REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI

UNIVERSITAS

UNIVERSITAS
REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI

Number 39 / September 2023-February 2024
print ISSN: 1390-3837 / electronic ISSN: 1390-8634

Universitas is indexed in the following
Databases and scientific information systems:

SELECTIVE INTERNATIONAL DATABASE

JOURNAL EVALUATION PLATFORMS

SELECTIVE DIRECTORIES

SELECTIVE MAGAZINE AND JOURNAL LIBRARIES

OPEN ACCESS SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE SEARCH ENEGINES

COPYRIGHT POLICIES OF PUBLISHING HOUSES AND AUTO-ARCHIVE

SHERPA/RoMEO

OTRAS BASES DE DATOS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS

Dialnet

Portal de Difusión de la Producción Científica

Journal TOCs

The latest Journal Tables of Contents

OTHER BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATABASES

FLACSO Andes

Biblioteca Digital de Vanguardia para la Investigación en Ciencias Sociales

REGIÓN ANDINA Y AMÉRICA LATINA

Maastricht University

Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut

Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Universidad de Navarra

LUX ET VERITAS

Wageningen University

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

Erasmus

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

American University of Sharjah

1997

Hanzehogeschool Groningen

UNIVERSITY OF SKÖVDE

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

BISHOP GROSSETESTE UNIVERSITY

Université Sainte-Anne

Plymouth State University

Muhlenberg College

Franklin & Marshall College

Tyndale University College & Seminary

The University of North Carolina Greensboro

Virginia Tech

UNC Charlotte

DePaul University

Bethune-Cookman University

University of Nebraska Omaha

Southwestern University

Texas A&M University San Antonio

Simpson University

AUT University

Claremont McKenna College

University of the West

CONSORTIATED JOURNAL

Revista Colombiana de Ciencias Sociales

Drugs and Addictive Behavior

Humanidades Universidad de Costa Rica

Universitas-UPS, Journal of Social and Human Sciences of the Salesian Polytechnic University of Ecuador, which began in 2002, has a biannual frequency.

The objective of *Universitas-UPS* is to promote and disseminate the publication of scientific and critical texts, unpublished and peer reviewed, of current character and interest, in the field of knowledge of the social and human and on issues of general scope, although privileging those referred in particular to Ecuador and Latin America.

The Journal presents articles and essays, ongoing research or results of them, analysis and communications of a conjunctural profile, and literature reviews.

http://www.ups.edu.ec
E-mail: revistauniversitas@ups.edu.ec

Universitas-UPS, Journal of Social and Human Sciences, biannual publication, No. 39, September 2023-February 2024. Editor in charge: Ángel Torres-Toukoumidis. ISSN printed: 1390-3837 / ISSN electronic: 1390-8634. Design and correction: Editorial University Abya-Yala. Domicile of the publication: Salesian Polytechnic University of Ecuador. Post box 2074, Cuenca- Ecuador. Salesian Graphic Center: Vega Muñoz 10-68 and General Torres, Telephone (+593 7) 2831745, Box 01-01-0275, Cuenca-Ecuador.

Printed in Ecuador

Translator (Traductora)
Adriana Curiel

Editorial
Editorial Abya-Yala (Quito-Ecuador)
Avenida 12 de octubre N4 22 y Wilson, Bloque A, UPS Quito, Ecuador. Teléfonos: (593-2) 3962800 ext. 2638. Correo electrónico: editorial@abyayala.org

Cover figure (Figura de portada)
https://www.shutterstock.com/es/image-photo/female-activist-protesting-megaphone-during-strike-1768715813

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

Number 39 / September 2023-February 2024 Print ISSN: 1390-3837 / electronic ISSN: 1390-8634

DOSSIER

MISCELLANEOUS

EDITORIAL GUIDELINES

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

Número 39 / septiembre 2023-febrero 2024 ISSN impreso: 1390-3837 / ISSN electrónico: 1390-8634

DOSSIER

MISCELÁNEA

NORMAS EDITORIALES

DOSSIER

DOSSIER

Coordinators:

Dr. Daniel Javier De La Garza-Montemayor, Universidad de Monterrey, México

Dr. José Antonio Peña-Ramos, Universidad de Granada, España

Dra. Fátima Recuero-López, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, España

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.01

Legislative elites and public policies in Israel: Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee (1949-2021)

Élites parlamentarias y políticas públicas en Israel: Comité de Asuntos Exteriores y Defensa (1949-2021)

Guillermo López-Rodríguez
Universidad de Granada, Spain
guillermolopez@ugr.es
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8704-9007

Received on: 23/05/2023 **Revised on:** 14/06/2023 **Approved on:** 08/07/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Abstract
The relationship between legislative elites and Defense Affairs is an infra-analyzed dimension in the scientific literature. Due to the relevance of the legislative power in democratic systems, parliamentary committees are key actors in the process of civil-military relations. In the case of Israel, Knesset is a core element in the national politics, being Defense and Foreign Affairs two main action lines of all the different governments. Since the professional profiles can be a relevant input for the political process, this article develops a deep study about them. The research analyzes quantitatively the evolution of the socio-demographic and professional profiles of representatives in the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee of the Knesset (1949-2021). From the biographical data available in the profiles of the webpage, this article analyzes (1) demographic and formative characteristics of representatives, (2) evolution of profiles in different time frames and (3) analyze the relation between the evolution of the State of Israel and the political profiles. The results show a preeminence of representatives from urban areas, with high-education degrees being adult males. This article presents future research that will allow to develop comparative studies with other States, as well as to analyze deeper the relationships between legislative and executive power in National Defense Affairs.

Keywords
Profiles, representatives, defense, Israel, civil-military relations, foreign policy, elites, parties.

Suggested citation: López-Rodríguez, G. (2023). Legislative elites and public policies in Israel: Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee (1949-2021). *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 17-37. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.01

Resumen

Las élites parlamentarias y su relación con los asuntos de Defensa es una dimensión poco analizada en la literatura académica. Debido a la importancia del poder legislativo en los sistemas democráticos, las Comisiones parlamentarias se configuran como un actor clave en las relaciones civiles-militares de los sistemas políticos parlamentarios. En el caso de Israel, la Knesset constituye un actor central en la política nacional, siendo la Defensa y las Relaciones Exteriores una de las líneas centrales de acción de todos sus gobiernos. Debido a que los perfiles de los representantes pueden ser un input relevante para el proceso político, este artículo desarrolla un análisis en profundidad de los mismos. La investigación analiza cuantitativamente la evolución de los perfiles sociodemográficos y profesionales de los diputados en la Comisión de Defensa y Exteriores de Israel (1949-2021). A partir de los datos biográficos de los representantes, este artículo analiza (1) las características demográficas y formativas de los diputados, (2) la evolución de los perfiles en tramos temporales y (3) analizar la relación entre la evolución del Estado de Israel sobre los perfiles. Los resultados reflejan una preeminencia de los perfiles originarios de zonas urbanas, con estudios superiores y varones de mediana edad. Este artículo presenta futuras líneas de investigación que pueden permitir la conducción de investigaciones comparadas con otros Estados, así como profundizar en el estudio de las relaciones entre poder legislativo y ejecutivo en cuestiones como la Defensa Nacional.

Palabras clave

Perfiles, representantes, defensa, Israel, relaciones civiles-militares, política exterior, élites, partidos.

Introduction

The legislative political elites are pivotal in political systems, due to their relevance for creating policies, configuring governments and legislative production. Their relevance increases when it comes to fragmented and proportional systems such as Israel, where consensus with the opposition party, also with other parties, is necessary to form governments. In addition to partisan fragmentation, security, defense, and foreign policies are central to governing. This centrality leads to increasing the relevance of the way in which interactions between political and military decision-makers take place in the so-called civil-military relations.

Regarding civil-military relations, Israel is also an atypical case study. Some authors point to the absence of civil-military relations due to the centrality of Defense in politics (Ben-Eliezer, 1997), while others have justified their claims by the presence of the military in political decision-making processes (Kobi, 2007) or the high autonomy degree of military decision-makers from politics (Kuperman, 2005). However, more sociological perspectives have based their arguments on the centrality of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and argue that for extracting political elites, the decision makers behave and legislate in defense as military (Etzioni-Halevy, 1993). This argument provides a motivation to analyze the profiles of the members of the Committee on Defense and Foreign Affairs as a sample for analysis.

This research aims to analyze the main characteristics of the profiles of legislative elites in Israel, as well as to study their evolution since the beginning of the State of Israel. To this end, this article focuses on analyzing the profiles of the members of the Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset between 1949 and 2021. The selected Commission is responsible for matters related to the military administration, its personnel and budget, the military industry and, ultimately, all matters in the field of national defense. This analysis is interesting because it constitutes an actor in the process of civil-military relations in Israel (Huntington, 1957; Janowitz, 1960; Posen, 1984). The analysis does not seek to validate theoretical models such as agglutination (Putnam, 1976) or independence (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995), depending on whether or not these are seen in the profiles of citizens. Since this is a sectoral analysis, it is an opportunity to assess the relationship between a specific subject such as defense and the profiles of the Members responsible for its control and processing.

The paper makes a theoretical approach to study political elites linking them with civil and military relations in Israel. The second heading establishes a methodological articulation based on the quantitative analysis of the main variables that make up the profiles of Members. The discussion of results reflects the sociodemographic characteristics of the parliamentarians, delving into the training and extraction dimension of the deputies, as well as their professional activity. Finally, conclusions and recommendations are presented, explaining the future lines of research that can take place from the collected data.

The Professionalization of Legislative Elites

The political elite is one of the most complex and controversial concepts to define (Etzioni-Halevy, 1993; Uriarte, 1997), because it is theoretically based on the existence of two population strata, one of a select character that governs and another lacking decision-making capacity (Pareto, 1980). This elite is considered to be a minority that influences the direction of political life after having been granted this capacity with more or less will by the majority (Mosca, 1984). Theoretical and conceptual debates have been around whether this group is cohesive and possesses effective power (Mosca, 1939; Mills, 1978), or whether it is fragmented into multiple elites in continuous competition (Uriarte, 1997), reaching approaches such as intra-elite power conflicts (Dahl, 1961) or procedural democracy itself (Schumpeter, 1983).

The composition of the elites is conditioned by the social and political context to which they belong. While in some countries factors such as religious or ethnic affiliation prevail, in others it is linked to cultural, economic, political or even military affiliation (Maman, 1997). Under democratic systems, the latter sector is often excluded from the political elite when considering its subordination to political power (Uriarte, 1997). Despite this, some of its higher strata do consider themselves part of the bureaucratic elite, depending on their inclusion in the strategy of identifying them and the established selection criteria (Mills, 1978; Putnam, 1976). The elite studies carried out by Putnam (1976), pointed out the possibility of establishing a positional analysis, taking formal institutions as a reference of power relations. Another perspective adopted by the author focused on the reputational approach, on informal relationships to detect who really holds the decision-making power and the subjective elements that condition the political process. In relation to the latter, a third strategy is proposed based on the identification of decision-making processes, introducing itself into the black box of the system to study political feedback (Easton, 1953).

For decades, research on Western democratic systems has mentioned the existence of a simultaneous professionalization and bureaucratization process of political activity (Panebianco, 1990), which has not only implied an operational and organizational rationalization of the parties but has contributed to conceiving political activity as a profession (Uriarte, 1997). In addition to introducing changes in the quality of political activity, it has generated a cultural transformation that has negatively affected society, increasing disaffection levels and provoking its support for populist parties that often question the parameters of the democratic system (Férnandez-García and García-Luengo, 2018).

At the discursive and electoral level, it is seen how these new parties instrumentalized the professional and formative credentials of their components for electoral purposes (Domínguez Benavente, 2017). This fact has contributed to conceive the origin of private or academic sectors as a qualified credential to the electorate (Delgado, 1997). In the Spanish case, it was evident in the beginning of emerging parties such as Podemos or Ciudadanos, where some of its components came from the business or university environment (Domínguez Benavente, 2017). What was originally proposed as an alternative to the "old politics", with the institutionalization of the parties, ended up being diluted and adapted to the prevailing dynamics, which has reinforced approaches regarding the independence of the elites from the society to which they belong (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995).

As for the theoretical-political level, the deputies are not only responsible actors of the legislative management, but they represent the popular will of the society to which they belong. As noted by Pitkin (1967), representation has a descriptive dimension, where deputies must have a formative or socio-demographic correspondence with their representatives. On the other hand, it has a symbolic dimension, based on the emotional links between both sectors, being equivalent to effective leadership. Finally, it highlights the substantive dimension, according to which the representation analysis is highlighted, depending on whether it acts in the self-interest or in the interests of third parties. Regarding the proposed dimensions, there has been a progressive reduction of the descriptive dimension, in which voters do not consider that the representatives come from the same social environment or have an equivalent training level (Domínguez Benavente, 2017).

Civil-military relations in Israel

One of the challenges of democratic governance is the exercise of civilian control in defense matters, while providing legitimate needs of the military (Michael, 2007). This exercise of political power over the military has been extensively studied in civil-military relations, especially relevant for understanding the dynamic forces of cooperation and conflict (Albright, 1980). This conception of separation between spheres is only applied in Western countries, since during the twentieth century it was not present either in the USSR, nor in socialist countries, nor in states that had achieved independence after colonialism (Albright, 1980; Valenzuela, 1985; Welch, 1985).

In some studies in which the military plays a central role in the political system, reference is made to praetorianism. When this possibility is analyzed, the paradigm of civil-military relations is not taken into account, although it is mentioned that as military forces are professionalized, there is usually a lower tendency to praetorianism (Huntington, 1953). These changes in organizational style give the armed forces a civilian character that reduces the chances of an internal coup (Janowitz, 1957; 1960). This conception is opposite to praetorianism, since the type of political culture and the roles assumed by the military improve the democracy levels and reduce praetorianist tendencies (Finer, 1962). In military regimes, however, cooperation between civilians and the military is necessary for the military to maintain power (Finer, 1982; Maniruzzman, 1987; Nordlinger, 1977; Zagorski, 1988). Other authors also refer to "civilian militarism", which is not exclusively associated with the military, but that some sectors of the political elite may have a tendency to promote militarism in society (Vagts, 1959; Ben-Eliezer, 1997).

This separation of military and political power is not present in Israel (Ben-Eliezer, 1997). It is an exception to civil-military relations, since in many occasions the military is present in political decision-making, positioning itself far beyond the limits stipulated by military doctrine (Kobi, 2007). This is not a recent phenomenon, but since the creation of the State, the interaction between levels is permeable, being common that senior officers enter politics after graduating, hindering their location in the political arena. Likewise, the relations between political and military power have been profoundly conditioned by the personal nature of its components. Analyzing the model of civil-military relations in Israel, there was a tendency for Ben Gurion to give independence to the Chief of Staff for operational procedures, just as Dayan rejected the need to bring the entire cabinet together for planning, giving priority to the element of surprise and syncretism (Kuperman, 2005).

Unlike other countries, the Army in Israel is considered not only an organization for the defense of the country but a socialization space for the formation of the citizen spirit (Lomsky-Feder and Sasson-Levy, 2018). Despite the economic and political challenges, it remains being the central institution that socially defines citizens in Israel. Armed forces can bring people from different ethnic, religious, and socio-economic backgrounds together in a common cause, and in a collaborative spirit, providing an environment in which to break down communal barriers, as the contact hypothesis would suggest. Whether through socialization or intense contact, the military can alter the visions of future leaders who then use their positions of power and influence to spread their revised vision of nation-building. The three mechanisms suggest that, under certain conditions, military service leads subjects to reconsider their identity, their commitments and the definition of their political community, taking them according to their personal experiences (Krebs, 2004).

It is a powerful socialization agent because it is often a total institution, which alienates the individual from society, against the information to which subjects are exposed; monitors their behavior; and offers material rewards to guide them toward the desired behavior. These total institutions are houses for people to change. The effects of socialization can be intense in the military case because subjects enter their impressionable years, and the definition of the nation would seem to be the kind of symbolic attitude that some have pointed out as stable throughout their lives (Krebs, 2004). Proponents of the socialization mechanism conclude that the military can bring the beliefs of its members regarding the limits of the national community according to the rules of the institution. These staff policies implicitly declare certain attitudes and behaviors acceptable, and those are reinforced by explicit expressions and informal practices (Krebs, 2004).

Materials and methods

This research makes an analysis based on methodological models used for studying Spanish cases (Coller, 2008; Coller and Santana, 2009; Sánchez-Herrera, 2004), non-European (Cobertt and Wood, 2013), and in comparative perspective between different countries of southern Europe (*Kakepaki et al.,* 2018). The analysis is based on a double database generated with information from the Knesset website. The first set of data collects individual information to analyze the overall composition of the commission over the whole time period (n=849). The second set of data allows to study the evolution in time by legislature (n=850).

Lacking some biographical and professional data, open sources available online have been used for some issues relating both to age and places of study. In those cases where no information was found, the data were classified as "Not on file" to avoid biased data entry based on investigator assumptions. Once the database was formed, it was operationalized into general categories to carry out analyzes related to professional profiles. The research analyzes sociodemographic characteristics (gender, age, aliyah, regions of origin, geographic environment in Israel and District in Israel), educational profiles (educational level, training centers and branches of knowledge, military service), professional (professional activity not related to politics) and organizational (number of legislatures, number of legislatures present in the defense commission).

Table 1
Data Organization

Sociodemographic	Gender Age of entry into the Commission Aliyah Region of origin (those who have made Aliyah) Origin (born in Israel) Birth district (born in Israel)
Training	Level of studies
	Training Center
	Specialization
	Military service
Professional	Professional Sector
	Activity not linked to policy
Organizational	Number of Knesset legislatures
	Legislatures in the Commission

The main categories of analysis are oriented to articulate the headings of analysis. Demographic data are sex (male/female), age of incorporation (age brackets calculated by the difference between the year of discharge and the date of birth), whether they have performed the Aliyah or not, as well as their regions. For those born in Israel, they have been classified according to the district of origin. These characteristics are intended to see the predominant profiles, as well as to check if there has been a variation in them, or if there is a continuity. The training data are particularly interesting, since the level of studies (BA University, MA University, PhD, primary studies, religious studies or secondary studies) is analyzed. Training centers have been classified according to their nature (Israeli universities, foreign universities, foreign Yeshivas, Israeli Yeshivas or specialized centers). Seeking to determine the professional experience of the deputies, only those data related to the experience prior to entering politics have been selected to determine the relationship of their experience with a subject as sectoral as Defense. The observations have been grouped according to their professional area, disaggregated according to the specific employment developed by the Member. At organizational level, the number of legislatures and whether or not they remain in the Commission are reflected to determine the continuity degree of the Member in the Commission.

Results

Political parties play a central role in Israel's political system, concentrating effective power in various areas (Akzin, 1955, Gutmann, 1977; Galnoor, 1982; Arian, 1985). These institutions currently provide parliamentary representation of the will of the society, but have traditionally provided social services to the population (Etzioni, 1962) and at have been at the same time agents of social mobilization (Yishai, 1991). However, as in other case studies, there is a traditional isolation of the political elite (Elon, 1971). This analysis reflects the characteristics of a sectoral committee of the Knesset, deepening on the profiles of the members by analyzing both the stability of the committee, as well as the personal and professional characteristics of the members who make it up.

Stability in the composition of the Commission

One of the first dimensions analyzed has been the permanence degree in the Committee of Defense and Foreign Affairs. Data have been cross-referenced regarding the legislatures that have been Members along with the legislatures that have remained in the Commission as representatives. Most Members were representatives during one parliamentary term (26.6%), two (21.9%) or three (22%). For those who have been representatives for more than four legislatures, the total data percentage is gradually reduced. Among this distribution, we can see how those who have been four (14.3%), five (7.8%), six (4.9%) are reduced to reach those who have remained eight legislatures (0.9%).

Table 2
Legislatures in committee

		Legislatures in committee							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Legislatures as deputy	1	10.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	3.2%	5.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	3.7%	4.6%	2.5%	-	-	-	-	-
	4	4.0%	3.4%	4.8%	1.8%	-	-	-	-
	5	1.6%	2.9%	5.1%	4.2%	0.6%	-	-	-
	6	1.4%	2.8%	3.2%	3.5%	1.8%	-	-	-
	7	1.1%	1.3%	1.8%	0.9%	3.1%	2.1%	0.8%	-
	8	0.2%	0.7%	3.1%	2.5%	0.6%	-	0.8%	-
	9	0.2%	0.2%	0.7%	0.9%	-	1.4%	-	0.9%
	10	0.5%	-	0.4%	-	1.2%	-	-	-
	11	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	-	-	-	-	-
	12	-	-	-	-	-	0.7%	-	-
	13	0.1%	-	-	0.5%	0.5%	-	-	-
	14	-	-	-	-	-	0.7%	-	-

The stability of the commission could only be verified at the inter-commission level, due to a lack of the dates of discharge of the components of each of them. It is interesting to note how the percentage of those who have been Members on one occasion and have been assigned as representatives on the Defense Committee is particularly low out of the total number of Members (10.5%). Most Members remained between four (14%) and six (12.7%). It implies a high stability in the composition of inter-committees, with a large majority of the members remaining between three and seven legislatures (61%). It is particularly striking to note the high number of Members in the Knesset, as the sectoral analysis shows that, out of a total of 24 legislatures, 17.5% have remained between 7 and 14 legislatures.

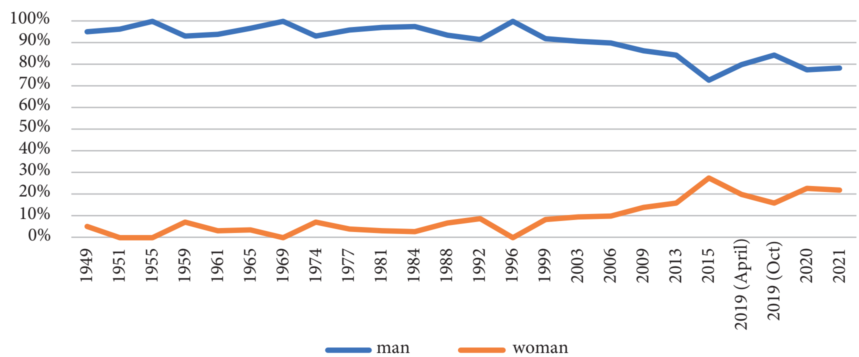
Sociodemographic dimensions

The socio-demographic dimension is particularly relevant in this case, as the State of Israel has played a role in providing refuge to Jewish populations around the world as one of its core collective values (Yishai, 1991). Despite this, it can be seen how the political scene has been composed mainly by European men, with a smaller presence of Sephardic, Miraji and Muslims Arab (Brichta, 2001). At the same time, the issue of gender representation is an element that marks a division between progressive and traditionalist, who have had different perspectives regarding the role of women in the political area.

Gender

The gender gap is evident in most of the Knesset throughout its legislature (Shapira *et al.,* 2016). There was a higher presence of women between 1949 and 1959 compared to other Western countries, but a drastic reduction after that. Regarding women's participation, it was seen how women were more present in committees such as Education and Culture or Work and Welfare, being their presence much less usual in Foreign Affairs and Defense (Yishai, 1997; Shapira *et al.*, 2016). Data on the total composition of the Commission show a higher presence of men (90.6%) compared to women (9.4%).

Figure 1
Time course - Composition by gender



The evolution over time shows how there is a gender gap in the composition of the Knesset Commission, with women making up less than 30% of the legislature for the most part. Previous analysis showed that the Knesset peak for women was 22.5% in 2013. In the case of the Defense Commission, the maximum point is 2015, when more women are incorporated. The figure shows a progressive increase in the participation of women in the Commission, slowly increasing since the 1999 legislature. It is interesting to analyze the composition in relation to the total composition of the Knesset, where there is a presence similar to that reflected in the sectoral analysis carried out (Shapira *et al.,* 2016). Despite this, there is a substantial difference between the presence of men, between 1949 and 1999 it was always more than 90%, gradually decreasing to 70%.

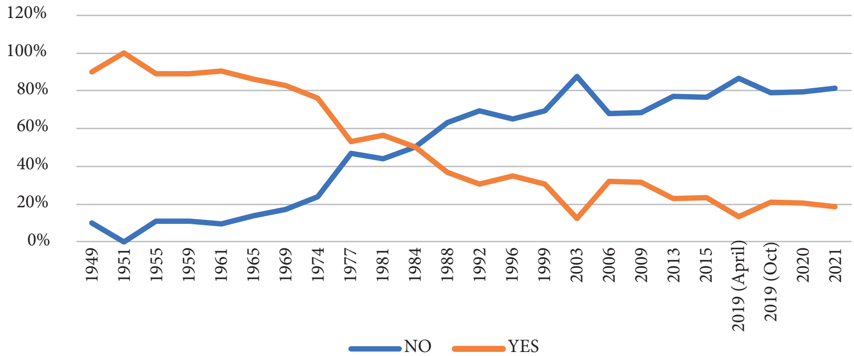
Age

Another interesting socio-demographic dimension is the age gap in which the Commission is accessed. This variable was calculated from the date of birth and the year of composition, being grouped in groups of ten years. The minimum age for single profiles has been 23 years, with the highest age being 82. The majority age gap was 43-52 (31.7%) and 53-62 (35.9%), being lower but homogeneous in the adjacent gap of 33-42 (15.1%) and 63-72 (14.5%) and much more minority the presence of deputies of 23-32 (1.4%) and 73-82 (1.2%). The distribution of data is symmetrical, with the central values of the scale being more represented, and to a lesser extent as it approaches the two extremes. The analysis in temporal gap allows to observe how there is a reduced presence of the oldest and the youngest during 1949-2021, at the same time that there are greater oscillations in the rest of values.

Aliyah

The composition of Israeli society is observed in the Defense Commission. A very similar distribution can be seen between those born in Israel (53%) and those who emigrated from foreign countries (47%). The graphical distribution representation of the temporal sections shows how more than 50% of the Commission was composed of Israelis who had practiced *Aliyah* until 1977. The trend has reversed since 1984 with those born in Israel surpassing those born abroad. Israel's status as a migrant-receiving State means that during the first three decades of its existence as a political entity, there will be a greater presence of foreign-born deputies, and this presence will be gradually reduced. It is interesting, since it is a recently conformed country that allows to observe the progressive incorporation of native born in the country in its political elites.

Figure 2
Aliyah Temporary gap



Countries of origin

Most countries of origin brought the data together into regional categories, with Eastern Europe dominating (27.9%), and the rest being much more minority regions. The analysis by country of origin shows the predominance of Polish (11.5%), Russians (6.6%) and Ukrainians (5.8%). Out of the Western European countries (3.4%), Germans stand out (2.5%), the rest being very minority. On the other hand, there is a significant presence of North Africans (5.3%), with Morocco being the main country (4.8%). Israelis emigrating from Middle Eastern countries amount to 4.9%, with Iraq (3.3%) and Syria (0.6%), Yemen (0.6%), Iran (0.4%) and Egypt (0.4%) being the main countries. The remaining regions have a minority distribution between Africa (0.4%), America (1.3%), Central Asia (1.2%) and South Africa (0.6%).

The analysis in temporal sections shows a preeminence of the members born in Europe, being more than 50% until 1974. The distribution percentage of members born in the Maghreb or the Middle East has been below 20%, with the peak in 2006. There is a reversible trend when comparing Israeli-born and emigrants, showing how the number of deputies born in Israel exceeds those born abroad. Analyzing gender in relation to geographical origin, the tables show that most women in the Defense Commission were born in Israel (63.7%), compared to foreigners (36.2%). For men, a homogeneous distribution can be seen between those born in Israel (52%) and those emigrating in the Aliyah (48%).

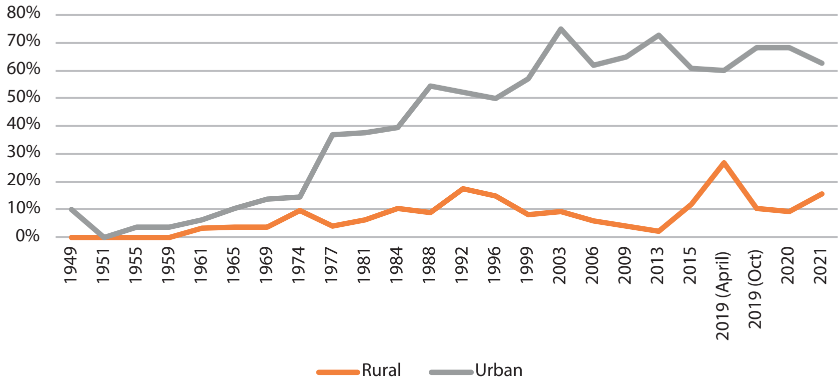
Environment and district

Among those born in Israel, there is a gap between rural (7.5%) and urban (43.8%), similar to the population distribution in Israel, with a majority of the population concentrated in the areas of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The analysis in temporal gaps shows more presence of deputies from urban Israeli areas, being the continuous and incremental number as more Israeli-born are integrated into the Knesset. The rural environment is less representative, increasing to 30% in the Knesset 21 (April, 2019) but then decreasing again. District-level data indicate that deputies born in Tel Aviv (15.1%) and Jerusalem (12.6%) prevail over other districts, with less deputies from the North (6.4%), Center (9.2%) or Haifa (5.2%). For their part, there are small percentages of those from the South (2.5%) and Judea-Samaria (0.2%). The data on the place of birth of deputies oscillate to a greater extent than in other socio-demographic variables. There are more deputies born in Jerusalem from 1988 to 1999, with a preeminence of those born in Tel Aviv between 2003 and 2020. At the same time, it is interesting to analyze the evolution of the Central district, which increased between 2013 and 2019, as well as in the current Knesset the main city of origin has been Jerusalem, surpassing Tel Aviv.

Training dimensions

The formative dimension offers interesting results with differences and similarities with other research on political elites. This section analyzes how Israeli deputies have mostly studied higher education in Israeli universities, and most come from law, business and education. The last section of the analysis shows how the military training profiles of Members have evolved over time.

Figure 3
Timeframes — #Environment



Level of training

The study of the formative dimension of parliamentarians was divided into two variables. On the one hand, the first level of education available to parliamentarians was analyzed and, on the other hand, the second highest level of education they had received. The first approximation to the total profiles showed a preeminence of the higher studies in the commission. Most notable were those with BA (48.2%) and Master's degrees (23.6%), with distributions much higher than those with secondary (11.1%) or primary (0.8%) studies, as well as those with religious studies (9.4%) or specific professional degrees (3.3%). When the second educational level was analyzed, the results showed that 37% of the deputies had a second level of education, including those with a second BA (19.3%) and those with a PhD (14.1%), with other levels of education being in the minority, such as specific degrees (2.2%), technical studies (0.5%), musical studies (0.8%) or MA studies (0.6%).

The time analysis provides a view of the evolution of the degrees. It is seen how those with BA studies remain above 40% from 1949 to 2009, being exceeded between 2009 and 2021 by those who had an MA, reaching nearly 70% in 2019. There is a constant but minority presence of those with religious studies during all the legislatures, as well as those with secondary studies, being in all cases always below the threshold of 20%. On the other hand, analyzing the second degrees, the percentages oscillate more than in the previous case. There is an irregular evolution in the presence of PhD, being the legislatures of 1961, 1996 and 2009 those with the highest number of deputies with a doctorate. Likewise, it is seen the progressive increase of those who study a second BA, being the maximum point 2019, when exceeding 50% of that commission.

Training centers

The members of the Knesset Defense Commission have studied in both foreign and Israeli centers. The analysis of the first training centers shows a preeminence of graduates from Israeli universities (53.4%), followed by those who have studied at foreign universities (21.8%). As is the case with the educational level, the other studies represent a lower percentage, highlighting the study in Israeli yeshivas (5.3%), in foreign yeshivas (1.4%) and in specialized centers (1.5%). Looking at the total data, the percentage of deputies who have completed second studies shows that they have completed their studies in Israeli universities (22%), followed by foreign universities (12.5%), being minority those who have studied in specialized centers (0.4%) or in foreign Yeshivas (0.6%).

The analysis of the temporal sections shows there is a preeminence of those who have studied in foreign universities between 1949 and 1969 (between 30 and 50%). Studying at foreign universities is declining in favor of those who have studied at Israeli universities, accounting for a 40-70% distribution from 1969 to 2021. There are two significant increases in those graduated by foreign universities, one in 1992 and the next in 2019. Regarding the second degree, there has been a progressive increase in those pursuing their second degree at Israeli universities, which since 1981 has exceeded those pursuing their studies abroad. Analyzing the time, the educational level of parliamentarians increases substantially in April 2019. The highest number of graduates with MA (67.7%) and with a second BA (47.4%). On the other hand, the number of Phd reduces and there is a slight increase in those who have completed their first studies abroad and their second studies in Israel.

Professional sectors

The analysis of the professional sectors prior to entering politics shows particularly interesting results. There are two levels, the first of which has homogeneous sectors such as educational personnel (18.6%), the business sector

(16.4%), legal professionals (14.8%) and national security (14.3%). Senior government officials occupy an intermediate position (10.8%), followed by the second level, which brings together data with a lower distribution percentage. These include unskilled workers (6.7%), especially present at the beginning of the construction of the State of Israel. They are followed by political staff (5.4%), such as advisers or public managers. Engineers (3.7%), health workers (1.2%), religious professions (2.7%) are also a minority and a significant number of 'Not stated' (5.4%) are assigned to this category due to lack of information.

Military units where military service is performed

Not all profiles of parliamentarians presented complete information regarding military service. Some of them specified medical exemptions, while others provided little information on medical exemptions, indicating only the employment or branch in which they were assigned. However, others provided more detailed information regarding their military experience. Given the differences in civil-military relations in Israel and the IDF being a center of extraction for political elites (Cohen and Cohen, 2020), it is relevant to know where they performed their military service. The data obtained show the importance of paramilitary organizations during the period of the British Mandate of Palestine, with the Haganah and other groups such as Irgun and Leji being central to the formation of the State. The temporal sections show an incremental presence between 1949 and 1974 of former members of the Haganah, with 1974 being the time of more presence (60%), which gradually decreases until it disappears, as was the case with geographical origin, where the European *olim* were progressively replaced by Israelis. In the case of the units, Haganah is replaced by the Infantry Brigades, which evolves from 1965 to 2019, reaching this year its peak in 50% of components.

Conclusions

This research contributes to the study of civil-military relations in Israel, analyzing the profiles of those Knesset representatives responsible for government control over defense. Knowing their profiles allows establishing a first approach to this phenomenon to understand how a type of profile can condition the actions they develop. The results obtained in this research allow to identify the main features of the components of the Defense and Foreign

Affairs Committee of the Knesset. The analysis of the results shows similar characteristics in other research. The data show a low retention of Members in the Commission, extending to no more than two terms.

Regarding socio-demographic profiles, there is a marked gender gap between 1949 and 2021, and there is no large presence of women in this committee. Similarly, the origins of parliamentarians are in line with the evolution of the State of Israel, being from other countries, while this trend reverses from 1980s. With regard to the countries of origin, there is a preeminence of Central Europe as a region over other areas such as North Africa, the Middle East or Asia. Similarly, those born in Israel come mostly from the country's two main cities, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The remaining districts are under-represented in this sectoral analysis, which is consistent with other studies indicating that political elites often come from major cities. As for training, a high percentage of Members have higher education, both at the level of Degree, Master or even PhD. The majority of degrees have been obtained at Israeli universities, despite the fact that they had initially studied in foreign institutions.

The research presents limitations due to access to information especially in relation to military service, as well as the social and geographical origins of those deputies born in Israel. Nevertheless, the results obtained facilitate future research on safety studies. It is interesting to understand the training and professional profiles of parliamentarians to analyze the dynamics between the legislative power and the government, as well as the control, consultation or proposal procedures that are activated. This future line would allow to appreciate correlations between the parliamentary profile and its way of dealing with political actions in the parliamentary arena. In addition, it would be interesting to conduct comparative analyzes with political elites from other countries where Defense is a central element, or who have high levels of threat perception that can be a conditioning factor for the profiles of parliamentary representatives.

References

Akzin, B. (1955). The role of parties in Israeli Democracy. *Journal of politics, 17,* 509-533. https://bit.ly/3DyQmNX

Albright, D. E. (1980). Comparative conceptualization of Civil-Military Relations. *World Politics*, *32*(4), 553-576. https://doi.org/10.2307/2010057

Arian, A. (1985). *Politics in Israel. The second generation*. Chatham House.

Ben-Eliezer, U. (1997). Rethinking the civil-military relations paradigm. The inverse relation between militarism and Praetorianism through the example of Israel. *Comparative Political Studies*, *30*(3), 356-374. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414097030003004

Brichta, A. (2001). *Political Reform in Israel*. Sussex Academic Press.

Cobertt, J. and Wood, T. (2013). Of but apart: profiling politicians in Solomon Islands. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *48*(3), 320-334. https://bit.ly/4783ya6

Cohen, A. y Cohen, S. A. (2020) Beyond the conventional civil-military "Gap": Cleavages and convergences in Israel. *Armed Forces & Society*, *20*(10). https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X20903072

Coller, X. and Santana, A. (2009). La homogeneidad social de la élite política. Los parlamentarios de los PANE (1980-2005). *Papers, 92*, 29-50. https://bit.ly/3QbNePL

Coller, X. (2008). El sesgo social de las élites políticas. El caso de la España de las autonomías (1980-2005). *Revista de Estudios políticos*, *141*, 135-159. https://bit.ly/3Qd36S7

Dahl, R. A. (1961). *Who governs? Democracy and power in an American City*. Yale University Press.

Delgado, I. (1997). Las élites políticas en España. Adecuación representativa en los niveles de gobierno. *Perfiles Latinoamericanos*, *11,* 113-138. https://bit.ly/44L6E2f

Domínguez Benavente, P. (2017). Explorando la identidad de las nuevas élites políticas españolas: Ciudadanos y Podemos. *Política y Gobernanza. Revista de Investigaciones y análisis político*, *1*, 53-78.https://doi.org/10.30827/polygob.v0i1.6318

Easton, D. (1953). *The Political System. An inquiry into the state of political science*. The University of Chicago Press.

Elon, A. (1971). *The Israelis, founders and sons*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Etzioni, A. (1962). *The decline of neo-feudalism: The case of Israel. Papers in comparative public administration*. University of Michigan.

Etzioni-Halevy, E. (1993). *The Elite Connection*. Polity Press.

Fernández-García, B. and García Luengo, O. (2018). Diferentes vías, un mismo resultado: el éxito electoral de los partidos populistas en Europa Occidental. Una propuesta de análisis. *Revista Española De Ciencia Política,48*, 45-72.https://bit.ly/3O9tGc9

Finer, S. E. (1962). *The man on horseback*. Pall Mall.

Finer, S. E. (1982). The morphology of military regimes. En R. Kolkowicz y A. Korbonski (eds.), *Soldiers, peasants and bureaucrats* (pp.281-304). Allen & Unwin.

Galnoor, I. (1982). *Steering the polity: Communication and politics in Israel*. SAGE.

Gutmann, E. (1977). *Parties and camps: Stability and change. The Israeli political system*.

Huntington, S. (1957). *The soldier and the state: The theory and politics of civil-military relations.* Harvard University Press.

Janowitz, M. (1957). Military elites and the study of war. *Journal of conflict resolution,* (1), 9-18. https://doi.org/10.1177/002200275700100103

Janowitz, M. (1960). *The professional soldier*. Free Press.

Kakepaki, M., Kountouri, F., Verzichelli, L. y Coller, X. (2018). The socio-political profile of parliamentary representatives in Greece, Italy and Spain before and after the "eurocrisis": A comparative empirical assessment. En Guillermo Cordero y Xavier Coller (ed.), *Democratizing Candidate Selection*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Krebs, R. R. (2004). A school for the Nation? How Military service does not build nations, and how it might. *International Security*, *28*(4), 85-124. https://bit.ly/3q0FB45

Kuperman, R. D. (2005). Who should authorize the IDF to initiate a Military Operation? A brief History of an unresolved debate, *Israel Affairs*, *11*(4), 672-694. https://doi.org/10.1080/13537120500233912

Lomsky-Feder, E. and Sasson-Levy, O. (2018). *Women soldiers and citizenship in Israel. Gendered encounters with the state*. Routledge.

Maman, D. (1997). The elite structure in Israel: A socio-historical analysis. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, *25*(1), 25-46. https://bit.ly/3Qh5B5P

Maniruzzman, T. (1987). *Military with drawal from politics*. Ballinger.

Michael, K. (2007) Military knowledge and weak civilian control in the reality of Low Intensity Conflict: The Israeli case. *Israel studies, 12(*1), 28-52. https://doi.org/10.1353/is.2007.0005

Mills, C. W. (1978). *La élite del poder*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Mosca, G. (1939). *The ruling class*. McGraw-Hill.

Nordlinger, E. A. (1977). *Soldiers in Politics: Military coups and governments*. Pearson College.

Norris, P. and Lovenduski, J. (1995). *Political Recruitment. Gender, race and class in the British Parliament*. Cambridge University Press.

Panebianco, A. (1990) *Modelos de partido*. Alianza.

Pareto, V. (1980). *Forma y equilibrio sociales*. Alianza.

Pitkin, H. F. (1967). *The concept of representation*. University of California Press.

Posen, B. R. (1984). *The sources of military doctrine: France, Britain and Germany between the World Wars.* Cornell University Press.

Putnam, R. (1976). *The comparative study of political elites*. Prentice-Hall.

Sánchez Herrera, J. (2004). La élite parlamentaria de Canarias: perfil sociodemográfico. *Revista de Sociología e política*, *3*, 141-153. https://bit.ly/3rSUuFT

Schumpeter, J. (1983). *Capitalismo, socialismo y Democracia*. Ediciones Orbis S.A.

Shapira, A., Kenig, O., Friedberg, C. and Itzkovitch-Malka, R. (2016) *The representation of women in Israeli politics: A Comparative perspective*. Policy Paper 10E. The Israel democracy institute.

Uriarte, E. (1997). El análisis de las élites políticas en las democracias. *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, *97,* 249-275. https://bit.ly/4771bEB

Vagts, A. (1959). *A history of militarism*. Meridian Books.

Valenzuela, A. (1985). A note on the military and social science theory. *Third world quarterly*, *7*(1), 132-143. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436598508419828

Welch, C. E. (1985). Civil-military relations: Perspectives from the Third World. *Armed Forces & Society*, *11,* 183-198.

Yishai, Y. (1991) *Land of Paradoxes*. State University New York Press.

Yishai, Y. (1997). *Between the flag and the banner: Women in Israeli Politic*s. State University of New York Press.

Zagorski, P. W. (1988). Civil-Military relations and Argentine Democracy. *Armed Forces & Society*, *19*(1), 407-432.https://bit.ly/3Dw66RU

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.02

From descriptive to substantive representation? Women and politics in Latin America

¿De la representación descriptiva a la sustantiva? Mujeres y política en América Latina

José Carlos Hernández-Gutiérrez
Universidad de Granada, Spain
jchernandez@ugr.es
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2855-1053

Sol Cárdenas-Arguedas
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico
solcardenas@politicas.unam.mx
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3178-8825

Ana Karen Cortés-Hernández
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico
anakarencortes@politicas.unam.mx
https://orcid.org/0009-0002-6754-8858

Received on: 12/06/2023 **Revised on:** 17/07/2023 **Approved on:** 28/08/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Suggested citation: Hernández-Gutiérrez, J. C., Cárdenas-Arguedas, S. and Cortés-Hernández, A. K. (2023). From descriptive to substantive representation? Women and politics in Latin America. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 39-56. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.02

Abstract

Studying women's representation in legislatures is relevant because women's access to these bodies and their participation in decision-making are essential to the right to equal participation in democratic governance. An increased female presence in legislatures does not always lead to women's access to the most important working and decision-making bodies on an equal footing with men. Thus, the aim of this article is to analyze women's participation in the lower or single chambers of 17 Latin American countries from two dimensions of representation: descriptive and substantive. The research is quantitative. In order to study substantive representation, legislative committees are taken into account. It is found that a higher percentage of women occupying a seat does not always translate into women holding an equal proportion of committee chairmanships. It is also observed that women are predominantly the chairpersons of reproductive committees. It is concluded (1) that access to positions of political representation does not necessarily translate into equal access to positions of power within the legislative chambers and (2) that women occupy a smaller proportion of the most important committees, demonstrating that the strong and most powerful committees continue to be held by men due to the construction of politics and its exercise as androcentric.

Keywords

Committees, descriptive, governance, Latin America, women, politics, representation, substantive.

Resumen

Estudiar la representación femenina en las asambleas legislativas es relevante porque el acceso de las mujeres a estos órganos y su participación en la toma de decisiones son fundamentales para hacer efectivo el derecho a participar por igual en la gobernanza democrática. Se ha constatado que una mayor presencia femenina en las asambleas legislativas no siempre conduce al acceso de las mujeres a los órganos de trabajo y decisión más importantes en igualdad con los hombres. Así, el objetivo de este artículo es analizar la participación de las mujeres en las cámaras bajas o únicas de 17 países latinoamericanos desde dos dimensiones de la representación: descriptiva y sustantiva. Se trata de una investigación de carácter cuantitativo. Para estudiar la representación sustantiva se tienen en cuenta las comisiones legislativas. Se constata que un mayor porcentaje de mujeres ocupando un escaño no siempre se traduce en que estas ejerzan en igual proporción las presidencias de las comisiones. También se observa que las mujeres ocupan, sobre todo, presidencias de comisiones de reproducción. Se concluye (1) que el acceso a cargos de representación política no se traduce necesariamente en el ingreso igualitario a puestos de poder dentro de las cámaras legislativas y (2) que las mujeres ocupan en menos proporción las comisiones más importantes, manifestando que las comisiones fuertes y que mayor poder representan siguen siendo para los hombres por la construcción de la política y su ejercicio como androcéntrica.

Palabras clave

Comisiones, descriptiva, gobernanza, Latinoamérica, mujeres, política, representación, sustantiva.

Introduction

Governance practices and ideas hold great potential with their emphasis on accountability, transparency, inclusive citizenship, and democracy for changing gender equality. But that potential is not being tapped. Gender equality in decision-making is pivotal to empower those who have been excluded from power because of their sex. Some progress in addressing gender inequality in national governance institutions, such as quota or parity laws, is noteworthy. But these measures do not always guarantee equal participation in institutions (Brody, 2009).

While it is important to increase the number of women in legislative assemblies, it is equally important to analyze whether this increased presence translates into substantive representation, i.e., whether women occupy leadership positions in legislative bodies. In Latin America, affirmative action to increase the presence of women in the legislature began in the 1990s. In 1991, Argentina was the first country to implement a quota law under the name National Quota Law 24.012.1991, amending Article 60 of the National Electoral Code. Taking this country as an example, the adoption of this affirmative action has been positive, with the percentage of women parliamentarians rising from 5.84% in 1991 to 44.75% in 2023, representing a significant increase in descriptive representation. In this regard, the literature on female political representation has evolved in recent decades. The first investigations were associated with the conditions of access to the legislature. Once a certain critical mass has been reached in the national congresses, the analysis focuses on the actions of women when they get their seats (Caminotti, 2009; Chasquetti and Pérez, 2012; Heath *et al*., 2005; Johnson, 2014; Krook and Norris, 2014; Palmieri, 2011; Pérez, 2014; Rodríguez and Madera, 2016; Rodríguez, 2011; Schwindt-Bayer, 2006, 2010; Tremblay and Pelletier, 2000), showing that women's access to the most important work and decision-making bodies on an equal basis with men remains a challenge (substantive representation) (Aldrey, 2016; García, 2019; Martínez and Garrido, 2010). In other words, greater gender equality in access to positions of political representation does not necessarily translate into equal access to positions of power within the legislative chambers (Pérez, 2014; Freidenberg and Gilas, 2020), as may be the chairs of legislative committees.

