 20

síalapaz 16

acuerdodepaz 16

víctimas 16

esperanza 16

nueva 16

respaldo 15

nuestro 15

seguir 14

futuro 14

Interactions Uribe/Santos: tweet nobel:

CONCLUSIONS

6 Y no solo colombianos. Como pone de manifiesto el trabajo de Juanita León publicado en www.lasillavacia.com el 18 de mayo de 2017 y titulado “**Las 5 pistas de la doctrina Trump para Colombia**”, el punto #1 de la doctrina se basaría en un informe del i[**NFORME QUE UN TASK FORCE BIPARTIDISTA DEL ATLÁNTIC COUNCIL**](http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/publications/reports/a-roadmap-for-us-engagement-with-colombia)**, a partir del cual** la periodista colombiana se referiría expresamente a algunas de las preocupaciones de la administración de Trump sobre La Paz en Colombia: ”la lucha contra el crimen transnacional, combatir el aumento de los cultivos de coca, garantizar un proceso de justicia transicional creíble y que los responsables de crímenes atroces no queden en la impunidad.” El punto #3 de esta doctrina se referiría a “*Regresamos a la guerra contra las drogas*

” Y el #4 a “*Una mayor presión para definirse frente al chavismo en Venezuela*”

1. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/20/technology/evan-williams-medium-twitter-internet.html?mcubz=0&\_r=0 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Retrieved on XXXXXX. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. publicado en 2010, los investigadores coreanos XXXXXXXX ya planteaban la pregunta acerca de la naturaleza de Twitter como red social o medio de noticias. Ver el resto del comentario en el mss en español Scrivener [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. 176. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. “Virtually every study of campaign advertising documents

   the steep increase in the frequency of attacks and counterattacks (Benoit 2001;

   Geer 2010). The tendency of the media to recycle the candidates’ negative

   messages only confirms partisans’ suspicions about those on the other side.” [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Boxell, p. 3: “These findings argue against the hypothesis that the internet in general or social media in particular

   are the main drivers of increasing polarization. Any such explanation needs to account for

   the rapid increase in polarization among those with limited internet use and negligible use of social

   media. However, it is possible to construct such accounts. It may be that social media increases

   polarization among the young while some other factor increases it among the old. It may be that

   there are spillovers across demographic groups; young adults polarized through social media might

   in turn affect the views of older adults or might indirectly influence older adults through channels

   like the selection of politicians or the endogenous positioning of traditional media. Our evidence,

   nevertheless, rules out what seem like the most straightforward accounts linking the growth in

   polarization to the internet.” [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. “How Social Media Reduces Mass Political Polarization. Evidence from Germany, Spain, and the U.S.”, 18, 23-25. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Constructing network clusters [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. “Echo Chamber or Public Sphere? Predicting

   Political Orientation and Measuring Political

   Homophily in Twitter Using Big Data”. Journal of Communication 64 (2014) 326-328. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. For the method of correlating Twitter’s users ideology and the political actors they follow, Pablo Barberá: ““Birds of the Same Feather Tweet Together: Bayesian Ideal Point Estimation Using Twitter Data.” Political Analysis 23 (1):76-91.” [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Homophily, group size, and the diffusion of political information in social networks: Evidence from Twitter. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. P. 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. Human Relations, 7(2),