The study of women's representation in legislative assemblies is relevant because women's access to these bodies and their effective participation in decision-making are essential for their right to equal participation in democratic governance (UN Women, s.f.). Thus, the research questions that drive the elaboration of this article are the following: Does an increased presence of women in the lower or single chambers mean that a greater number of commissions are chaired by women? Is there a gender division in the work of the commissions? Thus, the objective of this article is to analyze the participation of women in the lower or single chambers of 17 Latin American countries, from two representation dimensions: descriptive and substantive. In order to improve the position of women in parliaments, it was necessary to analyze not only the number of seats they held, but also the impact of their participation. While the first element refers to descriptive representation, the second refers to substantive representation (Pitkin, 1967).[1] In order to study this type of representation, legislative committees are taken into account (García, 2019; Gutiérrez, 2021).

Commissions can be defined as working groups, permanent or temporary, structured from thematic areas and constituted by a part of the members of a legislative assembly, in which they delegate some of their functions with the aim of promoting greater efficiency in the performance of matters specific to legislative work (García-Montero and Sánchez, 2002). There are a number of reasons for considering the commissions as a way of approaching substantive representation. The commissions are responsible for the analysis of legislation and perform functions such as monitoring the Government and aggregating the interests of legislators. They also influence public policies (Rivera, 2005). In this sense, they are arguably "small congresses" (Krehbiel, 1992). Since it is impossible for the full congress to discuss all the legislation presented (Cox, 2006), with exceptions, the legislation is sent to the committees for its study, and these bodies can send it to the plenary for approval or dismissal.

1 "In substantive representation, women and men accept a responsibility in which they must stop acting for themselves and begin to act for their represented; although, this expression can be understood in two ways: 'on the one hand, it may mean acting instead of; on the other hand, it may mean acting for the benefit of; or it may mean both at the same time' (Pitkin, 1967, pp. 137-138), but the context will determine the difference of its implementation. For Pitkin (1967), the descriptive and symbolic representation approach, as an inanimate object, the representative and, in practical terms of their exercise, are omitted in their functions, because the priority is how they are considered, their similarity and characteristics, not what they do or do not do. So he wonders: what does it really mean in practice? The concept of substantive refers to 'the articulated perspective of representation as an activity' (Pitkin, 1967, pp. 124-125). The ideas of substitution, of taking care of others, of acting in the interest of or acting as subordinate are not sufficient for the idea of representation developed" (Cortés, 2023, pp. 33-34).

In this process, committee chairs play an essential role, as they decide which bills are considered first and put off discussion by others (Pérez, 2014). In this sense, the legislators who occupy them have "special agenda powers" (Alemán, 2006; Cox, 2006; Cox and McCubbins, 2005).

Analyzing the distribution patterns of commissions in a legislature allows to know the decision-making processes, the interests of political elites and the power relations between those elites (Martin and Mickler, 2018). According to traditional gender roles, commissions, following Skard and Haavio-Manila (1985), can be classified as productive, reproductive and system preservation. The first are those related to economy, taxation, industry, etc. Reproductive issues deal with the issues of educational policy, health, family, housing, etc. Finally, the preservation of the system deal with constitutional issues, foreign relations, etc. Traditionally, the commissions of reproduction and preservation of the system are the areas in which women have participated the most, either in Latin American (Aldrey, 2016; García, 2019; Heath *et al.,* 2005; Martínez and Garrido, 2010; Schwindt-Bayer, 2006, 200 10) or abroad (Coffé *et al*., 2019; Pansardi and Vercesi, 2017). However, other research has concluded that the explanatory variable of this inequality is not sex, but years of experience in the legislative assembly (O'Brien, 2012; Palmieri, 2011) or the magnitude of the district for which the legislator was elected (Chasquetti and Pérez, 2012).

Although it is a well studied topic, it is important to replicate previous research on descriptive and substantive female political representation to analyze with updated data whether the fact that there is a higher percentage of women in the lower or single chambers translates into women occupying power spaces in those chambers. The main contribution of this study is to analyze a significant number of Latin American countries, allowing not only to know the situation in a single case, but also the comparison and the state-of-the-art at the regional level. To achieve the above objective, the article is structured in three sections. The next section presents the sources used to extract the data. The other section shows the results, providing descriptive and substantive representation data. The last section shows the discussion and conclusions.

Materials and methods

The objective of this article was to examine the participation of women in the lower or single chambers of 17 Latin American countries, from two dimensions of representation: descriptive and substantive. A total of 17 Latin American countries were analyzed.[2] The research design was non-experimental, cross-sectional and descriptive. Data on the percentage of women in the lower or single chambers were retrieved from the Inter-Parliamentary Union Database as of January 2023. On the other hand, substantive representation through the participation of women in legislative committees was studied because, as stated by Gutiérrez (2021, p. 50), "commissions are decision-making bodies within legislatures, so they allow to have a proxy of women's substantive participation". Likewise, García (2019) also understands the female chairmanship of commissions as an indicator of substantive representation. Only the standing committees of the lower or single chambers were analyzed; the data were collected from whose websites. The composition of the committees may change over the course of the parliamentary term, so data dated 21 April 2023 were used. The database is composed of the following variables for committees: 1) country; 2) name of committee; 3) sex of chair. A total of 394 commissions were analyzed. Both data on representation of women in lower or single houses and data on parliamentary committees were collected using the Microsoft Excel program. The classification retrieved for its analysis and interpretation is observed in Table 1.

Table 1

Classification of Parliamentary Committees

Production	Reproduction	System Preservation
Economic policy	Social policy	Political and administrative reform
Fiscal policy	Familiar	Foreign policy and defense
Labor	Healthcare	Support for interest groups and minorities
Industrial	Educational	
Energetic	Housing	
	Environment	
	Culture	

Note. Aldrey (2016, p. 44).

2 Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. Not all data from Honduras and Haiti could be accessed.

Results

Descriptive representation

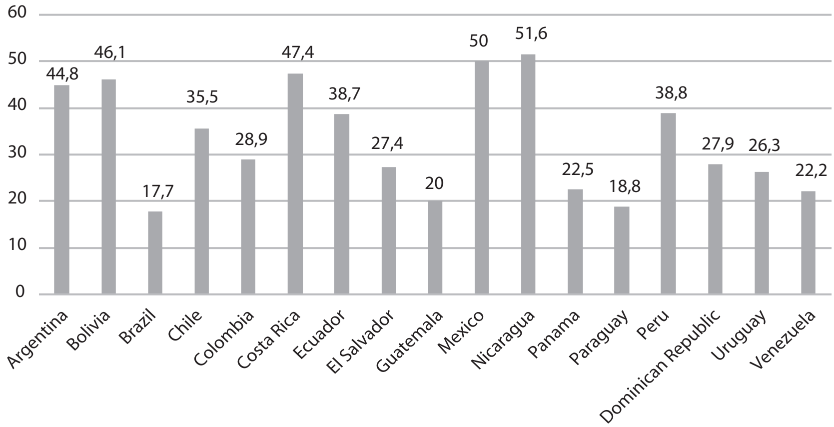
Descriptive representation in Latin American countries has advanced from a series of measures for integrating women into political participation and representation in their countries. As mentioned above, since the 1990s, in Latin America gender quotas were adopted in order to put an end to patriarchal practices of exclusion and domination of women in political life. "In other words, legal mechanisms were established to ensure and encourage the inclusion of women candidates and, consequently, women in decision-making positions within the parties and the State" (Cárdenas and Cortes, 2021, p. 25).

Quotas seek to achieve representativeness and proportionality a quantitative and qualitative distribution in accordance with the composition of the population, of demands, needs and interests in a State. However, once implemented, it has been detected that the gender gap in Latin American countries is not directly reduced by this measure, but by other variables according to the context, such as the electoral system of the country, the order of women on the multi-member lists and the distribution of candidates in electoral districts, and even the resources that the feminist movement and its actors put in electoral tribunals and above all, due to the lack of political will of political parties and actors (Martínez and Garrido, 2013). It should not be forgotten that the logic of exercising power is predominantly patriarchal (Cárdenas, September 29, 2022).

Affirmative action, particularly gender quotas, was the beginning of the path to parity in different countries. Parity is an institutionalized public policy already observed in Latin American countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Nicaragua. It is a fact that both legal and institutional mechanisms are essential to guarantee the presence and representation of women in legislative assemblies. Figure 1 shows the percentage of women in the lower or single chambers.

Figure 1

Percentage of women legislators in the Lower or Single chambers, 2023



Note. Own elaboration with data from IPU Database.

Figure 2 shows that significant variations are observed when comparing the percentage of women legislators present at the congresses, which can be classified into three groups:

- Group 1. Women account for no more than 20% of the population. The countries of this group are Brazil (17.7%), Guatemala (20%) and Paraguay (18.8%), which are directly related to the fact that gender quotas do not exceed 30% in their legislation and their legislation does not make them mandatory.
- Group 2. Female legislators make up between 21% and 40% of the total number of seats. This group has the largest number of countries in Latin America analyzed, i.e., 10 out of 17. These are: Chile (35.5%), Colombia (28.9%), Ecuador (38.7%), El Salvador (27.4%), Honduras (27.3%), Panama (22.5%), Peru (38.8%), Dominican Republic (27.9%), Uruguay (26.3%) and Venezuela (22.2%). In this group of countries, two have mandatory gender quotas of at least 30% (Colombia and El Salvador), while four have 50% (Ecuador, Panama,

Peru and Venezuela). Unlike group 1, quotas (except El Salvador, Panama and Uruguay[3]) are mandatory.

- Group 3. Women representatives are over 40% of the political representation, close to or exceeding parity. Five countries stand out: Argentina (44.8%), Bolivia (46.1%), Costa Rica (47.4%), Mexico (50%) and Nicaragua (51.6%). These countries count on the establishment of the parity principle; in the case of Bolivia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, it has taken a little more than ten years with the institutionalization of this public policy.

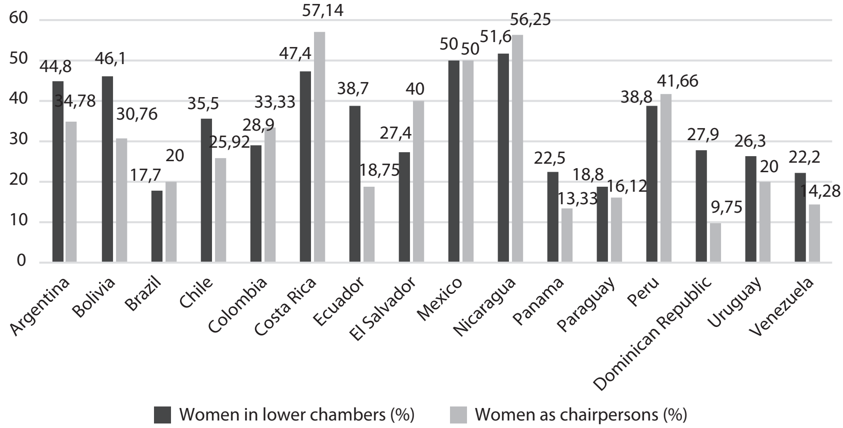
One of the striking elements is that most countries have mandatory gender quotas or parity, however, no mention is made of mechanisms to implement the quota or parity once the distribution of seats is done. Similarly, the results of group 3 make us ask: why, if the parity principle is legally established in five countries, only two countries (Nicaragua and Mexico) have a parity in their lower chambers? For example, it can be suggested that in Mexico, this is due to the central role played by the federal administrative authorities (National Electoral Institute) and jurisdictional (Electoral Tribunal of the Judiciary of the Federation) in establishing Agreements, Resolutions and Sentences to regulate parity ranging from the conformation of the candidacies of political parties by competitiveness blocks in both principles of representation (relative majority and proportional representation) to the distribution of proportional representation seats to compensate for the male overrepresentation that may be the result of the mixed electoral system. As seen, a detailed explanation of each of the countries that explains this phenomenon would involve other research, so it remains pending for future research.

Figure 2 shows the percentage of women legislators in the lower or single chambers of the 17 countries analyzed and the percentage of women committee chairpersons. In some cases, the reforms that establish parity transversalize the composition of commission leaders (as in the case of Mexico); however, the results indicate that only Nicaragua and Mexico (out of the 17 countries) have 50% of committee chairs headed by women.

3 El Salvador (30% quota, no obligation or punishment for non-compliance), Panama (guarantee of parity but no sanction, no explicit obligation) and Uruguay does not have explicit quota or obligation.

Figure 2

Percentage of women legislators in the Lower or Unicameral Houses and committee chairs, 2023



Note. Own production with data from IPU Database and the websites of the national lower chambers.

From the figure above, it can be seen that Argentina has 16 of 46 commissions chaired by women (34.8%); Bolivia four of 13 (30.8%); Brazil six of 30 (20%); Chile seven of 27 (25.9%); Colombia five of 15 (33.3%); Costa Rica 12 of 21 (57.1%); Ecuador three of 16 (18.8%); El Salvador eight of 20 (40%); Guatemala nine of 37 (24.3%); Mexico 25 of 50%; Nicaragua 9 out of 16 (56.3%); Panama two out of 15 (13.3%); Paraguay five out of 31 (16.1%); Peru ten out of 24 (41.7%); Dominican Republic four out of 41 (9.8%); Uruguay three out of 15 (20%); Venezuela two out of 14 (14.3%).

The percentage of women committee chairpersons in seven of the 17 countries is equal to or higher than that of women parliamentarians, such as Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru. By contrast, in three of the 17 countries, the percentage of women committee chairs is barely half (or less) of women parliamentarians, namely Ecuador, Panama, and the Dominican Republic.

Substantive representation

An analysis of the political representation of women involves not only counting them numerically, but also considering their exercise of political power, substantive representation. For this purpose, the number of women chairing commissions and the type of commissions (reproduction, production and preservation) they usually chair are analyzed below.

Table 2
Classification of women commissions in 17 countries, 2023

Country	Reproduction (%)	Production (%)	Preservation (%)	Total female chairpersons
Argentina	**17.4%**	6.5%	10.9%	34.8%
Bolivia	**23.1%**	0	7.7%	30.8%
Brazil	**10%**	6.7%	3.3%	20%
Chile	11.1%	11.1%	3.7%	25.9%
Colombia	13.3%	13.3%	6.7%	33.3%
Costa Rica	19%	**23.8%**	14.3%	57.1%
Ecuador	6.3%	6.3%	6.3%	18.8%
El Salvador	**20%**	5 %	15%	40%
Guatemala	**10.8%**	8.1%	5.4%	24.3%
Mexico	**32%**	6%	12%	50%
Nicaragua	25%	0	**31.3%**	56.3%
Panama	**13.3%**	0	0	13.3%
Paraguay	3.2%	3.2%	**9.7%**	16.1%
Peru	**20.8%**	12.5%	8.3%	41.7%
Dominican Republic	**7.3%**	2.4%	0	9.8%
Uruguay	**13.3%**	6.7%	0	20%
Venezuela	**13.3%**	0	0	13.3%

Note. The highest percentages per country are marked in bold. Own elaboration with data from IPU Database and the websites of the national lower chambers; classification according to Skard and Haavio-Manila (1985).

According to the classification of Skard and Haavio-Manila (1985), Table 2 shows the results of the congresses in the 17 countries analyzed. In summary, they are as follows:

- There is a majority trend where women chairing commissions do so in those classified as "reproduction", such as in 11 countries such as Argentina (17.4%), Bolivia (23.1%), Brazil (10%), El Salvador (20%), Guatemala (10.8%), Mexico (32%), Panama (13.3%), Peru (20.8%), Dominican Republic (7.3%), Uruguay (13.3%) and Venezuela (13.3%).
- Chile and Colombia share a tied percentage between commissions classified as "reproduction" and "production", Chile with 11.1% and Colombia with 13.3%.
- Ecuador is the only country that has equal percentages in the three categories, with 6.3% each.
- All the commissions where women lead in Panama and Venezuela belong to the classification of "reproduction", so there are none in the commissions that are considered more important, such as production.
- Costa Rica is the only country with the highest percentage of commissions headed by women classified as "production". The country also has 57.1% of committee chairs.
- Nicaragua has the highest percentage of commissions headed by women classified as "preservation" with 31.3%, although it does not have any commission classified as "production". It should also be recalled that the State has 56.3% of female chairpersons in its committees.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the last two countries are the only ones where women chair the majority of commissions and in both cases, their rankings are not mostly in "reproduction" but in some of the other categories.

Conclusions and discussion

This research has examined whether a greater female presence in lower or single chambers means that more committees are chaired by women. It has also explored whether there was a gender division in the work of the commissions. Thus, the initial objective was to analyze the participation of women in the lower houses of 17 Latin American countries from two dimensions of representation: descriptive and substantive (Pitkin, 1967). In this sense, the results show, on the one hand, that a greater descriptive representation does not necessarily translate into a higher percentage of women occupying positions of power within the legislative assemblies. On the other hand, the results indicate that women chair mostly reproduction commissions, being this the case of 11 of the 17 countries analyzed.

Regarding descriptive representation among the 17 States analyzed, a number of findings can be commented. First, countries with a maximum of 20% of women in the lower or single chambers have quota laws that do not exceed 30% and do not make them mandatory (Brazil, Guatemala and Paraguay). This result is consistent with previous literature, which points out that for the effectiveness of quotas it is necessary to have a sanction in case of non-compliance (Hernández-Gutiérrez, 2022; Slaviero, 2021; Tula, 2015). On the other hand, the principle of parity is established in most countries where women make up more than 40% of the congresses (Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Nicaragua), highlighting the importance of this type of measures to move towards greater female descriptive representation in legislative assemblies.

When comparing the percentage of women in the seats with those who preside over committees in Congress, it is seen that only seven of the 17 countries have a composition of women committee leaders equal to or greater than that of women parliamentarians (Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru). By contrast, in three countries, Ecuador, Panama, and the Dominican Republic, the percentage of women committee chairs is only half (or less) than of women parliamentarians. This finding suggests that access to positions of political representation does not necessarily translate into equal admission to positions of power within legislative chambers, such as committee presidencies (Perez, 2014; Freidenberg and Gilas, 2020).

Studying the exercise of power by women and in this case the substantive representation of women through the number of women in committee chairs, shows that women continue to chair, for the most part, the commissions of “reproduction”, i.e., those related to the roles and stereotypes of women, a finding that coincides with previous research (Aldrey, 2016; García, 2019; Heath *et al.,* 2005; Martínez and Garrido, 2010; Schwindt-Bayer, 2006, 2010). This shows that there are less women in the most important commissions that receive more budgets, in this case those of “production”, stating that the strong commissions and with more power in national congresses remain for men by the construction of politics and their exercise as androcentric (Cárdenas and Cortés, 2021).

However, it is necessary to delve into the reasons why women do not occupy committee presidencies in the same percentage that are represented in congresses and why they mostly occupy the chair of a certain type of committees, since previous research found that sex is not the explanatory variable of these phenomena, but the size of the district for which the legislators were elected (Chasquetti and Pérez, 2012), the type of electoral system (Matland and Studlar, 1996; Shugart, 2008) or the years of experience in the legislative assembly (O'Brien, 201 2; Palmieri, 2011). In the latter case, it is a reality that women have had fewer years as legislators, despite having political rights since the last century. However, to delimit the explanation to the fact of lack of experience implies not observing the predominance of patriarchal practices that continue to prevent women from accessing and exercising their political power.

Substantive representation is a logic that leads us to analyze the action of those who represent us; it is the "introduction of priorities and of a specific legislative agenda by those elected to representative positions" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 152). It is necessary to mention that the specific agenda of representatives would have to be related to the needs and interests of the people who elected them, for example, substantive representation for women would mean a greater presence of their interests, the defense of their rights and the guarantee of their fulfillment in the legislative agenda. There are, however, interesting discussions about whether women should prioritize women's demands or feminist demands when they reach representative positions. It is considered that beyond the particular or general agendas of each of these representatives, what would imply a democratic logic and justice is that these women have exercise of power with the same opportunities as men, and especially under the same conditions and free of violence because of their generic status.

If democracy was born incomplete, without the political participation and representation of half the population, institutional design and redesign, through the establishment of legal mechanisms to compensate for what was unequal from the beginning, is a matter of justice, no less. Little progress can be made if this path of formality is not accompanied by the eradication of these violent and patriarchal practices, without a change in the informal rules, the political culture, those of political practice. It is a reality that democracies will remain incomplete, as long as women do not really exercise power, making decisions for society as a whole.

To conclude, future research could overcome some of the limitations of this article and consider longitudinal data to analyze the position of women within legislative assemblies in each of the selected countries. In this way, the variables that affect the unequal distribution of power between men and women can be observed once they access parliaments. Finally, this study should be extended from a qualitative approach, considering the thematic agendas and strategies of women as representatives of parliamentary committees.

References

Aldrey Calvo, S. M. (2016). *Ley de Cuotas y distribución de poder en las Comisiones Legislativas de América Latina* [Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid]. https://bit.ly/3rWXsJx

Alemán, E. (2006). Policy gatekeepers in Latin American legislatures. *Latin American Politics & Society*, *48*(3), 125-155. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2456.2006.tb00358.x

Brody, A. (2009). *Género y gobernanza. Informe general*. BRIDGE/IDS, Institute of Development Studies. https://bit.ly/47ef182

Caminotti, M. (2009). Género e instituciones políticas en escenarios federales: interrogantes y líneas de investigación. *Prácticas de oficio. Investigación y reflexión en Ciencias Sociales*, (4), 1-8. https://bit.ly/45c2xwd

Cárdenas Arguedas, S. (29 septiembre de 2022). ¿Por qué necesitamos feminismo? México Social. *La cuestión social en México*. https://bit.ly/44MUGW1

Cárdenas Arguedas, S. y Cortés Hernández, A. K. (2021). Reformas en materia de representación política en México: paridad en todo y violencia política contra las mujeres en razón de género. En S. Cárdenas Arguedas, R. Zavala Hernández y M. Tagle Martínez (coords.), *Perspectiva de género en México: Cámara de Diputados y Diputadas, Legislatura LXIV (2018-2021). Una visión multidisciplinaria* (pp. 23-44). Cámara de Diputados. https://bit.ly/3rJnD6q

Chasquetti, D. and Pérez, V. (2012). ¿Mujeres en los márgenes?: sistema de comisiones y poder de asignación en el Parlamento uruguayo. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, *32*(2), 383-409. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-090X2012000200003

Coffé, H., Bolzendahl, C. and Schnellecke, K. (2019). Parties, issues, and power: women's partisan representation on German parliamentary committees. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, *2*(2), 275-281. https://bit.ly/478W3Qr

Cortés Hernández, A. K. (2023). *La representación política de las mujeres en México: Cámara de Diputados y Diputadas, LXIV Legislatura (2018-2021)* [Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México]. https://bit.ly/3DBXj0J

Cox, G. (2006). The organization of democratic legislatures. En B. Weingast y D. Wittman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy* (pp. 141-161). Oxford University Press.

Cox, G. and McCubbins, M. D. (2005). *Setting the agenda. Responsible party government in the US House of Representatives*. Cambridge University Press.

Freidenberg, F. and Gilas, K. (2020). ¡Ellas tienen los escaños, ellos el poder! Representación legislativa de las mujeres en el estado de Morelos. *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, *65*(240), 327-358. https://doi.org/10.22201/fcpys.2448492xe.2020.240.72869

García Méndez, E. (2019). Representación política de las mujeres en los Congresos subnacionales en México. Un modelo de evaluación. *Estudios Políticos*, (46), 73-98. https://bit.ly/3DC95bB

García-Montero, M. and Sánchez López, F. (2002). *Las comisiones legislativas en América Latina: una clasificación institucional y empírica* (Documento de trabajo No. 212). Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials. https://bit.ly/3OCZ9Vm

Gutiérrez Dávila, G. (2021). *La presencia y participación de las mujeres en las legislaturas locales en México después de la instrumentación de la regla de paridad* [Tesis de Doctorado, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla]. https://bit.ly/3qfKhD2

Heath, R., Shwindt-Bayer, L.and Taylor-Robinson, M. (2005). Women on the Sidelines: Women's Representation on Committees in latin American Legislatures. *American Journal of Political Science*, *49*(2), 420-436. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0092-5853.2005.00132.x

Hernández-Gutiérrez, J. C. (2022). Los efectos del sistema electoral sobre las cuotas de género en Brasil y Perú. *Apuntes Electorales*, *21*(67), 81-99. https://doi.org/10.53985/ae.v21i67.840

Inter-Parliamentary Union Database (s. f.). Historical data on women in national parliaments. https://bit.ly/3OBJfe4

Johnson, N. (2014). La bancada femenina en Uruguay: un 'actor crítico' para la representación sustantiva de las mujeres en el parlamento. *América Latina Hoy*, *66*, 145-165. https://doi.org/10.14201/alh201466145165

Krehbiel, K. (1992). *Information and Legislative Organization*. The University of Michigan Press.

Krook, M. and Norris, P. (2014). Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office. *Political Studies*, *62*, 2-20. https://bit.ly/47f9RsO

Martínez, Mª. A. y Garrido, A. (2010). *De la política de la presencia a la política de la diferencia. Representación de las mujeres en cuatro parlamentos nacionales (México, Chile, Argentina y Uruguay)* (Documentos CIDOB América Latina No. 32). Fundación CIDOB.

Martin, S. and Mickler, T. (2018). Committee assignments. Theories, causes and consequences. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *72*(1), 77-98. https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsy015

Matland, R. E. and Studlar, D. T. (1996). The Contagion of Women Candidates in Single-Member District and Proportional Representation Electoral Systems: Canada and Norway. *The Journal of Politics*, *58*(3). https://doi.org/10.2307/2960439

O'Brien, D. (2012). Gender and select committee elections in the British House of Commons. *Politics & Gender*, *8*(2), 178-204. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X12000153

ONU Mujeres (s. f.). *Liderazgo y participación política*. https://bit.ly/3rJpqsa

Palmieri, S. (2011). *Parlamentos sensibles al género. Una reseña global de buenas prácticas*. Unión Interparlamentaria. https://bit.ly/3q9vDNG

Pansardi, P. and Vercesi, M. (2017). Party gate-keeping and women's appointment to Parliamentary Committees: evidence from the italian case. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *70*(1), 62-83. https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv066

Pérez, V. (2014). Asignación partidaria y especialización: las legisladoras en el sistema de comisiones de la Cámara de Diputados de Argentina. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, (23), 165-184. https://bit.ly/3QiSv84

Pitkin, H. F. (1967). *The concept of representation*. University of California Press.

Rivera, J. (2005). Cambio institucional y democratización: la evolución de las comisiones en la Cámara de Diputados de México. *Política y gobierno*, *11*(2), 263-313. https://bit.ly/47e7oPe

Rodríguez, A. (2011). ¿Quién promueve la igualdad en los Parlamentos? En A. L. Rodriguez Gustá (ed.), *Experiencias de bancadas, comisiones, unidades técnicas y grupos mixtos en América Latina y el Caribe*. Área Práctica de Género del PNUD.

Rodríguez, A. and Madera, N. (2016). Más allá del recinto legislativo. Estrategias colectivas para una agenda de género en América Latina y el Caribe. *Sociologías*, *18*(42), 356-382. https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/15174522-018004222

Schwindt-Bayer, L. (2006). Still supermadres? Gender and policy priorities of Latin American legislators. *American Journal of Political Science*, *50*(3), 570-585. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2006.00202.x

Schwindt-Bayer, L. (2010). *Political power and power representation in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.

Shugart, M. S. (2005). Comparative electoral systems research: the maturation of a field and new challenges ahead. En M. Gallagher y P. Mitchell (eds.), *The politics of electoral systems* (pp. 25-57). Oxford Univeristy Press.

Skard, T. and Haavio-Manila, E. (1985). Women in Parliament. En E. Haavio-Manila (ed.), *Unfinished democracy: women in nordic politics*. Pergamon Press.

Slaviero, V. (2021). Mujeres al mando: Cuotas de género y representación descriptiva de las mujeres en América Latina. *Asparkía: investigació feminista*, (38), 17-39. https://doi.org/10.6035/Asparkia.2021.38.2

Tremblay, M. and Pelletier, R. (2000). More feminists or more women? Descriptive and substantive representation of women in the 1997 Canadian Federal Election. *International Political Science Review*, *21*(4), 381-405. https://bit.ly/3rVA676

Tula, M. I. (2015). Mujeres y política. Un panorama sobre la adopción de las cuotas de género y sus efectos en América Latina y Colombia. *Revista Opera*, (16), 9-33. https://doi.org/10.18601/16578651.n16.03

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.03

Hierarchical governance and the failure of citizen security policies in Metropolitan District of Quito: an analysis from policy design

Gobernanza jerárquica y la falla de las políticas de seguridad ciudadana en el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito: un análisis desde el diseño de políticas

Katia Barros-Esquivel
FLACSO, Ecuador
kapbarrosfl@flacso.edu.ec
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1576-9360

Daniel Castañeda-Fraga
FLACSO, Ecuador
dscastanedafl@flacso.edu.ec
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2388-3742

Pamela Chávez-Calapaqui
FLACSO, Ecuador
pschavezfl@flacso.edu.ec
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2051-6349

Mayra Chicaiza-Flores
FLACSO, Ecuador
machicaizafl@flacso.edu.ec
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2224-5020

Received on: 11/01/2023 **Revised on:** 26/02/2023 **Approved on:** 15/04/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Suggested citation: Barros-Esquivel, K., Castañeda-Fraga, D., Chávez-Calapaqui, P. and Chicaiza-Flores, M. (2023). Hierarchical governance and the failure of citizen security policies in Metropolitan District of Quito: an analysis from policy design. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 57-78. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.03

Abstract
Latin America is one of the most violent regions in the world, and since this phenomenon occurs more frequently in urban and consolidated areas, cities are the space where urban violence is considered as one of its main urban problems. Indeed, violence and the city establish the bases to define public action regarding citizen security policies. However, despite the actions undertaken by the relevant entities in terms of citizen security, there is no evidence of variation or improvement in the results obtained from public policies. The objective of this research is to identify the factors that influence the failure of citizen security policies from the design of policies, their objectives, and instruments. A hypothesis proposed is that the hierarchical governance mode, in which there is little articulation between state and non-state actors, influences the design of public policies and their achievement. Methodologically, the analysis of the Metropolitan District of Quito is proposed as a case study, based on a nested model for analyzing the design of policies. The failure of security policies is determined through the causal determination of the hierarchical governance model.

Keywords
Public policies, policy design, governance, hierarchy, citizen security, public space, Quito.

Resumen
América Latina es una de las regiones más violentas del mundo, y en virtud de que este fenómeno sucede con mayor frecuencia en las zonas urbanas y consolidadas, las ciudades son el espacio donde se evidencia la violencia como uno de sus principales problemas urbanos. La violencia y la ciudad consolidan las bases para definir la acción pública referente a las políticas de seguridad ciudadana. Sin embargo, a pesar de las distintas acciones emprendidas por las entidades pertinentes en cuanto a seguridad ciudadana, no se evidencia variación y mejora en los resultados obtenidos de las políticas públicas. El objetivo de esta investigación es identificar los factores que influyen en la falla de las políticas de seguridad ciudadana desde el diseño de las políticas, sus objetivos e instrumentos. Se propone como hipótesis que el modo de gobernanza jerárquico, en el que se evidencia una escasa articulación entre actores estatales y no estatales, influye en el diseño de políticas públicas y su consecución. Metodológicamente se propone el análisis del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito como estudio de caso, a partir de un modelo anidado para análisis del diseño de las políticas. Se determina la falla de políticas de seguridad a través de la determinación causal del modo de gobernanza jerárquica.

Palabras clave
Políticas, diseño, gobernanza, jerarquía, seguridad, espacio, Quito, distrito.

Introduction

Latin America is one of the most violent regions in the world; 2.5 million people between 2000 and 2019 were killed violently (Lissardy, 2019). This phenomenon is most frequently in consolidated urban areas, causing changes in the ways of understanding behavior, the way people relate, the influence on the quality of life of people, and the link of violence with urbanism (Carrión, 2008). Some authors refer to these events as urban violence.

Urban violence results from the link between violence, city and its historical and changing character, both from violence, and from the city (Briceño-León, 2002). The city can be understood as "an arena of relationships" where the number of social conflicts and, therefore, typically urban violent acts increase (Carrión, 2008). There are multiple ways of violence that are strongly related to insecurity, and which have been "normalized" in daily life by their frequency (Pecaut, 1999). These forms of violence include, but are not limited to, theft, robbery, alcohol and drug offenses, gang violence, and domestic violence (Moser and Mcllwaine, 2006).

This reality of violence and city is the basis to problematize the citizen insecurity as a social problem (Carrión, 2005). In Ecuador, insecurity and perceptions related to vulnerability to urban violence is one of the most worrying problems for the urban population (Carrión *et al.,* 2012). Violence in Ecuador over the past 30 years has concentrated in major cities. Quito, being the capital, is one of the epicenters of homicides. Although the homicide rate has fallen, as has the record of burglary at homes, businesses and others, the number of crimes in terms of theft, and interpersonal theft has increased in recent years (Carrión and Pinto, 2017).

These crimes are framed in specific spatio-temporal contexts. In Quito, violent deaths occur in most cases on weekends, unlike the thefts of vehicles and properties, which occur mostly on weekdays, i.e., they are linked to a working schedule and normally happen in public spaces (Carrión and Pinto, 2017). In this way, the importance of public spaces in the cities and in the control of public insecurity is highlighted.

"Public space" means places of free access and movement such as squares, parks, sidewalks, streets. In this context, ensuring public safety in public spaces is linked to the control, not only of crimes, but also of disorders, nuisances and "behaviors deviant from the social norm" (Brotat, 2014) so as to ensure daily safety.

After an increase in crime levels, the homicide rate, the use of firearms and the increase in reports of crimes against property (Carrión, 2008) in the region and in Quito, there was also a significant growth in the private security market, which went from a rate of 0.56 companies per hundred thousand inhabitants, with 54 private security service companies in 1990, to a rate of 6.29 in 2006 with approximately 849 companies (Pontón, 2008).

Structural problems such as insecurity, unemployment and underemployment, human mobility and informal work demand answers from public policies, under a context of multilevel governance that allows coordinating actions from the different levels of government (General Secretariat of Security and Governance, 2021). However, in general terms, the countries of the region still present a centralized state organization on security issues whose focus has been national security rather than citizen security. The topic has been limited to political debates that have focused their efforts on the increase and professionalization of the armed forces, law enforcement agencies, justice bodies and has relegated the potential action of local governments (Acero, 2005).

For citizen security, as a strategy of public action, to be effective it requires to be coordinated between local governments of different levels and the central government from comprehensive policies (Acero, 2005) with models that include social agents and collaborative interinstitutional mechanisms (Torres, 2010). Therefore, on the basis of constitutional, legal and regulatory regulations, it is a power of the Decentralized Autonomous Government of Quito "to coordinate the formulation, implementation and evaluation of local policies implemented through plans for prevention, protection, security and civic coexistence along with the National Police, the community and other agencies related to security matters" (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021).

With this background, this study aims to answer the question: What factors influence the failure of public security policies with a focus on public space security and citizen coexistence in the DMQ? It is hypothesized that the way of governance that shows little connection between state and non-state actors affects the failure of public policies of citizen security, because hierarchical forms of interaction reinforce the disengagement of society in decision-making and public action processes, leading to the disarticulation between the formulated objectives and the implemented policy instruments, i.e., the disarticulation between what is established on paper and what is executed in territory, by the disassociation of society in the process.

Public policies: design and governance

The design of public policies is a strategy of public action that starts from a construction process of the policy, and is based on pre-established objectives oriented to solve problems that have been conceived as public issues.

Design considers its objectives, instrumentation, and actions to achieve policy goals. This design addresses policy formulation from two dimensions; exploration of procedural aspects and design content, i.e., design as a noun (policy tools and instruments) (Howlett, 2019; Howlett *et al.,* 2015).

The study of public policy design allows to analyze the coherence between objectives, means and instruments, as well as the impact of the instruments with the capacity of governments (Howlett *et al.,* 2015). The process of formal construction of the policy design is structured from a set of components previously defined by certain theoretical-methodological parameters. The components, on which the development and strategy of public policies is based, are composed of elements that explain the substantive dimension of the decision-making process, as well as the instrumental dimension around which policies are developed and ended up structuring (Howlett, 2019).

According to Howlett *et al*. (2015), policy design involves "the deliberate and conscious attempt to define policy objectives and connect them with the instruments or tools expected to achieve those objectives." The analysis of policy design involves observing how the components of action (objectives, means) are structured at different levels (macro, meso, micro) as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Policy Design Analysis Matrix

Components of policies	**Policy decision levels**		
	Macro	**Meso**	**Micro**
Goals	**General objectives** Abstract ideas that guide the government in a certain area of politics	**Specific objectives** Aspects of policy used for achieving the objectives	**Operational adjustments** Specific policy requirements
Media	**Implementation Preferences** Types of organizational instruments formed by general long-term preferences	**Specific instruments** Types of government instruments used to meet targets NATO Instruments	**Calibration of instruments** Specific forms of adjustment/use of instruments, required to achieve the objectives

Note. Adapted from Córdova, 2018; Howlett, 2009.

McConnell (2016) identifies the ways in which policies can fail: (i) when the stated objectives are not achieved; (ii) when the interests of the particular group or target are not met; (iii) when the benefits are less than the costs; (iv) when moral, ethical or legal standards are not observed; and (v) when sufficient support is not obtained from the actors and interests that matter (Nair and Howlett, 2017).

McConnell (2016) also argues that a policy failure cannot be assessed in a dichotomous way. Policies can fail, even if there is success in some minimal respects, if they fundamentally fail to achieve the proposed goals, opposition is large, and/or support is virtually non-existent.

Methodology

Failure of public policies in relation to governance

Policy objectives vary depending on the set of political actors, ideas, and institutional rules of the political agenda. In turn, the ways of governance allow explaining the development and articulation of political objectives. Thus, ways of governance determine policy design. However, the existence of pre-established objectives — by governance — does not necessarily produce effective policy outcomes (Howlett, 2009).

For Peters (2015), governance is a political process where goals are set, program designs are formulated, designs are implemented and finally success or failure is analyzed based on design. Consequently, the designs are essentially public policies. Peters makes four hypotheses for the relationship between governance and policies: systemic failure, common failure, focused success, and systemic success.

Two situations arise in this context: (i) "governance 1", which implies the government's inability to generate systematic guidelines for society and the economy; and (ii) "governance 2", which relates to the government's inability to develop specific policies linked to social and economic interests. Indeed, the failure of type 2 governance is related to the failure of organizations within the bureaucracy to cooperate and coordinate, causing policy design to be affected by governance.

Instrumentation and nested model

Analyzing the instruments used in a public action process constitutes the basic unit for policy design analysis (Córdova, 2018). The NATO taxonomy reflects the instruments, or set of resources, available to initiate public action (Hood and Margetts, 2008). The NATO taxonomy consists of four main instruments: (i) modality, devices for generating and disseminating information; (ii) authority, laws, plans or ordinances; (iii) treasury, financial resources; and (iv) organization, which may be institutional, personnel structure (Hood and Margetts, 2008).

The nested study model suggests that design evaluation is determined by the coherence level of the instruments, but above all by the consistency degree of the combination of instruments with respect to certain specific objectives (Howlett, 2009). This research will use the nested model proposed by Howlett to analyze the design of public security policies in the DMQ.

Table 2
Policy design: relationship between objectives and means

Policy objectives	Combination of instruments	
	Consistent	Inconsistent
Consistent	Optimal	Ineffective
Incoherent	Misdirected	Failed

Note. Córdova, 2018; Howlett and Rayner, 2007.

This research starts from a deductive approach, from the general to the particular. The aim is to test the hypothesis formulated between the way of governance and the result of policies (failure/effectiveness), demonstrating that "there are regular and predictable results under certain conditions" (Fontaine, 2015). The hypothesis states that the way of governance that shows little level of articulation between state and non-state actors affects the failure of public policies of citizen security.

A qualitative methodology is developed to analyze the design of public policies (objectives and means) from a nested analysis, aiming to obtain information and data from i) devices to generate and disseminate information;

ii) laws, plans or ordinances; iii) financial resources; and iv) the organization and institutional structure of citizen security in the DMQ.

The use of qualitative methods is based on the analysis and review of documents obtained from secondary sources referring to working documents of the different institutions and entities, and with the aim of triangulating and validating the analysis. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the main actors involved in the design of public policies and operations in the public space. Interviews and information collection were conducted between May and July 2021.

To define the case study, this research applies one of the seven case selection systems established by Seawright and Gerring (2008) (typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, influential, more similar and more different). The typical case system, which determines a representative case of a phenomenon, is used to allow the researcher to explore the causal mechanisms in depth. For this reason, Quito has been selected as a typical case from a universe of representative cases (Ecuador capital) due to its insecurity rates, to study the failure of public security policies oriented to public space.

Results

Governance mode

Quito shows a centralized way of managing citizen security from the local government, through mechanisms that do not incorporate the participation of society in the decision-making (Córdova, 2018; Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). Security policies in Quito preceded the year 2000 with the incorporation of security problem in the competencies of the local government, in the administration of former mayor Paco Moncayo. Because Moncayo was re-elected, security policies were mostly in place in this eight-year period. Subsequently, starting from the Barrera administration, in 2009, the strengthening of the State and the "institutionality of public administration" is proposed, according to the new Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador (Córdova, 2018).

The consolidation of public security policies in the DMQ obeys the institutionality established in the Constitutions of 1998 and 2008, and is cemented from the validity of the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization (COOTAD) in 2010. In addition, aspects related to financing, professionalization, control and management have been regulated, and various instruments of authority, modality, treasury and organization have been implemented (Córdova, 2018).

Within the period of analysis of this study, which covers the administration from 2019 to 2022, the situation in terms of citizen participation has been maintained with almost no involvement of non-state actors. Although one of the specific functions established for the Metropolitan Directorate of Citizen Security Management is to "promote citizen participation to achieve projects for the security and peaceful coexistence of their territories", the rate of citizen participation in 2019 reached 10.31% (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021), evidencing the low citizen participation in the design of citizen security policies.

According to the above, the participation of society has not been relevant both in the first years of the emergence of this policy and in the current situation. Few social initiatives were able to get involved at the time, as was the case of the NGO Marcha Blanca (2011), which contributed to the incorporation of insecurity in the public agenda in Quito, but has not demonstrated greater involvement in the design of policies.

The local government's attempt to promote citizen participation in neighborhood activities, such as the Quito Listo initiative, has not been able to consolidate and articulate itself in the implementation of preventive security activities (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). Thus, the low participation of citizens tends to control security-related activities; however, they do not engage in policy design in the strict sense (Kevin W. Quelal, personal communication).

Policies show a dominance of poorly coordinated state actors. For example, the administration of one of the main metropolitan parks in Quito ensures that while there is inter-institutional coordination for controlling insecurity in the public space, the development of large-scale operations depend on prior coordination with the National Police. In specific cases when incidents are recorded, coordination must be made with the head of the nearest Community Police Unit, which attends to an extensive circuit (Juan F. Landázuri, personal communication).

The little interaction between state and non-state actors comprises a governance dynamic in function of which a specific form of policy design and its implementation is defined (Howlett and Ramesh, 2009). This type of governance is identified by Kooiman (2005) as a type of hierarchical governance, in which the State makes decisions autonomously and from a *top-down* logic, i.e., unidirectional, from top to bottom, without the active participation of society. Thus, the government protects its centrality and its action is interventionist in nature.

Objectives of public policies

The approach of the objectives that guide the formulation of public policies of citizen security is governed from three levels; starting from more general objectives (macro), going through a second order with specific objectives (meso), and reaching a third order level, with a deeper and detailed analysis, through operational adjustments (micro).

At the macro level, citizen security policies are based on the paradigm of human security, taking the human being as the main element of security. From this, it is understood that the right to life and human dignity constitute the two pillars to build the notion of citizen security. The guiding principles of the paradigm of human security are governance, prevention, knowledge, comprehensiveness, democratic culture, co-responsibility and participation. Specific objectives for citizen security and peaceful coexistence have been defined under these principles (Córdova, 2018).

At the monthly level, the objectives of the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito (MDMQ), through its General Secretariat of Security and Governance (hereinafter SGSG), seek to promote citizen security in the city and cultivate peaceful coexistence between citizens. In this regard, the mission of the SGSG is to:

> Promote citizen security, peaceful social coexistence and comprehensive risk management, through the design of public policies and implementation of social and community actions and situational prevention to strengthen democratic governance (...), by preventing violence in all its forms and substantially reducing the risk of disasters, in coordination with the bodies to improve the quality of life of citizens [DMQ]. (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021)

The SGSG proposes an appropriate articulation of its goals and mission with the objectives proposed by Vision Quito 2040 developed by the Metropolitan Institute of Urban Planning (IMPU). This plan proposes that:

> Quito 2040 be a modern and human city where its citizens feel part of it and live with dignity; a resilient city, facing the challenges and replenishing the threats, (...) where the full exercise of human rights is promoted in a framework of freedom and democracy (...), [where] security is promoted based on effective and sustainable citizen participation. (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021)

There are five strategic institutional objectives set by the SGSG. First, "increase citizens' trust in security institutions at the DMQ." Second, "increase citizen participation in activities of citizen security and peaceful coexistence." Third, "reduce the perception of insecurity in the Metropolitan District of Quito". Fourth, "manage DMQ disaster risk through policies and strategies for the prevention of new risks and reduction of existing risks." Fifth, "strengthen institutional capacities" (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021).

At the micro level, operational adjustments in previous administrations have been limited to the use of information tools as a resource for local government (Córdova, 2018). However, it is still evident that there is a logic of inertia after each change of administration, i.e., the operational adjustments are not necessarily functional to the general and specific objectives of the policies (Córdova, 2018). The Institutional Strategic Plan 2021-2027 is within the operational adjustments of the current administration, being the first institutional plan developed by the SGSG until now. The CANVAS AS IS service model can also be included within the operational adjustments of the current mayor's office, which seeks to represent the services provided by the SGSG to improve the quality of this institution, so that it can sustainably meet the requirements, specifications and expectations of citizens and other stakeholders of the city (SGSG, 2021).

Media

Modality instruments

The nodal instruments are mainly based on the work carried out by the Municipal Observatory of Citizen Security (OMSC), which is the official municipal entity in charge of carrying out the information gathering, managing evaluation and defining the results and impacts of projects in the field of security in the DMQ. In addition, it is responsible for recording, monitoring, processing, and analyzing events for the decision-making and policy formulation on security and citizen coexistence (Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana, 2021).