    117–140. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. ¿?? [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. XXXXX. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Thomas Zeitzoff. “How Social Media Is Changing Conflict”. Journal of Conflict Resolution 2017, p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Zeitzoff, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. 10pm and 11pm on October 2nd registered 51,601 and 42,413 tweets, respectively, while 00am on October 3rd did count 42,413 messages. These are the one-hour three periods with higher use in the year. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. She focuses her work on “commentary hashtags”, or non-tagging hashtags, “”Commentary” function of hashtags refers to hashtags that are used to add additional meaning to the main semantic content of the tweet, and are not intended to practically connect the tweet to others that use the same hashtag. (7)”XXXXX [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Zappavigna (2011), p. 788. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. [[[The word “Colombia” will stay at the top of the most used words in the documents produced by the parties in their four years of negotiations and also in the Final Agreement. However, “peace”, which was the theme of the negotiations, only shows up at position number ??? in that Final Agreement. Also at the top of the list we can see FARC XXXXX]]]: referencia al art de víctimas???. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Originales en español de las hashtags: Colombia; peace; farc; cuba; síalapaz; Venezuela; firmadelapaz; sialapaz; colombiadecide; adiosalaguerra. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. We use the measurements as observed on XXXXX (date): Yadira comprueba si los números que tenemos han cambiado mucho respect a ahpra en algunos mensajes específicos. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. According to Wikipedia, Tele Sur is “socialist, multi-[State funded](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_media), pan–[Latin American](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_America) terrestrial and satellite [television network](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Television_network) sponsored by the governments of [Venezuela](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venezuela), [Cuba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuba), [Ecuador](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ecuador), [Nicaragua](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicaragua), [Uruguay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uruguay), and [Bolivia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bolivia) that is headquartered in [Caracas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caracas), [Venezuela](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venezuela).” [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. En el citado artículo de XXXXX coreanos, ya establecían en 2010 que “A closer look at retweets reveals that any retweeted tweet is to reach an average of 1,000 users no matter what the number of followers is of the original tweet. Once retweeted, a tweet gets retweeted almost instantly on next hops, signifying fast diffusion of information after the 1st retweet.” [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Referencia. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Hacer nota sobre esto [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. “La firma de hoy entre Farc y GOB reta a la democracia. Acuerdo de paz débil y sin legitimidad. Gran parte de Colombia quedó desafiada.” [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. #FARC-EP cumple 52 años de lucha por la paz de #Colombia https://t.co/AumMl4fXMR https://t.co/CS39EcLk0X [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Raamkumar has studied the use of #Singapore and has concluded that “This theme with a tweet count of 5140 (28.88%) corresponds to the tweets that are about local events and news that are mainly posted by news agencies and commercial bodies. It is quite evident that news agencies use the hashtag more than any other type of user (user accounts personaSingapore - 509 tweets, sgbroadcast- 309 tweets). There are two reasons for this behaviour, the first reason is to gain attention of the public by having a hashtag which is easily relatable and secondly, the hashtag is added to indicate that the tweet content is to be interpreted within the context of Singapore.”

    **What’s in a Country Name? - Twitter Hashtag Analysis of #singapore, p. 13: revista???** [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Raamkumar, p. 12 [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. https://www.telesurtv.net/news/FARC-EP-cumple-52-anos-de-lucha-por-la-paz-de-Colombia-20160527-0022.html [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. https://twitter.com/klon1212/status/736937062633443328 [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. https://twitter.com/Diana\_Amores/status/736410388670128132. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. “.@AlvaroUribeVel hace 'lobby' contra el 'fast track' en Washington https://t.co/lF7xsXCuZ8 https://t.co/udYKlSSGfT” [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Art de la silla sobre la nueva doctrina Trump sobre Colombia. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Both cases make true the suggestion that “venting anger begets more anger” (Crockett 769) following Bushman, B. J. Pers. Soc. Psychol. Bull. 28, 724–731 (2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Crockett, p. 769. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. “But online social networks limit this risk. They enable people to sort themselves into echo chambers with sympathetic audiences5. The chance of backlash is low when you’re only broadcasting moral disapproval to likeminded others. Moreover, they allow people to hide in a crowd. Shaming a stranger on a deserted street is far riskier than joining a Twitter mob of thousands.” Crockett, p. 770. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Explicar el contexto. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Shuzhe Yang, Anabel Quan-Hasse, Kai Rannenberg, “The changing public sphere

    on Twitter: Network structure, elites and topics of the #righttobeforgotten”. New media & society (2016):

    ﻿1–20. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Buscar pág. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. A great deal of the controversies around the legislative and Presidential elections are about positioning in favor or against the peace agreement between the Government and the FARC. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. “These flare topics were often linked to news

    originating in the mainstream media and would spark heated, topic-specific debates”, p. XXX [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. p. 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Zeitzoff and Barberá, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. In 2017 more politicians have expressed their rejection to the peace agreement or parts of it, as they start preparing their campaigns for the electoral year of 2018, in which both parliamentary and presidential elections will be held. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Describe “gender ideology” [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. refer al art [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. When compared with the average use of Twitter by world leaders, Uribe and Santos are outliers: “Most world leaders on Twitter are active users of this platform and also have large audiences. As of August 2015, the median Twitter account for a world leader has sent 2,110 tweets since it was created, and has 42,569 followers. Institutional accounts tend to be more active than personal accounts, with a median of 3,939 tweets sent vs 1,769 tweets sent, but they are also slightly less

    popular, with a median of 27,504 followers vs 70,143 followers.” (Zeitzoff and Barberá, p. 7). Both Santos and Uribe would be among the group of twenty leaders with over 1M followers (Zeitzoff and Barberá, p. 7). [↑](#footnote-ref-50)