To build the data related to Citizen Security, the OMSC through the Integrated Information System (SIOMSC) maintains the monitoring, collection and processing of quantitative and qualitative data from various sources. The information allows to develop analyses for constructing indicators that contribute to observe the phenomenon around security and civic coexistence. However, there are limitations of the information, which are related to the temporal context and the logical coherence of the data. The OMSC handles information on security and civic coexistence from primary and secondary sources, including information collected by the Integrated Security System ECU-911 where data is obtained mainly from the video surveillance camera system, whose aim is to detect conflict areas of the city (OMSC, 2021; SGSG, 2021).

OMSC has three types of information divided into: reports (semi-annual and annual), bulletins (monthly) and articles (which are related to the implementation of prevention projects). In addition, the OMSC presents raster and vector spatial information in the Exploratory System of Spatial Analysis of the Metropolitan District of Quito (SEAE-DMQ); the information it provides refers to unsafe areas and areas with a high rate of theft and assault (OMSC, 2021).

Other important instruments of nodality are: the print media, radio, television and social networks. These instruments influence the perception of insecurity on the part of society and therefore contribute to the decision-making of the local government, as well as to the construction and design of public policies of citizen security. One example is the campaign "Together we are more secure" led by an Ecuadorian media outlet. The campaign aims to encourage neighborhood organizations, together with control agencies such as the National Police, the DMQ's SGSG and the Quito Fire Brigade, to set up neighborhood security committees and create effective communication channels between civil society and the authorities.

The media presents reports that show topics such as the origin of insecurity in the city, systematic problems of the National Police, loopholes in the defense of the victims of insecurity, stories of theft and assault, criminal gangs operating in the city, unsafe neighborhoods; it also shows the sectors where community organization has managed to combat insecurity so that more neighborhoods are organized against insecurity in the city (Gómez, 2021).

Instruments of authority

The instruments of authority under which the SGSG is protected to fulfill its functions and competences at the macro level are the Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador (CRE) of 2008 and the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization (COOTAD). Article 3 of the Constitution states that "the primary duties of the State are to guarantee (...) the right to a culture of peace, to comprehensive security and to live in a democratic society free from corruption." Article 393 mentions that:

> The State will guarantee human security through integrated policies and actions to ensure the peaceful coexistence of people, (...) The planning and implementation of these policies will be entrusted to specialized bodies at the different levels of government. (Asamblea Nacional de Ecuador, 2008)

Similarly, article 84, paragraphs (b), (j) and (r), COOTAD incorporates the functions of the governments of the metropolitan autonomous districts in the area of comprehensive security and peaceful coexistence. It recognizes the powers of the Metropolitan Mayor, with respect to comprehensive security and peaceful coexistence (Asamblea Nacional, 2010).

At the micro level, the instruments of authority under which the MDMQ and the SGSG operate are municipal ordinances and administrative rulings. The Metropolitan Ordinance 201, issued in December 2006, establishes the functions of the Metropolitan Directorate for the Management of Citizen Security (DMGSC), now the SGSG. It is also pointed out that the DMGSC is in charge of the OMSC, and that the Metropolitan Police is a unit assigned through the powers established in the Municipal Code. With Resolution C0076 of 2007, the competencies and responsibilities set forth in the Organic Regulations were established for the Units of the MDMQ. In August 2009, through Resolution A002, the General Secretariat for Security and Governance (Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana, 2021) was created and added to the functional organizational structure of the MDMQ at the advisory level.

Consequently, in 2011, by Resolution A0010 it was incorporated in the functional organizational structure of local government of the DMQ, at the political and strategic decision level, to the SGSG, thus assuming all the competences of the former Metropolitan Directorate of Citizen Security Management (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). Ordinance 001 of March 2019 issued the Municipal Code, repealing the former Ordinance 201. The Municipal Code, in its article IV.8.12, establishes that:

> The Secretariat responsible for security and governance is responsible for designing the security and coexistence policies of citizens and, once approved by the Metropolitan Council of Quito, implement them through its administrative units and the security headquarters of the zone administrations. (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021)

Subsequently, in August 2020, Resolution A055 was issued, which excludes the Metropolitan Directorate of Management of Support Services for Victims of Domestic, Family, Gender, Child Abuse and Sexual Violence, its organs and components of the SGSG, and incorporates it, under the same name, in the structure of the Secretariat of Social Inclusion (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). Another important resolution to consider is the A013, of May 2016, which establishes the definition and objectives of the Committees of Security and Citizen Coexistence. In addition, Resolution A86 of 2006 refers to the coordination and permanent link of the SGSG with emergency services such as Firefighters, Hospitals, Red Cross, National Police, Civil Defense, Provincial Council of Pichincha, ECU 911 and other emergency bodies.

There are also relevant laws to guide the policy and management of public safety. These are the Law on Public and State Security, which in its article 11 refers to issues of security, public order and prevention. Also, the Organic Law of Citizen Participation, which dictates the principles of participation in article 4, as well as the responsibility of participation and the legal and ethical commitment of citizens to be part of these processes, especially in this case, in matters of security and peaceful coexistence.

Treasury instruments

The economic instruments provided by the DMQ linked to the financing of public security policies are limited to two types of income. The first and most important, given the amount collected, is the security fee that comes from a proportional calculation in the collection of property tax. According to the SGSG, the amount collected in 2020 was USD 7 078 718.32. The collection of the security tax is managed by the Metropolitan Public Company EMSEGURIDAD, which additionally is in charge of placing 5% of the total collected in the Metropolitan Fund for Risk Management and Emergency Care, for events outside the institutional section, in 2020 this represented a total of USD 353 935.92.

The second income for financing is the municipal allocations from the general budget of the GAD of the DMQ, which amounts to approximately 2 million dollars; however, due to the health emergency due to the COVID-19 pandemic there was a budget cut. According to the interview with the SGSG, the resources of the security tax are not used solely and exclusively for citizen security. Currently, part of the work carried out by the Metropolitan Directorate for the Management of Support Services for Victims of Domestic Violence, Family Violence, Gender, Child Abuse and Sexual Violence continues to be funded, which through Resolution A055-2020 was transferred to the Secretariat for Social Inclusion. Part of the budget is eventually used under justification and requirement for improvements and security equipment in the public space as complementary efforts to other municipal and state entities; as an example of this is the lighting of spaces (parks, squares and local roads, in 2020 this item was USD 250 000 approximately), the maintenance of UPC, provision of goods and services for the National Police, acquisition of alarms and video surveillance cameras in order to prevent crimes in the case of alarms and detect the subjects who commit crimes in the case of cameras are coordinated with the ECU System 911 and the National Police (Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana, 2021).

This information is in line with the 2020 Security Tax Administration Report of the Metropolitan Public Enterprise for Security and Citizen Coexistence Logistics (EP EMSECURITY), which, within the breakdown of the destination of the collection of the security tax, indicates that out of the total budget, 20.68% was committed to logistical support to entities of the Integrated Security System (Metropolitan Control Agency, Metropolitan Police, National Police, victims of violence, among others).

Organizational instruments

The SGSG was incorporated in the Functional Organic Structure of the DMQ GAD at the political and decision level in March 2011; and took over all the functions of the previous DMGSC, such as the design of security policies, which once approved by the Metropolitan Council of Quito, are executed through its administrative units and area headquarters (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). This Secretariat is subordinate to the Metropolitan Mayor's Office of Quito and the Committee on Security, Citizen Coexistence and Risk Management of the Metropolitan Council and the Security Council. Indeed, the SGSG is the most relevant substantive organization instrument in the security policies" of the DMQ (Córdova, 2018).

The functional organization of the SGSG has three directorates as instruments directly subordinated: the Risk Management, the Governance Management and the Citizen Security Management; at the same level as these directorates is the Metropolitan Observatory of Citizen Security, whose specific functions are linked to the collection and generation of security information, in addition to the management of action networks and "strategies linked with other security institutions" (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad, 2021). The SGSG carries out programmatic coordination with the Metropolitan Control Agents Corps, the EMSECURITY EP, and the DMQ Fire Department (see Figure 1).

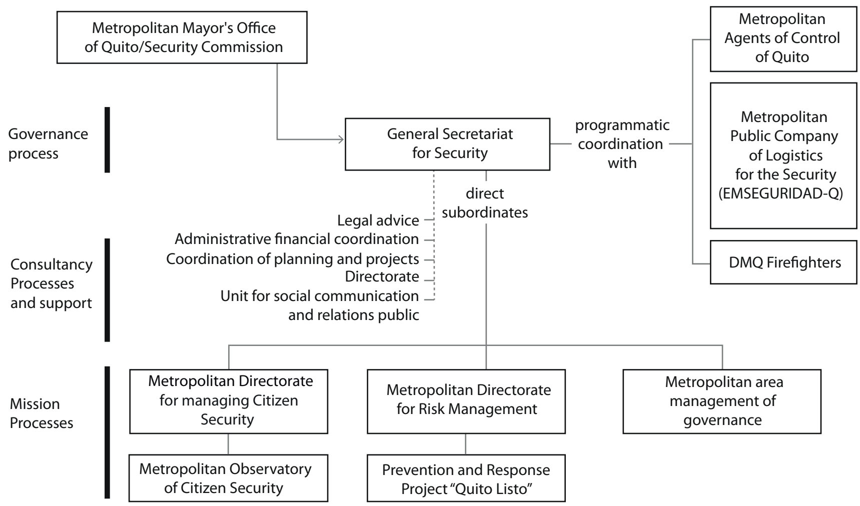
Instrument Calibration

Citizen security policies in the DMQ are created based on local prevention regarding insecurity and risk management, components that affect the human security. The DMQ begins the design and formulation of citizen security policies focused on the prevention during the government of former Mayor Moncayo; from its management, the instruments are calibrated according to the government plan proposed by the elected mayor.

During Mayor Yunda's term in office, the paradigm of citizen security is maintained. However, the means and instruments have been modified by factors related to social, economic and political situation. The main changes are made in the Annual Operational Plans and through specific plans and projects aimed at meeting policy objectives. Within Yunda government period, the instrument that has been calibrated more deeply corresponds to the organizational instrument, as the institutional structure of the SGSG has been modified by the creation of new units.

The modality instruments have not undergone significant calibrations, since the Observatory remains as the main entity for generating information from both primary and secondary sources, which has not shown significant progress in prospective methodologies to reduce insecurity levels and the perception of insecurity. Therefore, plans, programs and projects aimed at reducing public insecurity are not being effective due to the lack of methodologies to reduce risk.

Figure 1
Structural organization of the SGSG



Note. Authors 2021, from SGSG 2021.

The instruments of authority have also not undergone substantial calibrations, since the guideline legislation on public safety has not been modified. At the local level, within the period of analysis, two changes have been made regarding the organization of the Secretariat, excluding the Metropolitan Directorate for the Management of Support Services to Victims of Domestic, Family, Gender, Child Abuse and Sexual Violence, its organs and components of the SGSG and the approval of the Municipal Code, which assigns the SGSG the creation of public policies on citizen security.

Meanwhile, the treasury instrument during Yunda´s government shows no significant changes. The Citizen Security Rate and the allocation of the general budget are the main sources of economic resources. It is evident that all those informal properties, which are not part of the municipality, do not tax the security rate, which implies a potential loss of economic resources that could reinforce the actions derived from security policies. This shows that both security policy and regularization policy must complement each other and generate coordinated actions that benefit all citizens. Another calibration opportunity not currently applied but which is included as part of the SGSG's Corporate Strategic Plan is to manage the financing of security policies through national and international organizations and private security financing (Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad 2021).

Based on the theoretical framework established and the analysis of the case study in Table 3, the summary of the coherence of security policies with respect to their objectives and means is presented; and Table 4 summarizes the hypothesis concerning the independent variable (governance mode) and the dependent variable (failure-effectiveness of public policy design).

Table 3

Policy design results (articulation between goals and means)

Policy objectives	Combination of instruments	
	Consistent	Inconsistent
Consistent	Optimal	Ineffective
Incoherent	Misdirected	Failed

Note. Authors 2021, from the case study.

Table 4

Results of the influence of governance modes on policy design

Independent variable		Dependent Variable
Governance mode	**Joint**	**Design of public policies**
DMQ Hierarchical Governance	DMQ State Actors	Failure (Ineffective)
Co-governance	State actors-Non-State actors	Optimal
Self-governance	Non-State Actors	-

Note. Authors 2021, from Córdova (2018).

Conclusions

The initial hypothesis was that the way of governance that shows little articulation level between state and non-state actors in the design stage of public policies of citizen security affects its failure, because hierarchical forms of interaction reinforce the disengagement of society in the decision-making and public action processes, leading to the disarticulation between the formulated objectives and the implemented instruments.

The case study of the DMQ reflects a hierarchical mode of governance that does not promote integration and cooperation between state and non-state actors. As such, it shows a low participation and involvement of the citizenry in terms of citizen security, so it highlights only the actions undertaken by the local government in action poorly articulated with its instruments of organization. In this context, the mode of governance has guided the design of policies that may be considered ineffective, as they set coherent objectives; however, the combination of the different instruments used as means of achievement is not consistent.

The origin of the hierarchical model that influences the design of policies and their achievement would be linked to the same competence and traditional area of security policies, which largely rest under the shadow of national security, as a state responsibility, relegating local governments to mere preventive actions that lead them to proceed as entities that limit their action to provide inputs and goods to the competent bodies and this does not represent sufficient action to placate the increasing numbers and forms of urban violence in the cities.

Finally, it is important to note that there were obstacles to obtaining information due to the health emergency caused by COVID-19, which limited the duration of meetings and contact with the people interviewed.

This study raises questions that can be addressed in future research such as: how does hierarchical governance in the field of citizen security influence the perception of security of people?, how does the failure of citizen security policies affect the development of the city? and, what is the way to address citizen security in the Metropolitan District of Quito and through what type of governance?

References

Acero, H. (2005). *Los gobiernos locales y la seguridad ciudadana.* Fundación Seguridad & Democracia.

Asamblea Nacional de Ecuador. (2008). Constitución de la República del Ecuador. En Registro Oficial No. 449, 20 de Octubre 2008.

Asamblea Nacional de Ecuador. (2010). Código Orgánico de Organización Territorial, Autonomía y Descentralización. Registro Oficial No. 303.

Briceño-León, R. (2002). La nueva violencia urbana en América Latina. *Sociologías, 8,* 34-51. https://doi.org/10.2307/3456007

Brotat, R. (2014). *La seguridad ciudadana entre la seguridad urbana, el civismo y la convivencia en espacios públicos.* Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Carrión, F. (2005). La inseguridad ciudadana en América Latina. *Quórum. Revista de Pensamiento Iberoamericano, 12,* 29-52. https://bit.ly/4400OJ3

Carrión, F. (2008). Violencia urbana: Un asunto de ciudad. *Eure, 34*(103), 111-130. https://doi.org/10.4067/s0250-71612008000300006

Carrión, F. and Pinto, J. P. (2017). Quito: un ensamble de violencias. *Latin American Program,* 1-10. https://bit.ly/3DK0Lql

Carrión, F., Torres, A. and González, L. (2012). *Violencia y seguridad ciudadana: algunas reflexiones*. Gráficas V&M.

Córdova, M. (2018). *Gobernanza y políticas públicas.* Editorial Universidad del Rosario/Flacso. https://dx.doi.org/10.12804/th9789587841336

Fontaine, G. (2015). El análisis de políticas públicas: conceptos, teorías y métodos. En Documentación Administrativa. Siglo veintiuno. https://doi.org/10.24965/da.v0i224-225.5212

Gómez, S. (2021). 'Juntos Somos Más Seguridad', La campaña social de Ecuavisa que une a artistas ecuatorianos, comunidad y autoridades. *El Universo.* https://bit.ly/3Ojr2Ri

Hood, C. and Margetts, H. (2008). The tools of government in the digital age. *Public Administration Vol. 86*(4), 1137-1138.
https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2008.00756_4.x

Howlett, M. (2009). Governance modes, policy regimes and operational plans: A multi-level nested model of policy instrument choice and policy design. *Policy Sciences, 42*, 73-89. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-009-9079-1

Howlett, M. (2019). *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*. Routledge.

Howlett, M., Mukherjee, I. y Woo, J. J. (2015). From tools to toolkits in policy design studies: the new design orientation towards policy formulation research.

Policy and Politics, 43(2), 291-311. https://doi.org/10.1332/147084414X13992869118596

Howlett, M. y Ramesh, M. (2009). Studying Public Policy. Policy Cycles & Policy Subsystems. In *Studying Public Policy. Policy cycles and policy subsystems*. Oxford University Press.

Howlett, M. and Rayner, J. (2007). Design principles for policy mixes: cohesion and coherence in 'New Governance Arrangements'. *Policy and Society, 26*(4), 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1016/s1449-4035(07)70118-2

Kooiman, J. (2005). Gobernar en gobernanza. En *La gobernanza hoy: 10 textos de referencia* (pp. 57-81). Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública.

Lissardy, G. (2019). Por qué América Latina es la región más violenta del mundo (y que lecciones puede tomar de la historia de Europa). *BBC News Mundo.* https://bbc.in/44014Yx

McConnell, A. (2016). A public policy approach to understanding the nature and causes of foreign policy failure. *Journal of European Policy, 23*(5), 667-684. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2015.1127278

Moser, C. and Mcllwaine, C. (2006). Latin American urban violence as a development concern: Towards a framework for violence reduction. *World Development, 34*(1), 89-112. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.07.012

Nair, S. and Howlett, M. (2017). Policy myopia as a source of policy failure: Adaptation and policy learning under deep incertainty. *Policy and Politics, 45*(1), 103-118. https://doi.org/10.1332/030557316X14788776017743

Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana. (2021). Estudio de victimización y percepción de inseguridad en el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito. Observatorio Metropolitano de Seguridad Ciudadana.

Pecaut, D. (1999). From the banality of violence to real terror: The case of Colombia. En L. Koonings y D. Kruijt (eds.), *Societies of fear: The legacy of civil war, violence and terror in Latin America*. Zed Books.

Peters, B. G. (2015). State failure, governance failure and policy failure: Exploring the linkages. *Public Policy and Administration, 30*(3-4), 261-276. https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076715581540

Pontón, J. (2008). *Políticas de seguridad ciudadana en el Ecuador* (documento preparado para las reuniones del Foro Iberoamericano).

Seawright, J. and Gerring, J. (2008). Case selection techniques in case study research: A menu of qualitative and quantitative options. *Political Research Quarterly, 61*(2), 294-308. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912907313077

Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad. (2021). Plan Estratégico institucional. Secretaría General de Seguridad y Gobernabilidad.

Torres, A. (2010). La política pública de seguridad ciudadana en Quito: un esfuerzo municipal. *URVIO, 9*, 70-88. https://doi.org/10.17141/urvio.9.2010.1135

Interviews

Kevin W. Quelal, prevention technician of the General Secretariat for Security and Governance.

Juan F. Landázuri, administrator of Parque La Carolina.

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.04

Social networks and public administration: The challenges and opportunities of governments in the era of digital communication

Redes sociales y administración pública: los desafíos y oportunidades de los gobiernos en la era de la comunicación digital

Carlos Gómez Díaz de León
Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, México
carlos.gomezdz@uanl.edu.mx
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6796-5569

Daniel Javier de la Garza-Montemayor
Universidad de Monterrey, México
daniel.delagarza@udem.edu
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6962-9059

Received on: 02/07/2023 **Revised on:** 27/07/2023 **Approved on:** 18/08/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Suggested citation: Gómez Díaz de León, C. and de la Garza-Montemayor, D. J. (2023). Social networks and public administration: The challenges and opportunities of governments in the era of digital communication. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 79-101. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.04

Abstract

In recent years, a series of social changes have resulted in a good challenge for the social sciences. The rise of digital tools that have modified the way in which people interact and assimilate social life has led to various academic investigations aimed to understand a phenomenon that continues to advance today. In this article we focus on studying the relationship between digital media and public administration. For this purpose, a qualitative methodology derived from an analysis of the information that considers some of the most important studies of recent years. In the same way, official reports that contribute to explain the most important transformations in the matter of the last twenty-five years were reviewed. It starts from a political approach. A tour of recent changes in contemporary democracies, political institutions, institutional changes and what has been their relationship with both conventional media and digital partner networks is carried out. The research proposes some elements to consider both theoretically and in practice, taking into account that there is a historical process that will deepen in the following years, given the advance of digitization. Good practices and the strategic use of technology can lead to the strengthening of democratic expressions, as well as good governance processes.

Keywords

Social networks, public administration, digital transformation, governance, citizen participation, government, digitization, social sciences.

Resumen

En los últimos años se han desarrollado una serie de cambios sociales que han resultado un formidable reto para las ciencias sociales. El auge de las herramientas digitales que han modificado la forma en que las personas interactúan y asimilan la vida social ha dado lugar a diversas investigaciones académicas que han buscado comprender la esencia de un fenómeno que sigue avanzando en nuestros días. En este artículo de revisión nos enfocamos en estudiar la relación entre los medios digitales y la administración pública. Para ello, se ha utilizado una metodología cualitativa derivada de un análisis de la información que toma en cuenta algunos de los estudios más importantes de los últimos años. Asimismo, se revisaron informes oficiales que contribuyen a explicar las transformaciones más importantes en la materia de los últimos veinticinco años. El punto de partida es un enfoque eminentemente politológico. Se realiza un recorrido de los cambios recientes en las democracias contemporáneas, las instituciones políticas, cambios institucionales y cuál ha sido su relación tanto con los medios convencionales como las redes socio digitales. La investigación propone algunos elementos a tener en cuenta tanto en terreno teórico como en la práctica, teniendo en consideración que se vive un proceso histórico que se profundizará en los siguientes años, ante el avance de la digitalización. Las buenas prácticas y el uso estratégico de la tecnología pueden derivar en el fortalecimiento de expresiones democráticas, así como de los procesos de buena gobernanza.

Palabras clave

Redes sociales, administración pública, transformación digital, gobernanza, participación ciudadana, gobierno, digitalización, ciencias sociales.

Introduction

The last 50 years have characterized by changes in all areas of society; therefore, the social sciences have faced the challenge of trying to describe, explain and predict these changes from each of their scientific perspectives. Sociology, political science, international relations, political communication, economics and other social disciplines address a rich agenda that offers more doubts than certainty due to the complexity and speed of the changes generated worldwide and in all areas.

If considering the emergence of COVID in 2020, which accelerated and marked a breaking point in these processes of social transformation, then as the Spanish political scientist Subirats says (2016) we are indeed facing a change of time. We refer to a change in the sense mentioned above that involves the metamorphosis of the social system, i.e., it involves severe alterations in the political subsystem, the normative subsystem, the economic subsystem and the cultural subsystem. Because of the complexity of the changes, one of the main problems of the scholars of these topics is the lack of paradigms that allow us to glimpse the viable paths to face the challenges of the time change.

This paper aims to address these changes from Political Science and more specifically Public Administration and Political Communication. The proposed topic is the interrelationship between public administration and social networks. Although this connection is a relatively recent topic, especially because of the accelerated and at the same time eventful evolution of these social networks in terms of their study, regulation and impact on communication and the political system, the analysis of the topic involves the elaboration of a prior theoretical framework to define conceptual elements of democracy, governance, public management and eventually public policies.

Social constructs evolve as social structures change. This means that concepts are "updated" according to the circumstances of reality. Therefore, the denotation and connotation of constructs such as democracy, government and public administration differ according to the historical context in which they are used. For this reason, before presenting the link between public administration and social networks, we will briefly develop the three transformations that structure the hypothesis of this working paper and which correspond, first, to the transition of government and governance, second, from public administration to public management and, finally, from traditional media to social networks.

Subsequently, it will analyze the characteristic elements of social networks in the political system in general and in public administration in particular, as well as some current trends in their application and, finally, it will outline some perspectives regarding risks in their indiscriminate application, and the pending agenda for a link that improves the functioning of democratic governance.

The emergence of social networks at the beginning of the 1990s led to an expansion of the spaces for dialogue and social communication between all social strata, in a transversal, horizontal and intermittent way where the same individuals and groups in society can be part of the information and also influence it, thereby achieving that these spaces have a higher level of communication than traditional media in terms of content, speed and volume of information.

Considering that social networks are the communication interface between society and government and between social actors, there is a synergy between both factors, society and institutions, which can contribute to the public administration to achieve its objectives more quickly.

Social networks as a tool for public management facilitate through the information and data they transmit, the fulfillment of their objectives and goals if used and exploited correctly and with legal, rational, and objective basis, and in accordance with the resources and capabilities of the public that use them and society itself. This paper briefly analyzes this relationship to outline a road map that will positively empower the use of social networks as an instrument to improve public administration.

For this purpose, a qualitative methodology will be used through an analysis of texts of the main scholars of these topics in the current context, as well as official documentation that contributes to explain the transformations that took place in the last quarter of a century and that illustrate what we call the change of time.

Approach to the problem: historical background of the change of time

Considering that the analysis approach is political, conventionally we can start the analysis of change of time from the perspective of democracy and political institutions and then analyze institutional change in public administration and finally in the media and the use of information technologies.

There is a broad consensus among scholars on the subject that the reform of the State initiated in the last quarter of the twentieth century was a consequence of the crisis of the welfare state worldwide that was accentuated from the loss of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of governments in their public policies, as well as the questioning of democracy and its results in good governance. Obviously, since this is a structural change, the transformations have an impact on all dimensions of the social system: political, economic, cultural and normative. Due to space limitations, we will refer to the first two.

Political dimension

Political change stems from a multiplicity of factors. On the one hand, from a global perspective, the causes are seen in the exhaustion of the welfare state model and the resurgence of the neoliberal model, in the modification of the correlation of forces due to the weakening of the Soviet model and the emergence of China, the deterioration of democratic systems and the resurgence of populism and the far right. To some extent, it is precisely the globalization process that triggers this transformation. It is a rupture that brings about the change of time. The fall of the Berlin Wall was a landmark in world history, symbolizing the collapse of communism and the victory of capitalism, but it gave rise to a sense of experiencing a breakdown of world order that does not seem to make sense. This is described by an internationalist (Laidi, 1997, p. 25), who asserts that, with the end of the cold war, the elements that give meaning to world history are dislocated: foundations, unity and purpose. He says, “market democracy succeeds, but it proves unable to sustain debate about its fundamentals. Political, economic and financial mismatches are less and less amenable to a common interpretation”.

On the other hand, from the local perspective there are also asymmetric transformations towards democracy, but also traditionalist social movements with authoritarian tendencies and social movements that disrupt the global system such as terrorism and migration, and more recently the COVID-19 pandemic. To illustrate the specific triggers of these specific historical references, the political crisis in the United States of America by the Nixon case, the Arab embargo and the emergence of OPEC, the fall of Allende in Chile, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the arrival to power of Ronald Reagan, and Margaret Thatcher in the USA and England respectively, the emergence of China on the world stage on the occasion of the arrival to power of Dend

Xiaoping and all subsequent repercussions in the geopolitical and economic field (Gerstle, 2022).

Economic dimension

The evolution of productive forces over the past 50 years has had a striking effect on the global crisis. In fact, we could say that it is the trigger for the breakdown of the system. Nowadays it is spoken of in the age of the knowledge society and in this context, technological development has reached unsuspected advances that far exceed the control and regulation by the same human beings, as is the case of artificial intelligence. Alvin Toffler in his famous *Third Wave* already outlined the disruption caused by the digital revolution, which preceded *The Shock of the Future*, but had to complete his work with his ideas on *The Change of Power*, giving greater amplitude to the ongoing transformation, to the change of time. As Toffler says (1990, pp. 25 et seq.), "We live in a few moments in which the whole power structure that held the world together disintegrates and another one, radically different, happens". And he concludes: "it is not a just a transfer of the same but a transformation". In this context, his reference to the most important economic event that has contributed to the change of power, and that originated a new system for creating wealth that is based not on strength but on the mind, seems relevant. A dialectical relationship quoted by Toffler (1990, p. 32) derives from this idea, consisting in stating that the new economy is not based on working on things, "but on men and women acting on other men and women, or people acting on information and information acting on people". These ideas focus on two fundamental aspects of our work that are, on the one hand, the transformation of power, i.e., the exercise of government, and, on the other hand, the importance of information in this same process and that can be empowered by social networks. Both dimensions imply some of the characteristics of governance.

From traditional administration to public management

Conceptually, public administration has been understood as the activity of the state. This general definition has been relatively agreed by specialists (Guerrero, 2019):

> In Germany, Karl Marx referred to state organizing activity and Lorenz von Stein to state activity; the initiator of public administration studies in the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson referred to it as government in action, Luther Gulick on government work, and Marshall Dimock as a builder. (p. 37)

Despite the difference between the definition of public administration as an institution in the evolution of administrative thought contextualized in different countries, "it can be affirmed that virtually all definitions of public administration are generally understood from three different dimensions" (Gómez, 2016). These aspects consider the following characteristics: a structure, a function or activity of the State and a scientific discipline.

In this framework, Gómez (2016) states that public administration as a structure that manages resources is based on the legal framework and on the static description of the administrative apparatus of government. This is what we think of as the institutional approach. On the other hand, the consideration as a function of the state considers the public administration as a continuous action of the state apparatus that satisfies the needs and demands of society. Finally, "the consideration of public administration as a discipline is part of the affirmation of its consolidation as an autonomous scientific discipline" (Gómez, 2016, p. 23).

From these assumptions, it can be stated that "it is common to find notions of public administration influenced by law, political science or administration, which try to define and explain it according to the influence of each discipline" (Villarruel, 2016, p. 133). However, due to the transformation of the economic, political and social paradigms and especially globalization as an inevitable challenge, and due to its multidisciplinary nature, public administration continues today, trying to find its full autonomy and a definition to develop itself as an autonomous and specific discipline (Pardo, 2016, p.125 et seq.).

In the historical development of the study of traditional public administration it is seen that it has adopted different forms or objects of study, i.e., it has been analyzed and conceived with different connotations (Villarreal, 2016). The different senses given are:

- State as an integrative element of social forces.
- Government and its functional and operational structure.
- Power as an instrumental form.

- Executive power expressed in the exercise of public resources and attention to social demands.
- Institutional relationship between public authorities.
- Bureaucracy and its staff.
- Theory of public organizations (Uvalle, 2005).

From a more utilitarian perspective, the listed objects of study of traditional public administration provided a theoretical and methodological basis for North American administrative thinking in the twentieth century. "From the progressive vision of North America, the evolution of public administration began in this context, whose dominant paradigm was efficiency and the rational instrumental model in the decision process" (Berumen Villarreal and Medellín Mendoza, 2016).

However, the evolution of the historical context, based on the different institutional needs, changed the focus of the study of the administrative phenomenon until reaching the current paradigms centered on a managerial method with the values of efficiency and effectiveness as basic assumptions. This means precisely the transformation of the public administration. From this perspective, according to American thought, the Western public administration has gone through the following seven stages (Arrellano, 2004, p. 101):

- Orthodoxy. Characterized by a scientific administration with a vertical and centralized hierarchical structure. The human component was not considered in the orthodox model.
- Heterodoxy. The human factor becomes important when establishing human relationships within the organization. The individual is considered strategic and with an impact on organizational objectives.
- Neoclassicism. Emphasis is placed on the decision-making process based on the limitations of the human factor. A process known as limited rationality (Simon, 1947).
- Public policy. "The set of activities of government institutions, acting directly or through agents, and which aim to have a certain influence on the lives of citizens" (Alcántara, 2004, p.106).
- New public administration. Structural redesign based on decentralization and delegation strategies, incorporating innovative methods based on pre-established objectives.
- Public management. It appears as a proposal to rethink public administrative discipline as a response to the administrative crisis and

lack of legitimacy (Cabrero, 1997). It is based on economic effectiveness and efficiency.
- New public administration.

This last integrated period after the management reform of the eighties is characterized by the application of seven premises (Hood, 1991): participation of professionals in the administration; specification of standards and evaluation of the performance of the agency; emphasis on the control of results; disaggregation of units in the public sector; change in competition among government agencies; emphasis on the use of private sector management techniques; austerity in the use of government resources. These guidelines were ratified by OCDE studies giving greater legitimacy to the change in management model (OCDE, 1997).

On the other hand, a problem that focuses more on the political element of the administration has begun more recently. The contemporary state proposed by Wolfe (1980) is characterized by a crisis of legitimacy, especially from the perspective of the results.

This crisis is a phenomenon derived from a universal problem: "More as a result of the social, economic and technological evolution of the contemporary world, than as a result of specifically ineffective governments or particularly inoperative regimes" (Cabrero, 1997, p.15).

It is presented as a response to citizen demands, seeking a state apparatus that serves society and not vice versa. In this order of ideas, Laufer (1982) suggests a new system of legitimacy, founded not by the ends, but by the methods of the exercise of power. It is a crisis of the state-society relationship, and "it is precisely the apparatus of the public administration that is the responsible bridge in that relationship" (Cabrero, 1997, p.17). It is here that the influence of social networks is seen as an instrument of connection of this relationship of government society.

The answer to the crisis of legitimacy posed is the modernization of public administration. In other words, the transition to new governance. According to Cabrero (1997), this modernization must involve three fundamental factors: 1) Efficiency. This aspect of modernization appears as a transformative process of an inefficient public administration, which wastes resources and organizational energy. Therefore, the need to recompose the input-output relationships is established. 2) Effectiveness. This dimension is based on the need for modernization due to the crisis in the performance of state objectives. The traditional civil service is seen as an ineffective apparatus, incapable of achieving goals. It therefore requires solutions: a reduction in the bureaucratic apparatus and the rationalization of human, material, technical and financial resources. Finally, 3) Legitimacy. This dimension refers to modernization based on the process necessary to restore dialogue between the State and society.

> Various and non-traditional mechanisms that allow for the fluidity of dialogue, communication, agreement and, above all, the participation and will of the citizenry. A participation not only in the level of demand but also in the management and monitoring of the policies and projects executed. (Cabrero, 1997)

Considering the necessary modernization proposed by Cabrero (1997), which in summary refers to the introduction of new public management that takes efficiency, effectiveness and legitimacy as fundamental axes, special attention will be paid to the emphasis on the axis of legitimacy, which establishes the need for mechanisms of communication and the continuous participation of society in the processes and decisions of public administration.

Like the public administration, the evolution of the media and the technological revolution caused a transformation from the "traditional" to the modern in the field of communication, having an evolutionary correlation that determines in a synergistic dependency between both. This is why social networks appear.

Metamorphosis of traditional media to social networks

From the perspective of political theory, the countries with democratic systems, whose base is political liberalism, have as a fundamental axis the division of powers: executive, legislative and judicial. "The division of powers and guarantees of the governed are the two basic legal assumptions on which the modern constitutional structure of the western state is based" (Villanueva, 2014, p. 149). Such division involves depositing the public power of the state in different and interdependent bodies to carry out the actions and proper functioning of the government entity.

Parallel to the development of this tripartite model, and depending on the evolution that is developing in civil society, at the end of the eighteenth century, as a result of the French Revolution, the term of a fourth power began to be used "to talk about the incipient means" of social communication (González, 2020, p. 9). This term comes from the English politician Edmund Burke who used this expression in the English Parliament, referring to the power of the press to promote political attitudes and criteria in society (Esquivel, 2013).

From that moment on, according to Castro (2006), the press was already a powerful instrument of subversion of order, morality, religion and strong influence in human society. "The press acted as a counterpower to the established powers, a function that was later recognized by society" (Galán-Gamero, 2014, p. 156).

For certain communicologists, the media "are the cornerstone in democratic societies, since they act as interlocutors between the state and civil society" (Blesa, 2006, p. 92) generating a space where problems of relevance to the community are addressed, and analyzed by political actors.

In a more recent theoretical context, this characteristic of the media in a democratic society coincides with the philosophy of Jürgen Habermas (1991), which specifies that the media perform its function as a "watchdog" in open and free societies. In the same way, they guide the audience towards the most important issues, thus generating an agenda and expanding public space (McCombs and Shaw, 2001). Such a public space is the core of a democratic society (Blessa, 2006).

More recently, Robert Dahl (1992) states that two basic institutions from the perspective of communication must coexist in any democratic system, in addition to other elements: plurality of information and freedom of expression; both are possible due to the very existence of mass media. Based on the above, it can be inferred that there is a correlation and interdependence between the media and democratic life due to their influence on civil society.

Unfortunately, traditional media (television, radio, press) have moved away from the ideological correlation with democratic life and "seem to have conveniently filled this gap by standing as the privileged interlocutors between the world of business and society, on the one hand, and business and politics, on the other" (Blesa, 2006, p. 93). According to this, there are two clear dimensions in the field of media: the commercial and the political-ideological, which predominantly prevail in journalistic activities (Cebrián, 2004).

Moved by economic and commercial purposes, the media "are hardly conceived in the traditional scheme of public space, but are defined as private spaces capable of influencing politics, state management and people's private lives" (Luna Pla, 2003, p. 22).

The social and economic strength concentrated in the media is undeniable. Unfortunately, this new motivation, far from the original purpose of the previously exposed media, has a predominant characteristic: "the concentration of the media in fewer hands, which always belong to the economic and financial elites" (González, 2020, p. 13).

Because the traditional media have changed their purpose of dialogue between the state and society to seek economic profitability, "they are suffering a crisis of credibility" (Calvo *et al.,* 2014, p. 23). Audience perception of media credibility has declined since the 1970s (Pew Research Center, 2007).

In Mexico, the media has been distinguished by the total dominance of two television stations (Huerta and Gómez, 2013, p. 123) that "between both headlines have reached a total of 96% of the participation in the country's screen" (De La Garza and Barredo, 2017, p. 97). These television stations had a monopoly on the symbolic management of public opinion. Despite the fact that Mexicans get their information about politics from various sources (family, work, educational centers), the media came to strongly influence the subject of politics (García and Huerta Wong, 2008).

The loss of credibility of the media, which indirectly caused political disaffection due to the same lack of confidence in the information transmitted by traditional media, is a reality that has changed due to the emergence and growth of social networks (De la Garza, 2020).

Although the emergence of social networks in the 21st century has been associated with extraordinary technological advances in communication, the concept is more remote and has its origin in sociological studies. In this sense, the concept of social network refers in a simple and clear way to social structures composed of individuals united by some type of relationship. In fact, it is even associated with another concept closely related to social networks, and that is social capital. The latter term refers to relationships established by social groups with common goals, and which are based on solidarity, loyalty, reciprocity and other factors that go beyond the mere exchange of information (Gómez and Portela, 2011).

Clearly, in the context of the knowledge society, the meaning of social networks is fundamentally focused on the use of technological platforms and the exchange of information, data and messages between people, while in social capital they have a more cooperative sense towards the collective goals (Gómez, 2016, p.110).

With the ICT revolution, on the other hand, the concept takes on a broader connotation in the 21st century with the boom given to these social relationships by the use and diffusion of the Internet. In this context, the social network acquires a more dynamic nature as a product of the Knowledge Society, facilitating interactions through various platforms (Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, TikTok, among others), with messages, content and videos, thus multiplying the possibilities of exchange between individuals and social groups. This phenomenon gives rise to this new meaning given to social networks.

With social (technological) networks, "the ways and frequency in which human beings communicate have changed, leading to a different form of citizen participation" (Ayala, 2014, p. 23). The new forms of interaction and participation of social networks have given rise to a new form of communicative organization in which people have access to direct and permanent information "but also the right to be participants in public discourse, which was restricted only to a power elite" (Ayala, 2014, p. 24), a circumstance very different from that observed in the days before social networks where traditional media predominated. This is what opens up an extraordinary opportunity for using social networks in public administration.

Social networks should be understood not only as simple technological tools for exchanging messages, but as authentic means of communication, interaction and global participation (García *et al*., 2014, p. 36).

Social networks and public administration

Social networks are recent constructs that refer to an evolutionary phenomenon that is transformed at a high speed and that is heterogeneous. In 2019, 45% of the global population used social networks, with Facebook being the most used social network with more than 2.27 billion active users (Hootsuite, 2019). These networks have had a strong impact not only on society, but also on the public sector, due to their possible impact on transparency, participation and collaboration (Criado *et al.,* 2013).

In relation to the field of new public management, social networks allow to contribute to its objectives, i.e., community building, considering the aspects of transparency, legitimacy and participation. Social networks allow easy and direct communication and interaction of public administration with other actors (Bonson *et al.,* 2015). This is because digital platforms favor the approach of the government with the citizen because of the spaces it creates.

Another window that social networks offer is disintermediation. "Technology causes the generation of more horizontal links between providers and recipients of public services" (Villorde, 2020, p. 377), thus benefiting the public administration with the collective intelligence of the citizen.

Social networks as a source of data are another opportunity to use them as a tool for new public management. Administrations can extract knowledge and information from the activities and relationships generated by citizens on the various digital platforms of social networks (Mejier and Potjer, 2018). The use of this data improves organizational efficiency, quality, trust and legitimacy of the public administration.

The use of social networks in public administration processes is known as the institutionalization of social networks (Villorde, 2020, p. 380).

> It involves the convergence and establishment of a set of routines and procedures, the alignment of innovative practices as part of the mission and vision of the organization, as well as the integration of these digital platforms into the technological paradigm and public communication standards of the organization. (Villorde, 2020 citing Mergel, p. 216)

Therefore, institutionalization must be based on a rational model and an adequate planning of its implementation.

Depending on the complexity of the implementation and importance, there are certain strategies for using social networks in public administration that should be considered for their implementation in the field.

Each administration uses social networks in the way that best serves its objectives and within its possibilities depending on its circumstances (Villorde, 2020). Some administrations rely more on exploiting the information dissemination potential of networks, but others leverage platforms for more participatory and collaborative uses (Meijer and Thaens, 2013). Whatever the case, "social networks are invaluable useful tool" (Villorde, 2020, p. 383).

On the other hand, Mergel (2013) classifies the uses of social networks in public administration into three categories according to their function:

- Push. The use of social networks as a channel for disseminating information for citizens. The administration is represented on social

networks with the main objective of positioning messages, avoiding direct interaction with citizens.
- Pull. It seeks information from the same audience, so it encourages user participation in their networks. It seeks interaction even though it is limited.
- Networks. Pursue the generation of horizontal and continuous communication, based on open exchanges with users.

In addition to the categorization of Mergel *et al.* (2020), and based on the aforementioned categorization, social networks complement the provision of certain public services and establish social transactions. Therefore, the authors (Criado and Villorde, 2020) classify the use of social networks in public administration in the following three categories:

- Provision of information. Aimed at disseminating basic information about the administration (activities, events, press releases, etc.).
- Citizen interaction. The administrations seek interaction with the citizen by establishing a bidirectional communication on the platforms.
- Provision of public service. Linked to the dissemination of information on public services provided by the administration (health recommendations, weather alerts, recommendations to care for water, calls to action, etc.).

The use of social networks as a tool for the new public management of current public organizations "is having a noticeable impact on many services and on different public policies" (Villorde, 2020, p. 384).

The communicative and participatory potential of social networks in public administration can be mainly seen in the management of emergencies and in attacking the erroneous information that exists in the same networks. Such dissemination is used by the administrations in their favor and achieve the objectives of the public administration itself towards society.

A catalog of good practices in the use of social networks in public administration requires considering certain basic principles:

- Train and educate public administration employees on the laws and regulations to follow, as well as the importance of using social networks for their functions, so that they are aware of their limitations and consequences in their actions.

- Publish a unified content preparation policy on social media and have control over it.
- Highlights the importance of not associating personal data with organizational data on social networks.
- Create a strategy for monitoring and verifying compliance and updating administrative processes performed on digital media.

As seen, the possibilities of using social networks are a powerful instrument to enhance the improvement of public management.

Social networks and government

Four different stages can be recognized when it comes to the rise of social media in the last decade and a half. In the first instance the first sporadic manifestations that occur in the second part of the 2000s when virtual social networks begin to become popular, first for recreational purposes, but later it is proven that they can have an important impact on public life (Loader *et al.,* 2014; Chen and Jacobson, 2022).

One of the most important precedents in terms of how social networks were used for a political campaign was certainly the 2008 presidential election in which they were capitalized on by Barack Obama's campaign which was quite a media success at the time. Later on, the appearance of *Wikileaks* (regardless of the valuation of its founder), will set an important precedent in journalism, because it is proven that digital media can dispute the narrative of events to traditional media (Saleh, 2013; Katz *et al.,* 2013).

Initially, the emergence of social networks in public life was disruptive and was mainly used to organize and make visible protest actions. The best example was the events that became known as The Arab Spring. In the case of Latin America, there are expressions such as the Chilean Winter and the #YoSoy132 movement. However, it was not clear at the time whether this new form of civic engagement would actually influence political life. The first stage of the emergence of social networks is characterized by their democratizing potential (Sola-Morales, 2016).

Over time, it became clear that these technological tools could articulate different social expressions, both for acts of protest and in political campaigns. An important precedent was what happened in the state elections of Nuevo León in 2015, which revealed new possibilities in terms of political communication. The second stage is when these tools end up being assimilated by public and private organizations (companies, government agencies, political parties) (Berumen Villarruel and Medellín Mendoza, 2016).

This is when there is an exponential growth in the use of virtual social networks. Their use is not always strategic nature, and in many cases political actors (as well as some mainstream media strategies) fail to comprehend the scope of these actions. But they stop ignoring them, and arguably, they stop fighting an inevitable trend as well. At this moment, there is no more discussion about its relevance, and rather the intelligent use of social and digital networks begins to be key (De la Garza, 2020).

In some cases, they are used to measure the pulse of public opinion, to communicate administrative decisions or to position the image of a particular political or governing force. It is a process that occurs too quickly, in the second half of the 2010s and comes with risks (Stephens, 2018).

By the latter, we refer to the proliferation of false information that comes with the process. It is also evident that networks give voice to actors who do not necessarily construct positively. The political polarization that exists in most contemporary democracies is transferred to virtual media, and in many cases even ends up worsening. In this way, the possibility of public deliberation that allows collective construction of solutions is removed, leading to a third stage, which presents a clear uncertainty (Kubin and von Sikorski, 2021).

The effects of social media on democracies are uncertain, especially when cases like Cambridge Analytica emerge that expose the manipulation that new media can be subject to. On the other hand, in other cases, communication between rulers and ruled through cyberspace is more a simulation than a reality (Isaak and Hanna, 2018).

But a fourth stage of this reality is presented in the context of the pandemic. Even with the danger of disinformation and the most harmful effects of this reality, the Covid-19 health crisis shows that we are facing an irreversible process. In this case, there is a huge challenge to a reality that changes too soon and from which it is difficult to go back (Gottlie and Dyer, 2020; Clement *et al.,* 2023).

During the pandemic, the contradictions of the information age have to coexist: it is true that virtual media becomes a space where false information is spread and where social confrontation is promoted. But these tools also help to inform the population of the health risks, help people to keep in contact at times of social distancing and help to carry out remote work that allows maintaining the physical integrity of people.

Towards the shaping of a digital strategy in the governance of the 21st century

As pointed out earlier in this article, social networks can help generate better governance processes, but this is still in the realm of the possible and not necessarily the real. In other words, there are few successful experiences of administrations (municipal, regional or national) that have successfully used technology to achieve more citizen participation, transparency that generates better accountability, among other possibilities (Bryer and Zavattaro, 2011; Perozo Martín and Chirinos Martínez, 2019).

But as the Covid-19 pandemic demonstrated, accelerating digital interaction is a process that is irreversible. In the present paper, for example, we discuss the possibilities of artificial intelligence and the metaverse. Both public and private organizations face a major challenge to stay within a trend that has changed the way people interact, assimilate the world around them and even the way they express themselves (Kemeç, 2023).

For the same reason, it is perhaps common to state that what is required is more use of digital tools in public offices. The challenge today is that they can be used strategically. For example, how technology can enable strategic decision-making that is oriented to execute decisions (Maciejewski, 2017).

When talking about Big Data, we refer to the ability to process a wide amount of information that allows us to make predictive models, which can serve, for example, for big issues such as public health and safety, strategic planning of cities, environmental protection, among other possibilities (Lavertu, 2016).

But it also represents a huge responsibility on the part of public administrations to employ digital strategies. In the first place, there is a need to strengthen cybersecurity at a time when new forms of crime arise in these media. This requires a commitment to protect personal data, as well as institutional and legal mechanisms that protect the fundamental rights of citizens (Davara Fernández de Marcos, 2016; Andraško *et al*., 2021).

Considering that we are going through a historical process that will deepen in the next years, public administrations have the challenge of capitalizing on the opportunities presented, as well as preventing some challenges presented by the information age. This is the breaking point: if the use of technology can lead to strengthening democratic expressions and strengthening governance processes.

Conclusions

As pointed out since the beginning of this text, studies on public administration have evolved over the last five decades, because of the theoretical transformation itself as well as the experiences that have emerged during this time. It is also true that the study of the media has had a significant development and rethinking following the emergence of digital media. To the extent that the information age has led to virtual tools being indispensable for citizens to be in touch, work, carry out transactions, among other indispensable activities and on the other hand public administrations face the challenge of building better governance processes that can give them legitimacy, there will be a need to find better ways to use technologies to achieve this end.

This is a process that is fraught with significant challenges and is unpredictable in nature, because technology changes too fast. The Covid-19 pandemic accelerated a process that we can observe since the past decade, which will surely represent a huge practical challenge for decision makers within the public administration but also from the field of academic research within the Social Sciences.

References

Alcántara, M. (2004). *Gobernabilidad crisis y cambio*. FCE.

Andraško, J., Mesarčík, M. and Hamuľák, O. (2021). The regulatory intersections between artificial intelligence, data protection and cyber security: challenges and opportunities for the EU legal framework. *AI & SOCIETY*, *36*(2), 623-636. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00146-020-01125-5

Ayala, T. (2014). Redes sociales, poder y participación ciudadana. *Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales*, 23-48. https://bit.ly/3OJEgIv

Berumen Villarruel, G. Y. and Medellín Mendoza, L. N. (2016). Marketing de los candidatos a la gubernatura de Nuevo León en las redes sociales durante el proceso electoral de 2015. *Apuntes Electorales: revista del instituto electoral del estado de México, 15*(54), 57-90. https://bit.ly/3qijVjX

Blesa Aledo, P. (2006). Medios de comunicación y democracia: ¿El poder de los medios o de los medios al poder? *Sphera Pública, 6,* 87-106. https://bit.ly/47l1iMK

Bonson, E., Ratkai, M. and Royo, S. (2015). Citizens' engagement on local governments Facebook Sites. An empirical analysis: The impact of different media and content types in Western Europe. *Government Information Quarterly*, *32*(1), 52-62. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2014.11.001

Bryer, T. A. and Zavattaro, S. M. (2011). Social media and public administration: Theoretical dimensions and introduction to the symposium. *Administrative theory & praxis, 33*(3), 325-340. https://doi.org/10.2753/ATP1084-1806330301

Cabrero Mendoza, E. (1997). *Del administrador al Gerente Público*. INAP.

Calvo Porral, C. M. (2014). La credibilidad de los medios de Comunicación de masas: una aproximación desde el Modelo de Marca Creíble. *Intercom RBCC, 37*(2), 21-49. https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-584420141

Castro Alfin, D. (2006). *Burke: circunstancia política y pensamiento*. Tecnos.

Cebrián Herreros, M. (2004). *La información en televisión, obsesión mercantil y política*. Gedisa.

Center, P. R. (2007). *News audiences increasingly politicized*. Pew Research Center-Social Media.

Chen, Q. and Jacobson, T. (2022). A process model of the public sphere: A case of municipal policy debates on Sina Weibo. *Policy & Internet, 14*(2), 485-502. https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.281

Clement, J., Esposito, G. and Crutzen, N. (2023). Municipal pathways in response to COVID-19: a strategic management perspective on local public administration resilience. *Administration & Society, 55*(1), 3-29. https://doi.org/10.1177/00953997221100382

Criado, J. V. (2020). Delivering public services through social media in European local governments. An interpretative framework using semantic algorithms. *Local Government Studies, 47*(2), 253-275. https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2020.1729750

Criado, J., Rojas-Martín, F. and Gil-García, J. R. (2017). Enacting social media success in local public administrations: An empirical analysis of organizational, institutional, and contextual factors. International *Journal of Public Sector Management, 30*(1), 31-47. https://bit.ly/3Yjg82v

Dahl, R. (1992). *La democracia y sus críticos*. Paidós.

Davara Fernández de Marcos, L. (2016). La importancia de la ciberseguridad en la Administración Pública. *Actualidad administrativa*, (7), 11.

de la Garza, D. (2020). Medios sociales y democratización de la comunicación: del potencial emergente a los riesgos del presente. *Democracias, 8*(8), 183-211. https://doi.org/10.54887/27376192.16

de la Garza, D. and Barredo, D. (2017). Democracia digital en México: un estudio sobre la participación de los jóvenes usuarios mexicanos durante las elecciones legislativas federales de 2015. *Index Comunicación, 7*(1), 95-114. https://bit.ly/47g42ey

de Marcos, L. D. F. (2016). La importancia de la ciberseguridad en la Administración Pública. *Actualidad administrativa*, (7), 11.

Esquivel Hernández, J. (2013). ¿El Cuarto Poder? *Revista Mexicana de Comunicación,* https://bit.ly/3QsQTJe

Galán Gamero, J. (2014). Cuando el cuarto poder se constituye en cuarto poder: propuestas. *Revista Clave, 17*(1), 150-185. https://bit.ly/47myJyz

García-Galera, M. del C., del Hoyo-Hurtado, M. and Fernández-Muñoz, C. (2014). Jóvenes comprometidos en la Red: el papel de las redes sociales en la participación social activa. *Comunicar, 43*, (XXII), 35-43. https://doi.org/10.3916/C43-2014-03

García, E. y Huerta Wong, J. E. (2008). La formación de ciudadanos: el papel de la televisión y la comunicación humana en la socialización política. *Comunicación y Sociedad, 10*, 163-189. https://bit.ly/43QaNkp

Gerstle, G. (2022). *The rise and fall of the neoliberal order: America and the World in the free market era.* Oxford University Press.

Gómez Díaz de León, C. (2016). *Historia de la Administración Pública Mexicana*. En C. Gómez Díaz de León, *De la Administración Pública tradicional a la nueva Gestión Pública* (pp. 93-126). McGraw Hill.

Gómez, I. N. and Portela, M. (2011). Determinantes del capital social. *Investigaciones de Economía de la Educación volume 6*, *6*, 986-1001.

Gómez, I. N. and Portela, M. (2011). Determinantes del capital social. Investigaciones de Economía de la Educación volume 6, 6, 986-1001.

González Pazos, J. (2020). *Medios de Comunicación ¿Al servicio de quién?* CLACSO.

Gottlieb, M. and Dyer, S. (2020). Information and disinformation: social media in the COVID-19 crisis. *Academic emergency medicine, 27*(7), 640. https://doi.org/10.1111/acem.14036

Guerrero Orozco, O. (2019). *Principios de Administración Pública*. INAP.

Habermas, J. (1991). *The structural transformation of public sphere: An inquiiry into a category of bourgois society*. MIT Press.

Hood, C. (1991). *Administrative Argument*. Darthmouth Publishing Company.

Hootsuite. (2019). Discover the state of digital in Mexico. Hootsuite Incorporated.

Huerta, J. and Gómez, R. (2013). Concentración y diversidad de los medios de comunicación y las telecomunicaciones en México. *Comunicación y Sociedad, 19*, 113-152. https://bit.ly/3s02hSE

Isaak, J. and Hanna, M. J. (2018). User data privacy: Facebook, Cambridge Analytica, and privacy protection. *Computer, 51*(8), 56-59. https://doi.org/10.1109/MC.2018.3191268

Katz, J., Barris, M. and Jain, A. (2013). *The social media president: Barack Obama and the politics of digital engagement*. Springer.

Kemeç, A. (2023). Metaverse applications as a tool in urban policy design. En *Metaverse Applications for New Business Models and Disruptive Innovation* (pp. 12-34). IGI Global.

Kubin, E. and von Sikorski, C. (2021). The role of (social) media in political polarization: a systematic review. *Annals of the International Communication Association, 45*(3), 188-206. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2021.1976070

Laidi, Z. (1997). *Un mundo sin sentido*. FCE.

Laufer, R. (1982). *El Príncipe burócrata*. Trillas.

Lavertu, S. (2016). We all need help: "Big data" and the mismeasure of public administration. *Public administration review, 76*(6), 864-872. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12436

Loader, B. D., Vromen, A. y Xenos, M. A. (2014). The networked young citizen: social media, political participation and civic engagement. *Information, Communication & Society, 17*(2), 143-150. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2013.871571

Luna Pla, I. (2003). Medios de comunicación y democracia: realidad, cultura cívica y respuestas legales y políticas. *Derecho Comparado de la Información*, 113-152. https://bit.ly/3DHODWL

Maciejewski, M. (2017). To do more, better, faster and more cheaply: Using big data in public administration. *International Review of Administrative Sciences, 83*(1_suppl), 120-135. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852316640058

McCombs, M. and Shaw, D. (2001). The Agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 36*(2), 176-187. https://bit.ly/3OntRRb

Meijer, A. J. and Thaens, M. (2013). Social Media Strategies: Understanding the Differences between North American Police Departments. *Government Information Quarterly, 30*(4), 343-350. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2013.05.023

Mergel, I. (2013). A Framework for Interpreting Social Media Interactions in the Public Sector. *Government Information Quarterly*, *30*(4), 327-334. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2013.05.015

Mergel, I., Ganapati, S., y Whitford, A. B. (2020). Agile: A new way of governing. *Public Administration Review*, *81*(1), 161-165.

OCDE. (1997). *La Transformación de la Gestión Pública. Las reformas en los países de la OCDE*. Madrid: MAP-OCDE.

Pardo, M. D. (2016). *Introducción a la Administración Pública*. COLMEX.

Perozo Martín, R. and Chirinos Martínez, A. C. (2019). Incidencias de la Tecnología web 2.0 en el contexto de la gobernanza y la gobernabilidad. *Iustitia Socialis: Revista Arbitrada de Ciencias Jurídicas y Criminalísticas, 4*(6), 90-116.

Saleh, I. (2013). WikiLeaks and the Arab Spring: the twists and turns of media, culture, and power. En *Beyond WikiLeaks: Implications for the future of communications, journalism and society* (pp. 236-244). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Simon, H. (1947). *El comportamiento administrativo. Estudios de los procesosdecisorios en la organización administrativa*. Aguilar.

Sola-Morales, S. (2016). Las redes sociales y los nuevos movimientos estudiantiles latinoamericanos. La" Primavera Chilena" y el" Yosoy132". *IC Revista Científica de Información y Comunicación*, (13), 9. https://bit.ly/3OgMiaa

Stephens, S. (2018). *Everybody lies: Big data, new data, and what the internet can tell us about who we really are*. Arper Collins.

Subirats, J. (30 de marzo de 2016). CLAD ORG Webinar. Webinar Retos democráticos en la reconfiguración de la gestión pública del siglo XXI. https://bit.ly/3QIprHB

Toffler, A. (1990). *El cambio del poder*. Plaza & Janes.

Uvalle Berrones, R. (2005). *Perfil contemporáneo de la Administración Pública*. IAPEM.

Villanueva Gómez, L. (2014). *La división de poderes: teoría y realidad.* Biblioteca Virtual del Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la UNAM.

Villodre, J. (2019). Innovación Pública Abierta. Eunomía. *Revista en Cultura de la Legalidad*, 17, 314-327. https://doi.org/10.20318/eunomia.2019.5036

Villodre, J. (2020). Redes sociales (en las administraciones públicas). *EUNOMÍA. Revista en Cultura de la Legalidad,* (19), 375-390.

Wolfe, A. (1980). *Los limitéslímites de la legitimidad*. Siglo XXI.

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.05

Exploring trends in the public sphere: scientometrics and systematic review

Explorando tendencias del devenir público: cienciometría y revisión sistemática

Edgar Romario Aranibar-Ramos
Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil
romario.aranibar@usp.br
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5926-8544

Freddy Raúl Salinas-Gainza
Universidad Nacional de San Agustín de Arequipa, Peru
fsalinasg@unsa.edu.pe
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0041-9448

Nilton Axel Seguil-Ormeño
Universidad Tecnológica del Perú, Peru
u20250104@utp.edu.pe
https://orcid.org/0009-0006-3203-0812

Received on: 17/06/2023 **Revised on:** 21/07/2023 **Accepted on:** 14/08/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Suggested citation: Aranibar-Ramos, E., Salinas-Gainza, F. and Seguil-Ormeño, N. (2023). Exploring trends in the public sphere: scientometrics and systematic review. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 103-127. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.05

Abstract

In this research, it was shed light on the imperative of ensuring effective government services and sustainable policies in the context of modernity. The study utilized a combination of scientometric analysis and systematic literature review to explore the current landscape of public administration and management. The analysis of the latest Scopus publications revealed a noticeable increase in research production over the past five years. There were identified three categories of trends: consolidated, intermediate, and emerging. Prominent themes included governance, transparency, corruption, e-government, and sustainability, while emerging trends encompassed public health, big data, open government, digital transformation, and smart cities. The findings emphasize the critical role of effective governance and citizen participation in shaping health-related policies, as well as the strategic adoption of technologies to improve service delivery. Looking ahead, it is proposed further investigation into emerging and intermediate trends, along with addressing identified thematic gaps such as public-private and international collaboration for sustainable governance, addressing health disparities in vulnerable communities and the role of higher education to develop ethical leaders. Moreover, the impact of information and communication technologies (ICTs) on achieving developmental goals in developing countries merits in-depth exploration. This research contributes valuable insights for policymakers, academics, and practitioners seeking to enhance public administration practices and meet the evolving needs of society.

Keywords

State administration, government management, information and communication technologies, governance, trends.

Resumen

El avance de la modernidad torna imperativo asegurar el adecuado funcionamiento de los servicios gubernamentales y la efectiva implementación de políticas y programas para garantizar la sostenibilidad de la ciudadanía. El objetivo de esta investigación fue proporcionar un análisis exhaustivo de las tendencias actuales, vacíos temáticos y áreas de investigación futura en administración y gestión pública. Para lograr ello, se llevó a cabo un análisis cienciométrico y una revisión sistemática de literatura sobre la última producción en Scopus, durante los últimos cinco años. Los hallazgos revelan que la producción actual presenta una tendencia al alza. Se identificaron tres categorías de tendencias: consolidadas, intermedias y emergentes. Entre las tendencias consolidadas se destacaron términos como gobernanza, transparencia, corrupción, gobierno electrónico y sostenibilidad. Las tendencias emergentes contemplan: salud pública, *big data*, gobierno abierto, transformación digital y ciudades inteligentes. También se reveló la importancia de una gobernanza efectiva y participación ciudadana en salud y, la adopción estratégica de tecnologías para mejorar la eficiencia operativa y prestación de servicios gubernamentales personalizados. En futuros trabajos, se recomienda el estudio en las tendencias emergentes, intermedias o vacíos temáticos identificados, tales como la colaboración público-privada e internacional en el desarrollo de una gobernanza sostenible, difusión y prevención salud en comunidades en estado de vulnerabilidad o, el impacto de las TIC en logro de resultados en países en desarrollo.

Palabras clave

Administración estatal, gestión gubernamental, tecnologías de la información y comunicaciones, gobernanza, tendencias.

Introduction

Modernity requires the proper functioning of government services and the effective implementation of policies and programs to ensure the sustainability of citizenship. Organizational conceptions arise from the premise about management and public administration, terms that, although close, have differences. Public management encompasses a set of processes, strategies and practices used at the governmental level to plan, organize, direct and control the resources and activities necessary to achieve the objectives and goals of the State (Macedo *et al.,* 2022). On the other hand, public administration refers to the organization and structure of the state responsible for implementing policies and programs designed by political leaders and government institutions (Mykytyuk *et al.,* 2021). Thus, in the context of the public sphere, there are different nomenclature, which can lead to confusion.

It is a dynamic and constantly evolving field that is pivotal in the effective functioning of government institutions and in meeting the needs of society. In an increasingly interconnected and changing world, it is crucial to understand the trends of this issue. In this way, it is possible to distinguish a variety of approaches, such as curriculum design for public management (O'Neill, 2022a), optimization of process management (Sousa *et al*., 2021), preventive approaches (Appe *et al*., 2021), learning experiences (Wong *et al.,* 2022), use of information and communications technologies (ICT) (Salnikova *et al., 2019) or the construction of a culture of innovation through leadership in the government (Park, 2021), offering each of these approaches a step towards improving the efficiency, transparency and quality of government services, with the aim of meeting the changing needs of society.*

From this context, questions arise: How has research evolved in the field of public administration and management? How do the prevailing currents manifest themselves? What areas of research should be explored in the future? In order to respond to these concerns, a comprehensive scientometric analysis was carried out in Scopus, considering publications of the last five years and using search terms in English, Spanish and Portuguese. After data exclusion and analysis, a systematic literature review was conducted, focusing on seven research subtopics and the identification of possible thematic gaps in these areas. These lines of research identified were governance and corruption in public administration and management, accounting and financial issues in public administration and management, transparency, decentralization and open government in public administration and management: strengthening democratic governance; higher education as a means to build social leadership, administration and public management; governance sustainability in public administration and management; health issues, administration and public management and technological advances, administration and public management.

In this way, the aim is to analyze and examine the most outstanding trends in the field of public administration and management, exploring its contents, identifying thematic gaps and suggesting areas for future research. It is important to highlight the combination of a scientometric analysis and a systematic literature review, which adds significant value to the work. The scarce scientometric production in Spanish is also highlighted, mentioning the importance of this research and its relevance in the field. In addition, it is intended that the results and analyzes obtained have a positive impact on the quality of life of citizens, contributing to the optimization of public policies and strengthening efficiency in government management.

Materials and methods

A qualitative approach and a systematic review methodology were used, following the guidelines established by Aranibar *et al*. (2022). To this end, a search was conducted on Scopus, using the following terms in both titles and abstracts and keywords: "public management", "public administration", "state management", "state administration", "government management", "government administration", "public management", "public administration", "state management", "state administration", "management of the state", "administration of the state", "governamental management", "governamental administration", "gestão do Estado", "administração do Estado", "administração governamental" and "administração governamental".

The focus was on the last five years of academic production, 2018 and 2022. Subsequently, we proceeded to specifically select articles, eliminating any duplicate present in the database. An analysis was carried out to evaluate the concordance of the contents, establishing inclusion and exclusion criteria, among them, thematic relevance, extrapolable contents; type of study, empirical; determination of sample, statistically significant; ability to access. In addition, an exhaustive and detailed reading of the works was carried out to identify trends and generate theoretical and thematic guidelines that were subsequently used in the drafting of this review. After specifying the procedures and criteria used, 63 works were selected.

In order to add additional value to the work, trends in the field of study were identified by means of keyword analysis. For this, the total number of articles was considered once duplicates were eliminated and before applying other criteria, which yielded a total of 13 644 articles, allowing a deeper analysis of trends. It is important to note the specific use of keywords in English, since the revised works were available in that version or was their original language.

Results

It was found that 13 658 works were conducted in the period of the study, however, establishing the restriction of the type of document the number was reduced to 8853. The year with the highest production was 2022, with 2109; likewise, there is a predisposition to address the subject, since over the period the number of works increases by an average of 193 works.

It was also observed that the subject is mostly researched in *Social Sciences,* 6302; *Business, Management and Accounting*, 2162 and, *Environmental Science*, 1043. The journals with the highest incidence are Sustainability (Switzerland), 201; Public Administration, 148; International Review of Administrative Sciences, 129; Public Management Review, 124; and Public Administration Review, 120.

On the other hand, the institutions that further develop this area are Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, 78; University of São Paulo, 59; Universiteit Utrecht, 58; *Aarhus Universitet*, 56; *Russian Academy of Sciences, 55 and,* the countries that delved the most were the United States of America (USA), 1308; Spain, 878; Italy, 633; Brazil, 633; and Russia, 529. This fact shows the non-concordance between the highest production per country and institution, in terms of territorial belonging. Regarding the original language of the manuscripts, there is a predominance in the following order: English 7016; Spanish 744; Portuguese 399; Russian 286; and Italian 163.

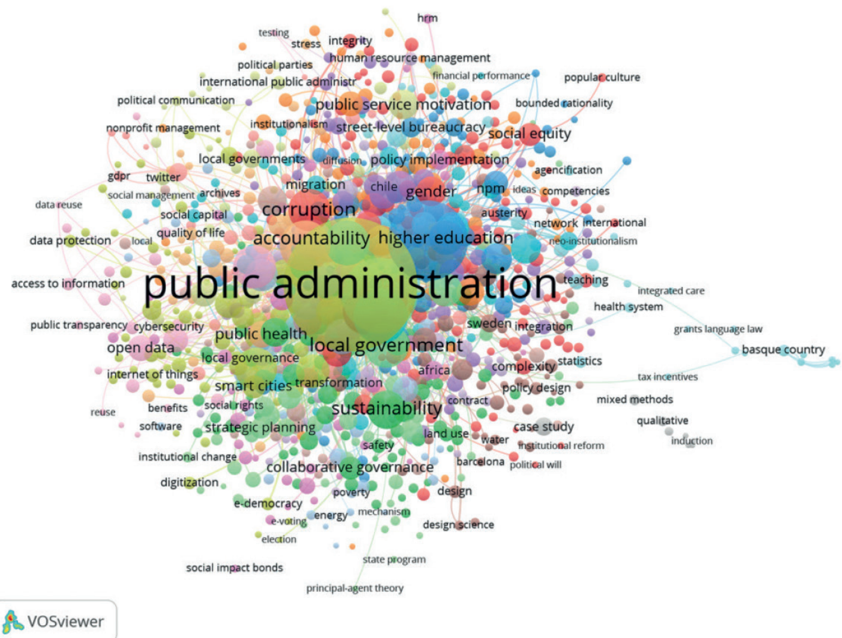
Meanwhile, the most produced authors were Bernd Wirtz of the *Deutsche Universität für Verwaltungswissenschaften*, Germany, 13; Meghna Sabharwal, *The University of Texas at Dallas*, USA, 12; Bert George, *City University of Hong Kong*, China, 11; Ignacio Criado, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain, 10 and, Mary Guy,University of Colorado DenverWat, USA, 10. However, the productions with the greatest impact were those by Kapoor *et al*. (2018), with 596 quotations; Corburn *et al.* (2020), 307; Wang *et al.* (2018), 227; Torfing *et al.(2019), 214; Greer et al. (2020), 189.*

Thematic relations in the study of financial education

This paper presents the scientific mapping, provided by VOSviewer, which analyzes the occurrence of keywords used by authors in the total count. In this analysis, a minimum threshold of three occurrences per keyword was considered for its inclusion in the mapping (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Keyword occurrence analysis



Note. Elaboration with data taken from Scopus processed through VOSviewer.

The relationships between the keywords can be identified in Figure 1, with variations in colors and sizes that reflect the intensity of their occurrences. In this way, it is noted that the central axis of the figure is public administration, new public administration, followed by local government, accounting, public health, higher education, gender, e-government, sustainability, corruption, migration, smart cities, transformation, bureaucracy, open data, collaborative governance, universities, policy implementation, strategic planning, cybersecurity, gender. The program also notes the existence of 19 clusters or thematic clusters.

Trends in Financial Education

In addition to what is presented in Figure 1, it is important to perform an analysis of the keywords that showed high, medium and emerging interaction in the investigated repository. In this respect, the results of this analysis are detailed in Table 1.

Table 1
Consolidated Trends

Consolidated Trends		Intermediate trends		Emerging Trends	
Keywords in English	**f**	**Keywords in English**	**f**	**Keywords in English**	**f**
public administration	1241	‘innovation’	89	public health	50
‘new public management’	454	higher education	83	trust	50
public management	394	‘sustainable development’	81	civil service	49
governance	209	‘efficiency’	79	‘democracy’	48
‘covid-19’	179	‘management’	79	‘development’	48
‘local government’	143	‘artificial intelligence’	73	‘good governance’	48
“public policy”	143	“performance”	73	public service	48
public sector	142	bureaucracy	69	‘social media’	48
“transparency”	129	‘leadership’	68	big data	46
‘corruption’	127	“neoliberalism”	67	open data	46
‘e-government’	124	‘public services’	66	‘ethics’	45
‘accountability’	109	‘state’	65	European Union	45
‘sustainability’	105	“performance management”	63	job satisfaction	45
		gender	62	open government	45
		public service motivation	62	‘regulation’	44

Consolidated Trends		Intermediate trends		Emerging Trends	
Keywords in English	**f**	**Keywords in English**	**f**	**Keywords in English**	**f**
		‘spain’	59	‘Italy’	43
		‘education’	58	‘policy’	43
		‘government’	58	‘collaboration’	42
		public procurement	58	decentralization	42
		public value	58	evaluation	42
		citizen participation	57	‘Brazil’	40
		administrative law	56	public sector reform	40
		‘china’	56	administration	39
		‘digitalization’	54	‘legitimacy’	39
		‘participation’	52	pandemic	39
				‘social equity’	39
				“digital transformation”	38
				‘effectiveness’	38
				collaborative governance	37
				smart cities	37
				climate change	36
				smart city	36
				state administration	36
				‘new public governance’	35
				state management	35
				administrative reform	34
				civil society	34
				public governance	34
				‘russia’	33
				‘developing countries’	32
				‘quality’	32
				resilience	32
				strategic planning	32
				universities	32
				‘Indonesia’	31

Note. Processing with data taken from Scopus processed through Numbers.

Considering that the study involved different languages, a decision was made to use keywords in a matching language, English. Following this trend identification, a brief translation of the terms was made so that they could be understood by a wider audience. Thus, in the context of consolidated trends are terms such as public administration, new public management, public management, governance, COVID-19, local government, public policy, public sector, transparency, corruption, e-government, accountability and sustainability.

In the intermediate trends, innovation, higher education, sustainable development, efficiency, management, artificial intelligence, performance, bureaucracy, leadership, neoliberalism, public services, state, performance management, gender, motivation in public service, Spain, education, government, public procurement, public value, citizen participation, administrative law, China, digitalization, and participation are observed.

Correspondingly, emerging trends include the terms: public health, trust, civil service, democracy, development, good governance, public service, social networks, *big data,* open data, ethics, European Union, job satisfaction, open government, regulation, Italy, politics, collaboration, decentralization, evaluation, Brazil, public sector reform, administration, legitimacy, pandemic, social equity, digital transformation, effectiveness, collaborative governance, smart cities, climate change, smart city, state administration, new public governance, state management, administrative reform, civil society, public governance, Russia, developing countries, quality, resilience, strategic planning, universities, Indonesia.

Trends in financial education ranked by year

In order to present more enlightening results to identify the most addressed topics per year in relation to their keywords, the terms containing "public" were removed. For example, "public administration", "new public management", "public management", "public policy", "public sector" and "public service".

Table 2
Trends in Financial Education Ranked by Year

Year	1st keyword	f	2nd keyword	f	3rd keyword	f	4th keyword	f	5th keyword	f
2018	governance	30	‘accountability’	24	‘local government’	20	‘sustainability’	20	‘e-government’	19
2019	governance	49	‘local government’	32	“transparency”	28	‘corruption’	24	higher education	24
2020	‘covid-19’	42	governance	41	‘local government’	36	“transparency”	32	‘corruption’	30
2021	‘covid-19’	76	governance	44	‘corruption’	30	‘sustainability’	29	“transparency”	26
2022	‘covid-19’	62	governance	45	‘local government’	39	‘e-government’	34	‘artificial intelligence’	27

Note. Processing with data taken from Scopus processed through Numbers.

The aim was to give relevance to less obvious thematic results and consider the excluded results as possible outstanding topics in the subject.

By 2018, the most researched terms were related to governance, accounting, local government, sustainability and e-government; by 2019, governance, local government, transparency, corruption and higher education; by 2020, COVID-19, governance, local government, transparency, corruption; by 2021, COVID-19, governance, corruption, sustainability and transparency; and by 2022, COVID-19, governance, local government, e-government and artificial intelligence.

Discussion

Approaches to public administration and management

For improving the understanding of public management and its relationship with various aspects, seven sub-themes that emerged as a result of the analysis of intermediate and emerging trends were considered. These sub-themes were grouped together to provide a more comprehensive view of the topic.

Governance and corruption in public administration and management

Governance and corruption are two fundamental aspects that cut across the public apparatus and have a significant impact on the development of societies. Thus, it is recognized that the first term refers to the processes and mechanisms through which decisions are made and authority is exercised, involving the participation of various actors, both governmental and non-governmental (Hue and Tung-Wen, 2022); while corruption encompasses dishonest practices that undermine integrity (Macedo *et al*., 2022), including bribery, nepotism, influence peddling and embezzlement (Capasso *et al.,* 2022).

It is clear that corruption represents a significant obstacle to effective governance; when public officials engage in corrupt practices, the public interest is compromised for the benefit of private interests (Macedo *et al*., 2022). This weakens the government's ability to implement effective policies and deliver quality public services (Steffek and Wegmann, 2020). Hence, lack of transparency and accountability creates an environment for these practices, undermining citizens' trust in their leaders and government systems (Biscione and Muço, 2021).

Corruption is influenced by various factors, such as institutional weaknesses, lack of oversight and control, as well as an organizational culture that tolerates or encourages such practices (Park *et al*., 2021). In addition, the existence of a weak regulatory framework and impunity promote it (Mahmood *et al.,* 2022). Corruption can also be related to the existence of power monopolies and a free and critical low press capable of reporting corruption (Capasso *et al*., 2022).

Recognizing the consequences of corruption, the challenge lies in finding effective ways to prevent and combat it. According to Sweeting (2022), addressing this problem requires a combination of comprehensive strategies, being essential to strengthen control and oversight mechanisms in public institutions to prevent and detect corruption cases, including the establishment of efficient audit systems and promotion of transparency in decision-making processes (Nicolaescu and López, 2019). Likewise, citizen participation and civil society empowerment are essential to promote more responsible and ethical public development (Ostřanský and Aznar, 2021).

It is recommended to address the application of collaborative governance approaches and their impact on the effectiveness of the fight against corruption in specific contexts of developing countries.

Accounting and financial issues in public administration and management

Hence, effective public development requires the management of accounting and financial issues (Tran *et al*., 2022). In this line, it is noted that public accounting is responsible for the registration and control of financial operations of the public sector (Widanti, 2022), while public finance refers to the management and administration of financial resources of the government (Stentella, 2022). At this point, Fleischer and Reiners (2021) emphasize that international public sector accounting standards provide guidelines for these issues.

On the other hand, Widanti (2022) recognizes that public accounting allows government entities to maintain accurate and up-to-date records of their financial operations, facilitating informed decision-making; it is also a tool for accountability, allowing citizens, legislators and other social actors to assess the financial performance of government and the social impact of public policies (Salnikova *et al*., 2019).

Boudreau (2021) adds that transparency in financial reporting is necessary for building public and social trust; clear and accessible disclosure of government financial reports ensures that citizens can understand how public resources are managed and financial decisions are made. Ríos *et al.* (2022) address financial responsibility involving accountability for the use of public resources and the fulfillment of established financial and fiscal objectives.

Challenges such as public debt management are also recognized, as excessive indebtedness puts at risk the financial stability and fiscal sustainability of the country (Caldas, 2021). In addition, financing public investment projects requires careful planning and evaluation of costs and benefits (Mykytyuk *et al*., 2021). However, the use of tools such as results-based budgeting or periodic evaluation of investment projects would facilitate proper accounting and financial management (Rios *et al.,* 2022), not to mention the significant involvement of ICTs. It is suggested to deepen the application of ICT in the dissemination of information in diverse contexts.

Transparency, decentralization and open government in public administration and management: strengthening democratic governance

According to Boudreau (2021), transparency guarantees access to government information, open government encourages citizen participation, and decentralization empowers communities and fosters greater autonomy in local decision-making. Transparency not only strengthens citizens' trust in government institutions, but also helps to detect and prevent acts of corruption

(Ríos *et al*., 2022). Accessible public information also allows civil society to participate actively in monitoring government policies and programs (Nicolaescu and López, 2021). At the same time, the transfer of responsibilities to subnational authorities allows management closer to the needs of each community, reducing bureaucracy. For Cevallos *et al.* (2022) this decentralization promotes transparency, because local authorities are often closer to citizens and more susceptible to accountability. Similarly, decentralization facilitates citizen participation in decision-making and increases efficiency in the provision of public services.

As for open government, Alcaide *et al*. (2022) point out that more openness is sought for developing public policies and programs through collaboration between government and civil society and that citizen participation is not limited only to access to information, but involves citizens in defining agendas and evaluating results, using ICT as a means of communication.

In this way, the combination of transparency, decentralization and open government can bring multiple benefits towards reform in administration and public management, since citizen participation would lead to more effective solutions adapted to their needs (Ford, 2021). In addition, transparency in the allocation of resources at the local level avoids clientelistic practices and ensures a more equitable distribution (Castillo *et al*. 2022).

However, there are challenges in implementing these policies. Decentralization requires adequate capacities and resources in local governments, as it can increase complexity and costs (Lanzaro and Ramos, 2021). Likewise, open government may face resistance from officials who fear exposure to malpractices or poorly informed decisions (Elliott *et al.,* 2022). It addresses the impact of these strategies in strengthening democratic governance.

Higher Education as a means to build social leadership, administration and public management

Higher education has the potential to develop social leaders capable of inspiring and mobilizing their communities to promote positive social change (Lund, 2022). Academic programs can develop leadership, effective communication and teamwork skills in students, which are essential for effective leadership in complex and diverse contexts (O'Neill, 2022b). Higher education can also foster social empathy and sensitivity, which are key to understanding people's needs and designing inclusive solutions. Dolamore (2021) states that ethical and effective public administration and management requires leaders capable of managing public resources transparently and responsibly, prioritizing the well-being of the population over particular interests.

Along these lines, social leadership has a significant impact on public management and government decision-making, as empowered social leaders influence the public agenda, promoting policies and programs that address urgent social challenges (Adomavičiūtė, 2018). Social leaders can generate greater legitimacy and trust in public institutions through channels of citizen participation. This leadership can also drive innovation, encouraging the adoption of new practices and approaches to address complex problems (Park *et al*., 2021).

On the other hand, higher education can foster civic engagement, encouraging community involvement and public decision-making. Through volunteering and social activities, students can apply their academic knowledge in solving real problems and contribute to the development of more effective public policies (Kim and Charbonneau, 2020). Higher education also offers opportunities for training student leaders, who can become agents of change and promote initiatives from their institutions (Donina and Paleari, 2019).

However, this training faces important challenges, such as the need to adapt to a constantly changing world and address complex and global issues (Toleikienė *et al.,* 2021). It is essential that higher education be kept up to date and relevant to respond to the demands of society. In this way, academic institutions should promote interdisciplinarity and collaboration with external actors to enrich the training of their students and develop comprehensive solutions to social problems (O'Neill, 2022a).

It is recommended to investigate the factors for establishing alliances between educational institutions and external agents for the formation of leaders, motivations, challenges and frequent activities of leaders in various contexts.

Governance sustainability in public administration and management

The Government faces constant challenges in its quest to ensure sustainable and equitable development for present and future societies. In this context, the sustainability of governance is a fundamental approach to achieve a balance between social welfare, environmental care and economic efficiency.

Thus, it is emphasized that sustainable governance is based on basic principles that guide decision-making and actions in the public sphere, among these are citizen participation, transparency, equity in the distribution of resources, representativeness and inclusion and accountability (Yang and Wu, 2022). However, the implementation of sustainable governance faces several challenges, some of which are rooted in traditional institutional structures and political cultures, such as resistance to change by political and bureaucratic actors, lack of resources and capacities to carry out sustainable policies, and the need to reconcile sometimes contradictory interests (Steffek and Wegmann, 2021).

According to Gatto and Sadik (2022), to move towards sustainable governance it is necessary to have instruments and policies that promote economic, social and environmental integration. The adoption of tools such as environmental impact assessment, analysis of costs and social benefits, monitoring and setting *of sustainable development goals, contribute to a more informed decision-making aligned with the principles of sustainability (Sousa et al*., 2021).

In addition, it should be evaluated and monitored periodically to measure its effectiveness and make necessary adjustments. The design of sustainability indicators, as well as the establishment of monitoring and accountability mechanisms, are essential to assess progress towards the established goals (Battisti *et al.,* 2022). In addition, the incorporation of ICT can facilitate monitoring and feedback in real time.

Valbona (2022) also considers that sustainable governance generates positive synergies in different areas of society. For example, the transition to a green and circular economy, social inclusion and reduction of inequalities, and resilience to the challenges of climate change and biodiversity loss can be boosted.

It is recommended to investigate public-private and international collaboration for developing sustainable governance in developing country contexts.

Health, administration and governance

Health is a fundamental right of every individual and an essential condition for the development and welfare of societies (Boffardi, 2022). For its part, public management is crucial in addressing health issues, because it is responsible for designing and implementing policies and programs that ensure equitable access to quality health services (Silva, 2022). However, one of the main challenges is equitable access to quality health services (Gabarro, 2021). In many countries, inequalities are seen in access to health care between rural and urban areas, as well as between different socioeconomic groups (Mériade and Rochette, 2022). In addition, adequate funding can be a barrier to providing quality services to the population (Rubaii *et al*., 2021), not to mention the fight against infectious diseases and prevention of outbreaks that are also challenges that require coordinated and rapid intervention.

In this topic, Simonet (2022) argues that citizen participation is an essential element to strengthen the area of health; involving society in decision-making on health policies and programs can generate more acceptance and effectiveness in its implementation. In addition, active listening to citizen needs and demands allows designing interventions that are more limited to local and cultural realities (Mangia *et al*., 2022).

Gonçalves and Domingos (2021) and Rezapour and Elmshaeuser (2022) highlight that the use of ICT by the State would favor the development of public health, for example, the digitization of medical records, telemedicine, *blockchain* and use of mobile health applications can improve the efficiency and accessibility of services. In addition, data analytics and artificial intelligence can provide valuable information for evidence-based decision-making (Longo, 2022). However, it is essential to ensure that these technological tools are accessible and ethically used.

On the other hand, adequate financing is essential for maintaining sustainable health systems over time. So governments must ensure a needs-adjusted budget allocation and promote responsible fiscal management (Robert *et al.,* 2022). Rubaii *et al.* (2021) also state investment in prevention and health promotion that can reduce the costs associated with chronic diseases and improve the quality of life of the population. Appe *et al*. (2021) add that strengthening partnerships with agencies and international cooperation can contribute to improving the sustainability of health systems in developing countries.

After the COVID-19 pandemic, it is seen that health crises, such as pandemics and outbreaks of diseases, test the capacity of the state response in health. The need for speed and effectiveness in government response to contain the spread of disease and save lives is becoming evident (Kim, 2021). For this reason, Wong *et al.* (2022) demonstrate the importance of coordination between different actors, including the health sector, government, and international community, for a successful response to emergency situations.

It is suggested to investigate the spread of sexual health in vulnerable communities and prevention of zoonoses in rural contexts.

Technological advances, administration and public management

In the age of digital transformation, technological advances have a significant impact on all spheres of society, including government. The adoption and strategic use of emerging technologies are transforming the way governments operate, make decisions and interact with citizens (Longo, 2022).

The rise of disruptive technologies such as artificial intelligence, internet of things, data analytics and cloud computing has revolutionized and is still revolutionizing government action (Rezapour and Elsmhaeuser, 2022). These technologies offer opportunities to improve operational efficiency, optimize decision-making and *provide personalized services to citizens (Gonçalves and Domingos, 2021).* Thus, its adoption has allowed more government openness and citizen participation in decision-making, which has been enhanced by the use of digital platforms and social networks (Wirtz *et al*., 2018).

For its part, e-government has become a key element for the modernization of the state (Steffek and Wegmann, 2021). Overton *et al.* (2022) identify that the exponential growth of data in the digital age has led to the emergence of the concept of *big data* and data analytics, tools that allow governments to obtain *insights* and behavioral patterns of citizens, which facilitates evidence-based decision-making and the design of more effective policies.

In this regard, Willems *et al.* (2022) note some examples where routine tasks and decision-making have been automated, including the application of *chatbots* in attention to the citizen, predictive analysis to detect fraud and optimization of routes in public transport.

However, this growing reliance on technology has also exposed governments to cybersecurity and data protection risks (Pérez, 2021). Governance must face challenges in protecting citizens' sensitive information and ensuring that government technology systems are resistant to cyber attacks (Pečarič, 2020). Similarly, McMullin (2021) sees challenges in the face of effective implementation of technologies, from lack of staff training to resistance to change.

It is recommended to address the forms and impacts of emerging and disruptive technologies within the state apparatus in its various levels and contexts.

Conclusions

A positive trend was identified for the number of jobs in relation to the passage of time. Thus, the highest production in the study period occurred in 2022, with 2109 articles. The area where this subject is studied most is *Social Sciences*; the journals with the highest production are Sustainability (Switzerland), Public Administration, International Review of Administrative Sciences; the institutions were *Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Universidade de São Paulo and Universiteit Utrecht*. Likewise, the non-concordance between the highest production per country and institution was seen in terms of territorial belonging.

Regarding trends, within the consolidated trends are terms such as public administration, new public management, public management, governance, COVID-19, local government, public policy, public sector, transparency, corruption, e-government, accountability and sustainability; in the intermediate trends, innovation, higher education, sustainable development, efficiency, management, artificial intelligence, performance, bureaucracy, leadership, neoliberalism, public services, state, performance management, gender, motivation in public service, Spain, education, government, public procurement, public value, citizen participation, administrative law, China, digitalization and participation; while in emerging trends the terms public health are observed: trust, civil service, democracy, development, good governance, public service, social networks, *big data,* open data, ethics, European Union, job satisfaction, open government, regulation, Italy, politics, collaboration, decentralization, evaluation, Brazil, public sector reform, administration, legitimacy, pandemic, social equity, digital transformation, effectiveness, collaborative governance, smart cities, climate change, smart city, state administration, new public governance, state management, administrative reform, civil society, public governance, Russia, developing countries, quality, resilience, strategic planning, universities, Indonesia.

In another area, the systematic review showed that effective governance is essential to ensure transparency in public development and prevent corruption. To address this challenge, oversight and control in public institutions must be strengthened, citizen participation promoted, and decision-making empowered in civil society. Likewise, higher education plays a fundamental role in the formation of social leaders capable of inspiring positive change in their communities, focusing on leadership skills, empathy and social sensitivity.

In addition, the sustainability of governance is an essential approach to achieve a balance between social welfare, environmental care, and economic efficiency. The integration of economic, social and environmental aspects into public policies and programs is necessary for effective and sustainable management over time. Continuous assessment and monitoring through indicators make it feasible to measure progress towards the established goals. In terms of public administration and management, challenges and opportunities related to financial efficiency, decentralization and open government are identified.

Regarding health issues, equitable access to quality health services must be guaranteed. Citizen participation in decision-making and the strategic use of ICT in this sector improve the efficiency and accessibility of services. However, challenges in data protection and cybersecurity need to be addressed to ensure the privacy and security of citizens' sensitive information. As for technological advances, it is noted that the digital transformation is having a significant impact; the adoption of emerging technologies offers opportunities to improve operational efficiency, optimize decision-making and provide personalized services. However, it is essential to address cybersecurity and data protection risks, as well as to ensure adequate staff training for effective deployment of technologies.

Finally, the review of a single database is a limitation, although the large number of documents of Scopus was considered. Similarly, the combination of working methods offers a solid view of the state-of-the-art. In future research, it is recommended to address emerging trends, intermediate or thematic gaps identified, such as public-private and international collaboration in the development of sustainable governance, health dissemination and prevention in communities in a state of vulnerability, impact of ICT in the dissemination of information and achievement of results in specific contexts of developing countries.

References

Adomavičiūtė, D. (2018). University's role and influence for professional development in public administration area. *Journal of the Knowledge Economy*, *9,* 703-719. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13132-016-0360-1

Alcaide, C., Alcaide, L. and Rodríguez, M. (2022). Strategic alignment of open government initiatives in Andalusia. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 00208523221086125. https://doi.org/10.1177/00208523221086125

Appe, S., Rubaii, N. and Whigham, K. (2021). Expanding the reach of representativeness, discretion, and collaboration: The unrealized potential of public administration research in atrocity prevention. *Public Administration Review*, *81*(1), 81-90. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.13296

Aranibar, E., Huachani, D. and Zúñiga, M. (2022). Emprendimiento femenino en el Perú: puntos fuertes y débiles para su sostenibilidad en el tiempo. *Fides et Ratio*, *23*(23), 199-224. https://doi.org/10.55739/fer.v23i23.115

Battisti, A., Valese, M. and Natta, H. (2022). Indicators as Mediators for Environmental Decision Making: The Case Study of Alessandria. Land, *11*(5), 607. https://doi.org/10.3390/land11050607

Biscione, A. and Muco, K. (2021). The impact of corruption and good governance on the economic growth of the Balkan countries. *Transition Studies Review*, *28*(2), 81. https://doi.org/10.14665/1614-4007-28-2-005

Boffardi, R. (2022). How efficient is the Italian health system? Evidence on the role of political-institutional dynamics. *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*, *84,* 101388. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.seps.2022.101388

Boudreau, C. (2021). Reuse of open data in Quebec: from economic development to government transparency. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, *87*(4), 855-869. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852319884628

Caldas, R. (2021). Providências sanitárias de finanças públicas e tributárias federais pátrias em tempos de deflagração de pandemia: Um retrato do endividamento público em meio à necessidade de preservação do sistema de saúde e retomada econômica. *Revista Jurídica 64*(2), 71-103. http://dx.doi.org/10.26668/revistajur.2316-753X.v2i64.5102

Capasso, S., Cicatiello, L., De Simone, E.and Santoro, L. (2022). Corruption and tax revenues: evidence from Italian regions. *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, *93*(4), 1129-1152. https://doi.org/10.1111/apce.12356

Castillo, C., Viu-Roig, M. and Alvarez-Palau, E. (2022). COVID-19 lockdown as an opportunity to rethink urban freight distribution: Lessons from the Barcelona metropolitan area. *Transportation Research Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, *14,* 100605. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.trip.2022.100605

Cevallos, M., Blacio, G. and Maldonado, J. (2022). Indicios sobre el estado situacional de la descentralización en Ecuador. *Revista Derecho del Estado*, (51), 167-195. https://doi.org/10.18601/01229893.n51.06

Corburn, J., Vlahov, D., Mberu, B., Riley, L., Caiaffa, W., Rashid, S., Ko, A., Patel, S., Jukur, S., Martínez, E., Jayasinghe, S., ... and Ayad, H. (2020). Slum health: arresting COVID-19 and improving well-being in urban informal settlements. *Journal of urban health*, *97,* 348-357. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-020-00438-6

Dolamore, S. (2021). Detecting empathy in public organizations: Creating a more relational public administration. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, *43*(1), 58-81. https://doi.org/10.1080/10841806.2019.1700458

Donina, D. and Paleari, S. (2019). New public management: global reform script or conceptual stretching? Analysis of university governance structures in the Napoleonic administrative tradition. *Higher Education*, *78,* 193-219. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-018-0338-y

Elliott, I., Bottom, K., Carmichael, P., Liddle, J., Martin, S. and Pyper, R. (2022). The fragmentation of public administration: Differentiated and decentered governance in the (dis)United Kingdom. *Public Administration*, *100*(1), 98-115. https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12803

Fleischer, J.and Reiners, N. (2021). Connecting international relations and public administration: Toward a joint research agenda for the study of international bureaucracy. *International Studies Review, 23*(4), 1230-1247. https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viaa097

Ford, M. (2021). Considering social equity in a new public management reform: Evidence from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. *Public Integrity*, *23*(4), 369-384. https://doi.org/10.1080/10999922.2021.1908730

Gabarro, C. (2021). Entre tri gestionnaire et tri professionnel: Réorientation et éviction des pauvres à l'Assurance maladie. *Sociétés contemporaines*, *123*(3), 79-109. https://doi.org/10.3917/soco.123.0079

Gatto, A. and Sadik, E. (2022). Governance matters. Fieldwork on participatory budgeting, voting, and development from Campania, Italy. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 22, e2769. https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.2769

Gonçalves, R. and Domingos, I. (2021). Blockchain governance: Disruptive technology for controlling corruption in public health. *Revista Juridica*, 31-49. https://doi.org/10.21902/revistajur.2316-753X.v4i66.5065

Greer, S., King, E., da Fonseca, E. and Peralta, A. (2020). The comparative politics of COVID-19: The need to understand government responses. *Global public health*, *15*(9), 1413-1416. https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2020.1783340

Hue, T. and Tung-Wen, M. (2022). Democratic governance: Examining the Influence of citizen participation on local government performance in Vietnam. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *45*(1), 4-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2021.1939713

Kapoor, K., Tamilmani, K., Rana, N., Patil, P., Dwivedi, Y. and Nerur, S. (2018). Advances in social media research: Past, present and future. *Information Systems Frontiers*, *20*, 531-558. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10796-017-9810-y

Kim, M. y Charbonneau, É. (2020). Caught between volunteerism and professionalism: Support by nonprofit leaders for the donative labor hypothesis.

Review of Public Personnel Administration, 40(2), 327-349. https://doi.org/10.1177/0734371X18816139

Kim, P. (2021). South Korea's fast response to coronavirus disease: implications on public policy and public management theory. *Public Management Review, 23*(12), 1736-1747. https://doi.org/10.1080/14719037.2020.1766266

Lanzaro, J. and Ramos, C. (2021). Decentralization and co-participation in the public sector: a historical feature of Uruguayan pluralist democracy. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *44*(1), 14-29. https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2020.1750029

Longo, J. (2022). When artificial intelligence meets real public administration. Canadian Public Administration, *65*(2), 384-388. https://doi.org/10.1111/capa.12465

Lund, C. (2022). Professional Development Leadership in Public Organizations: A Refined Conceptualization. *Public Personnel Management, 51*(4), 516-537. https://doi.org/10.1177/00910260221118576

Macedo, S., Valadares, J., Mendes, W. and Miranda, M. (2022). Perceptions on Access to Information and Corruption in Municipal Public Management: Two Sides of the Same Coin. *Brazilian Journal of Public Policy*, *12,* 59. https://doi.org/10.5102/rbpp.v12i3.7901

Mahmood, H., Hassan, S., Tanveer, M. and Furqan, M. (2022). Rule of law, control of corruption and CO2 emissions in Pakistan. *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, *12*(4), 72-77. https://doi.org/10.32479/ijeep.13098

Mangia, C., Ferretto, G., Russo, A., Cervino, M. and Portaluri, M. (2022). Participation and facilitation in environment and health contexts: The case study of San Donaci. *Epidemiologia e Prevenzione*, *46*(5-6), 382-386. https://doi.org/10.19191/ep22.5-6.a563.099

McMullin, C. (2021). Challenging the necessity of New Public Governance: Co-production by third sector organizations under different models of public management. *Public Administration*, *99*(1), 5-22. https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12672

Mériade, L. and Rochette, C. (2022). Governance tensions in the healthcare sector: a contrasting case study in France. *BMC Health Services Research*, *22*(1), 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-021-07401-4

Mykytyuk, P., Semenets-Orlova, I., Blishchuk, K., Skoryk, H., Pidlisna, T. and Trebyk, L. (2021). Outsourcing as a tool of strategic planning in public administration. *Studies of Applied Economics*, *39*(3). https://doi.org/10.25115/eea.v39i3.4718

Nicolaescu, A. and López, F. (2021). External vs. governmental auditing: insights from Spain. *International Journal of Accounting, Auditing and Performance Evaluation*, *17*(3-4), 276-299. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJAAPE.2021.121499

O'Neill, M. (2022a). Introduction: Special issue on curriculum design in public administration education: Challenges and perspectives. *Teaching Public Administration*, *40*(3), 299-302. https://doi.org/10.1177/01447394221103954

O'Neill, M. (2022b). MPA/MPP programmes and the future of work: Does MPA curriculum align with civil service requirements. *Teaching Public Administration*, *40*(3), 388-409. https://doi.org/10.1177/0144739420984503

Ostřanský, J. and Aznar, F. (2021). Investment treaties and national governance in India: Rearrangements, empowerment, and discipline. *Leiden Journal of International Law*, *34*(2), 373-396. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0922156521000029

Overton, M., Larson, S., Carlson, L. and Kleinschmit, S. (2022). Public data primacy: the changing landscape of public service delivery as big data gets bigger. *Global Public Policy and Governance*, *2*(4), 381-399. https://doi.org/10.1007/s43508-022-00052-z

Park, N., Cho, M. and Lee, J. (2021). Building a culture of innovation: How do agency leadership and management systems promote innovative activities within the government? *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, *80*(3), 453-473. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8500.12474

Pečarič, M. (2020). Regulatory cybernetics: adaptability and probability in the public administration's regulations. *NISPAcee Journal of Public Administration and Policy*, *13*(1), 133-156. https://doi.org/10.2478/nispa-2020-0006

Perez, J. (2021). Digital Planning: A Challenge for Public Administrations. *Revista General de Derecho Administrativo*, *57,* 46-46. https://laadministracionaldia.inap.es/noticia.asp?id=1511979

Rezapour, M. and Elmshaeuser, S. (2022). Artificial intelligence-based analytics for impacts of COVID-19 and online learning on college students' mental health. *PLoS One*, *17*(11), e0276767. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0276767

Ríos, A., Guillamon, M., Egea-Martínez, J. and Benito, B. (2022). ¿Influye una mayor transparencia en la mejor gestión de los recursos públicos? El ejemplo de los ayuntamientos españoles. *CIRIEC-España*, (106), 267-298. https://doi.org/10.7203/CIRIEC-E.106.18983

Robert, E., Zongo, S., Rajan, D. and Ridde, V. (2022). Contributing to collaborative health governance in Africa: a realist evaluation of the Universal Health

Coverage Partnership. *BMC Health Services Research, 22*(1), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-022-08120-0

Rubaii, N., Whigham, K. and Appe, S. (2021). The public administration imperative of applying an atrocity prevention lens to COVID-19 responses: Leveraging the global pandemic for positive structural change and greater social equity. *Administrative Theory & Praxis, 43*(3), 321-332. https://doi.org/10.1080/10841806.2020.1829260

Salnikova, O., Lagodiienko, V., Ivanchenkova, L., Kopytko, V., Kulak, N. and Usachenko, O. (2019). Evaluation of the effectiveness of implementation blockchain technology in public administration. *IJITEE*, *8*(9), 1710-1713. http://doi.org/10.35940/ijitee.I8531.078919

Silva, A., Veiga, A., Cruz, O., Bastos, L. and Gomes, M. (2022). Severe acute respiratory infection surveillance in Brazil: the role of public, private and philanthropic healthcare units. *Health Policy and Planning*, *37*(9), 1075-1085. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czac050

Simonet, D. (2022). Centralization of health policy decisions, conversion to austerity, and public defiance in contemporary France. *Journal of Public Affairs*, *22*(4), e2634. https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.2634

Sousa, M., Cardoso, F., Faria, L., Nacife, J., Barbosa, K. and Cruz, J. (2021). Gestão de Processos no Setor Público: técnicas, ferramentas, lacunas e agenda de pesquisa. *RISTI*, (E45), 35-56. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/359402606

Steffek, J. and Wegmann, P. (2021). The standardization of "Good Governance" in the age of reflexive modernity. *Global Studies Quarterly*, *1*(4), ksab029. https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksab029

Stentella, D. (2022). Azienda pubblica e finanziamento pubblico dei partiti politici. *Azienda pubblica e finanziamento pubblico dei partiti politici*, 233-253. https://doi.org/10.3280/EP2022-002002

Sweeting, K. (2022). Strategies to foster engagement, empathy, equity, and ethics in public service: A conceptual model for public and nonprofit administrators. *Public Integrity*, *24*(4-5), 432-447. https://doi.org/10.1080/10999922.2021.2014202

Toleikienė, R., Rybnikova, I. and Juknevičienė, V. (2020). Whether and how does the crisis-induced situation change e-leadership in the public sector? Evidence from Lithuanian public administration. *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences*, *16*(SI), 149-166. http://dx.doi.org/10.24193/tras.SI2020.9

Torfing, J., Sørensen, E. and Røiseland, A. (2019). Transforming the public sector into an arena for co-creation: Barriers, drivers, benefits, and ways forward. *Administration & Society*, *51*(5), 795-825. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399716680057

Tran, Y., Nguyen, N. and Hoang, T. (2022). How do innovation and financial reporting influence public sector performance in a transition market? *Journal of Accounting in Emerging Economies*, *12*(4), 645-662. https://doi.org/10.1108/JAEE-06-2021-0180

Vallbona, M. (2022). Gobernanza sostenible en los espacios públicos. *Cuadernos de Geografía*, *31*(1), 164-176. https://doi.org/10.15446/rcdg.v31n1.87168

Wang, H., Xiong, W., Wu, G. and Zhu, D. (2018). Public–private partnership in Public Administration discipline: a literature review. *Public management review*, *20*(2), 293-316. https://doi.org/10.1080/14719037.2017.1313445

Widanti, N. (2022). Public Service Accountability Approach in Following changes in The New paradigm Of public administration. *Res Militaris, 12,* 3445-3454. http://repo.unr.ac.id/id/eprint/712

Willems, J., Schmidthuber, L., Vogel, D., Ebinger, F. and Vanderelst, D. (2022). Ethics of robotized public services: The role of robot design and its actions. *Government Information Quarterly*, *39*(2), 101683. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2022.101683

Wirtz, B. W., Daiser, P. and Mermann, M. (2018). Social media as a leverage strategy for open government: an exploratory study. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *41*(8), 590-603. https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2017.1289388

Wong, N., Ho, K., Wang, M. and Hsieh, C. (2022). Strong government responses? Reflections on the management of COVID-19 in Hong Kong and Taiwan. *International Journal of Public Sector Management, 35*(4), 428-440. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJPSM-06-2021-0158

Yang, Y. and Wu, F. (2022). The sustainability of the Project-Driven Innovation of grassroots Governance: Influencing factors and combination paths. *Sustainability*, *14*(24), 16862. https://doi.org/10.3390/su142416862

MISCELLANEOUS

MISCELÁNEA

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.06

Communication in pandemic. Technological and symbolic implications in the experience of young university students

Comunicación en pandemia. Implicaciones tecnológicas y simbólicas en la experiencia de jóvenes universitarios

Raul Anthony Olmedo-Neri
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico
raul.olmedo@politicas.unam.mx
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5318-0170

Received on: 21/06/2023 **Revised on:** 06/07/2023 **Approved on:** 08/08/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Abstract
Communication, its technological structures, and its symbolic values have been dislocated by the digitization of everyday life as a consequence of the pandemic. This context impacted the university youth experience, so it is important to analyze the sociocultural changes regarding the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) of a group of university students, the connection time, the device used and their relationship with the domestic space during the pandemic in Mexico. For this, a theoretical framework is articulated from Cultural Studies for analyzing the youth-technology relationship during the pandemic and identify its relevance within the contemporary youth experience. The methodology used has a mixed approach with a group of Mexican university students of the Communication bachelor (N=29), where a form and a focus group were used to recover their experiences.
The results show that the pandemic abolished the borders between the intimate and the public, generating negotiation processes between family members on the use of devices and domestic spaces. In addition, university, family and social activities increased the connection time of students, but also resignified domestic spaces due to the overlapping of activities. Finally, it is recognized that the bedroom of the participants becomes the strategic space for the youth experience in the pandemic because the university, family and socialization activities took place in the same space.

Keywords
Internet, ICT, mobile communication, cultural studies, youth, domestication, youth experience, everyday life.

Suggested citation: Olmedo-Neri, R. A. (2023). Communication in pandemic. Technological and symbolic implications in the experience of young university students. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 131-151. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.06

Resumen

La comunicación, sus estructuras tecnológicas y sus valores simbólicos se dislocaron por la digitalización de la vida cotidiana como consecuencia de la pandemia. Este contexto impactó la experiencia juvenil universitaria, por lo que resulta importante analizar los cambios socioculturales en cuanto al uso de las Tecnologías de la Información y la Comunicación (TIC) de un grupo de universitarios, el tiempo de conexión, el dispositivo utilizado y su relación con el espacio doméstico durante la pandemia en México.

Para ello se articula un marco teórico desde los Estudios Culturales para analizar la relación jóvenes-tecnología durante la pandemia e identificar su relevancia dentro de la experiencia juvenil contemporánea. La metodología utilizada tiene un enfoque mixto con un grupo de estudiantes universitarios mexicanos de la licenciatura en Comunicación (N=29), donde se empleó un formulario y un grupo focal para recuperar sus experiencias.

Los resultados muestran que la pandemia suprimió las fronteras entre lo íntimo y público, generando procesos de negociación entre los miembros de la familia sobre el uso de dispositivos y los espacios domésticos. Además, las actividades educativas, familiares y sociales incrementaron el tiempo de conexión de jóvenes universitarios, pero además resignificaron los espacios domésticos por el solapamiento de actividades. Finalmente, se reconoce que la habitación de los participantes se vuelve el espacio estratégico para la experiencia juvenil en la pandemia porque las actividades universitarias, familiares y de socialización se desarrollaron en un mismo lugar.

Palabras clave

Internet, TIC, comunicación móvil, estudios culturales, jóvenes, domesticación, experiencia juvenil, vida cotidiana.

Introduction

The youth experience of university students changed during the pandemic. In Mexico, it is estimated that 89 940 students of higher education did not complete the 2019-2020 school year and that 44.6% said because it was directly or indirectly to the COVID-19 pandemic (INEGI, 2020).

Online classes, the restriction of activities in public spaces, the digital gap in Internet coverage and access, as well as the heterogeneous availability of devices in households were factors that disrupted the youth experience in the pandemic. Therefore, the research question that guides this work is how the pandemic affected the relationship of university students with Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and the Internet?

To answer this, a theoretical framework is conducted from Cultural Studies and its focus on the use of technological devices by young university students (Winocur, 2006, 2009; Lemus-Pool, 2019). Then, the methodological strategy used to recover, systematize and analyze the impact of the pandemic on the experience of a group of university students of the Communication career at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) is presented.

Finally, the results show the qualitative and quantitative effects on the experience of young people during the pandemic.

Theoretical framework

The perspective of Cultural Studies or Communication and Culture[1] Studies offers a conceptual-methodological framework to analyze and interpret the double articulation (social uses and symbolic values) of media as they are integrated into everyday life. From this perspective, the relationship between young people and technology begins with mass media, however, since the eighties of the twentieth century their presence in the youth experience makes them an object of study (Medina, 2010); as ICTs are created and innovated, young people show greater techno-operational skill and attribute greater cultural meanings to them than adults, so they become characteristic elements and at the same time distinctive of the new generations.

By expanding the contributions of Cultural Studies on the Internet and ICT, it is possible to affirm that these are elements that integrate to culture and simultaneously (re)produce it because they represent socialization spaces and produce collective imaginaries (Lemus-Pool, 2019; Martín-Barbero, 2017; Morduchowicz, 2008; Kellner, 1995). Thus, ICT and the Internet are inseparable elements to the material-structural condition of each young person and are at the same time indissoluble components of the contemporary youth experience (Becerra, 2015; Lemus-Pool, 2019). The symbolic burden that technologies acquire for young people derives from their role as main agents in the construction of youth identity and their support to make them visible in public space (Becerra, 2015).

1 According to Crespo and Parra (2017) and Martín-Barbero (2017) the notion of Cultural Studies had some resistance in its institutionalization process in Latin America, since authors such as García Canclini and Martín-Barbero had already conducted research in this field and because the western essence of this current left aside the ontological particularities of Latin America.

Since Cultural Studies, ICT and the Internet do not have a consensual name or definition (Morley 2008; Silverstone, 1996; Williams, 2011). Therefore, it is proposed to see these elements as technological devices, i.e., technological objects designed under a communicative function and that are appropriate according to the needs, possibilities and realities of the subject; therefore, their use is heterogeneous and determined both by the material and historical conditions of those who decide to use them. From Cultural Studies, the notion of technological device can be related with the process of technological domestication (Silverstone and Haddon, 1996; Silverstone, 1996, 2004) and mobile privatization (Williams, 2011). This conceptual articulation becomes empirically relevant in the pandemic: the lockdown to avoid contagion gave a new symbolic burden to the home and transformed it into the daily-life operation center. This process not only blurred the boundaries between the public and private spheres, but the spatial and techno-operational overlap of the activities of the family members reconfigured the individual and collective dynamics around the technological devices fully integrated into the domestic. In other words, the pandemic not only redefined the home, but simultaneously reconfigured the subject-technology relationship and recalibrated the use and meaning of technological devices.

In general terms, the model of technology domestication recognizes three particular processes: objectification (spatial reconfiguration of the home so that technological devices can 'take their place'), incorporation (symbolic dislocation of individual/family rituals to integrate technological devices and use them) and conversion (legitimization of family members in public space through the uses of devices as a symbol of cultural integration); all these dynamics are closely linked and derive from technological[2] appropriation, i.e., the transition of a device from public space to the private sphere that represents the home (Silverstone and Haddon, 1996; Silverstone, Silverstone, 2004). Thus, domesticating technology describes the process that reduces the uncertainty of a new technological device and alien to the individual through its progressive integration into specific practices and common spaces such as the home. Despite this, the domestication of technology and its respective theoretical-methodological model have been the subject of criticism for the

2 This definition does not contradict to Latin American studies on technological appropriation, on the contrary, this current is heir to these contributions made from Cultural Studies, although it has been very little visible in its genealogy (Sandoval and Cabello, 2019; Sandoval, 2022).

importance given to the home and its apparent conceptual linearity (Sandoval and Cabello, 2019).

The importance of the home in the domestication process rests is because the first encounter of the contemporary subject with a technological-communicative object takes place in the domestic space (Olmedo-Neri, 2022). This means that technological devices are not isolated to family and social dynamics, on the contrary, they are spatially articulated and according to the meaning of each space or the practice that develops there individually/collectively. Silverstone and Haddon (1996) define these processes as objectification and incorporation, respectively.

Historically, the domestication of technology began in the 20th century as media, and later technological devices, became progressively structural elements of the home (Helles, 2014). In this way, each technological device not only relates to space, but together articulate a system of meanings and symbols derived from their incorporation into the communicative practices that are experienced *inside* and *outside* the home (Olmedo-Neri, 2022). Thus, any space is built not only by the objects that make it up, but by the symbols and processes that derive from the simultaneous use of its material and spatial components at the individual and/or collective level.

In most contemporary homes, technological devices are spatially distributed according to socialization dynamics or the functions to which they are articulated; in addition to this spatial-functional assembly, each device is operationally interconnected with the others to form a technological-digital environment (Olmedo-Neri, 2022). Although each device changes place according to family practices and their rules of (co)experience, they all promote a differentiated internal consumption, as well as a unified exterior look through their screens and the resulting communication itself (Baudrillard, 1988). From this presence, media and technological devices acquire an empirical ubiquity that functionally and symbolically combines them with everyday life (Silverstone, 2004).

However, in the face of abrupt digitalization, the heterogeneous technological-communicative infrastructure and the spatial overlap of labor, educational, family and social activities caused by the pandemic, domestic spaces underwent an adjustment both in their meaning and in their use.

In other words, during the pandemic, the home acquired a strategic role for the reproduction of daily life, undergoing spatial and symbolic transformations.

In this context, the home acquired an 'intelligent' character as it "offers not so much an image of mobility, but a 'sensitive space' that, as is often said, goes deeply beyond the interior/exterior and work/home divisions, in the sense that it really makes it unnecessary to move anywhere" (Morley, 2008, p. 122). In this transformation, technological devices were contingently articulated through those internal and external social practices that were developed simultaneously in the home, however, this did not prevent people from developing strategies to maintain the difference between the public and the private, although they had varied results. Thus, the conceptual and empirical preponderance of the home rests on the fact that it is there where the double articulation is manifested (Silverstone, 1996), since the means and technological devices operate simultaneously as a machine that is operated and a medium that has an ambivalent window function by which one looks and is looked at.

Regarding the analytical linearity of domestication, it is worth saying that this term has a nominative sense to refer to a set of heterogeneous processes not for its essence, but for the elements involved: the subject and the device. Thus, domestication recognizes the empirical heterogeneity in the process of technological appropriation: social class, gender, spatial location, lifestyle, experience with other technological objects, techno-operative design, advertising rhetoric and the objectives that the subject hopes to achieve with the partial or complete integration of these in their daily life, evidencing that not everyone can/want to appropriate technology and that not everyone appropriates them in the same way (Silverstone, 1996; Silverstone and Haddon, 1996).

Thus, the domestication degree is determined by the interests and willingness of the subject, by his/her socio-historical condition and by the operative resistances of the device. The latter is important because technological means and devices are not neutral (Sandoval, 2022; Silverstone and Haddon, 1996), on the contrary, they have a distinctive material and symbolic stamp that gives them a relative autonomy product of their commercial production; only with domestication the independence of the device is reduced to meet the designs of the subject who submits it. In other words, the domestication of technology allows us to recognize the levels of technological appropriation, as well as the tensions between the device and the subjective power of the subject. This allows us to think of domestication as a continuum where exclusion/resistance and integration/appropriation are its extreme poles, so that subjects move permanently always from their possibilities, interests, and realities.

For its part, the notion of mobile privatization (Williams, 2011) makes sense in the media and those devices that are gradually incorporated into daily practices to the extent that "the home, the workplace, leisure and transportation become dependent on a range of technological services that impose a continuous connection" (Moraes, 2007, p. 24). Mobile privatization is seen in the pandemic context by the high demand for technological devices for individual use to carry out digitized labor, educational and social activities.

While technological devices such as radio, television and PC were anchored to the home space, the cellular and laptop are devices that move with the user and his/her practices. These devices are relevant for university students; for example, the cell phone not only represents "the total personalization of the technology, but many users consider it as a part of their body, like a wristwatch" (Morley, 2008, p. 129). For young people, the mobile phone has become an extension of their socialization capacity, as well as a space for (re)designing their identity, memory, and autonomy in the face of the spatial dynamics and social hierarchies that develop inside and outside the home. Thus, "cell phones accompany their owners in the different contexts that constitute daily life" (Helles, 2014, p. 536).

The laptop, on the other hand, acquires a disruptive sense because its incorporation into family dynamics was promoted from the outside (the school), as part of the incorporation of technology in the teaching-learning process (Becerra, 2015; Sánchez, 2020, Winocur, 2006; Winocur and Sánchez, 2018), generating a process of strangeness in the family derived from the different domestication degrees by its members (Winocur, 2009). This leads to two parallel processes: the extension of children's autonomy from their parents' authority, and the increase in adults' uncertainty about their children's safety in the face of the decrease in their exercise of power on the Internet (Morduchowicz, 2008; Olmedo-Neri, 2022).

Thus, the cell phone and the laptop have become the most relevant articulating devices for contemporary youth, but at the same time have dislocated the production of sense and coexistence in the home (Winocur and Sánchez, 2018; Sánchez, 2020). This happens by the individuality that promotes the personalization of technology, as well as by the possibility of access to the Internet offered by these devices, which modifies family dynamics and their knowledge/power structures (Winocur, 2009; Lemus-Pool, 2019).

In the pandemic, the use of these technological devices deepened in the home and in the youth experience. The confinement and digitization of daily life modified the behaviors historically constructed by young people to contain the uncertainty of this context. Thus, the use of the Internet and technological devices in the home accounts for the transformation of the house as the main way to connect and interact during confinement.

Based on the above, Cultural Studies serve as a perspective to analyze: 1) the role that each device plays within the biographical experience of individuals, 2) the function that technology has in the framework of everyday activities and 3) the relationship built with the place where social and communicative practices are developed. Therefore, it is useful to recognize the relevance of the device and its use in relation to the reconfiguration of practices that materialize in a home where the private, the public and the intimate overlapped (Morduchowicz, 2008; Martín-Barbero, 2017). However, not only is it enough to analyze the transition from a technological device alien and foreign to a common and intimate one, but it is necessary to approach its assembly with the space-times and the operational function they play within the communicative, cultural and social practices that the subject develops on a daily basis.

Methodology

The research has a mixed character applied to a group of 29 university students (12 men and 17 women), whose ages range between 20 and 26 years. The participants study the career of Communication Sciences, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, UNAM. The delimitation criteria of the study are: 1) the period studied, 2) the techniques used, 3) the units of analysis and 4) scope of the research.

For the first point, this was carried out from April 1st to May 31, 2021. Time delimitation is important because in those months the semester was in the middle of its development. Thus, Internet use for educational activities was neither at its lowest level (at the beginning of the semester) nor at its highest (at the end).

The techniques were used in two stages: in the quantitative part, a questionnaire was applied in Google Forms to characterize the use of technological devices, this implied that each participant recorded the activities carried out on a weekday and those carried out during Saturday or Sunday. The second stage had a qualitative character because a focus group was carried out after the systematization of the data. This technique has an interactive character to deal with a specific topic with the subjects investigated, so the focus group not only recovers the role of the participants, but contextualizes the information obtained, identifying those nuances and logics that the data do not show (Arboleda, 2008).

The units of analysis in the questionnaire were: the time of connection, the device used, the place at home where the device was used, the purpose of the connection and whether the parents performed any surveillance action.

Finally, since the research question is articulated with the use of ICT and Internet by the participants; the work does not address the economic context of these young people, nor the results transcend their urban territorial location. These delimitations are important because socioeconomic status was not manifested in the experience of the participants during the pandemic. In addition, the urban territory in which they live is characterized by greater connectivity than rural areas (Asociación de Internet MX, 2020; Olmedo-Neri, 2022).

Results and discussion

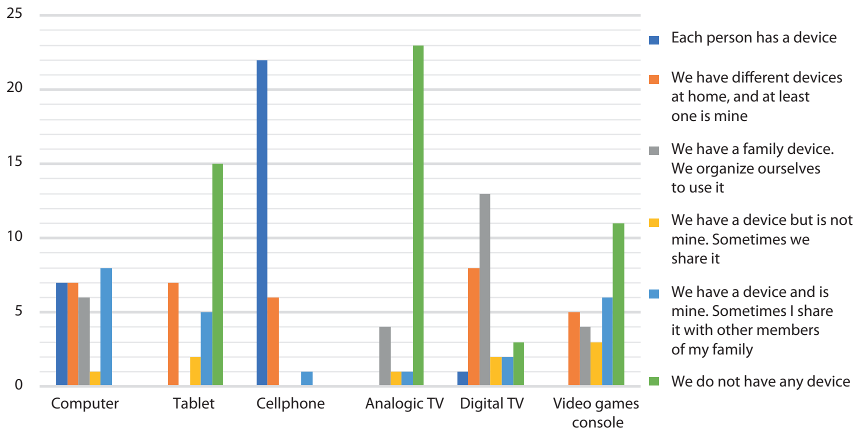
Studies on university youth during the pandemic have focused on the educational field (Ortiz, 2020; Reimers and Marmolejo, 2020), on psychological effects (Lugo-González *et al.,* 2021; González, 2020) and to a lesser extent on the youth experience derived from the abrupt digitalization of their activities (Banderas, 2020; Lemus, 2017; Olmedo-Neri, 2021). Therefore, the findings contribute to a perspective that assumes the role of individual experience in a context that dislocates the (re)production of everyday life.

As the pandemic forced the digitization of university student activities, the technological infrastructure of the home takes on a pivotal role. Figure 1 shows the technological and digital landscape of the participants' homes.

The heterogeneous presence of technological devices generated tensions between the members of the family and led to (re)negotiation processes regarding the use of devices, the time of use and the domestic space enabled for non-domestic activities such as education, socialization or work. These are dislocations in the process of objectification and incorporation of technological devices within the home and the sociocultural matrices of the family. The following experience shows this overlap of activities.

Figure 1

Technological and communicative infrastructure in households



Note. Own elaboration with data from forms.

> Another chaotic aspect of this [pandemic] situation was that all family members were taking classes at about the same time (my siblings were students and my parents were teachers); then, sometimes you could hear everyone talking at the same time. (female student, 20 years old)

These tensions were dissipated as the members of the family conditioned common spaces for the digitized activity or as the pandemic context became perceptively common.

Regarding the connection time, its record allows observing the digitization of social, educational and communicative practices of young people, particularly in the pandemic context. Table 1 shows the connection time, its average and its distribution according to gender.

These data exceed the figures recorded in Mexico before the pandemic (Asociación de Internet MX, 2020; Espinosa, 2019). The increase in connection time derives from the saturation of school activities, their overlap with household chores and the (restricted) experience of youth experience through technological devices. The following experience exemplifies this:

> The most frustrating thing was that all teachers felt they owned our time, or at least they did. The routine was wake up, three classes, eat, homework. Repeat. One task after another and even seeing the cell phone to consume other content was tiring. (female student, 21 years old)

Table 1
Hours on the Internet

Day	Hours on the Internet		Overall average	Total
	Average Usage (Men)	Average Usage (Females)		
Weekdays	13.3	12.3	12.7	368.5
Weekend	11.5	7.6	9.2	267

Note. Own elaboration with data from forms.

The fatigue of consuming digital content, even if it was not educational, is a transformation sign of the subjectivity of young people regarding the digital space. Increasing the connection time, but restricting its purposes contributed to the crisis in the youth experience to the degree of changing the perception of the Internet: from a place of entertainment and socialization for girls and young people became a space for training, education and work. This is a dislocation in the conversion process, as the adult gaze was imposed on the defined and legitimized uses of the Internet by young people.

Regarding gender, it should be noted that women decreased their internet activity by 38.2% over the weekend and men by only 13.5%. In the focus group, some young women attributed this reduction in connection time to the performance of domestic activities. This difference reinforces findings in other research on the division of family labor and the (over)burden of domestic activities on women (Avendaño *et al*., 2020). The pandemic did not involve a renegotiation of domestic activities even though all family members were there longer, on the contrary, the division of domestic work based on gender was maintained, deepening the experiential difference of lockdown between girls and young people and reinforcing the myth of technology as a predominantly male field.

During the pandemic, the use of the Internet by young people not only increased by educational activities, but this reduced the time spent on other biographically constructed practices in the digital space such as peer interaction, entertainment, or family activities. In other words, there was more time, but very little of it was destined for the activities of the youth. Some participants indicated that this derived from the imposition of the adult-centrist view on the digital space, modifying the Internet-youth relationship (Becerra, 2015). The following reflection illustrates this change.

> ... many teachers still "took advantage" that we were at home to leave much more homework with the excuse of "so that they were distracted or have something to do", when many of us still had homework, we still needed a break from technology. (female student, 21 years old)

Teachers exaggerated the skills and interests of young people about the digital space, which arbitrarily increased the number of school activities and contributed to the redistribution of time on the Internet and its purpose. What for young people meant as positive and innovative vindicate the myth of digital natives and all the differential implications with adults (Vázquez, 2015), under the pandemic context this myth affected their youth experience: young people began to reflect and, in some cases, to question their 'innate' skills around the Internet and devices, particularly their use, perception and domestication.

Therefore, for the participants in this study, online education not only represented an emerging activity, but also took a greater amount of time, modifying the uses and purposes of the Internet established before the pandemic, particularly those related to socialization and youth cultural consumption.

In addition to time, technological devices are pivotal means for access to and use of the Internet; they are a precondition for connection, so their recognition and diversification allows to define the technological environment of young people within the home (Olmedo-Neri, 2022). Table 2 shows the connection time and the type of device used by the participants.

The cell phone and the computer are the most used devices for their weekend connection. These findings reinforce studies that indicate that 78.9% of Mexican youth used the cell phone to connect to the digital space and carry out activities during the pandemic (INEGI, 2020). The main use of the cell phone is because it is an essential device for the contemporary youth experience, but it is also the result of negotiations on the use of devices during confinement; its private ownership guaranteed a means to follow its educational process and (re)produce its youth experience. Then, the pandemic forced the redomestication of the cell phone to exploit its operational multifunctionality (Olmedo-Neri, 2022).

Table 2
Percentage of hours by device

Device	Percentage of hours (%)	
	Weekdays	Weekend
Cellular	34.1	57.3
Computer	31.5	18.7
Tablet	4.6	1.5
TV	3.8	7.9
Game Console	1.9	3.4
Simultaneous use of two or more devices	23.9	11.2

Note. Own elaboration with data from forms.

Although young people used mobile phones for educational, social or work activities, during the pandemic some of these uses were imposed on previous domestication in these devices. Taking online classes, reading texts or performing tasks on the mobile phone forced to start, expand or deepen the domestication of the mobile phone. These emerging uses transformed the perception of the cell phone to the degree of recognizing its limitations to manage the entire youthful experience on a single screen. For this reason, a process of disenchantment with the Internet and technological devices is hapenning; the demand for 'rest from technology' is a radical change in the perception of young people, especially because in the first studies on this relationship the perception was oriented to explore and inhabit these devices and spaces, rather than move away from them (Winocur, 2006, 2009).

The case of the tablet is different. Its usefulness and meaning still does not satisfy the requirements of young people to move mobile phones in their social and communicative practices, nor to compete with computers and the privileged space they have in their educational formation. As for the simultaneous use of two or more devices, the cellular-computer pair stands out with the highest percentage at both times of the week. Although multitasking is perceived as an 'innate', positive and characteristic skill of young people, the saturation of activities led, in the words of one student, to dysfunctional multitasking because "he performed many activities at the same time, but poorly done" (male student, 21 years old).

On the other hand, the connection time and the place where it was made is important because although the technological device is a precondition for the connection, the location from which the participant accesses the Internet also responds to its purpose and to a certain extent to the individual-family dynamics that represents this domestic space. Table 3 shows the spaces at home with the highest preference for young participants to use the Internet.

Table 3

Time and location distribution

Home Space	Percentage of hours (%)	
	Weekdays	Weekend
Bedroom	63.5	52.8
Living Room	21.7	19.9
Dining Room	6.0	4.9
Kitchen	2.8	0.7
Outdoor spaces	2.7	8.2
Studio	1.6	11.6

Note. Own elaboration with data from forms.

According to the report of the Internet Association MX (2020) "45% of Internet users in Mexico had to increase their technological use due to the contingency" (p. 6). During the confinement, public spaces, cultural consumption and youth socialization reduced their daily relevance.

The bedroom of the participants seems to be the preferred place from which they control, design and materialize the youth experience during the pandemic. In addition, the home becomes the place where people have the longest Internet connection time (Asociación de Internet MX, 2020). This is consistent with Morduchowicz (2008), since "the worldwide trend is for the family to move from the dining room to the room" (p. 52). The following reflection shows the perceptual transformation of the domestic space and its effects on the youth experience.

> ... the downside [of the pandemic] lies in the invasion of private space and the resignification of it. The place where you arrived after school to rest and spend your free time became a place of stress and work. (male student, 23 years old)

The symbolic transformation of the room in particular, but of the home in general, such as a classroom or office, results from the overlapping of activities in the same physical space. Thus, the pandemic suppressed the notion of free time under the idea of investing the 'excess' of time for everything that normally was not attended to for lack of it. Leisure and rest were activities that reduced in the face of the adult-centrist impulse to "take advantage" of youth instead of enjoying/experiencing it in the pandemic. In this way, "this 'idea' of free time was eliminated since (thanks to the cell phone) people had to answer and be available 24/7" (female student, 20 years).

The overlap of activities in the room not only transformed its use as a place for the management and experience of the youth experience, but also perceptively displaced the appropriation of this space. So "it was frustrating and sad that my room was my living room" (male student, 22). This disruptive sense goes hand in hand with the loss of the subject's control over its nearest space: the room. Feixa (2005) argues that the room is the first and closest space that a young person appropriates to establish their relational autonomy and thus delimit the intimate of the family and the public/external. With the pandemic, the room stopped being that place of its own, safe, and independent from the young person to live and be part of the youth experience (Silverstone, 2004). In other words, the transgression of educational, labor and social practices on the room contributed to its resignification, not necessarily positive.

Despite the young man's strangeness about his room, this did not stop him from carrying out actions of resistance that became digital communicative practices. Not turning on the camera, not using the microphone, using animated backgrounds or just participating in a textual way in classes or in a 'zoomparty' with other university students were communicative practices supported by technological devices that aimed to establish a border between the public (of the action) and the intimate (of the room).

Despite these transformations, the possibilities of using and relating technological devices questioned the myth of isolation of young people by technology (Becerra, 2015). The pandemic showed that young people combined technological devices and the Internet into their daily life in such a way that socialization, education, family and personal constitute a world in permanent articulation by the domestication of technology, generating an experience of contemporary youth. Therefore, rather than thinking of technological devices as supports of everyday life (Lemus, 2017), it is necessary to conceptualize them as articulators of the individual-collective experience within everyday life. Positioning technological devices as articulators of individual and collective experiences allows recognizing the relations of the individual with the devices at his/her reach to (re)produce the social reality in which he/she participates.

On the other hand, while the connection time, the device by which the young person connects and the space where they connect are important to articulate a digital communicative practice, it is also necessary to highlight the purpose of the connection in order to frame both the place and the device used to access the Internet. Table 4 shows the percentage of connection hours and their purpose.

Table 4

Percentage distribution according to connection purpose

Purpose	Percent hours (%)	
	Weekdays	Weekend
Education	52.6	20.5
Socialization	36.9	53.1
Cultural consumption	9.6	23.3
Work	0.9	3.1

Note. Own elaboration with form data.

As seen, the educational practice is shown as the activity that demands more time during the week; after it the purpose of socialization is established through socio-digital platforms (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok), in third place is the cultural consumption through various platforms (Spotify, Netflix, Disney+, Starz, Deezer, Prime Video) and, finally, for some participants the use of platforms to perform work activities (Office package, Canva and Zencaster). During the weekend, the platforms used did not change substantially, but the time allocated to each purpose changed: socialization and cultural consumption acquire more use, positioning educational activities in third place.

The time of connection, the device used, the place of practice and the purpose allow observing quantitatively and qualitatively how the youth experience was disrupted by the pandemic. All these variables intervene in the construction of being young, but also directly affect the youth experience, which was altered by the adult-centrist view on the youth-technology relationship (Becerra, 2015).

The legitimacy of this myth caused teachers to contribute arbitrarily to increase and redistribute the connection time according to the emerging demands in the pandemic context and changing the meaning of the Internet accordingly. At the same time, the increase in time generated a negative perception of their children. The following reflection shows this contradiction: "my family did not fully understand that I was taking classes and they considered that I did not do things for the house" (female student, 20 years). These constraints on the young person have effects on his/her self-perception and on his/her participation in family dynamics; all of them caused by the fading of the borders between the different activities that converged spatially and temporarily in the home and particularly in the room of the young person.

Finally, not only did the young people try to relate their activities with family practices, but parents, faced with the perceptive change over the connection time of their children and the longer permanence in their respective rooms, performed passive surveillance actions. 62% of participants acknowledged *soft* surveillance actions: looking at the computer screen, asking about what they do on it, seeing content on their child's cell phone together, as well as saying sarcastic phrases about their children's ability on the Internet as ways in which parents try to reduce the uncertainty that digital space still causes them, especially during a lockdown that digitized much of their children's daily lives.

Whether due to the degree of technological domestication or the increase in the use of the Internet by their sons and daughters, the interventions are multidirectional, diffuse and are linked to the knowledge-power relationship between young people and adults. These *soft* surveillance actions are anchored to the individual-collective practices of (with)experience in the home, so future research could contribute on how the digitalization of some social, educational and labor activities implied more domestication of technology by adults.

Conclusions

The aim of this study was to identify the change in the use of the Internet by a group of Mexican university students during the pandemic. From Cultural Studies it was possible to identify that the quantitative change in connection time has had qualitative effects on the relationship between technology, youth and the domestic spaces that constitute the contemporary home.

It is observed that school activities have increased the connection to the digital space and at the same time reduced the use of technological devices and the Internet for entertainment, socialization or cultural consumption. The redistribution of time in the activities that young people develop on the Internet is subtle, but it has implications on the perception of the digital and domestic space in the youth experience. Thus, the Internet, technological devices and the domestic space are chained within everyday life to give materiality to the experience of youth at the individual and collective level. The pandemic disrupted the double articulation of media and technological devices, but it also forced the subject to deepen technological domestication in order to fulfill the new individual/family rites and social imaginaries generated during confinement.

The home became the first space of connection, but for young people the bedroom seems to be the place from which everyday life occurs in times of pandemic. The bedroom is not isolated from the home, on the contrary, there coexist the intimate (of the subject), the private (of the family) and the public (of the school, the friendships and the work), so it is important to emphasize that this space becomes the articulating node of the youthful everyday during confinement.

Finally, while the pandemic is reducing their presence in everyday life and Mexican youth are (re)adapting to the new context, it is clear that more than a generation has been scarred. Therefore, the study of the impact of the pandemic on young people and its relationship with technology should not only be sought in the recent past, but also in the near future. The unfolding of everyday practices through the gradual reappropriation of public and common spaces is an emerging object of study. The new knowledge acquired, as well as the experiences of young people during the pandemic, are factors that will intervene in the present and future youth experience.

References

Arboleda, L. M. (2008). El grupo de discusión como aproximación metodológica en investigaciones cualitativas. *Revista Facultad Nacional de Salud Pública, 26*(1), 69-77. https://bit.ly/3WgVmOb

Asociación de Internet MX. (2020). *Estudio sobre los hábitos de los usuarios de Internet en México*. https://bit.ly/3HIa62X

Avendaño, M. F., Cortés, P., Masse, F. and Paredes, R. (2020). *Diagnóstico IMCO: Mujer en la economía pos-covid*. Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad, A.C.

Banderas, S. (2020). Diarios jóvenes en una pandemia. Los registros de la Prepa Ibero Puebla. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos, L*(Número Especial), 231-240, https://doi.org/10.48102/rlee.2020.50.ESPECIAL.107

Baudrillard, J. (1988). El éxtasis de la comunicación. En H. Foster (ed.), *La posmodernidad* (pp. 187-197). Kairos.

Becerra, A. T. (2015). Jóvenes e Internet. Realidad y mitos. *Nóesis. Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, *24,* 65-75, https://doi.org/10.20983/noesis.2015.13.5

Crespo, R. and Parra, D. (2017). ¿Estudios culturales latinoamericanos? Reflexiones a partir de algunas antologías. *Latinoamérica. Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos*, (64), 13-37. https://doi.org/10.22201/cialc.24486914e.2017.64.55243

Espinosa, C. E. (2019). Uso del tiempo libre: ocio, lectura y tecnología en la vida de los jóvenes de México. En Fundación SM y Observatorio de Jóvenes en Iberoamérica, *Encuesta de jóvenes en México* (pp. 87-101). Fundación SM-Observatorio de Juventud de Iberoamérica.

Feixa, C. (2005). La habitación de los adolescentes. *Papeles del CEIC*, (16), 1-21.

González, L. (2020). Estrés académico en estudiantes universitarios asociado a la pandemia por COVID-19. *Espacio I+D, Innovación más Desarrollo*, *9*(25), 158-179, https://doi.org/10.31644/IMASD.25.2020.a10

Hall, S. (2006). Estudios culturales: dos paradigmas. *Revista Colombiana de Sociología*, (27), 233-254. https://bit.ly/3w8EZZG

Helles, R. (2014). Los medios personales en la vida cotidiana: un estudio de su circunstancia actual. En K. Bruhn (ed.), *La comunicación y los medios. Metodologías de investigación cualitativa y cuantitativa* (pp. 535-560). Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía. (INEGI) (2019). *Encuesta Nacional sobre Disponibilidad y uso de Tecnologías de la Información en los Hogares*. https://bit.ly/3zNl0mc

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía. (INEGI) (2020). *Encuesta para la Medición del Impacto COVID-19 en la Educación (ECOVID-ED)*. https://bit.ly/3NfSFbq

Kellner, D. (1995). *Cultura mediática. Estudios Culturales, identidad y política entre lo moderno y lo posmoderno.* Akal.

Lemus-Pool, M. C. (2019). Tendencias sobre jóvenes, cultura digital y comunicación alternativa. Apuntes para repensar la participación en los nuevos entornos digitales. En M. C. Lemus Pool, C. Bárcenas Curtis y A. S. Millán Orozco (coords.), *Juventudes y tecnologías digitales. Tendencias y discusiones actuales e la investigación científica* (pp. 95-116). UAT-Colofón.

Lemus, M. (2017). Jóvenes frente al mundo: las tecnologías digitales como soporte de la vida cotidiana. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, *15*(1), 161-172. http://bit.ly/3GMPG8S

Lugo-González, I. V., Pérez-Bautista, Y. Y., Becerra-Gálvez, A. L., Fernández-Vega, M. and Reynoso-Erazo, M. (2021). Percepción emocional del COVID-19 en México: estudio comparación entre la fase 1, fase 2 y medios de información. *Interacciones. Revista de Avances e Psicología*, (7), 1-7, https://doi.org/10.24016/2021.v7.164

Martín-Barbero, J. (2017). *Jóvenes entre el palimpsesto y el hipertexto.* NED.

Medina, G. (2010). Tecnologías y subjetividades juveniles. En R. Reguillo (coord.), *Los jóvenes en México* (pp. 154-182). Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Moraes, D. (2007). La tiranía de lo fugaz: mercantilización cultural y saturación mediática. En D. Moraes (comp.), *Sociedad Mediatizada* (pp. 21-38). Gedisa.

Morley, D. (2008). *Medios, modernidad y tecnología*. Gedisa.

Morduchowicz, R. (2008). La relación de los jóvenes y las pantallas. En R. Morduchowicz (Coord.), *Los jóvenes y las pantallas* (pp. 44-67). Gedisa.

Olmedo-Neri, R. A. (2021). Las juventudes mexicanas ante los retos de la covidianidad. *Movimiento*, (34), 72-78. https://bit.ly/3H8Y7Nb

Olmedo-Neri, R. A. (2022). Brechas digitales y territorio: los entornos tecnológicos-digitales en las viviendas mexicanas. *Ra Ximhai*, *18*(4), 103-125. https://doi.org/10.35197/rx.18.04.2022.05.ro

Ortiz, V. F. (2020). Tiempos de pandemia y sus efectos en universitarios al mudarse de programa presencial a en línea. *Educere, 25*(81), 517-523. http://bit.ly/3w9IMpk

Reimers, F. and Marmolejo, F. (2020). Capítulo 1. Liderar el aprendizaje en tiempos de crisis. Respuestas de la educación superior a la pandemia mundial de

2020. En F. Reimers y F. Marmolejo (coords.), *La colaboración escuela-universidad durante la pandemia* (pp. 11-56). ANUIES.

Sánchez, R. (2020). Las tecnologías de la comunicación y el desafío del diario vivir. En M. Portillo y J. Palacios (coords.), *Comunicación y Cultura. Perspectivas para la reconfiguración de identidades, nuevas disputas por el poder, consumos e industrias culturales en tiempos de convergencia digital* (pp. 25-44). Universidad Iberoamericana.

Sandoval, L. R. and Cabello, R. (2019). Límites a la domesticación: usos obligados, reticencia y austeridad en la apropiación de la telefonía móvil. *Dixit*, (31), 82-99. https://doi.org/10.22235/d.vi31.1849

Sandoval, L. R. (2022). Tecnologías y vida cotidiana: una revisión del modelo de domesticación. *Contratexto*, (37), 287-314. https://doi.org/10.26439/contratexto2022.n037.5351

Silverstone R. and Haddon, L. (1996). Design and the Domestication of Information and Communication Technologies: Technical Change and Everyday Life. En. R. Mansell y R. Silverstone (eds.), *Communication by Design. The Politics of information and Communication Technologies* (pp. 44-76). Oxford University Press

Silverstone, R. (1996). *Televisión y vida cotidiana*. Amorrortu.

Silverstone, R. (2004). *¿Por qué estudiar los medios?* Amorrortu.

Vázquez, A. (2015). El mito del nativo digital. *Entretextos*, *7*(19), 1-11. https://bit.ly/3H78vFc

Williams, R. (2011). *Televisión. Tecnología y forma cultural*. Paidós.

Winocur, R. (2006). Internet en la vida cotidiana de los jóvenes. *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, *68*(3), 551-580. https://bit.ly/3CU3ttb

Winocur, R. (2009). *Robinson Crusoe ya tiene celular. La conexión como espacio de control de la incertidumbre.* UAM-Siglo XXI Editores.

Winocur, R. and Sánchez, R. (2018). *Familias pobres y computadoras*. Océano.

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.07

Audience editors: between metrics and journalistic routines

Editores de audiencias: entre las métricas y las rutinas periodísticas

Brenda M. Focás
Universidad Nacional de San Martín/ CONICET, Argentina
bfocas@unsam.edu.ar
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1749-6757

Received on: 29/12/2022 **Revised on:** 08/01/2023 **Approved on:** 23/02/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Abstract
Consumption measurement systems have become ubiquitous and disruptive in the news industry and in the work routines of its journalists. Faced with a new panorama of segmentation and content specialization, added to the appearance of a more active figure of the participative user, digital portals demand greater versatility and technological training. Based on this reality, this research focuses on the figure of audience editors, which are relatively new actors in the newsrooms of Argentine digital portals. We perform a qualitative analysis. Through semi-structured in-depth interviews with audience editors from the main national digital portals, the text sets out different objectives. The first is to analyze the modifications in journalistic work routines based on the use of metrics and different measurement techniques that impact newsworthiness criteria and the decisions about the place of certain news in the media's home page. Secondly, to account for the management strategies promoted by these media, the role of Google as information gatekeeping and the role of audiences. Finally, the article proposes a reflection aimed at transcending marketing and public opinion studies to try to elucidate the ways in which the figure of the audience editor articulates the tensions between content, metrics, and journalistic practices.

Keywords
Newsrooms, metrics, audiences, news, journalists, editors, Google, contents.

Suggested citation: Focás, B. (2023). Audience editors: between metrics and journalistic routines. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 153-169. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.07

Resumen

Los sistemas de mediciones de consumos se han vuelto omnipresentes y disruptivos en la industria de las noticias y en las rutinas de trabajo de sus periodistas. Ante un nuevo panorama de segmentación y especialización de contenidos, sumado a la aparición de una figura más activa del usuario participativo, los portales digitales demandan mayor versatilidad y formación tecnológica. A través de entrevistas en profundidad semiestructuradas con editores de audiencias de los principales portales digitales nacionales, el texto se propone distintos objetivos. En primer lugar, indagar sobre las modificaciones en las rutinas de trabajo periodísticas a partir del uso de métricas. En segundo lugar, dar cuenta de las estrategias de gestión promovidas por estos medios, y el rol de Google como *gatekeeping* de la información. Por último, el artículo propone una reflexión orientada a trascender los estudios de marketing y opinión pública para intentar dilucidar los modos en que la figura del editor de audiencias articula las tensiones entre contenidos, métricas y prácticas periodísticas. Los resultados muestran que las métricas impactan en los criterios de noticiabilidad, en los contenidos y en la sinergia de las redacciones, aunque se evidencian tensiones y resistencias entre los periodistas y los editores de audiencias. Además Google es un actor crucial que promueve distintas estrategias con en el fin de lograr un lugar privilegiado en los resultados de búsquedas.

Palabras clave

Redacciones, métricas, audiencias, noticias, periodistas, editores, Google, contenidos.

Introduction[1]

This article explores the new professional profiles in journalistic newsrooms from the changes promoted by the digital environment. Literature shows that systems for measuring consumption have become ubiquitous and disruptive in the news industry and in the work routines of their journalists. Faced with a new landscape of segmentation and specialization of content, coupled with the emergence of a more active figure of the participatory user, digital portals demand more versatility and technological training. Names emerge to designate these actors: analyst and web designer, *community manager*, videoweb editor, multimedia and social media editor, *programmer*

1 I appreciate the suggestions and comments of the anonymous evaluators that improved the argumentation and quality of this article.

journalist, engagement editor, digital analyst, audience editor, etc. (Assmann and Diakopoulos, 2017). With audience editors also arise other trades such as *producers,* which are those that suggest the use of certain keywords in titles guided by trends in Google and social networks (Flores-Vivar, 2014).

These professionals perform different types of tasks and news companies are adapting through digital training and training processes. In this article we will focus on audience editors. In general, the functions consist of following users' behaviors, observing their preferences (not only in terms of content, but also in their ways of reading), and promoting journalists to write new articles in relation to the trends. This work is significant within the newsrooms because, on the one hand, it interacts with journalists who generate content and, on the other hand, it processes personal data of users to gain publicity. In this context, this article addresses different dimensions related to this new actor in journalistic editions, such as their work routines, the measurement tools they use, the processes of selection and publication of news from the use of metrics and the role of Google and social networks as filters against the informative content that reaches audiences.

Literature review

Newsrooms have undergone considerable changes in their organization, having an impact on the content they present to the public. The influence of technological factors along with the economic cuts that journalistic companies adopted converge in a new scenario. The changes include the emergence of new professional profiles, the reduction of costs by simplifying the work phases, the flexibility of the workforce and the disqualification of some trades displaced by stored information (Becerra, 2019; Retegui, 2014). At present, it is common for newsrooms to have large monitors where both journalists and editors can see in real time the clicks of audiences, and therefore know the impact of their journalistic notes.

Research has shown the distance between the preferences of journalists and users (Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2013), and the need to generate traffic that prioritizes the interests of audiences (MacGregor, 2007; Van-Dalen, 2012). In fact, the literature on the field of journalism has focused in recent years on audiences, due to the visibility they acquired in the forms of consumption of the new global media ecosystem (Nelson, 2019; Fürst, 2020). Other studies discuss measurement models, while the number of views of a news story should not be translated as the number of readings, nor as the news that readers value most (Masip, 2016; Vesnić-Alujević and Murru, 2016). Also, on the ways in which metrics and specifically audience clicks affect journalistic decisions (Lee *et al.,* 2014; Welbers et *al.,* 2016). Thus, some research shows that audience measurements are conditioning to select topics and rotate news from the home (Anderson, 2011; Lee *et al.,* 2014; Vu, 2014; Fürst, 2020), but there is also some resistance from publishers to understand the influence of metrics in their editorial decisions (Welbers *et al.,* 2016). On the other hand, analyzes of the political economy of communication show that journalistic companies demand multi-purpose professionals who are able to manage content systems, algorithms (Diakopoulos, 2015), audiences or big data (Tandoc, 2014).

After a review of the main discussions in the literature, the questions that will guide this article are: How do metrics affect journalistic routines? Do they affect content? What tensions are evident between audience editors and journalistic practices? What is Google's role in this framework? How do audience editors try to better position themselves in search results?

Materials and methods

Based on this panorama and in order to know more deeply these new actors, we use the interview as a qualitative technique, based on the theoretical budgets proposed by Vasilachis de Gialdino (2006) and Marradi *et al.* (2007). In that sense, and in order to achieve a complete analysis of the work of these new profiles, we conducted six interviews with audience editors working in the main digital portals of Argentina: Infobae, Clarín, La Nación, Profile and El Cronista Comercial. The semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted based on a guide that we developed after surveying the local and international literature on the subject. First, the training of audience editors and their professional profile within digital newsrooms were investigated. Another central topic was the use of audience measurement tools, frequency, social conversation and the ways in which they use that information in conjunction with journalists and the area of social networks and marketing of companies. In relation to the knowledge of the audiences, questions were asked about access to sociodemographic characteristics and how these data were used. The questionnaire also included questions about Google's place in this ecosystem and its role as a *gatekeeper* of information reaching audiences. Discussions covered topics such as training, work routines, the relevance of their work in recent years, and relationships with other actors in the newsroom, such as journalists or those in charge of the advertising sector.

The interviews were conducted and recorded using the Meet platform between late 2021 and early 2022. The interviews were conducted for purposes related to the research, so the anonymity of the interviewees is maintained, although the medium for which they already work is evident, which we consider to be an important dimension in the analysis.

Results

Working routines of audience editors

The figure of the audience editor has become pivotal in the newsrooms. Their job is to track audience preferences, measure clicks, identify trends, and engage new readers. These actors are responsible for increasing overall editorial content traffic and identifying current issues likely to attract traffic, through search engine optimization (SEO). They identify search terms and topics and recommend to colleagues which ones should be included in their notes (Schlesinger and Doyle, 2015; Tandoc and Vos, 2016, Fürst, 2020).

This is how different testimonies explain it:

> I'm an Audience Editor. That means being in charge of a team that makes content for different channels, specifically to maximize the internal traffic of the Chronicler with its most loyal users and then the *search* traffic or social media traffic (...). In the morning I give the metrics and do a summary of what happened the previous day, a post mortem of the notes that worked, the notes that did not work so well; what our loyal reader read, what our loyal reader did not read; a study of more page views; which of all the percentage of page views came from which channel and then I do a whole survey in the morning of which notes have higher potential during the day and which channel is better to upload them. (Audience Editor, The Commercial Chronicler)

The testimonies show the characteristics of the work. These actors move between the metrics and the interests of journalists, while the results of these actions impact the sales or marketing area:

> We have two functions, we produce specific content and in turn alert the newsroom to topics that are going around, either to do it or deepen on it. (audience editor, La Nación)

> Audiences are handled in such a way as to provide real-time information, add tools for writing, and also determine the content that generates more traffic on the site. (audience editor, Infobae)

A relevant issue that emerges from the interviews is the professional path they took to fill these positions within the newsrooms. Although most of them were trained as journalists, and had previous experience from that place, these are profiles that have made a journey in their training linked to new technologies.

> In my case, I worked for 15 years in Olé dedicated only to sports journalism, then I had a step for Very, which is also a daily of the group and already five years ago I am in Clarín. I was as head of sports and then the opportunity arose... it became the decision to give much more prominence to what SEO is. (Audience editor, Clarín)

> I'm a paper journalist and I had to evolve with all this and learned practically alone and then the courses started, but basically these are roles that you learn from the experience of others because there is no other and you are applying it in different media, when I went through Infobae it was also because it was not done. You learn and apply and you adapt to the needs of each newsroom. (audience editor, Clarín)

An amateur professionalization is observed: a little by interest, another by incentive or need of companies, the knowledge about the metrics of these actors advanced hand in hand with changes in the media:

> Since I already had a background of knowledge about digital strategy, web strategy, I applied it a lot in IT, quite successfully and then I was sort of discovered there, in quotation marks, and led to do the same in IT in the newspaper, then today I keep my original title which is the Editor in Technology in the Chronicler but now I am also Audience Editor, which implies being in charge of a team that makes content designed for different channels, specifically for two or three things: one, to maximize high-impact traffic in different channels. (Audience Editor, The Commercial Chronicler)

Interviews show that these are classic trajectories linked to journalistic training, and then, for some reason, they moved towards metrics for a personal interest. Similarly, their work teams are heterogeneous, and while there are journalists, there are also specialists in *big data,* technology and even *influencers* and *community managers.*

> The people who work with me on metrics aren't journalists, they're specialists on metrics, on audiences. These people specialize in data. What I do as a journalist is to translate that information to somehow work or ask for certain information that I think can be valuable for the newsroom. (audience editor, Infobae)

> I'm in charge of the SEO team, which is seven people composed of journalists and some people with some profile a little more technical, but technical in terms that they manage a lot of data, make a search, draw conclusions based on past searches. (audience editor, Clarín)

In summary, the main changes in the work organization and in the productive routines in recent years account for new professional profiles of newsrooms, among which are audience editors. The use of audience metrics is becoming an integral part of journalists' daily work. Metrics data is also reviewed regularly at meetings or sent via email to the entire newsroom. In addition to monitoring audience metrics, journalists are increasingly expected to promote their articles on social media and amass followers to increase traffic figures (Agarwal and Barthel, 2015; Chadha and Wells, 2016; Tandoc and Vos, 2016). These changes must be analyzed by the media sector, evidencing some naturalization in the multitasking journalist, which impacts both the contents and the audiences.

Measuring tools and user profiles

The new needs of the journalistic market require an in-depth knowledge of the audience and for this they use different IT tools that offer real-time user data. This model, which finds its background in ratings and minute-by-minute television, promotes clear competition among portals, and allows to know what news are more and less read, as well as the titles that attract the most attention. Studies such as those of OJD, EGM or Kantar Media now coexist with new web analytics tools that track audience behavior in real time, providing information about page views or the average duration that users remain on the site (Cherubini and Nielsen, 2016).

The tools they use most in their daily tasks are Google Analytics, Chartbeat, which provide real-time data of website visitors, their preferences and usage behaviors. These tools are joined by those of third-party platforms that, like Facebook, are able to offer 98 indicators on the user profile that accesses their content (Dewey, 2016). There is a progressive reduction of the audience to quantitative data, which affects both the daily work of journalists and editors within newsrooms.

> We have different measurement tools that all newspapers in general use and that most portals in Argentina use to compete with each other, even to generate actions of advertising guidelines and so on. We use Google Analytics, we use Chartbeat, ComScore, My Metrics which are different tools to measure behaviors and also to measure the type of reader we have, so, for the audience it is very important, it is the essence of what it does. (Audience Editor, The Commercial Chronicler)

The length of time spent on the content and the number of followers is the pillars of online loyalty. The new *engagement* equation involves multiplying the reading time, viewing, or listening of content by the return frequency and divided among all distribution platforms (mobile, web, etc.) (Rodríguez-Vázquez et *al.,* 2018).

Audience editors consulted distinguish between two types of audiences: "faithful" and "swallows." The so-called "faithful" are those that follow the brand of the medium and that directly enter the portal when they want to inform themselves, while the "swallows" are those that interested in some subject, problem or news enter a search engine that eventually takes them to the news portal. The challenge for media companies is to transform these occasional audiences into loyal ones. This is how Clarín's audience editor explains it:

> Now, there is a huge universe. In the past there were 80 million, where most of the people come, the guy who goes through Google... that person is another type of consumer because it can be more swallow that goes looking for something particular and finds in Clarín the answer, but you don't have... there already changes the composition a little and it is more difficult also to have it then forces you to offer a content for the whole spectrum.

Finally, another challenge for some portals is to add subscribers. In Argentina, some media such as Clarín and La Nación also maintain paid walls, so the portal only allows the free viewing of up to five news items and if a user wants to see more, they must subscribe to the medium. As summarized by the hearing editor of El Cronista Comercial:

> Today you have to think about the fan... there are all types of people: those who visit you two or three times a month and then the subscriber, but you have to think about everything. Because the one who moves the needle of the numbers would be like the anonymous one, and the one who moves the numbers in terms of money, which is what you need, is the one who subscribes, but you need everything...

In short, audience editors are faced with different types of users, and they apply different strategies for each group. On the one hand, loyal readers or subscribers are offered the "usual" content, and a reading contract is maintained that guarantees synergy between the journalistic company and the audiences. On the other hand, for swallows, different tactics are implemented in order to make them become faithful or subscribers. Tracking the preferences of news topics is key in the proposal made by the metrics which aim that users enter directly to the portal site the next time they want to inform themselves.

Who defines the agendas today?

Linked to the work processes of journalists is the selection and hierarchization of information, as well as the application of the news criteria. Wolf (1991) defines newsworthiness as "the set of elements through which the information apparatus controls and manages the number and type of events from which it selects the news" (p. 222). The author asks himself the following question: "What events are considered sufficiently interesting, significant, relevant, to be transformed into news?" (p. 222). The first studies in the field coined the concept of *gatekeeping* (care of the door or access) to account for the irregular way in which information circulates and is subject to instances that delay or "block" them at some point in the communication chain. Hence, *gatekeeping* works between the content published in newspapers or news and the process of filtering information.

In any selection process, general criteria about what is news are involved, but also, the ability of journalists and editors to install topics in the media agenda comes into play. In that sense, as early as 1979 Golding and Elliott evidenced the importance of what they defined as values/news, i.e., those "criteria for selecting the elements worthy of being included in the final product from the material available in the drafting" (p. 114). Values/news work in the newsrooms as reference guides that allow emphasizing in some events, mitigating others and highlighting those that interest the public to read in a first order of priorities (Arrueta, 2010).

Thus, Reese and Shoemaker (2016) distinguish five levels that affect, both from the micro and the macro, the selection of information. One of the levels focuses on the individual factors of the journalist such as their beliefs, experiences and training. Another relates to journalistic routines and organizations within newsrooms that also influence decisions about what events to cover and what not, for example. The third level is the most macro linked to the pressures of organizations, the ownership structure of the medium and its policies. The extra media factors represent the fourth level (sources, advertising, competition, etc.). The fifth level concerns the political ideology of the medium.

This proposed hierarchy of influences was intended for the traditional media model, with journalists who had a marked distance from their audiences. Nowadays, technological advances allow journalists to easily know who their audiences are, what news they prefer, and even what topics of the media agenda they comment on on social networks. Many portals also receive traffic reports of audiences on the web every day. Thus, audiences have become important actors that, as shown by different works, have an impact on editorial decisions and therefore also act as gatekeepers of information.

One of the topics of debate in the literature is the ways in which audiences affect the definition of a note. Thus, some research shows that the increase of metrics on an article affects the thematic preferences of journalistic work (Anderson, 2011; Lee *et al.,* 2014; Vu, 2014). For example, Welbers *et al.* (2016), note that stories from news articles at the top of the portal that were "most viewed" were more likely to receive attention in subsequent newspaper stories. The study, which combined content analysis with interviews, showed that page views influenced the journalistic selection of topics, but that editors predominantly denied such influence.

> I think reactions are taking up more and more space. Not only what the journalist thinks is important, the famous agenda, but also what we can see that the reader thinks is important. So, without turning our backs on who we are, without turning our backs on traditional agenda journalism, we are increasingly

> trying to make content that suits the tastes and consumption of our audiences, which is not one, but several. (Audience Editor, The Commercial Chronicler)

> The journalistic team knows and looks at the metrics all the time. I do a deeper analysis of some cases, so that I can download some more complex information that people are not looking at in realtime. I see what it measures and based on what it measures I can make another note, because it is the moment when people look for more information. Your work is to look at numbers in realtime, that's how the whole newsroom works. We have another work dynamic. (audience editor, Infobae)

The role of *gatekeeping* has always been assigned to journalists, but with technological changes, audiences play an increasingly important role in editorial decision-making.

> The routines changed undoubtedly. It changed what you know about the hearing today. You have to manage emotions much more as a professional, this monitoring of the audience also takes to a kind of minute-by-minute. While the media did not lose the power of the agenda setting, there's now a fact that is much more conversational, and while the scoop still plays a vital role, because it's the basic input of a journalist's ego, the scoop today basically serves you to get ahead of the conversation. (audience editor, La Nación)

> Another thing that changed for me are three basic concepts. I call it: audiences-timing-platform. What's happening now is that you're aware all the time that you write for an audience, that you write with a timing. (audience editor, La Nación)

The testimonies show that metrics today have a considerable impact on the criteria of newsworthiness and the preferences of audiences are considered in the process of constructing the news. However, the editors consulted, while recognizing this scenario, warn that there are limits and that the incidence is often lower.

> You also don't have to do everything that audiences ask you to do, otherwise you become a minute-by-minute rating. You're Tinelli. (Audience Editor, The Commercial Chronicler)

> I don't tell journalists what to write about, instead I give them some tools for a real-time update of content that could be made. I used to do it manually, now it's automated. I emailed them earlier in the day with recommendations,

> and then we were able to automate that. But I don´t say 'write this note', but I say 'this is yielding'. Then everyone does what he/she wants, but I warn them what is yielding. (audience editor, Infobae)

Clearly, there is some tension in newsrooms when it comes to considering audience preferences in news construction. While classic newswire criteria persist, audience preferences are now added as one more issue to consider in the selection process. In the next section we will focus on the role of search engines as information leakers.

The role of Google

In recent years the Internet giant has grown and dominated the market altogether. Today, Google has an impact on the ranking and visibility of news by rewarding, according to interviews, "quality" information. At the same time, it now offers its own news round-up, which for some newspaper companies represents unfair competition. The testimonies show another relevant actor in the tasks of selecting the information that reaches the "swallows" audiences: search engines in general and Google in particular. For example, an audience editor from La Nación website explains:

> Google was crucial in the transformation. I poetically call it the kiosk of our era of work. If you're not on Google, you're not at the newspaper stop. Then there's another debate about whether or not it's the algorithm that has to set your agenda, that's another debate. But there are certain rules. In the past, the rule was that news ended at 19:30 because the note had to enter a printing plant. That conditioning seemed natural to us. The thing is that we had to adapt to optimization. (audience editor, La Nación).

> Google is the main source of traffic, both in *search* and in SEO, because as you better profile in SEO, you better appear in Google searches. And then on the trends, you have to be aware of that, but you also don't have to be the order of the day because this is migrating, let's say. That's when the newsroom also has to be looking at what's being talked about, not just being tied to what's going on at Google (...) Google may be a mentor, but I don't consider it vital. It's useful if you're looking for a little more guidance, about where to go. I don't think a newsroom has to be 100 percent behind Google's trends. (audience editor, Infobae)

In the international literature, research shows the debate that exists in academia about the place of Google and Google News in the digital news environment. One of the discussions is that, by offering personalized content geared toward individual users' interests, platforms like Google are supposed to reduce news diversity and thus lead to partial information blindness (i.e., filter bubbles). Based on this hypothesis, Haim *et al.* (2017) conducted two exploratory studies to test the effect of implicit and explicit personalization on the content and diversity of Google News sources. The conclusions point out that "except for the small effects of implicit personalization on content diversity, we found no support for the filter bubble hypothesis" (p. 334). However, the authors note a general bias as Google News overrepresents certain media and underrepresents others.

On the other hand, there is growing concern about the extent to which algorithmic personalization limits people's exposure to various viewpoints, thereby creating "filter bubbles" or "echo chambers." Research on the personalization of web searches accounts for ranking based on the location of results. In a recent paper, Huyen *et al.* (2019), investigated whether web search results are customized based on the user's browsing history, which can be deduced by search engines. Specifically, they developed a "sock puppet" auditing system in which a couple of new browser profiles first visit websites that reflect divergent political discourses, and second, run identical politically-oriented searches on Google News. When comparing the search results returned by Google News for the different browser profiles trained, they observed on the platform a statistically significant personalization that tends to reinforce polarization.

Finally, an interesting debate is whether redactions should adapt to Google's parameters in order to be prioritized in searches or not. The editors interviewed agreed that the rules are unclear and that while Google rewards quality content at the same time, it also appears as a competitor generating its own news:

> Google's formula ends up being like Coke's: nobody tells you. But there are certain parameters that should be met, obviously as long as it does not alter what journalism is, i.e., if you go against that does not serve you, but there are certain issues that we were getting used to and that we try to work to capture traffic by Google, but Google has a particularity: it is half contradictory because it ends up being the very competence of the media, i.e., there is a lot of information in Google that you Google and you get the answer in the first search result, then there is also a whole job. (audience editor, Clarín).

> Google gets you a lot more out of what it gives you, but you need it to be able to compete, so there are some media that in their strategy care about Google and care about social networks but are increasingly focused on expanding their product offering to their most loyal reader or making an analysis of what sporadic readers consume and what they consider to be valuable on their page. (Audience Editor, The Commercial Chronicler)

For their part, Fischer *et al.* (2020), show that unless consumers specifically search for topics of local interest, national media dominate the search results. Characteristics related to local supply and demand, such as the number of local media outlets and the demographics associated with their consumption, are not related to the likelihood of finding a local news outlet. The findings imply that the platforms may be diverting web traffic away from local news.

Discussion and conclusions

This article presents an overview of the ways in which new professional profiles in newsrooms are adapted to the digital environment. From the side of journalistic companies, versatile professionals are required who are able to manage content systems, metrics, audiences or big data. These changes must be analyzed in the light of the precarious work experienced by the media sector, evidencing some naturalization in the multitasking journalist, which impacts both the contents and the audiences.

Some of the debates presented in this article are centered on the tensions established between journalists and audience editors in relation to the impact that metrics have on news construction. Metrics and algorithms play a key role and mediate between editorial decisions and journalists' tasks. The paper shows that metrics affect both content definition and journalistic routines and that there are tensions and limits in the constant negotiations between audience editors and journalists.

Another point to consider is that audience editors face a multiplicity of audiences (faithful, swallows, etc.) and they apply different strategies for each group. The monitoring of the preferences of news topics is key in the proposals of journalistic content and also in the reception of audiences. These practices affect the configuration of the agenda promoting changes in information professionals (Anderson, 2011). The challenge is focused on striking a balance between journalists' proposals, media agenda and audience clicks.

Finally, we question the relevant role of Google as a news leaker. Audience editors maintain different tactics to try to win in the search engine hierarchy, although as they state “they don’t know for sure what the formula is.” This actor represents a concern in journalistic companies and its role is increasingly important as a guide in the consumption of information. In short, it is a scenario in constant transformation where artificial intelligence has a key role in the generation of journalistic content.

Future work will have to investigate how Google influences the preferences of audiences and how they negotiate with metrics in their informative diets.

References

Agarwal, S. D. and Barthel, M. L. (2015). The friendly barbarians: Professional norms and work routines of online journalists in the United States. *Journalism, 16*(3), 376-391. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884913511565

Anderson, C. W. (2011). Deliberative, Agonistic, and algorithmic audiences: journalism´s vision of its public in an age of audience transparency, *International Journal of Communication*, *5*(19). https://bit.ly/3Xyzxfn

Arrueta, C. (2010). *¿Qué realidad construyen los diarios? Una mirada desde el periodismo en contextos de periferia*. La Crujía ediciones.

Assmann, K. and Diakopoulos, N. (2017). Negotiating change: Audience engagement editors as newsroom intermediaries. En *International symposium on online journalism* (ISOJ) (pp. 25-44). https://bit.ly/3CZEBjB

Becerra, M. (2019). Nuevos medios, agenda vieja. *Letra P.* https://bit.ly/3PYK69Z

Boczkowski, P. J. and Mitchelstein, E. (2013). *The news gap. When the information preferences of the media and the public diverge.* The Mit Press.

Chadha, K. and Wells, R. (2016). Journalistic responses to technological innovation in newsrooms. *Digital Journalism, 4*(8), 1020-1035. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2015.1123100

Cherubini, F. and Nielsen, R. K., (2016). *Editorial Analytics: How news media are developing and using audience data and metrics.* Reuters Institute.

Diakopoulos, N. (2015). Algorithmic Accountability. *Digital Journalism, 3*(3), 398-415. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.976411

Fischer, S., Jaidka, K. and Lelkes, Y. (2020). Auditing local news presence on Google News. *Nature Human Behaviour, 4,* 1236-1244 https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-00954-0

Flores-Vivar, J. (2014). Nuevos medios, perfiles y modelos de negocio en la Red. Universidad San Martín de Porres.

Fürst, S. (2020). In the service of good journalism and audience interests? How audience metrics affect news quality. *Media and Communication, 8*(3), 270-280. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i3.3228

Golding, P. and Elliott, P. (1979). *Making the News*. Longman.

Haim, M., Graefe, A. and Brosius, H.-B. (2017). Burst of the Filter Bubble? Effects of personalization on the diversity of Google News. *Digital Journalism*, 330-343. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1338145

Huyen L., Maragh, R., Ekdale, B., High, A., Havens, T. and Shafiq, Z. (2019). Measuring Political Personalization of Google News Search. En *Proceedings of the 2019 World Wide Web Conference* (WWW'19), May 13-17, 2019, San Francisco, CA, USA. ACM, New York, NY, USA. https://doi.org/10.1145/3308558.3313682

MacGregor, P. (2007). Tracking the online audience. Metric data start a subtle revolution. *Journalism Studies*, *8*(2), 280-298. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700601148879

Marradi, A., Archenti, N. and Piovani, J. (2007). *Metodología de las Ciencias Sociales*. Emecé.

Masip, P. (2016). Investigar el periodismo desde las perspectivas de las audiencias. *El profesional de la información*, *25*(3), 323-330. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2016.may.01

Mitchelstein, E. and Boczkowski, P. (2017) Juventud, estatus y conexiones. Explicación del consumo incidental de noticias en redes sociales. *Revista Mexicana de Opinión Pública, 24*, 131-145. https://doi.org/10.22201/fcpys.24484911e.2018.24.61647

Nelson, J. (2019). The next media regime: The pursuit of 'audience engagement' in journalism. *Journalism*, *22*(9), 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919862375

Retegui, L. (2014). Trabajo creativo, TIC y mecanismos de control en los procesos laborales en las industrias culturales. Un estudio de caso en Argentina. *Global Media Journal, 11*(22), 20-42. https://bit.ly/3XzUSoy

Rodríguez-Vázquez, A., Direito-Rebollal, S. and Rodríguez, A. (2018). Audiencias crossmedia: nuevas métricas y perfiles profesionales en los medios españoles. *El profesional de la información, 27*(4), 793-800. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.jul.08

Reese, S. and Shoemaker, P. (2016). Media sociology and the hierarchy of influences model: A levels-of-analysis perspective on the networked public sphere.

Mass Communication and Society, 19. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2016.1174268

Schlesinger, P. and Doyle, G. (2015). From organizational crisis to multi-platform salvation? Creative destruction and the recomposition of news media. *Journalism, 16*(3), 305-323. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884914530223

Tandoc, E. C. (2014). Journalism is twerking? How web analytics is changing the process of gatekeeping. *New Media & Society, 16*(4), 559-575. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814530541

Tandoc, E. C. and Vos, T. P. (2016). The journalist is marketing the news: Social media in the gatekeeping process. *Journalism Practice, 10*(8), 950-966. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1087811

Van-Dalen, A. (2012). The algorithms behind the headlines. *Journalism practice*, *6*(5-6), 648-658. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2012.667268

Vasilachis de Gialdino, I. (2006) *Estrategias de investigación cualitativa*. Barcelona.

Vesnić Alujević, L. y Murru, M. F. (2016). Digital audience's disempowerment: Participation or free labor. *Journal of Audiences & Reception Studies*, *13*(1), 422-430. https://bit.ly/3pvWCCM

Vu, H. T. (2014). The online audience as gatekeeper: The influence of reader metrics on news editorial selection. *Journalism, 15*(8), 1094-1110. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884913504259

Welbers, K., Van Atteveldt, W., Kleinnijenhuis, J., Ruigrok, N. and Schaper, J. (2016). News selection criteria in the digital age: Professional norms versus online audience metrics. *Journalism*, *17*(8), 1037-1053. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884915595474

Wolf, M. (1991). *La investigación en la comunicación de masas. Crítica y perspectivas de la información*. Ed. Paidós.

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.08

Comparison of frames in social networks of the 2016 and 2021 elections in Peru: the case of candidates Fujimori and Mendoza

Comparación de frames *en redes sociales de las elecciones de 2016 y 2021 en Perú: el caso de las candidatas Fujimori y Mendoza*

Edwin Cohaila-Ramos
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Peru
cohaila.ef@pucp.pe
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4198-2050

Received on: 28/03/2023 **Revised on:** 22/04/2023 **Approved on:** 10/07/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Abstract

This article compares the publications on social networks of the candidates Verónika Mendoza and Keiko Fujimori in the electoral processes of 2016 and 2021, the only candidates who participated in both processes. For this comparison, the framing theory was used, having as cutoff periods before and after the electoral debates. The publications in social networks were classified into thematic, strategic, and positional frames. The interest of the comparison lies in observing if the electoral debate, a privileged event to show proposals and government plans, envisions a change in the type of framing of the candidates. It is observed that the publications of the candidates envision different framing positions, but the debate does not change the tenor of the publications, favoring strategic frames over positional and thematic ones.

Keywords

Frame, positional, strategic, thematic, networks, Peruvian elections, Fujimori, Mendoza.

Suggested citation: Cohaila-Ramos, E. (2023). Comparison of frames in social networks of the 2016 and 2021 elections in Peru: the case of candidates Fujimori and Mendoza. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 171-192. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.08

Resumen

Este artículo compara las publicaciones en redes sociales de las candidatas Verónika Mendoza y Keiko Fujimori en los procesos electorales de 2016 y 2021, únicas candidatas que participaron en ambos procesos. Para esta comparación se utilizó la teoría del *framing*, teniendo como cortes periodos previos y posteriores a los debates electorales. Las publicaciones en redes sociales se clasificaron en *frames* temáticos, estratégicos y posicionales. El interés de la comparación radica en observar si el debate electoral, evento privilegiado para mostrar propuestas y planes de gobierno, avizora un cambio en el tipo de enmarcamiento de las candidatas. Se observa que las publicaciones de las candidatas muestran diferentes posiciones de enmarcamiento, pero el debate no cambia el tenor de las publicaciones, privilegiándose los *frames* estratégicos sobre los posicionales y temáticos.

Palabras clave

Frame, posicional, estratégico, temático, redes sociales, elecciones peruanas, Fujimori, Mendoza.

Introduction

Social media posts have allowed candidates to express different aspects related to their daily work, their positions on the political situation or about any issue. This form of communication usually happens during electoral and non-electoral periods.

However, there are several moments in electoral processes that have a special milestone, such as the registration of candidates, electoral debates, closing of the campaign, election day, etc. One of these expected events is the electoral debate, since it is a time where candidates have the opportunity to express their proposals or government plans, although it is not exempt from confrontations or jokes that may exist between participants. The media are also attentive to this event, and usually, in Peru, broadcast live with open signal.

While the electoral processes have taken place in the corresponding periods, the political and party landscape has been mixed. Peru has shown a political weakness, originally attributed to Alberto Fujimori's authoritarianism in the 2000s, but which has remained in the continuum of electoral processes (Levitsky and Cameron, 2003; Zavaleta, 2014). The political landscape has also characterized by the presence of local conflicts, mainly related to socio-environmental issues, but with little national presence or call that can articulate social movements (Vergara and Encinas, 2015; Meléndez and León, 2010).

Apparently, there is some continuity and control in the economic management, as observed, precisely due to the political weakness, where control was maintained by the Executive with the support of business groups (Dargent and Rousseau, 2021); however, there is a possible gap in this control due to the confrontation between the Executive and Congress during the period of the election after 2016, where according to Dargent and Rousseau (2021), censorship, questioning and presidential vacancies have caused the Executive to lose control over the economic and political, which is seen by the little influence of the Ministries of Economy and the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

In this scenario, marked by certain continuities and changes, only two candidates participated in both electoral processes, Keiko Fujimori and Verónika Mendoza, and both from different political ideas.

This study compares the types of posts made by both candidates on social networks, both on Facebook and Twitter, during the electoral processes of 2016 and 2021, comparing the electoral debates. The hypothesis guiding this research states that the debate does not generate any change in the type of framing of the publications of the candidates. To perform this analysis, the publications have been captured and categorized into three types of frames: positional, strategic and thematic. Also, to see if the debate generates a change, the same number of days before and after this event is compared in both electoral processes.

The main conclusions show few changes in the type of framing of the candidates studied, therefore, the debate does not generate significant changes. The strategic frames have a higher prevalence in the publications of the candidates, above the thematic and positional ones; and significant differences are found only in the electoral process of 2016 and not in the 2021.

Electoral Process 2016 and 2021

Ten candidates from different political parties and groups participated in the 2016 Peruvian electoral process. The general elections were held on April 11, 2016, with candidates Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and Keiko Fujimori gaining the main votes of the electorate. However, since neither of them obtained 50% plus one of the valid votes,[1] as established by Peruvian electoral law, there was a second electoral round, where candidate Pedro Pablo Kuczynski was the winner, by a margin of 0.12% of the valid votes (ONPE, 2016). Both candidates were visualized as candidates from the right party, with some differences, although both candidates preferred little intervention of the state in the economy, Keiko Fujimori was envisioned as part of a populist party of conservative right (Sulmont, 2017; Meléndez, 2012); instead, Kuczynski was envisioned as center-right, with emphasis on private investment and a technocratic management of the State (Sulmont, 2017). However, the other big difference was that Keiko Fujimori represents a continuism of the form of government of her father, Alberto Fujimori,[2] with the presence of a strong hand and authoritarianism (Sulmont, 2017).

Eighteen candidates participated in the 2021 electoral process. This increase in candidacies was due to the electoral law establishing that a political party that did not obtain more than 5 per cent of valid votes, or at least five representatives to Congress in two separate electoral constituencies, would lose registration. This also included parties that did not present themselves to the electoral process, or resigned during the same process, a situation that in the 2016 electoral process it was non-binding to lose the electoral registration.

In these electoral processes, there has been a variety of political parties, which could reflect greater political participation; however, there is a weak institutionality of political parties, where mechanisms of internal democracy and control are limited (Tanaka, 2005), generating little trust in the parties by the citizenry and electoral volatility (Meléndez, 2019), being increasingly common the appearance of personalist parties (Zavaleta, 2014, Sulmont, 2017).

Although the period between the two electoral processes took place over five years, as established by the presidential term, the political environment in Peru was "convulsed" as unusual political events took place. Since Kuczynski took power, the Congress, with a majority of the Fujimori party, marked a confrontation with the Executive, going so far as to censor ministers, to summon ministers for questioning, which for Dargent and Rousseau (2021) manifests a breaking point in the control of the Executive over the Legislative.

This confrontation aggravated because Kuczynski could not explain the consultancies made to the construction company Odebrecht, when he was minister

1 Voting is compulsory in Peru for people from 18 to 70.
2 Alberto Fujimori is convicted of corruption and crimes against humanity.

of economy in the government of Toledo (2001-2006), which led to Congress proposing a presidential vacancy. For all this, the government granted a pardon to Alberto Fujimori, even though it was not part of its task, negotiating, for this, the rejection of the vacancy in exchange for promises of works to certain congressmen; and when the press uncovered these conspiracies in March 2018, Kuczynski resigned the presidency, assuming his vice president Martin Vizcarra. But the situation of confrontation did not change, instead, Vizcarra dissolved the Congress for the second denial of trust to the prime minister, and called new congressional elections for January 2020, however, this new Congress censored it by a possible act of corruption when he was governor of Moquegua department.[3]

According to the transfer of power, Manuel Merino had to take over as president, who held the position of president of the Congress, but he only lasted less than a week, due to citizen protests and, after the death of two students and hundreds of injured in a demonstration, he was forced to resign. So Congress elected another board of directors, where the president Francisco Sagasti assumed the interim presidency of the Executive in November 2020, who upon taking office established the schedule of general elections, both for the presidency and for the parliament; coinciding with all these events in the period that Kuczynski should remain in power.

In this scenario, the general elections were scheduled for April 11, 2021, where the electoral preferences were obtained by candidate Pedro Castillo and candidate Keiko Fujimori, but not obtaining any more than 50% of valid votes plus one[4] had to go to a second electoral round, where candidate Pedro Castillo was the winner, with a margin of 0.126% of valid votes (ONPE, 2021). Between these two candidates there were different positions in the economic part, but very similar positions in the social aspect and even considered conservative (Meléndez in Paúl, 2021; Zavaleta in Luna *et al.,* 2021).

As seen in both electoral processes, candidate Keiko Fujimori obtained the first electoral preferences (in 2016 she obtained 39.86% of valid votes and in 2021 she obtained 13.4% of valid votes), which led to a second round of voting, but in both electoral processes she lost in these ballots. Candidate Verónika Mendoza also participated in both electoral processes, having di-

3 These facts gathered by the Office of the Prosecutor are still under investigation and no formal complaint has been filed.

4 It is worth mentioning that neither candidate received more than 20 per cent of valid votes, which also shows some volatility of the vote in those elections.

fferent results. In 2016 she obtained 18.7% of valid votes (the third with the highest vote), while in 2021 she only obtained 7.8%. Although both candidates obtained greater intention to vote in the 2016 process, they were the only candidates who ran for both electoral processes.

It is also necessary to state that Keiko Fujimori has run three times for president of the Republic, in 2011, 2016 and 2021. She has run for the party Popular Force in the last two elections, a party located on the right ideals that manifests an economic policy of free market, but with social conservative tones. On the other hand, Verónika Mendoza belongs to the political party Together for Peru, located in the political ideals of socialist and environmentalist left (Sulmont, 2017), which aims to increase the state's participation in the economy, raise taxes on profits and reconstitute certain social rights to the population.

Framing

Although frame theory can have different meanings without a core body (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999), because there are different definitions, it has gradually expanded to various fields or objects of study, and has been focusing its field of study. For Goffman (1986), frames are the organizational principles that govern events, and it is possible to make structural interpretations of social reality. On the other hand, for Gamson and Modigliani (1989), frames provide us with a set of interpretive ideas that give meaning to a topic, having at its core a framework that gives meaning to events.

Following Entman (1993), frames allow to select some aspects of the perceived reality and highlight them in a communicative text, in such a way that it allows to define a problem, interpret it and evaluate it. These definitions explain that from a set of tools is plausible the interpretation and evaluation of the social reality and what is transmitted in it, causing a communicative text in something more readable that can be transmitted. From this conceptualization, the discourse of the media (media frames) was analyzed. According to Chong and Druckman (2007), the media frames consist of that whole set of words, images, phrases that the speaker uses when transmitting information about an event to the audience. For D'Angelo (2018) studies on the media frames are the most common.

According to D'Angelo (2018), the studies of frames for analyzing electoral processes have concentrated in studies of generic frames, applied to different topics and political processes; and the studies of specific frames have been used to investigate an interpretation of the news facts. Studies have tried to develop different classifications (Newman *et al.,* 1992; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000; Vliegenthart *et al*., 2008, Yyengar, 1991) in order to account for the way in which certain information is transmitted to the population or audience.

Strategic, positional and thematic frameworks

In the studies of generic frames, the electoral process is the one that has brought some recurrence, and within this, the period of the electoral campaign. The way the media approached the campaign has been a field studied from several approaches. However, many studies showed certain framing, which began to be called strategic game. This form of framing attempts to highlight how the media approaches the electoral process, for example, what was prioritized in the campaign, such as the qualities of the candidates, their phrases, campaign strategy, the jokes among the candidates. These studies showed some prioritization by the electoral news for strategic play, more so for the so-called horse race (Iyengar *et al*., 2004; Kahn, 1991; Patterson, 1994; Russonello and Wolf, 1979; Sigelman and Bullock, 1991); these studies showed the advantage that a candidate could have. Jamieson (1992) contributed by pointing out that this news coverage scheme used the language of war and sport. In addition, De Vreese and Semetko (2002) included aspects related to the qualities or personal performance of the candidates.

This way of observing the different ways in which the media made framing was called strategic by some authors (Capella and Jamieson, 1997; D'Angelo *et al.,* 2005; De Vreese, 2005; de Vreese and Semetko, 2002; Jamie-son, 1992); other authors called it frame of play (Lawrence, 2000; Patterson, 1994; Pedersen, 2012; Shehata, 2013; Strömba) and Aalberg, 2008) and other studies defined it as a strategic game frame (Muñiz, 2015; Rinke *et al.,* 2013; Schmuck *et al.,* 2016). However, these groupings used to share the same indicators (Muñiz 2015, De Vreese 2005, Dimitrova and Kostadinova, 2013). Aalberg *et al.* (2012) state that the strategic game frame contains two dimensions that refer to two types of frames. Therefore, the strategic frame focuses on the strategies, tactics or motivations of the campaign, candidates or political parties. Instead, the game frame focuses on presenting the electoral process as a competition, war, where there are winners and losers (Aalberg *et al.,* 2012). Following Aalberg *et al.* (2012) the game frame name is changed to positional. Therefore, there are two types of frames that started as group, but it is more convenient to separate them for a better reading, in one the strategic is highlighted, and in another the positional (which includes the idea of the advantages, the position).

Although there has been some discussion about strategic and game frames, this has not been so much because of the thematic frame, which encompasses the way in which the news or publication highlights proposals, government plans or explanations about them (Macassi and Cohaila, 2022), where the objective of the publication is to show the reference to the approach of what would be done if the electoral preference comes to be obtained.

Methodological design

The intention of the study is to compare the posts of both candidates on social networks; for this purpose, the framing theory will be used as a tool. In this comparison, the electoral debate in both electoral processes will be used as courts. From there, the research questions posed are:

> Q1: Do positional, strategic and thematic frames have the same prevalence during the 2016 and 2021 election processes?
> Q2: Do positional, strategic and thematic frames behave differently, depending on the type of social network used by candidates Keiko Fujimori and Verónika Mendoza, in the 2016 and 2021 processes?

The hypotheses are:

> H1: The type of frame in both electoral processes has not undergone any change, maintaining strategic and positional frames on the topics, the debate not producing any change.
> H2: The types of frames in both electoral processes have not undergone any change, therefore, the behavior is similar in the frames used by both candidates, both on Facebook and on Twitter.

Variables and indicators

For this study, positional, strategic and thematic frames are analyzed. Therefore, it is necessary to manifest this operationalization process. This construction is due to the treatment carried out by Macassi and Cohaila (2022), where the differences between these three types of frames are established, but has been adapted to the posts of the candidates on social networks.

As for the positional frame, it is understood in this case that the candidate prioritizes some progress or regression in the publication in the position expressed in the public opinion and that is collected by it, therefore, it will be observed if:

- The social media post focuses on survey data, interviews (expression).
- The social media post focuses on the positive or negative outcomes her candidacy would have (prediction).
- The social media post alludes to proposals, but with emphasis on whether they grow, decrease or gain public acceptance (progress).
- The social media post uses a language of competition, associated with sport, running, games or even war (competition).
- The social media post alludes that the candidate's actions improve her position (advantage).

As for the strategic frame, it is understood that the candidate prioritizes in the publication aspects related to the political campaign, strategies, attributes or resources, therefore, it will be observed if:

- The social media post focuses on the actions and/or activities of the political campaign implemented by the candidate (tactics and strategies).
- Posts focus on the reasons or motivations of the candidate or her team to carry out activities during the campaign (motivation attribution).
- Posts focus on the advantages or disadvantages of the candidate's style, performance, or attributes (personalization).
- Posts focus on resources, support or media coverage of the candidate (competitive resources).

The thematic frame alludes to the way in which the candidate prioritizes contents related to proposals, problems, government plans or demands. Therefore, it will be observed if:

- Posts allude to institutional reforms, public policies, policy changes, bills (transformation).
- Social media post focus on issues, whether general or sectoral, and even sub-national (problematic).

- The social media post alludes to government plans, programs, (programmatic) ideology.
- Posting on social networks refers to possible solutions in short time frames or administrative measures (solutions).
- The social media publication focuses on the needs, requests or complaints of the population (demands).

The process of coding the candidates' posts on social networks was carried out in a double-coding process. In this process, where there was no match,[5] we proceeded to review the publication to establish the type of frame it corresponded to. It was also noted that the candidates' publications may express or refer to more than one type of frame, so no particular one was prioritized, but all the information was collected, which led to considering more than one type of frame in certain publications.

Since the study tries to compare two moments in relation to the debate. The cut-off for comparison will be the date of the debate, and the same number of days before and after the debate will be used for both processes. The electoral debate did not take place during the same period in both processes, since it used to take place the Sunday before the elections, as happened in the electoral processes of 2006, 2011 and 2016. However, there were changes in the last electoral process of 2021, mainly due to the number of candidates running, so the National Jury of Elections established the holding of this event in three days. So, the electoral debate in the 2016 elections took place on Sunday, April 3, a week before the elections, but the debate of the 2021 process took place from Monday, March 29 to Wednesday, March 31, just two weeks before the elections. In the draw of dates, the candidates Keiko Fujimori and Verónika Mendoza were set the first day of the debate, a situation that also facilitates this comparison process in the study.

Six days before and six days after the debate were used as a reference for obtaining the posts on social networks, both on Facebook and Twitter. This comparison line helps to have the same field for both processes. While the six-day period may be short, it is because the seventh day in the 2016 election process was election day. To better illustrate the pickup times, the following table is presented.

5 The non-matching process amounted to less than 10 per cent of the total publications.

Table 1
Post Analysis Process

Process 2016				Process 2021			
Pre-debate	**Discussion**	**Post-debate**	**Voting**	**Pre-debate**	**Discussion**	**Post-debate**	**Voting**
March 28 to April 2	April 03	04-09 April	April 10	March 23-28	March 29	March 30 to April 4	April 11

Results

The total number of posts analyzed amounts to 207 on both social networks, being slightly higher in the 2016 election period (108 posts) compared to the 2021 election period (99 posts). The number of posts per day is not enough. If breaking down this amount, it is observed that female candidates usually publish less than three posts in each period analyzed (on average 2.26 posts per day per social network for 2016; and 2.06 posts per day per social network for the period of 2021). Consequently, the behavior is similar in the number of posts in both periods for both candidates. Cohaila (2019) also warned the little use of social networks by candidates.

Overall, considering both periods studied, the largest number of publications is within the strategic frame (53.6%), followed by the thematic (31.9%), and the least used is positional (14.5%). This distribution also follows the same trend on each electoral period analyzed, since the strategic frame is the one that has the greatest use by the publications of the candidates analyzed, followed by the thematic, and being the least used the positional frame. However, the difference lies in the proportion in each period. It is observed a significant difference in proportions between the period 2016 and 2021, but only in the positional frame. Therefore, although the behavior in the use of frames follows the same logic, there has been a decrease in the use of positional frames from 2016 to 2021, but this decrease does not mean that strategic or thematic have any significant variation.

As observed, the use of strategic frames is favored, indicating that candidates prefer to express the support, but above all their activities and campaign strategies.

Table 2

Type of frames used in the 2016 and 2021 electoral periods

		Year		Total
		2016	2021	
Frame	Strategic	49.1%	58.6%	53.6%
	Positional	*21.3%**	*7.1%**	14.5%
	Thematic	29.6%	34.3%	31.9%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Amount	108	99	207

*The difference in proportions manifests a p.value <0.05

Analyzing the period before and after the debate, differences are observed, but only in the period of 2016, where the debate configured a change in the type of publications, as it sought to decrease the strategic frame and increased the thematic as a strategy in the publications of the candidates. However, in the period of 2021 the debate did not configure any change, rather the behavior of the publications follows the same course, prioritizing the strategic frames, followed by the thematic frames and to a lesser extent the positional frames; although there is a decrease of the thematic frames, these are not significant. This change brought about by the debate could be due to the fact that the candidates had to focus on the proposals in order to differentiate themselves from the rest of the participants, therefore, the need to mention more proposals in their publications.

Table 3

Frame type according to electoral debate

		Court debate			
		Pre-debate 2016	Post-debate 2016	Pre-debate 2021	Post-debate 2021
Frame	strategic	66.7%*	39.1%*	57.4%	59.6%
	positional	28.2%	17.4%	4.3%	9.6%
	thematic	5.1%*	43.5%*	38.3%	30.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Proportions test, p.value <0.05

However, it remains to be seen whether this change in frames occurs equally in both candidates or in any particular one. According to the candidate and the process of electoral debate, changes are only observed in the period of 2016, where the debate configures a change in the type of frame, but only in the candidate Verónika Mendoza, where a significant difference is observed, having the debate an effect on the increase of thematic frames to the detriment of strategic ones; although, in the candidate Keiko Fujimori this configuration is also observed, decrease of strategic frames and increase of thematic ones, these do not manage to establish a significant difference. This change in candidate Verónika Mendoza could be due to the need to highlight her proposals, but above all the justification, to attract the electorate by explaining this new social and political pact (Fowks, 2016). In this election she almost made it to the second round, with the difference with Kuczynski being around two percentage points.

In the period of 2021, although there are changes in the number of frame types in both candidates, it is not significant, therefore, there is the same behavior before and after the electoral debate, predominantly strategic, followed by thematic, and in much less presence positional frames.

Table 4

Type of frames according to candidate and electoral period

			Debate Court			
			Pre-debate 2016	**Post-debate 2016**	**Pre-debate 2021**	**Post-debate 2021**
Keiko Fujimori	Frame	Strategic	50.0%	40.0%	73.3%	60.0%
		Positional			6.7%	
		Thematic	50.0%	60.0%	20,0 %	40.0%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Verónika Mendoza	Frame	Strategic	67.6%*	39.0%*	50.0%	59.6%
		Positional	29.7%	20.3%	3.1%	10.6%
		Thematic	2.7%*	40.7%*	46.9%	29.8%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Proportional difference, p.value <0.05.

As stated, the change in the frame type only indicates a different behavior in the 2016 process, which is observed only in Verónika Mendoza. However, it remains to be seen whether or not this change is observed in both social networks. It can be seen that the change only occurs on Facebook, where the strategic frame is reduced and the thematic one is increased, having the publications on Twitter the same behavior for both candidates, being first the strategic frames, and then the thematic and positional ones.

Table 5

Type of frames used by candidate and social network in the 2016 and 2021 electoral periods

Candidate				Debate				Total
				Pre-debate 2016	Post-debate 2016	Pre-debate 2021	Post-debate 2021	
Keiko Fujimori	Facebook	Frame	Strategic	100.0%	40.0%	75.0%	66.7%	64.7%
			Positional			12.5%		5.9%
			Thematic		60.0%	12.5%	33.3%	29.4%
		Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Twitter	Frame	Strategic		40.0%	71.4%	50.0%	53.3%
			Thematic	100.0%	60.0%	28.6%	50.0%	46.7%
		Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Verónika Mendoza	Facebook	Frame	Strategic	78.6%*	35.4%*	46.2%	65.5%,	54.2%
			Positional	21.4%	14.6%	7.7%	10.3%	14.4%
			Thematic		50.0%*	46.2%	24.1%	31.4%
		Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Twitter	Frame	Strategic	33.3%	54.5%	52.6%	50.0%	49.1%
			Positional	55.6%	45.5%		11.1%	21.1%
			Thematic	11.1%		47.4%	38.9%	29.8%
		Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Proportional difference, p.value <0.05

As observed, the debate does not generate a significant change in the social media posts of the candidates analyzed. Rather, to some extent, there is the same pattern with minimal changes, but not significant; this is similar to what Cohaila (2020) mentioned when analyzing the posts of candidates in the 2016 elections in Peru, and remarked that the debate did not seek much change in the posts of candidates, having the candidates a same pattern in their posts on social networks.

This pattern observed shows more use of strategic frames to convey the strategy, tactics, support to the campaign and how a personalization is generated. In the same sense, Montúfar-Calle *et al.* (2022), show a high personalization level in the political campaign on social networks of the candidates in the first round of elections, which seems to be repeated for these two candidates, but now, for both electoral periods. This use of personalization also manifests political fragility, where the main figure is the candidate, reinforcing the idea of personalist parties (Meléndez, 2019; Zavaleta, 2014).

As this is the last week of the campaign, where the intention is to capture undecided votes, the candidates develop a campaign to do so. According to Tuesta (in Andina, 2021), these days are key to attracting undecided votes and fragile votes; therefore, the campaign usually targets this goal, trying to differentiate itself from the other candidates, so one would expect to see this in the publications, but it was not observed instead the strategic frame was seen before and after the debate, which could be explained because the candidates close the campaign, and use their networks for proselytizing activities and establish their strategies of calling, highlighting this personalization. On the other hand, a big call can also help to improve the drive or sympathy of the candidates and help in the citizen support.

Although, in this last stage of the campaign, post-debate focuses on transmitting a certain strategy (how I am doing, what I am doing, where I have come, receiving shows of support or affection), the type of communication is unidirectional. It manifests something, trying to invite the public, but not trying to get them involved, this has been common in the posts of the candidates, although it could be stated that it is a recurring thing in all candidates (Cohaila, 2020); being an exception the use of networks by candidate Garcia in the 2016 process, when he tried through online games to involve young people. This type of unidirectional communication is not alien in other countries, in Mexico, Gonzales (2013) observes little use of social networks to generate involvement, and Hernández (2013) in El Salvador observes a direction towards the vote of young people, but with little interaction with them; likewise, D'Andamo *et al.* (2015) analyzing the process in Argentina, say that the interactive potential of social networks is not capitalized. This situation is also observed by Cárdenas (2020) who analyzing the use of Twitter in Mexico, Colombia and Peru, finds little interaction of the candidates with their possible voters.

This unidirectional use can cause little involvement in voters, however, there are studies that also highlight some contribution in electoral campaigns or mobilization. In Peru, it is very common for candidates to place themselves above those who make it to the second round of elections, so their online posts can generate this mobilization, either in support of or against any candidate. This is also closely linked to the strategy of the electoral campaign and the use of social networks there. In this regard, Hernández (2013) notes that social networks are used to spread messages, generate visibility, but are not used to generate or build a community around the candidacy. Likewise, Cohaila (2019) also noted the limited use of social networks for the campaign and its mobilization, being Twitter more use than Facebook. Similarly, Mementi *et al.* (2011) observed the low importance in the campaign to a communication strategy of the actors through social networks. A particular case can be observed in Kuczynski's 2011 campaign, where for Aguilar and Aguilar (2014), it was possible to link and mobilize young people from middle and upper middle strata in an electoral marketing strategy.

However, correlating the publications made by the media, and having pre and post-debate cuts, Macassi and Cohaila (2022) find that the publications of the media on Twitter for the period of 2016 also show a behavior where the strategic prevails, and that this type of framing along with the positional does not suffer variation, while the subject has a greater significant presence after the debate, having this social network higher prevalence for these types of frames than Facebook. For Macassi and Cohaila (2022), there is some correlation in the media and on social networks about the publications. Although it is early to say, it could be stated that the media collects the publications of the candidates, and this trend is repeated in the media as it marks a more strategic position.

On the other hand, although different forms of grouping of the frames were used, in strategic game, thematic and events, Cohaila (2019) states that the frames used by the media (press, radio and television) in their social platforms do not make any difference, having the same prevalence in both periods, before and after the debate; being the strategic game the predominant one well above the thematic and the event.

This situation is not alien to Peru, Valera *et al.* (2022), when analyzing the electoral campaign in Spain, report that the press uses more strategic frameworks on the topics, including an allegorical language about war and sport. These authors also report that the same happened in the Spanish press during the electoral campaigns.

Hence, both candidates and the media tend to use strategic frames in their publications on social networks, and the electoral debate does not have significant differences on the type of framing.

Conclusions

The type of social media posts used by candidates Keiko Fujimori and Verónika Mendoza have a general pattern throughout the analysis process: the strategic frame, followed by the thematic and, finally, the positional. This behavior is similar for both 2016 and 2021 periods.

When comparing the type of frame according to electoral periods, a change in the type of publications is observed, but only in the 2016 process, where the debate leads to a significant change in the type of frame, having the strategic frame a decrease, which causes the thematic frame to increase. In 2021, the debate does not lead to a change, prioritizing the candidates strategic, followed by the thematic and finally the positional frame.

This type of change observed in the 2016 process is only seen in candidate Verónika Mendoza, and not in candidate Keiko Fujimori, therefore, it is this candidate that enables this change in her publications, varying the period of 2016 in its entirety.

This change propitiated in 2016 is only seen on Facebook and not on Twitter; therefore, the publications of candidate Verónika Mendoza had a change on Facebook where strategic frames had a decrease, favoring the increase of thematic frames.

References

Aguilar, C. and Aguilar, J. (6-8 de agosto, 2014). *Democracia, medios y elecciones 2011* [ponencia]. XII Congreso Latinoamericano de Investigadores en Co-municación (ALAIC), Lima, Perú.

Andina (01 de abril, 2021). Elecciones 2021: la última semana es clave para obtener votos de indecisos. https://bit.ly/3J5mbBf

Aalberg, T., Strömbäck, J. and De Vreese, C. H. (2012). The framing of politics as strategy and game: A review of concepts, operationalization and key findings. *Journalism, 13*(2), 162-178. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911427799

Chong, D. and Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion forma-tion in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication, 57*(1), 99-118. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00331.x

Cárdenas, A. (2020). Uso de Twitter como estrategia de comunicación política en campañas presidenciales (México, Colombia y Perú 2012-2016). *Razón y Palabra, 24*(109), 454-483. https://bit.ly/3CgXcHt

Capella, J. and Jamieson, K. (1997). *Spiral of cynicism. The press and the public good*. Oxford University Press.

Cohaila, E. (2019). Framing en el debate presidencial de las elecciones perua-nas de 2016 en redes sociales. *Revista Mexicana de Opinión Pública*, (26), 33-50. http://dx.doi.org/10.22201/fcpys.24484911e.2019.26.61557

Cohaila, E. (2020). Efecto de los debates en los post de los candidatos en las elecciones peruanas de 2016. En Macassi (ed), *Comunicación política y elecciones: avanzando en certezas* (pp. 193-216) Fondo Editorial PUCP. https://bit.ly/3CgXDBB

D'Adamo, O., García Beaudoux, V. and Kievsky, T. (2015). Comunicación políti-ca y redes sociales: análisis de las campañas para las elecciones legislativas de 2013 en la ciudad de Buenos Aires. *Revista Mexicana de Opinión Pública,* (19), 107-125. http://dx.doi.org/10.22201/fcpys.24484911e.2015.19.50206

D'Angelo, P. (2018). A typology of frames in news framing analysis. En P. D´Angelo (ed.), *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 23-40). Routledge.

D'Angelo, P., Calderone, M. and Territola, A. (2005). Strategy and issue framing: An exploratory analysis of topics and frames in campaign 2004 print news. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 13*(4), 199-219. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15456889ajc1304_1

Dargent, E. and S. Rousseau (2020). Perú 2020 ¿el quiebre de la continuidad? *Revista de Ciencia Política*, *41*(2), 377-400. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-090X2021005000112

De Vreese, C. H. and Semetko, H. A. (2002). Cynical and engaged: Strategic cam-paign coverage, public opinion, and mobilization in a referendum. *Communication Research, 29*(6), 615-641. https://doi.org/10.1177/009365002237829

De Vreese, C. H. (2005). The Spiral of cynicism reconsidered. *European Journal of Communication, 20*(3), 283-301. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323105055259

Dimitrova, D. V. and Kostadinova, P. (2013). Identifying antecedents of the stra-tegic game frame: A longitudinal analysis. *Journalism & Mass Communi-cation Quarterly, 90*(1), 75-88. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699012468739

Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication, 43*(4), 51-58. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

Fowks, J. (08 de abril, 2016). Verónika Mendoza pide pacto político y social en Perú. *Diario El País,* https://bit.ly/3qyMn0M

Gamson, W. and Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American Journal of Sociology, 95*(1), 1-37. https://doi.org/10.1086/229213

Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame analysis. An essay on the organization of experience.* Northeastern University Press.

González, D. E. (2013). *La percepción de los jóvenes mexicanos respecto al uso de las tecnologías de la información y comunicación en las campañas políticas electorales* [Tesis de maestría, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León]. Re-positorio Académico Digital UANL. http://eprints.uanl.mx/3484/

Hernández, M. (2013). *Comunicación política en redes sociales. Caso: páginas en Facebook y Twitter de Norman Quijano, Oscar Ortiz y Will Salgado como candidatos a alcalde durante la campaña electoral 2012 en el Salvador* [Te-sis de maestría no publicada]. Universidad Centroamericana "José Simeón Cañas".

Iyengar, S., Norpoth, H. and Hahn, K. S. (2004). Consumer demand for election news: The horserace sells. *The Journal of Politics, 66*(1), 157-175. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1468-2508.2004.00146.x

Jamieson, K. (1992). *Dirty politics: Deception, distraction, and democracy.* Oxford University Press.

Kahn, K. (1991). Senate elections in the news: Examining campaign coverage. *Legislative Studies Quarterly, 16*(3), 349-374. https://doi.org/10.2307/440102

Lawrence, R. G. (2000). Game-framing the issues: Tracking the strategy frame in public policy news. *Political Communication, 17*(2), 93-114. https://doi.org/10.1080/105846000198422

Levitsky, S. and M. Cameron (2003). Democracy without parties? Political parties and regime change in Fujimori's Peru. *Latin American Politics and Society, 45,* 1-33. https://bit.ly/45PNsRT

Luna, N., Zapata, R. and Santos, G. (12 de abril, 2021). El grito de las regiones: desigualdad e insatisfacción se imponen en las urnas. *Ojo Público*. https://bit.ly/3NhK5Ll

Macassi, S. and E. Cohaila (2022). Comparación de frames temáticos, estratégicos posicionales en medios y Twitter: elecciones presidencijales del 2016 en el Perú. En Muñiz, C. (ed), *Framing y política: Aportaciones empíricas desde Iberoamérica* (pp. 301-331. Tirant Humanidades, Universidad Autónoma Nuevo Léon.

Matute, G., Cuervo, S., Quintana, V., Salas, R., Valdés, A. and Valdivia, P. (2011). *Rol de los medios digitales en el márketing electoral: El caso de Lima*. Univer-sidad ESAN.

Meléndez, C. (2019). *El mal menor: vínculos políticos en el Perú posterior al colapso de los partidos.* IEP.

Meléndez, C. (2012). *Partidos Inesperados: La Institucionalización Del Sistema de Partidos en un escenario de post-colapso partidario. Perú 2001 - 2011*. Serie Análisis y Debate. Fundación Friedrich Ebert.

Meléndez, C. and León, C. (2010). Perú 2008: El juego de ajedrez de la gobernabilidad en partidas simultáneas. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, *29*(2), 591-609. http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-090X2009000200016

Meléndez, C. (2007). Partidos y sistema de partidos en el Perú. En R. Roncagliolo y C. Meléndez (eds.), *La política por dentro: cambios y continuidades en las organizaciones políticas de los Países Andinos*. Idea Internacional-Transparencia.

Montúfar-Calle, Álvaro, Atarama-Rojas, T. and Saavedra-Chau, G. (2022). Análisis de la actividad política en redes sociales durante la primera vuelta electoral de las elecciones generales 2021 en Perú. *Revista de Comunicación*, *21*(1), 273-292. https://doi.org/10.26441/RC21.1-2022-A14

Muñiz, C. (2015). La política como debate temático o estratégico. Framing de la campaña electoral mexicana de 2012 en la prensa digital. *Comunicación y Sociedad*, (23), 67-94. https://doi.org/10.32870/cys.v0i23.64

Newman, W. R., Just, M. R. and Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common knowledge. News and the construction of political meaning.* University Chicago Press.

ONPE. (2021). Resultados Generales Elecciones 2021. https://resultadoshistorico.onpe.gob.pe/EG2021/ResumenGeneral/10/T

Patterson, T. E. (1994). *Out of order: An incisive and boldly original critique of the news media's domination of America's political process*. Random House.

Paúl, F. (06 de junio, 2021). Elecciones en Perú: 3 diferencias y 2 similitudes entre Keiko Fujimori y Pedro Castillo, los candidatos que luchan por la presidencia. *BBC Mundo*. https://bbc.in/45VljZS

Pedersen R. T. (2012). The game frame and political efficacy: Beyond the spiral of cynicism. *European Journal of Communication, 27*(3), 225-240. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323112454089

Rinke, E. M., Wessler, H., Löb, C. y Weinmann, C. (2013). Deliberative qua-lities of generic news frames: Assessing the democratic value of strategic game and contestation framing in election campaign coverage. *Political Communication, 30*(3), 474-494, https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2012.737432

Russonello, J. and Wolf, F. (1979). Newspaper coverage of the 1976 and 1968 presidential campaigns. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 56*(2), 360-432. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769907905600220

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication, 49*(1), 103-122. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x

Schmuck, D., Heiss, R., Matthes, J., Engesser, S. and Esser, F. (2016). Antecedents of strategic game framing in political news coverage. *Journalism, 18*(8), 937-955. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916648098

Semetko, H. A. and Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A con-tent analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication, 50*(2), 93-109. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x

Shehata, A. (2013). Game frames, issue frames, and mobilization: Disentan-gling the effects of frame exposure and motivated news attention on po-litical cynicism and engagement. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 26*(2), 157-177. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edt034

Sigelman, L. and Bullock, D. (1991). Candidates, issues, horse races, and hoopla. *Ameri-can Politics Quarterly, 19*(1), 5-32. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673x9101900101

Strömbäck, J. and Aalberg, T. (2008). Election news coverage in democratic corporatist countries: A comparative study of Sweden and Norway. *Scandinavian Political Studies, 31*(1), 91-106. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2008.00197.x

Sulmont, D. (2017). *Voto ideológico, Estatismo Económico y "Mano Dura" como factores asociados al voto en las elecciones presidenciales peruanas del 2016*. Ponencia presentada al 9no Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política- Montevideo 2017. https://bit.ly/3CiUf9b

Tanaka, M. (2005). *Democracia sin partidos, Perú 2000-2005*. IEP.

Vergara, A. and D. Encinas (2016). Continuity by Surprise. Explaining Institutional Stability in Contemporary Peru. *Latin American Research Review*, *51*(1), 159-180.

Vliegenthart, R., Schuck, A. R. T., Boomgaarden, H. G. and de Vreese, C. H. (2008). News coverage and support for European integration, 1990-2006. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 20*(4), 415-439. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edn044

Zavaleta, M. (2014). *Coaliciones de independientes. Las reglas no escritas de la política electoral*. IEP.

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
NIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.09

Sports Federations of Spain, communication resources and impact of Covid-19

Federaciones deportivas de España, recursos comunicativos e impacto de la Covid-19

Ana Belén Fernández-Souto
Universidade de Vigo, Spain
abfsouto@uvigo.gal
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2685-0604

José Rúas-Araújo
Universidade de Vigo, Spain
joseruas@uvigo.es
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1922-9644

Iván Puentes-Rivera
Universidade de Vigo, Spain
ivanpuentes@uvigo.gal
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1982-0984

Received on: 30/01/2023 **Revised on:** 15/02/2023 **Approved on:** 25/03/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Suggested citation: Fernández-Souto, A. B., Rúas-Araújo, J. y Puentes Rivera, I. (2023). Sports Federations of Spain, communication resources and impact of Covid-19. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 193-213. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.09

Abstract

Sports federations are considered public utility in Spain. Their functions include communication and the organization of events, so the emergence of the pandemic, as in other sectors, meant a structural adaptation and communication management that test these organizations. This article proposes to analyze this reality in national and regional sports federations operating in Spain, making a study of their organizational reality and understanding the impact that Covid-19 has had on their communication. A questionnaire has been designed addressed to the communication directors and those responsible for it and a series of in-depth interviews have been carried out through which an analysis will be made on the communicative panorama of the sports federations in the post-Covid era. After analyzing the data collected, it will be concluded that the reality of national and regional federations is quite different in the field of communication; their resources (human and economic) are very different, and this is transferred to their internal structures to manage communication. On the other hand, the impact of Covid-19 has been overwhelming in these institutions, not only in terms of changes in communication management formats, but also in the use of tactics, techniques, and tools.

Keywords

Federations, sport, Spain, communication, public relations, dircom, organization chart, Covid-19.

Resumen

Las federaciones deportivas son consideradas de utilidad pública en España. En sus funciones tiene un peso especial la comunicación y la organización de eventos, por lo que la aparición de la pandemia, al igual que ocurrió en otros sectores, supuso una adaptación estructural y de gestión comunicativa que puso a prueba a estas organizaciones. En este artículo se propone analizar esta realidad en las federaciones deportivas de carácter nacional y regional que operan en España, haciendo un estudio de su realidad organizacional y comprendiendo el impacto que la Covid-19 ha tenido en su comunicación. Se ha diseñado un cuestionario dirigido a los directores/as de comunicación y responsables de la misma y se han llevado a cabo una serie de entrevistas en profundidad a través de las cuales se realizarán una radiografía sobre el panorama comunicativo de las federaciones deportivas en la era post-covid. Tras el análisis de los datos recabados se concluirá que la realidad de las federaciones nacionales y regionales es bien distinta en el ámbito de la comunicación; sus recursos (humanos y económicos) son muy diferentes y esto se traslada a sus estructuras internas para gestionar la comunicación. Por otra parte, el impacto de la Covid-19 ha sido contundente en estas instituciones, no solo en cuanto a cambios en los formatos de gestión de comunicación, sino también en lo referente a uso de tácticas, técnicas y herramientas.

Palabras clave

Federaciones, deporte, España, comunicación, relaciones públicas, dircom, organigrama, Covid-19.

Introduction

Sports federations are public utility entities whose main functions are the organization of official competitions and the promotion of the various sports disciplines. To carry out these functions, it is necessary to have internal structures for strategic planning and management of communication.

This research aims to analyze the communicative reality of national and regional federations in Spain, reflecting on their needs in terms of communication and the main limitations and challenges they face. Similarly, the study will provide comparative data on the reality at national and regional level that is remarkable in terms of the existence or not of specific communication departments, the training of their managers, the possible structural changes brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic or outsourcing communication services.

Spanish sports federations are defined as legal-private associations with public administrative functions and, therefore, are considered as entities of public utility (López and del Arco Juan, 2014). As public utility entities, they are intended to perform service tasks that involve communicative actions.

Hence, this paper aims to analyze the Spanish landscape of sports federations, starting from their reality at national and regional level. According to the Superior Sports Council (2022), there are 66 sports federations operating in Spain at the national level, 937 autonomous federations and 184 territorial delegations (Consejo Superior de Deportes, 2022). This set of federations has a multiannual budget of 187 million, approved by the Council of Ministers (Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, 2022), and have been recording profits for four consecutive financial years (Palco23, 2022).

Knowing the internal management structure of these organizations allows us to glimpse the weight given to communication, both in its internal and external character. There are few studies that analyze the communicative reality in sports entities and those that are usually focused on specific teams or clubs (Castillo *et al.,* 2016; Ginesta, 2010; Lobillo and Muñoz, 2016; Sotelo, 2012; Fernández-Souto *et al.,* 2019; Lobillo and Guevara, 2018; Quintela, 2020; González Redondo *et al.,* 2018), in the presence of specific sports media such as women's soccer (Castro Hernández *et al*., 2019) or their impact on social networks (Pérez Dasilva, 2015) and information technologies at the service of sports communication (Rojas Torrijos, 2019). On the other hand, those investigations that are broader and analyze the federal realities are practically residual, as happens with Fernández-Souto *et al.* (2022) in Spain and Eiró-Gomes and Nunes (2018), in Portugal.

Therefore, we will reflect on the communication management of the federations in Spain from the point of view of their current internal organization.

The structures of the communication departments and the training of their professionals

Having an internal structure to meet the communication needs of organizations contributes to the success of their policies. If there is strategic planning that captures the communication objectives of the institutions and a team and staff specifically trained to meet these goals, they are more likely to be achieved positively.

The format of these internal structures varies and their location within the organization chart is also very variable. Thus, there are organizations that have very large internal departments, where they identify subareas of communication and to which they assign specialized professionals and, in contrast, others are limited to small groups or even a single person who assumes all the tasks related to the area. This variability is largely determined by the size of the organization in terms of its human and budgetary resources.

In any case, these internal structures, more or less extensive, are created to assume communication management functions that allow to establish a relationship between the organization and its different audiences, through the creation of a plan and strategic objectives that must be aligned with the corporate values of the institution.

Considering the strategic objectives and the need of organizations to take care of the links with their stakeholders, it is understandable that after the emergence of Covid-19 the role that communication and public relations should play in today's society has become even more visible. There are many authors that indicate this (Van der Meer *et al.,* 2017; Vujnovic *et al.,* 2021; Almansa-Martínez and Fernández-Souto, 2020; Xifra, 2020) and provide research that coincides with the data provided by the US Bureau of Labor Statitstics (2022) that predicts employment in this sector to increase by 11% in this decade, and which contributes to the latest edition of the study carried out by Dircom (2022) on communication in Spain, which shows this positive trend towards the consolidation of the directorate of communication and an increase in the positive evaluation of the performance of communication, although this study also collects data on the structure of the departments in terms of personnel and indicates a decrease in the reduction of the human resources attached to them.

In any case, it is necessary that sports federations, as entities declared to be public, should have specific structures dedicated to the field of communication and, therefore, one or more people who meet these needs and do so with the necessary training to achieve success. In this sense, it is assumed that workers in this field must have different professional competences that allow them to adapt to changing scenarios, combining transversal skills and soft skills, such as creativity, teamwork or passion for constant learning (Álvarez-Flores *et al.,* 2018), as well as leadership, coordination and leadership skills (Almansa-Martínez and Fernández-Souto, 2020).

It is interesting to mention the article by Del Toro-Acosta *et al.* (2022) about the profile of these professionals in Spain. In his study, a professional is outlined who declares himself very competent in general and specific issues, such as strategic planning and vision, critical thinking, general culture, flexibility, adaptability, capacity for change, innovation and creative thinking, teamwork, empathy, curiosity and learning ability, in addition to written communication. On the other hand, he speaks of a professional who declares himself to be incompetent in very specific technical matters, such as audiovisual editing and creation, graphic design, digital advertising management and data analysis. In short, it could be summarized that there is a sector in which professionals declare high competences in flexibility, capacity for change, empathy, knowing customer needs, written communication, writing and team work, co-creation capacity, collaborative work (Álvarez-Flores *et al.,* 2018; Meganck *et al.,* 2020).

Not intending to discuss where communication experts acquire these competences and skills, in the Spanish case Dircom (2022) insists that 99% of professionals have university studies (26.5% graduated, 62.5% have a master's degree and 10% a doctorate), according to the data of its latest study on the State of Communication in Spain.

Despite this general organizations data in the country, it is also worth noting the existence of studies that show a high degree of intrusiveness in the profession, especially evident in those institutions with fewer economic and human resources, as reflected in the research of Vázquez-Gestal and Fernández-Souto concerning this reality in the Galician municipalities (2014), or those of Fernández Souto *et al.* (2016) on the most polluting companies in Galicia Spanish clusters (2018) and provincial councils (2019).

The professional profiles that assume responsibility in the internal communication structures of the organizations must establish functions that allow to achieve the strategic objectives, being the most common according to Dircom (2022), online and social media communication (57.5%), media relations (55.3%), internal communication (30.8%) and strategy and coordination of the communicator function (27%). This study raises a positive vision about the immediate future of the profession in terms of specific tasks, such as those related to internal communication, *lobbying,* communication crisis, corporate social responsibility, financial communication, *sponsoring* or monitoring, as shown in Figure 1. On the other hand, it foresees some regression in terms of fundamental functions for sports federations, such as organizing events or relations with the media.

Table 1

Comparison of communication departments functions today and over the next three years

	ACT	2024
Online communication, social media	57.5%	53.4%
Media Relations	55.3%	21.3%
Internal communication, change management	30.8%	42.5%
Strategy and coordination of the communication function	27.0%	13.8%
Marketing, Branding, Consumer Communication	19.5%	18.5%
Government relations, public affairs, lobbying	17.8%	26.0%
Communication Crisis	15.0%	20,0 %
Corporate social responsibility, sustainable development	14.8%	42.0%
Events	14.2%	4.0%
Corporate design, graphics, photography	9.0%	3.3%
Relations with the community	8.0%	14.8%
Consulting, coaching, key client account management (internally/externally)	7.8%	5.8%
Monitoring, measurement, evaluation	6.8%	14.8%
International Communication	6.5%	5.8%
Sponsoring, sponsorship and patronage	1.8%	2.8%
Financial communication, investor relations	0.8%	4.9%

Note. Dircom, 2022.

Sports federations and their communication structures

As indicated above, there are few studies referring to sports federations in Spain in terms of their communication management. Academically, some scientific articles have studied certain federations but only at the regional level, such as the case of Murcia (Martínez Nicolás, 2015) and other contributions on specific aspects related to communication in federations, such as online communication (Fernández Souto *et al.,* 2022), but the rest of the research focuses on the analysis of specific sports, mainly soccer (Salas Luzuriaga, 2019; Cano Tenorio, 2019; Rojas-Torrijos, 2012; Thrassou, 2012).

There are contributions closer in terms of subject matter but remote in time, as is the research of Manuel Damián Martín García (2011), with his doctoral thesis of the press departments of Spanish sports federations. This dissertation concludes that a large number of Spanish federations did not have a director of communication at that time and the head of the press assumed most of the specific functions of communication; a reality that seems to have been overcome, since the departments of communication assume much broader tasks, including managerial character and strategic planning that go beyond the roles in the organization, in this case the Federation, and the media. Martín García's doctoral thesis already includes virtual tools, but the social reality of 2022, especially with the changes implemented since the pandemic in terms of tools and communication strategies, is very different and does not allow to assimilate the data to the present day.

On the other hand, research on the Portuguese reality (Eiró-Gomes and Nunes, 2018) indicates that few federations have press offices or any professional with specific training in public relations and most of them do not have a budget specifically dedicated to communication. The Portuguese reality shows 32 sports federations, of which 62.5% have fewer than 15 employees. In terms of the functions assumed by the departments, the relations with the media and the commitment to social networks stand out, as well as the need to be in direct contact with the public, without the intermediation of the media. Most sports federations are in the digital world, all of them have a website but few of them systematically develop public relations strategies.

In any case, despite this background, the communication of federations at national or regional level in Spain has not been analyzed in terms of the structures that assume these tasks, which will be the main objective of this study.

Materials and methods

The methodology used in this research is mixed, being quantitative through the use of questionnaires and qualitative through the use of in-depth interviews.

In order to carry out the study, a questionnaire addressed to the communication managers of the Spanish sports federations at the national level has been carried out, according to the data collected by the Superior Council of Sports (2022); this questionnaire was distributed via email and was conducted between August 24 and October 5, 2021, for the national federations, and between June 15 and October 5, 2022, for the regional federations. In order to narrow down the universe of regional sports federations, a random selection criterion was used, given the impossibility of addressing 100 % of them. Thus, data have been collected from 46 national and 52 regional federations, with the total universe being 66 national and 937 regional federations. These data indicate that:

- For data collected on national federations, 95 % confidence level and 5 % margin of error are used.
- In the case of the compilation of regional federations with a confidence level of 95%, we have a margin of error of 13%.

The questionnaire addressed issues on internal communication structures, training, and gender of respondents, as well as the main functions of these departments since the outbreak of the pandemic, as well as organizational changes by Covid-19.

To complement the questionnaire, a series of in-depth interviews were planned with the communication officers of the federations at the national and regional levels. The selection of communication directors to be interviewed was based on a double criterion, firstly, the number of federates per organization, establishing three groups: small federations (less than 10 000 federations at national level), medium-sized federations (between 10 000 and 70 000 federations at national level) and large federations (more than 70 000 federations at national level), in order to include federations with different potential in terms of economic and human resources in the sample. Secondly, for each of these three groups, two communication officers are randomly selected to integrate the sample. With this criterion, the following interviews were conducted:

Large federation group:

- Spanish basketball federation, responsible: Victor Charneco.
- Catalan handball federation, responsible: Jordi Latorre Pérez.

- Group of medium federations:
- Royal Spanish Gymnastics Federation, responsible: Florencia Vaccara.
- Galician archery federation, responsible: José Teijeiro Lamigueiro.
- Small Federation Group:
- Spanish Federation of blind sports, responsible: Jaime Mulas.
- Catalan Badminton Federation, responsible: Eduard Mateos Vidal.

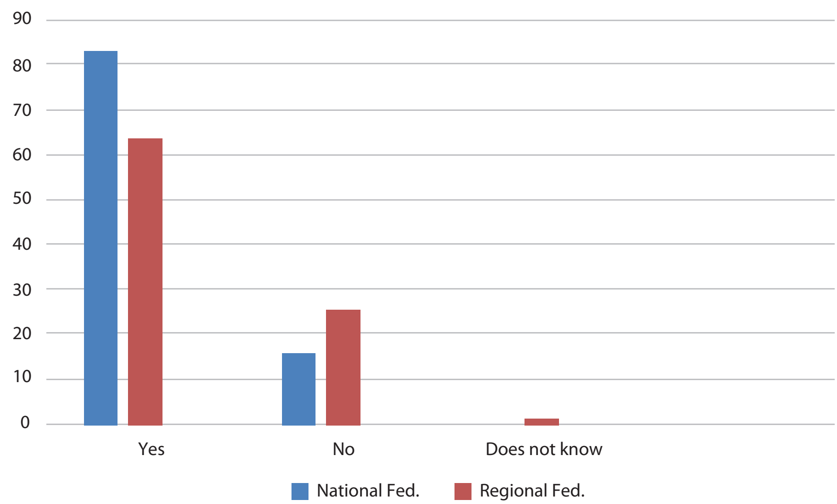
Results

The results obtained are shown below, according to the proposed research objectives.

Firstly, as shown in Figure 1, it should be noted that almost 90 % of the national federations have their own internal communication department, compared with 64 % of the regional federations, which include different variants, including those with the collaboration of external companies or the provision of a single person who provides this service, a task that in many cases they perform jointly, with other entities or companies, and in very few cases exclusively.

Figure 1

Internal communication departments in sports federations

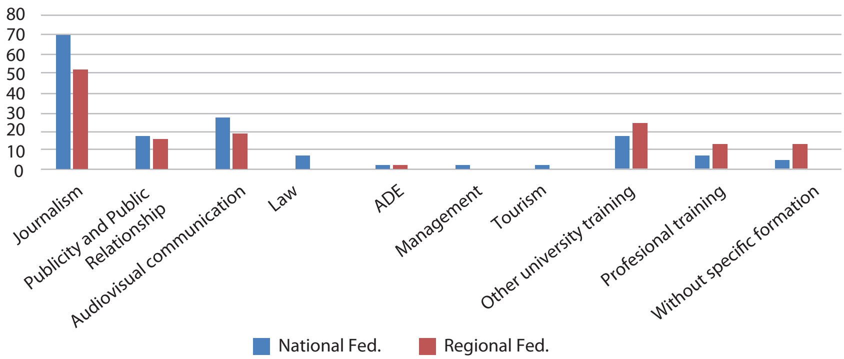


These results represent a clear evolution in the progressive professionalization and stabilization of communication during the last decade, where the number of press and communication departments existing by the national federations barely exceeded half of the cases, according to data provided by García (2011), which identified the existence of 54% of national federations that did have a press and communication department. This is stated by the communication officer of the Catalan Handball Federation, which indicates that before the Covid-19 crisis they had a department of three people (with a press chief, a communication director and an administrative one), but the pandemic forced the organization to reduce the number, so that all the communication responsibility falls on only one person. In this regard, we would like to point out that those responsible for federations with fewer federations, such as Archery in Galicia and Badminton in Cataluña, do not have any specific structure to meet these needs and it is the members of the federation's board or collaborators of the entity itself, often sportsmen, who help in the development and execution of communication activities.

Regarding the training of those responsible (Figure 2), it is noted that the presence of graduates in journalism continues to be the majority in the communications department (70% in the national federations and 51.4% in the regional ones), followed by those in Audiovisual Communication (27.5% and 18.9%, respectively) and Advertising and Public Relations, with only 17.5% and 16.2%, almost the same proportion as those accrediting another university education, other than the field of Communication, highlighting, in this sense, graduates in law (7.9%). From these data, it is striking that the number of members of the communication department that do not have specific training is quite high. The cases of members of the communication department who do not have training directly related to this field (other university education, professional training and no specific training) are also relatively high and is justified, to a large extent, by the federations, especially regional, that rely on their athletes and collaborators to carry out certain communication tasks, such as social networks, updating the web or photography.

Figure 2

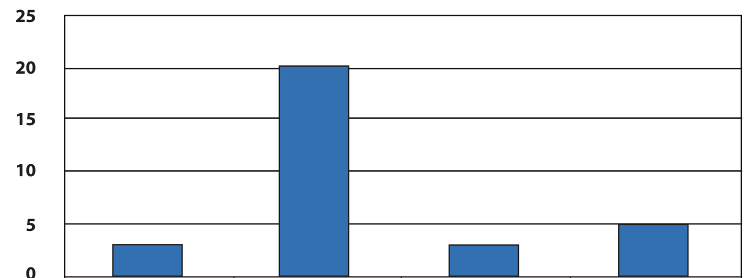
Training of communication managers in sports federations



The sector does not seem to have evolved much, since García's doctoral thesis (2011) showed that 20 graduates, three doctors, three people with baccalaureate and five who did not answer worked in the national federations, as seen in figure 2.

Figure 1

Training of communication and press officers in Spanish sports federations in 2011



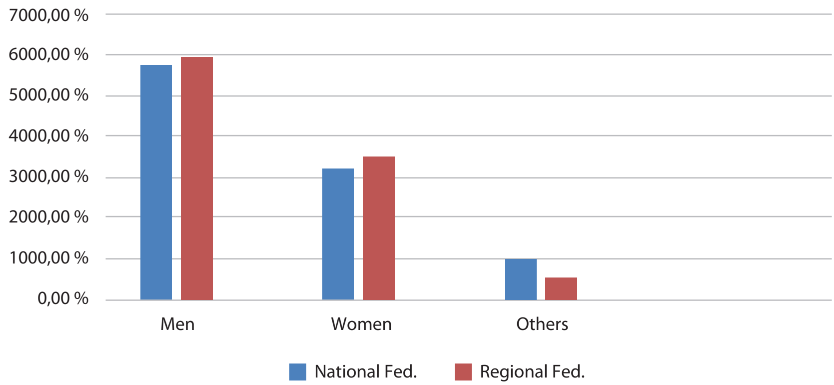
	PhD.	Bachelor degree	Baccalaureate	NA
Training	3	20	3	5

Note. Garcia, 2011.

Regarding gender (Figure 3) of the members of the communication departments of sports federations, it is noted that there are more men than women both nationally and regionally. The percentage of "other" answers justifies those federations that do not have a communication department or a stable organization board that leads a single person. This figure is striking in the field of sports, since if sticking to the general data compiled by the study on the State of Communication in Spain 21-22 (Dircom, 2022) the profession is mainly occupied by women (56.5% versus 43.5%).

Figure 3

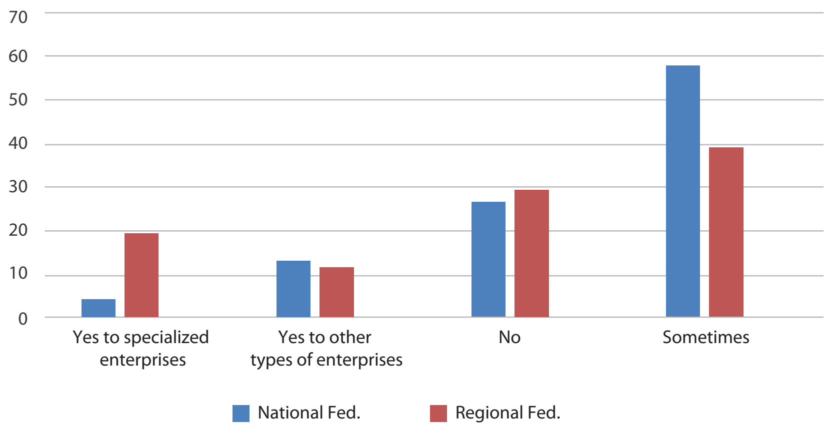
Gender of communication officers in sports federations



One aspect that is very striking is the use of outsourcing (Figure 4), since 26.7% of the national federations and 29.4% of the regional federations indicate that they never outsource communication services outside the organization. Considering that many of the institutions analyzed do not have an internal department specifically dedicated to communication and that, moreover, many of those that do not have it are not made up of personnel with specialized training in the field, it is difficult to understand that the outsourcing of this type of services is not higher.

It is true that the pandemic, by conditioning the organizational structure of the federations, made this aspect of outsourcing become more important, especially online, given the needs of the organizations in adapting and eliminating the physical barrier imposed by Covid-19. Hence, the management of the web pages of the federations and their social networks was contracted (case of the Catalan Federation of Handbol). Another justification for this fact may be because, in many cases, the staff of the communications departments of the federations are employees or self-employed, who are not part of the staff, an aspect that makes it more necessary to resort to external reinforcement and support in the communication tasks every time a championship or competition is held at national or international level.

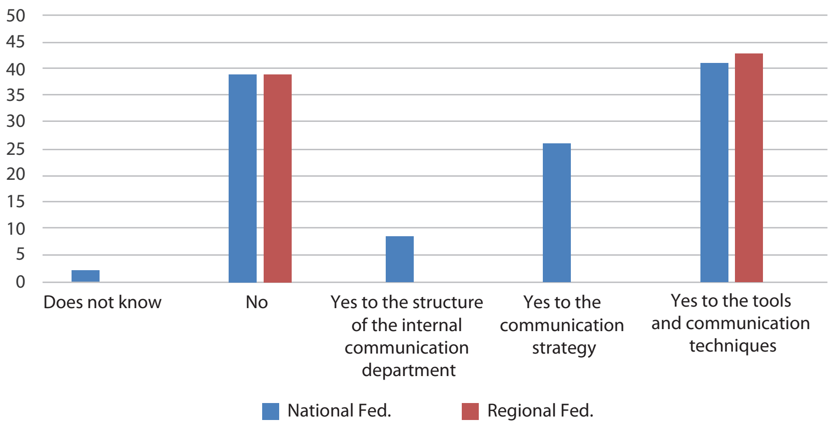
Figure 4
Outsourcing of communication services



Finally, the fieldwork shows that the pandemic has changed the structures, strategies, habits, tools and communication techniques (Figure 5) in almost all the communication departments of sports federations:

As seen, the regional federations provide less data regarding the type of changes imposed by the pandemic in their departments. This is dictated by the fact that, in most cases, these federations do not have internal departments for these functions (39.2%) and in those cases where they do have internal organization, 13.5% of the staff that make up them do not have any specific training in communication. In this regional scenario, talking about communication strategies in the medium-long term becomes practically impossible, hence the lack of data.

Figure 5
Changes imposed by Covid-19 in federation communication



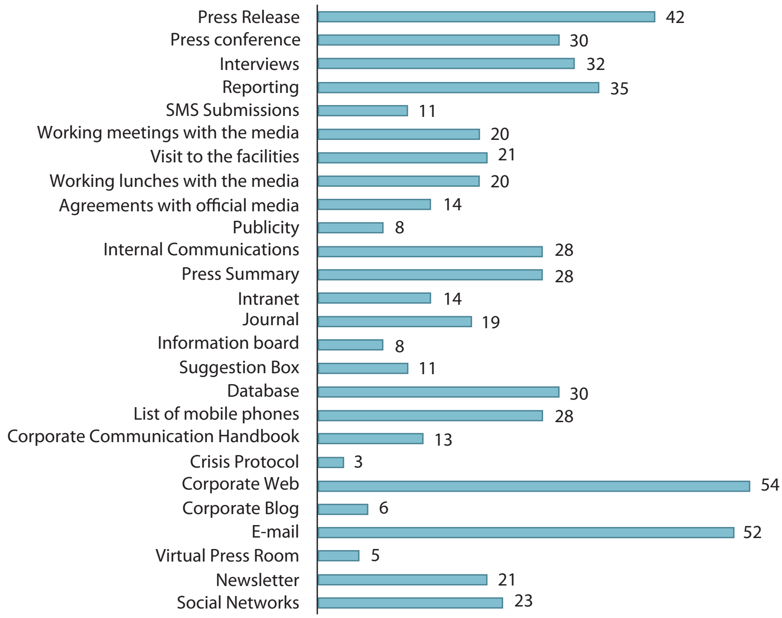
Finally, it highlights that the joint percentage of federations that confirm that they have changed the communication tools during Covid-19 is very high and even in the national and regional case. As indicated, the adaptation to the pandemic necessarily required online, which forced the federations to devote more resources to this field, since, after the first months of lockdown and absolute halt in the organization of events, the federations resumed the events in online or hybrid format and, in the meantime, generated content to supply the media through social networks and their websites. In parallel, the federations organized press conferences, conferences, round tables, meetings, training events always in online or hybrid format, which justifies this change in the tactics and techniques used until the onset of the pandemic.

Going back to García's thesis (2011), it can be seen (Figure 2) that during the confinement, post-confinement and up to the present day, the federations studied have bet on changes in format in many of the tools that they had been using regularly, such as press conferences, interviews, reports, or work meetings, a list to which should be added the live broadcasts (especially put into value by the Spanish basketball federation, the Catalan handball federation or the Spanish gymnastics federation), which confirm that today, once the social health barriers imposed by the governments have been overcome, they continue to organize events of all kinds in both areas - *On and off line*. It is worth mentioning the sports federation for the blind, where *e-*

sports and *streaming* broadcasts, or social networks, are a great *handicap* for their athletes.

Figure 2

Use of communication tools by Spanish federations in 2011



Note. Garcia, 2011.

Conclusions and discussion

According to the results presented, we consider that this research has met the objectives set out in the methodological section.

First, the SO1 aimed to observe whether the pandemic has directly affected the communication structures of sports federations and it has been shown that the outbreak of Covid-19 has modified organizational structures in the federations under study and has done so in several ways:

- Altering its composition, with the elimination of jobs, in some cases and, in others, with the hiring of staff taking on new tasks, usually linked to social networks and the online work environment imposed by the pandemic.
- Changing strategic communication plans in those federations that had it before the emergence of the coronavirus, generally those of national scope and, within these, those with a greater number of federations and, therefore, with more budget and specific departments that managed the communication.
- Forcing the implementation of new communication tools and techniques, since the mandatory confinement imposed by the Spanish government made organizations move their activity to the online, initially, and later, in a hybrid way (*on* and *off line*).

Related to this aspect, we collect the SO2, whose objective was to check whether the reality of the communication structures of regional federations compared to those of a national nature is very different. According to fieldwork data, most federations (more than 60%) have an internal department to meet their communication needs; however, the specific percentage of national federations is almost 20 points higher than that of regional ones, confirming that those operating at the national level have more human and budgetary resources, allowing them to have their own structure to meet this field.

The SO3 was designed to detect whether the communication departments of the analyzed organizations are headed by men or women. Overall data on the communication direction in Spain give more weight to women, however, in the case of sports federations, both nationally and regionally, the male weight is higher, up to 15 points above women. Therefore, the direction of communication in sporting bodies is usually given to men.

This research shows, from a comparative perspective, an overview of the presence and professionalization degree of communication managers in sports, national and regional federations in Spain (OE4) that, in general, is greater, compared to what was indicated in previous studies and offers an encouraging panorama to graduates in the field of communication, who face a labor market in which non-specialization and intrusiveness are losing ground.

Finally, as for the analysis of the possible outsourcing of communication services (SO5), the results show that it is high and affects almost 2/3 parts of the federations (less at a regional level, but equally estimable), leaving the door open to discussion and to the conduction of other subsequent analyzes focused on this aspect, in order to deepen on the stability and/or precariousness degree of the personnel assigned to the communication functions in sports federations. This is largely justified by the pressure imposed by the pandemic, which has reconfigured internal structures and forced to bet on the generation of content at a time of a halt in public activity and has led organizations to manage tools and services that needed specific qualification and, not having it, have been forced to outsource it (online services).

Finally, it should be noted that this research has limits and conditions. Firstly, the time frame in which surveys and interviews were conducted, for two consecutive years, provides data on a different view on the part of the communication managers, since data concerning national federations were collected in an early phase of the recovery towards post-covid normality while those of regional federations were collected later. On the other hand, the lack of resources has not allowed to address the whole universe, so both the questionnaire and the in-depth interview have been planned following a random sampling. Beyond these two determinants of research, alleviating these limitations could become a future line of research in which, simultaneously, data from both national and regional realities are collected, seeking to cover a greater number of responses.

In any case, and despite the limitations indicated, the data provided by this research represents a first rigorous approach to a field of study characterized by the absence of previous work that collected the communicative reality and its management in Spanish sports federations and, much less, that studied the impact that Covid-19 has had on their structures, communication strategies and the commitment to concrete tools and techniques.

Support and financial support of research

Entity: Superior Council of Sports (CSD), Ministry of Culture and Sport of the Government of Spain.
Country: Spain. City: Pontevedra.
Subsidized project: not included in anonymised version.
Project Code: Not included in anonymized version.

References

Almansa-Martínez, A. and Fernández-Souto, A. B. (2020). Professional Public Relations (PR) trends and challenges. *Profesional de la Información, 29*(3). https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.may.03

Álvarez-Flores, E. P., Núñez-Gómez, P. and Olivares-Santamarina, J. P. (2018). Perfiles profesionales y salidas laborales para graduados en Publicidad y Relaciones públicas: de la especialización a la hibridación. *Profesional de la Información, 27*(1), 136-147. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.ene.13

Cano Tenorio, R. (2019). Gestión de la comunicación en las redes sociales de las federaciones de fútbol nacionales. *Obra digital, 17*, 19-34. https://doi.org/10.25029/od.2019.160.17

Castillo Esparcia, A., Fernández Torres, M. and Castillero Ostío, E. (2016). Fútbol y redes sociales. Análisis de la gestión de Relaciones Públicas 2.0 por los clubes de fútbol. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico, 22*(1), 239-254. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_ESMP.2016.v22.n1.52592

Castro Hernández, L. E., Rodríguez Wangüemert, C. M. and Aránzazu Calzadilla Medina, M. (2019). Deporte y comunicación: las primeras huellas del fútbol femenino en Canarias. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 74*, 1680-1696. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2019-1404

Consejo Superior de Deportes. (2022). *Federaciones Españolas*. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. http://bit.ly/40cT45Q

Consejo Superior de Deportes. (2021). *MEMORIA 2020 / Otras estadísticas / Resumen General.* Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. https://bit.ly/3XMH8pL

Consejo Superior de Deportes. (2022). *Federaciones deportivas españolas*. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. http://bit.ly/3jeAREq

Del Toro-Acosta, A., Alcaide-Pulido, P., Lozano-Delmar, J. L., Muñiz-Velázquez, J. A. and Tapia Frade, A. (2022). El perfil del profesional de las relaciones públicas en España: situación y tendencias del sector. *Cuadernos.Info, 53*, 295-317. https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.53.43279

DIRCOM Asociación de Directivos de Comunicación. (2022). *Estado de la Comunicación en España 21-22 (ECE 21-22).* DIRCOM. http://bit.ly/3WNLVpR

Eiró-Gomes, M. and Nunes, T. (2018). Comunicación en las federaciones deportivas en Portugal: ¿dónde estamos?. *Redmarka. Revista de Marketing Aplicado, 01*(022), 65-88. https://doi.org/10.17979/redma.2018.01.022.4935

Fernández-Souto, A. B., Perona Sáez, J. P., Barbeito Veloso, M. L. and Valderrama Santomé, M. (2022). La comunicación on line de las Federaciones

Deportivas Españolas: web corporativa y RRSS desde la aparición de la Covid-19 (Online communication of the Spanish Sports Federations: corporate website and RRSS since the appearance of Covid-19). *Retos: nuevas tendencias en educación física, deporte y recreación, 46*, 996-1003. https://doi.org/10.47197/retos.v46.93753

Fernández-Souto, A. B., Puentes-Rivera, I. and Vázquez-Gestal, M. (2016). Las empresas gallegas más contaminantes y su gestión de la comunicación de crisis. En K. Matilla (coord.), *Casos de estudio de relaciones públicas. Espacios de diálogo e impacto mediático* (pp. 33-57). Editorial UOC.

Fernández-Souto, A. B., Puentes-Rivera, I. and Vázquez-Gestal, M. (2018). Clústeres y Relaciones Públicas: Comunicación de los conglomerados de empresas en España. *Revista Prisma Social, 22*, 91-112. http://bit.ly/3JmfPyp

Fernández-Souto, A. B., Puentes-Rivera, I. and Vázquez-Gestal, M. (2019). Gestión y profesionalización de las relaciones públicas en las diputaciones provinciales y forales. *Gestión y política pública, 28*(2), 541-568. https://doi.org/10.29265/gypp.v28i2.629

Fernández-Souto, A. B., Vázquez Gestal, M. and Puentes Rivera, I. (2019). Gestión comunicativa de los clubes de fútbol: Análisis de los departamentos de comunicación de LaLiga. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 74*, 1071-1093. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2019-1372

Ginesta Portet, X. (2010). Los medios propios de los clubes de fútbol españoles. De la revista oficial a los canales de TDT. *Estudios sobre el mensaje periodístico, 16*, 145-166. http://bit.ly/3DrUqjD

González Redondo, P., Campillo Alhama, C. and Montserrat Gauchi, J. (2018). El Departamento de comunicación de las entidades deportivas náuticas. *Miguel Hernández Communication Journal, 9*, 471-490. https://doi.org/10.21134/mhcj.v0i9.258

Lobillo Mora, G. and Guevara, A. J. (2018). Desarrollo comunicacional en los clubes de fútbol españoles. Estudio de caso: Sevilla FC. *Riccafd: Revista Iberoamericana de Ciencias de la Actividad Física y el Deporte, 7*(1), 34-46. https://doi.org/10.24310/riccafd.2018.v7i1.4858

Lobillo Mora, G. and Muñoz Vela, A. (2016). El papel de las redes sociales en las estrategias de expansión de mercado en los clubes de fútbol españoles. El uso personalizado de Twitter en lengua árabe del Real Madrid CF y FC Barcelona. *Trípodos, 38*, 195-214. http://bit.ly/3kWm0yQ

López, A. R. and del Arco Juan, F. J. (2014). Organización y funcionamiento de las federaciones deportivas españolas. *Revista Aranzadi de Derecho de Deporte y Entretenimiento, 42*, 113-135.

Martín García, M. D. (2011). *Deporte y sociedad: Los departamentos de prensa en las federaciones deportivas españolas* (Tesis doctoral). Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Madrid.

Martínez Nicolás, I. (2015). Propuestas de mejoras en la comunicación externa de las federaciones deportivas de la Región de Murcia para conseguir una mayor cobertura mediática. *Cuadernos de gestión de información, 5*(1), 104-122. http://bit.ly/3Y6Z0vp

Meganck, S., Smith, J. and Guidry, J. P. (2020). The skills required for entry-level public relations: An analysis of skills required in 1,000 PR job ads. *Public Relations Review, 46*(5), 101973. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2020.101973

Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte (31 de mayo de 2022). *El Consejo de Ministros aprueba un presupuesto plurianual para las Federaciones Deportivas de 187 millones*. http://bit.ly/3HfF4Ql

Palco23 (28 de marzo de 2022). *Más ingresos y mayores gastos: el año de las federaciones deportivas en España*. http://bit.ly/40bIhsO

Pérez Dasilva, J., Santos, M. T. and Meso Ayerdi, K. (2015). Radio y redes sociales: el caso de los programas deportivos en Twitter. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 70*, 141-155. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2015-1039

Quintela, J. L. (2020). O diretor de comunicação no futebol: perfis e tendências nos "três grandes" clubes portugueses. *PODIUM: Sport, Leisure and Tourism Review, 9*(1), 21-41. https://doi.org/10.5585/podium.v9i1.13748

Rojas-Torrijos, J. L. (2012). Del fútbol por exceso a la espectacularización de la información en el periodismo deportivo. Propuestas para una mayor diversificación temática de los contenidos. En C. Mateos Martín, C. E. Hernández Rodríguez, F. J. Herrero Gutiérrez, S. Toledano Buendía y A. I. Ardèvol Abreu (coords.), *Actas IV Congreso Internacional Latina de Comunicación Social* (pp. 1-13). Sociedad Latina de Comunicación Social. https://bit.ly/3XNrE4V

Rojas Torrijos, J. L. (2019). La automatización en las coberturas deportivas. Estudio de caso del bot creado por The Washington Post durante los JJ.OO. de Río 2016 y Pyeongchang, 2018. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 74*, 1729-1747. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2019-1407

Salas Luzuriaga, E. L. (2019). Análisis de las estrategias de marketing a través de los canales de comunicación de las marcas deportivas ecuatorianas Club Deportivo Técnico Universitario y Club Deportivo Cuenca. *Cuadernos de*

Fútbol: Primera revista de historia del fútbol español, 105(1), 120-129. https://bit.ly/3jeWR1U

Sotelo González, J. (2012). Deporte y social media: el caso de la Primera División del fútbol español. *Historia y comunicación social, 17*, 217-230. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_HICS.2012.v17.40607

Thrassou, A., Vrontis, D., Kartakoullis, N. and Kriemadis, T. (2012). Comtemporary Marketing Communications frameworks for Football Clubs. *Journal of Promotion Management, 18*, 278-305. https://doi.org/10.1080/10496491.2012.696454

US Bureau of Labor Statitstics (2022). *Occupational Outlook Handbook*. United States Department of Labor. http://bit.ly/3XVbVRG

Van Der Meer, T. G., Verhoeven, P., Beentjes, H. W. and Vliegenthart, R. (2017). Communication in times of crisis: The stakeholder relationship under pressure. Public *Relations Review, 43*(2), 426-440. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2017.02.005

Vázquez Gestal, M. and Fernández Souto, A. B. (2014). El profesional de las Relaciones Públicas en Galicia: el caso de los principales ayuntamientos gallegos. *Revista Internacional de Relaciones Públicas, 4*(7), 25-38. http://bit.ly/3WUFy3T

Vujnovic, M., Kruckeberg, D. and Starck, K. (2021). Extending the boundaries of public relations through community-building and organic theories. En C. Valentini (ed.), *Public Relations* (pp. 433-450). De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110554250

Xifra, J. (2020). Comunicación corporativa, relaciones públicas y gestión del riesgo reputacional en tiempos del Covid-19. *Profesional de la Información, 29*(2). https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.mar.20

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.10

Collective memory, alternative media and post-agreement

Memorias colectivas, medios de comunicación alternativa y post acuerdo

Alba Lucía Cruz-Castillo
Universidad de La Salle, Colombia
alcruz@unisalle.edu.co
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4657-6000

Alejandra Martínez-Calderón
Universidad de La Salle, Colombia
calejandra09@unisalle.edu.co
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1143-3165

Juanita Acosta-Angulo
Universidad de La Salle, Colombia
jurojas29@unisalle.edu.co
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8072-3900

María Paula Vásquez-Gómez
Universidad de La Salle, Colombia
mvasquez83@unisalle.edu.co
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0140-9196

Andrés Felipe Barrera-Rincón
Universidad de La Salle, Colombia
anbarrera18@unisalle.edu.co
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-85553-0390

Received on: 11/06/2023 **Revised on:** 14/07/2023 **Approved on:** 25/08/2023 **Published on:** 01/09/2023

Suggested citation: Cruz-Castillo, A. L., Martínez-Calderón, A., Acosta, J., Vásquez, M. P. and Barrera, A. F. (2023). Collective memory, alternative media and post-agreement. *Universitas XX1, 39,* pp. 215-238. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n39.2023.10

Abstract

This text illustrates the role of the alternative media in the denunciation and visibility of cases of forced disappearance and murder of social leaders after the signing of the Peace Agreement in 2016 in the Department of Meta-Colombia. Based on this, this research proposes to name the leaders, their territories, the role they played in their communities in order to state the characteristics of the subjects who still continue to suffer from these affectations; the possible authors and the relevance of the alternative media in making them visible in favor of the construction of collective memory.

For this, an analysis of documentary and content data was carried out, which accounts for the various ways of reporting and denouncing these affectations. The research contributes to positioning the relevance of these alternative communication media in the construction of collective memory without forgetting these affectations as transcendental social and political facts and that these media, through multimedia narratives from various textual, graphic formats, sound and photographic are positioned on virtual platforms, making visible the voice of families and communities that denounce and seek their relatives who try to claim their right to truth, reparation and memory.

Keywords

Collective memory, alternative collective media, forced disappearance, murder of social leaders.

Resumen

Este texto ilustra el rol de los medios de comunicación alternativos frente a la denuncia y visibilización de casos de desaparición forzada y asesinato de líderes sociales después de la firma del Acuerdo de Paz en el 2016 en el Departamento del Meta-Colombia. A partir de ello, la investigación que se relata en este artículo, pretende nombrar a los líderes, sus territorios, el rol que desempañaban en sus comunidades para enunciar las particularidades de los sujetos que aún siguen sufriendo de estas afectaciones; los posibles responsables y la relevancia que tienen los medios de comunicación alternativos en hacerlos visibles, para la construcción de memoria colectiva.

Para ello se realizó un análisis de datos de tipo documental y de contenido durante el periodo 2017-2020, que da cuenta de las diversas formas de informar y denunciar estas afectaciones. La investigación aporta en posicionar la relevancia de estos medios de comunicación alternativos en la construcción de memoria colectiva y el no olvido de estas afectaciones como hechos sociales y políticos transcendentes y que estos medios a través de narrativas multimediales a partir de diversos formatos textuales, gráficas, sonoros y fotográficos se posicionan en las plataformas virtuales visibilizando la voz de las familias y comunidades que denuncian y buscan a sus familiares que intentan reivindicar su derecho a la verdad, reparación y memoria.

Palabras clave

Memoria colectiva, medios de comunicación alternativos, desaparición forzada, asesinato de líderes sociales.

Introduction

Colombia has experienced a period of social and political violence that has lasted for more than 60 years, which has brought consequences at the individual, collective and project level of the country. There has been multiple previous negotiation attempts with actors outside the law and self-defense in Colombia. In 2012 there was a historic negotiation between the Santos Government and the FARC that concluded in 2016 with the signing of the Peace Agreement. This agreement with the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) focused the hopes of an entire country on the cessation of confrontations between a significant part of the actors within the armed confrontation; however, the war continues, since this agreement unleashed the presence of dissidents and other actors in the territories that are now disputed by them, according to Indepaz (2020).

According to Cardozo Rusinque *et al.* (2020), non-compliance by the State with the Agreement is mainly due to "general ignorance of the Agreement and its content, as well as the lack of pedagogical policies for the construction of peace" (p. 3), suggesting that peace is also a struggle of political powers where not everyone agrees with what has been agreed. In addition to this, Coronado Riaño (2019) points out that another relevant factor is the definancing of the structure for peace that has caused great desertion from these processes to those who rejoined civilian life, since the State has allocated "25% of the General Budget of the Nation ... where the peace programs should be inscribed, but in Duque's plan these are not clearly defined by any side" (para. 3). In turn, Anzola (2010) foresees the lack of clarity regarding the fate of these resources:

> These resources of the Development Programs with Territorial Focus PDET are at a crossroads defined by regional clientelism, an institutionality linked to agribusiness and a technocracy that limits the resources that can reach the territories. (p. 2)

The transition period to peace has been full of uncertainties and effects that still occur in the territories, including the assassination of social leaders that has significantly increased, according to the report Registry of leaders and human rights defenders (Indepaz, 2020, p. 3), a record that covers the presidential period of Santos and Duque from September 2016 to July 2020, in which 971 murders to social leaders were recorded. This report highlights the differential approach in the characterization of the victimizing act towards them, with severely affected populations of which 342 cases refer to the peasant population, 250 cases to the indigenous population, 124 cases to the civilian population and the remaining figures are distributed among Afro-descendant, artisanal-mining, environmentalist, communal, trade union, victim representation and diverse populations, with a growing trend compared to previous years.

In this process of political transition towards peace, enforced disappearance, classified by the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights as "an inhuman act that transgresses the identity, dignity and integrity of the disappeared person and that of his/her families since it violates multiple human rights and aims to make them invisible and non-existent forever" (200, p.14), continues being present, according to the Report on the Situation of Enforced Disappearances in Colombia presented to the United Nations Committee on Enforced Disappearances, cited by Chinchón Álvarez and Rodríguez (2018), approximately 80 000 people are reported, 160 000 victims are registered in the UVR (Single Register of Victims), of which 46 000 are direct victims and the rest are their families. The above figures also reveal the huge difference between official and unofficial reports of these cases, which highlights the political disputes underlying the conflict and the reparation processes and real impacts of the conflict.

At the regional level, specifically in Meta, there are 32 cumulative cases since 2016 (Indepaz and Marcha Patriotica, 2020; Gómez, 2020). According to the Single Register of Victims, to date there are 2491 victims of the armed conflict in the Meta, of which 254 correspond to people in situation of enforced disappearance (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2018). A detailed report on the profile of murdered social leaders indicates that both this event and the forced disappearance are strongly linked, i.e., the dynamics of violence used to silence the lives of these victims may be represented in one or both of the aforementioned crimes.

In the face of political and social disputes that are discussed by the government, actors outside the law and victims in the consolidation of a peace project with justice and reparation, it is necessary to confirm scenarios of public and citizen opinion where the media have a transcendental role, since according to (Huerta *et al.,* 2011), they are political actors that shape the thoughts, behaviors and actions of their recipients.

It is until Santos's presidential term that dialogues with the FARC-EP group begin and take place. In 2005, the Justice and Peace Law presented by then-President Álvaro Uribe emerged, which is not carried out; on the contrary, it is one of the periods in which the highest levels of human rights violations are reached, according to the Human Rights Watch organization, as stated by Carrasquilla (2020). This development shows how peace and the implementation of policies become the object of manipulation by actors with particular interests. As a result, social organizations and community leaders have addressed the conflict by developing initiatives such as the visibility of their situation at risk and the search for their missing relatives through artistic and popular actions. To make this possible, they have relied on new communication alternatives, and this is how alternative media play a fundamental role for victims and their rights.

Given the above, currently society has been mediated by various digital and communication channels that influence the psychosocial development of people, i.e., they are elements that cross human life as knowledge, emotions and cultural beliefs (Villa *et al.,* 2020). Regarding political issues, these media have built ideas that lead to two main problems: on the one hand, there is the political polarization in which two opposing and rigid positions are found, which it seeks to legitimize a single truth and way of governing; on the other hand, it generates the construction of an enemy, i.e., it does not recognize the Other as a political being and reproduces a discourse of fear or terror in front of their actions, thus dehumanizing those who do not belong to the same way of thinking (Villa *et al.,* 2020).

This dehumanization of the other leads to the idea of taking it as an object, which Butler (2017) calls as the "deserving of life". This is framed in contexts of armed conflict and violence as to how to apprehend life or "to know what to recognize, or, rather, what to guard against injury and violence" (p. 16). In fact, the media embrace these notions when Butler (2017) states that they are part of some recognition frames, i.e., those lives that can be seen by one public and those, selected by another, that cannot be due to centralized power, the dislegitimacy of the humanity of the other and the search for a single truth, in more specific words he states that "it is also to fight against those notions of the political subject that suppose that permeability and damages can be monopolized in one place and rejected completely in another." (p. 249).

According to the above, the media play a very important role in the construction of collective memory because they not only influence public opinion and political debate but also the recognition of narratives and stories that are not widely told, likewise the content and approach of what is transmitted is limited.

This is strongly linked to "necropolitics" by understanding the dynamics of guaranteed and protected lives in case these align with the position of those in power, this detaches from biopolitics, understood as the power to conduct behaviors, i.e., it does not act on people, but on their actions, leading them, facilitating them, making them difficult, limiting or preventing them. Thus, relationships of "power become of domination when they are blocked by techniques that allow domination of the behavior of others" (Estévez, 2018, p. 3). This implies understanding that not only is the power to discern the subjectivity of people, but also dominates and puts these discourses in public policies on the actions of people, linked with the management of human life. From this, for Mbembe (2011), Valencia (2010) and Valverde Gefaell (2016) "biopolitics is a primary starting point for analyzing domination relations" (p. 18).

Mbembe (2011) describes that it is insufficient to explain the power relations where criminal and state violence reveal that the main objective is the regulation of death instead of life, i.e., where these objectives are provided it could not be categorized as biopolitics (politics of life) but as necropolitics (politics of death), this term is used "to analyze the use of massacres, executions, forced disappearances, sexual violations, femicides and forced displacement" among others (Estévez, 2018, p. 28); thus, it is understood that necropolitics ignores human rights by first placing control, power and violence.

The problem lies in the disappearance of truth, memories, history and what humanity represents. Therefore, there is an alteration in history where there are gaps that are filled with an incomplete narrative through silence and terror, to which the various communication channels contribute; however, there are alternative media that under an ethical and political proposal to claim the right to truth of victims and communities, generate processes of memory and recognition through visible platforms such as social networks, places of contemporary memory in which stories are deposited subalternately.

Interpretative methodological approach of the research

The research in the recognition of this scenario of tension and dispute for truth and memory starts from the imperative need to uncover the actions that the population does at the territorial level to denounce and inform the citizenry for the constant violation of human rights and especially of crimes related *to the forced disappearance and murder of social leaders in the municipality of Meta, which historically has been a territory of conflict.* For this, from a qualitative analysis and following Sampieri *et al*. (2014), the nature and narratives exposed by the Alternative Media MCA on these affectations are analyzed, which additionally allow observing the constants in these damages and their consequences in the territory.

Journalistic contents are evidenced from this approach, which as for Fernández-Flórez (2009) it underlies content analysis as a technique that brings the reader closer not only to what the news tell but to global readings of a local context. According to Peña and Pirela (2007), they also give account of information sources that present themselves as whistleblowers and active citizens that are part of a struggle for truth. Considering the above specificities, the investigative process carried out the tracking of MCAs that used virtual platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, websites or blogs to report such effects in the municipality of Meta during the years 2017-2020; the selected media were those self-described as MCA and which fulfill this function of reporting or denouncing the State from counter-hegemonic ways and that by its incidence in the territory had more than 300 reproductions of their news in that period.

Results

This section illustrates the alternative media MCA that reported and spread news related to cases of forced disappearance and murder of social leaders at Meta in the selected period. It should be noted that this period could be called a period of political transition after the signing of the Agreements; hence, its nature, the type of narratives used in its communication; the type of visual or media tools used for this purpose and the actions or strategies used to disseminate this content. This is relevant since many of them incorporate collective actions of community and social type to generate political scenarios of incidence; subsequently, a detailed analysis of what managed to systematize in this process is exposed.

The analysis reflects the profiles of the people who suffered these affectations, giving alerts in front of regions where these events are more recurrent and the ages and roles that leaders and disappeared people had in their communities. It also tries to communicate the subjects and perform an act of memory and dignification of people who may be forgotten by the state statistics but not by their relatives and community and social environments.

The selected MCA enter in this category because they are not means that operate with state funding or with the support of entities or economic groups with direct influence in the country, but instead operate from resources and actions developed from the movements or groups of human rights defenders in the country and have influence in the territory of Meta; therefore, the cases presented here were not visible in traditional (hegemonic) media in the selected period.

Table 1
Alternative Media Matrix

Name	Town	Who are they?	What is narrative?	How do they tell their narratives? / From whom?
Newspaper "Desde abajo"	Bogota	It published its first edition in 1991. It has made various proposals and concrete efforts in different social sectors.	Collective literary and photographic narratives, with the main objective of promoting the protagonism of the popular sectors, facilitating the information between different community experiences.	They intend to call different strands of social and intellectual effort to a reunion of dreams and actions that will be manifested, not only in a press that fights not to be marginal, but above all, in the construction of a new social and political option for the whole country. The development of this entire project depends, to a large extent, on the participation of the forgotten, as well as of those who, without being so, embrace their cause.
Análisis Urbano		Press agency that works on the analysis, investigation and denunciation of the urban conflict. Portal dedicated to search for urban and rural PEACE.	Collective literary narratives.	They gather historical data that give sense or a common thread to the facts. In other words, the background to understand the cases of Enforced Disappearance and Murder of Social Leaders.

Name	Town	Who are they?	What is narrative?	How do they tell their narratives? / From whom?
Revista Lanzas y Letras	Neiva/Cali	Editorial with more than 25 years of stories. Ideas, aesthetics and narratives produced by the popular. Created by a professor from the U South Colombian of Neiva to exchange opinions and legitimize other truths.	Photographic Narratives. Coherence between government actions and community response.	From sociological, pedagogical, and historical analyses. Its statements are critical. The social movements of the left face the strategic challenge of intertwining their social struggles with the political-electoral activity, so that the latter does not dominate the former and that the profound change of the relations of social power "from below" is not lost sight.
Contagio Radio	Bogota	It was born in 1995. In its beginnings the name was given to the human rights journal that had a biannual periodicity, which gave life to this communication in 2009.	Collective graphic and sound narratives to inform and make visible the work of human rights in Colombia. A research project with a human rights focus.	Today, it is the radio and audiovisual expression of a multimedia communication commitment, with a focus on HR, which seeks the democratization of information, through the radio, audiovisual and new technologies, allowing more freedom of expression of rural and urban communities of various social sectors in Colombia and the world.
Agencia Prensa Rural (APR)	Magdalena Medio	Alternative journalism organization, allied with groups around Colombia and human rights associations.	Autobiographical narratives, collective and individual, memory.	Agencia Prensa Rural (Rural Press Agency) opens space for social leaders to use both physical and digital platforms to denounce and present their truth. They announce the profiles of the disappeared and of murdered leaders, making visible their realities, their life expectations, their wealth, culture, among others.

Name	Town	Who are they?	What is narrative?	How do they tell their narratives? / From whom?
Trochando sin Fronteras	Arauca	Media of the Mass, Social and Popular Political Movement of the Central East of Colombia	Narratives for informative purposes and visibility around the analysis of categories such as common goods, capitalism in crisis, agrarian issue, women and new society or power and democracy, through editorial publications or opinion columns.	From the investigative process of Trochando sin frontera and according to the context and development of the news, events of social mobilization, human rights violations and needs or problems of various populations are usually presented according to the context (regional, national or international)
Pacifista	Bogota	Pacifista is an outreach project focused on content about human rights and peace building in Colombia.	Audiovisual narratives such as documentary production in relation to conflict, gender approach, leaders and culture.	Voices are given through investigative and outreach work to the population involved in the development of the news or to the direct victims of the events.
El Cuarto Mosquetero	Villavicencio	It was born in 2016 with the support of communities, organizations and social movements	It deconstructs the current truth through a reflective photographic, sound or graphic narrative mainly in territories such as Meta and Santander. "El cuarto mosquetero" carries out communication activities from figures from communication and reporting, which contribute to the defense of the territory, the construction of peace and gender equity.	Between audiovisual works, photo reports, texts, podcasts, forums and the photographic exhibition. 'Through the Lens' they have reached different academic and urban spaces, which have strengthened and maintained through the practices exercised by groups of young communication students linked as a collective that contributes to democratization. By word of mouth, the "musketeers" communicate from the popular action, starting in human settlements until achieving an outreach in educational institutions of Meta and Santander

Name	Town	Who are they?	What is narrative?	How do they tell their narratives? / From whom?
Rutas del Conflicto	Colombia	It is the type of journalism that follows the Armed Conflict in Colombia. It was created with the need to show stories of the conflict that had not been documented by the traditional press or by the State in official documents.	Audiovisual and sound narratives. It collects stories and organizes the memories of communities in order to make show them, sensitize and reflect on them.	Journalism in *Rutas del Conflicto* affirms the essence of the fourth power: It transmits narratives from the victims, involves emotions, memories, and their perspective.

Table 1 shows that alternative media have a wide territorial coverage, although several belong to the territory, there are media such as Trochando sin Fronteras de Arauca or Agencia Prensa Rural de Magdalena Medio that are working to transmit the narratives regardless of geographical location, which may be due to the dynamics of multiple violent events of those who suffer these difficult situations as forced disappearance and homicide of their loved ones, leading in several occasions to the forced displacement of families and acquaintances.

The table reveals the type of narratives that each media outlet uses for presenting the stories of the communities, including literary, audiovisual, graphic, sound and/or photographic narratives. This results in a narrative convergence in which they meet harmoniously and are presented to the public as a single story told from several senses and manage to convey what was experienced at the time of the event in such a way that not only is visible, but also raises awareness and calls for mobilization for justice, truth, reparation and guarantees of non-repetition.

These media recognize the strength of the political discourse and the pedagogical processes that it contains to configure social ideas and collective emotions, which can contribute to the construction of peace and search for truth. Therefore, it is important to highlight that the MCAs describe the facts and profiles in order to make the victims visible and to eliminate the stigma generated by other means of political and economic control. This is how Butler's (2017) war frameworks are broken to humanize "other" lives that are recognized in the pain and collective memories of their families and their communities.

Who were those murdered and disappeared?

The media analyzed reveal cases of forced disappearance and murder of social leaders, which suggests a relationship with multiple victimizing acts such as torture and threats directed at both men and women between the ages of 20 and 81. This is much more than figures included in the register of disappearances and murders; it is important to understand the seriousness of non-compliance with agreements and systematic facts that do not discriminate against sex, gender or age. Even considering this, the cases found in this investigation did not identify ethnic groups, which could be subject to further investigation.

Table 2

Matrix Profiles of Forced Disappearance and Murder of Social Leaders

Name	Last Name	Year of the Victimizing Fact	Group or Ethnicity	Family Role	Age of Disappearance or Murder
Sebastián	Coy Rincón	2018	N.R	N.R	18 years
Jefferson Andrés	Arévalo Robayo	2018	N.R	Husband	24 years
Richard	Silva	2017	N.R	N.R	N.R
María	Cruz Roja	2017	N.R	Wife-Mother	N.R
Carlos	Mena	2017	N.R	N.R	N.R
Héctor	Almario	2018	N.R	N.R	N.R
Israel	Rodríguez	2018	N.R	N.R	81 years
Camilo	Pinzón Galeano	2017	N.R	N.R	N.R
Eliver	Buitrago	2017	N.R	N.R	N.R
José	Anzola Tejedor	2017	N.R	N.R	61 years
Luz	Anzola Tejedor	2017	N.R	Mother	45 years
Oliver	Herrera Camacho	2018	N.R	N.R	N.R
Ramón	Montejo Plazas	2020	N.R	N.R	N.R
Simón	Ochoa	2020	N.R	N.R	N.R

In addition, recognizing the territory as a space of dispute and vulnerable to the violation of rights is pivotal when there are no means to make visible the conflict and the selective and systematic assassinations. These are the reasons to understand the historical migratory process for the repopulation of the Llanos, first, the planting of illicit crops, the transfer of conflicts between families and gangs; and the arrival of the FARC to this territory once they left Tolima towards the Meta where they settled to expand their military and social power (Gobernación del Meta, 2016).

The guerrilla bases are consolidated with the arrival of the FARC and various social, economic and political issues, between the 60s and 80s, taking over strategic points such as the Municipality of Uribe, the Ariari, Guayabero and Duda rivers, leading to the confrontation with the public force and several attempts at peace agreements which fail and break off again a new cycle of violence that will later be confronted by the Democratic Security of former President Uribe. However, the FARC and other guerrillas are not the only ones present in the conflict against the governments, the existence of paramilitaries is recognized since the 50s, but it is until the 80s that they take strength under the cause of the fight against the communist insurgency, committing violent acts such as the massacres in Mapiripán and the bloody confrontations in the eastern plains with other illegal armed actors in the 2000s (Gobernación del Meta, 2016).

This research highlights the municipalities of Mapiripán, Mesetas, Vistahermosa, Uribe, El Castillo, Puerto Rico, La Macarena and San Martín where the victimizing events occurred and which continue being conflict territories and have been subjected to various processes of peace agreements to guarantee the right to non-repetition, which has been violated, therefore, the right to the Truth, Justice and Reparation will also be.

Table 3
Matrix Profiles of Forced Disappearance and Murder of Social Leaders

Name	Last Name	Subregion	Municipality	Place
Sebastián	Coy Rincón	Duda-Guayabero	Uribe	N.R
Jefferson Andrés	Arévalo Robayo	Bajo Ariari	Puerto Rico	El Danubio
Richard	Silva	Bajo Ariari	Mapiripán	El Rosario farm
María	Cruz Roja	Bajo Ariari	Mapiripán	Family farm.
Carlos	Mena	Bajo Ariari	Mapiripán	Rincón del Indio

Name	Last Name	Subregion	Municipality	Place
Héctor	Almario	Duda-Guayabero	La Macarena	Family farm.
Israel	Rodríguez	Duda-Guayabero	La Macarena	El Palmar
Camilo	Pinzón Galeano	Medio Ariari	San Martín	Housing
Eliver	Buitrago	Duda-Guayabero	Mesetas	Place of work
José	Anzola Tejedor	Duda-Guayabero	Mesetas	The Governor
Luz	Anzola Tejedor	Duda-Guayabero	Mesetas	The Governor
Oliver	Herrera Camacho	Duda-Guayabero	La Macarena	Brisas del Guayabera
Ramón	Montejo Plazas	Alto Ariari	El Castillo	Vereda Caño Claro
Simón	Ochoa	Alto Ariari	El Castillo	Vereda Caño Claro

However, from a dignified approach it is important to mention who are the specific victims of these violent acts. In this research there are social leaders or people with peasant labor, falling into the stigmatization of vulnerable population as power of enemy, opposition or linked to work of the opposite side who fulfilled tasks such as peasant work, community in the Boards of Action, reincorporation, coordination of programs on Coca cultivation, members of political parties of the left. This is not only associated with their roles or social activities, but also with historical aspects previously exposed in the territorial analysis, where migrations, settlements, displacements and social projects established by guerrillas, paramilitaries, and criminal gangs play an important role that endorses prejudices and rejects political subjects of human rights.

Table 4

Matrix profiles of forced disappearance and murder of social leaders

Name	Last Name	Role or Organization	Social Activity	Authors or potential authors
Sebastián	Coy Rincón	ETCR Mariana Páez	N.R	«««
Jefferson Andrés	Arévalo Robayo	N.R	Peasant	Hooded people
Richard	Silva	Social Leader	President of the community action board of the village of San Antonio.	N.R
María	Cruz Roja	Leader of the program to replace the Unibrisas del Iteviare sidewalk.	Peasant	Hooded and armed people.

Name	Last Name	Role or Organization	Social Activity	Authors or potential authors
Carlos	Mena	Social Leader	N.R	FARC dissidents
Héctor	Almario	Social leader. National Coordinator of Coca and Poppy Growers.	N.R	Hooded people
Israel	Rodríguez	Community Action Board of the Sidewalk El Palmar	Peasant	Unknown
Camilo	Pinzón Galeano	Community Leader, Vice President of the Community Action Board, vereda Mundo Nuevo	N.R	Unknown
Eliver	Buitrago	Community leader, president of the community action board, sidewalk Buenos Aires.	Peasant	Unknown
José	Anzola Tejedor	SINTAGRIM. member of the agrarian summit, member of the communist party	Peasant	Unknown
Luz	Anzola Tejedor	SINTAGRIM, Member of the Communist Party	Peasant	Hooded, armed - identified as illegal groups
Oliver	Herrera Camacho	Social Leader	President of the community action board of the San Antonio village.	Two armed men
Ramón	Montejo Plazas	Social Leader	President of the Communal Action Board of vereda caño clara	Men mobilized on a motorcycle
Simón	Ochoa	Member J.A.C vereda caño clara	Peasant	Men mobilized on a motorcycle

In the municipality of Meta, in Colombia, where these parishes are located, there have been episodes of deep violence, which have been announced from the collective to the media, with a recognizable force and continuity disposition in some social fields since the nineties. These episodes initiated and spun during presidential periods from Álvaro Uribe period (2002-2010), Juan Manuel Santos and the Peace Agreement (2010-2018) and Iván Duque (2018-present). The peace agreement is the starting point to conduct the trace through alternative media, which report acts of violence that have been presented, reported and investigated.

According to the above, these have been events that have led to deepen on the concept of forced disappearance both in the territory and in the structuring of the meaning, which has triggered a collective concern in the communities with more reported cases of acts of continuous violence, as well as has allowed the search for actors who are both responsible and affected. The Editorial Board, an organization dedicated to investigative journalism, wrote a report that included reports, files and photographs reporting cases, alliances and complaints from 1977 to 1988 to denounce and recognize the truth of crimes against humanity that no longer fit the justification of a war that transgressed the time, where murder and kidnapping went from a daily pain already recognized and announced, to a new mechanism from which more strident forms of violence were presented, enforced disappearance.

According to Gutiérrez-Peláez (2009), there are emotional, family and personal and collective memory impairments related to forced disappearance that take a long time to be processed, as well as uncertainty and a constant feeling for not forgetting. Likewise, Tizón (2004) states that the mourning experienced in front of this process is related to socio-cultural networks that manifest themselves in the impossibility of doing rituals, in his monograph *Loss, sorrow, mourning: experiences, research and assistance* suggests that this would not only be a matter of the family order but an environment that also suffers affectations.

In the specific case of Meta, the matrix shows a distribution of origin, the three parishes with more cases are: Mapiripán, La Macarena and Mesetas recording three cases each of them, according to the trace developed in the period of publication from 2017 to 2020, focused on alternative media in the department of Meta.

Bearing in mind that the signing of the peace ended in 2016 during Juan Manuel Santos period, there are still cases of forced disappearance and murder of social leaders. Two women and 12 men belonging to organizations involved in social activities were registered, seven of them farmers, three belonging to the board of communal action, and four with a not very clear record of their social activity. There are no cases of minors, however, through testimonies it has been corroborated that these persistent events continue in the different municipalities of Meta.

The narratives found in these alternative media respond to a digital culture by allowing to build stories and events through the transmedia, i.e., various platforms to make the content visible: audio, text and image. It is found that this information is constructed collectively to transmit in different ways the truths of each community, family or individual.

According to Jenkins (2006), transmedia narratives aim to take advantage of each particularity or capacity of each medium to generate a complex narrative framework, without ignoring or considering obsolete the media prior to this, since they would also be part of the cultural convergence of narratives through their resignification or adaptation to cyberculture or through different means such as: film, videography, the Internet, literature, textual writing and types of languages, whether verbal, non-verbal, symbolic or iconographic (Jenkins, 2006). This narrative seeks to exploit the qualities and capabilities of each media from the creation of content, because the dispersion of information is fundamental to understand what the consumer reads to go from being a passive receiver to an active agent in the search, recovery and verification of information.

This allows us to reaffirm the construction of collective memory by depositing diverse oral, graphic, audiovisual and literary narratives that converge on these platforms created by alternative media with a background of circulating the truth that is not told in traditional media in order to generate another opinion more critical of the government management in turn, public policies, awaken society about the reality of the territory and, above all, recognize the collective pain of a community that tries to rewrite history based on its militant memories, recovered from its disappeared and murdered social leaders.

Rodríguez and Lévy (2014) coined the term collective intelligence, to refer to the new social structures that allow the production and circulation of knowledge within a connected society. To understand the converging narratives that arise in relation to the memory of the victims and that have been silenced or hidden, it is necessary to recognize in them the subaltern stories, those that do not correspond to the "official" but reflect a "Collective Memory", concept coined by Halbwachs (1992, pp. 53-78) to refer to the social process carried out to resignify the past and build a story from below, i.e., from a certain group, a community or society that highlights those "non-heroic" actions that allow a communication of collective identity, community empowerment and dignity.

Theoretical discussion

Emergency of alternative media

According to Pazos (2019), the media is recognized as a political actor with power, shaping itself with the judicial, legislative and administrative system as a central axis that infers from the Government and uses it. Therefore, the media have presented and have existed under the shadow of state and business elites, strategically spreading a unipolitical view of reality. According to Pazos (2019) and Cárdenas (2015), the media are devices of surveillance and power actors with the capacity to generate and create political opinion and, therefore, according to (Federación Internacional de Periodistas, 2016) generate agendas, and their concentration in the elites hegemonize speeches, practices and limit expression.

The media have been historically in charge of informing through discourses and images, so they are expected to have a plural vision; in this sense, the media not only inform, but legitimize content (Cárdenas, 2015); they narrate worldviews, build meanings around violence, peace or war, and contribute that "the citizenship and the different actors build their own perspective of the conflict and perpetuate structural cultural conditions that feed the continuity of violence in all order" (Cárdenas, 2015, pp. 42-43). The media that have been adapted by homogenizing devices have been called traditional media, in contrast to those that underlie the margins, whose purpose is to tell other truths, in which Ayala (1996) highlights the MCA and its presence as a proposal in the face of the monopolization of information.

For Ayala Ramírez (1996, p. 121), the alternative is due to means that pretend to open the spectrum and the place occupied by the recipient of the information, in addition to putting it in the foreground; an alternative construction and place of active citizenships and that claim other truths, but that at the same time can access channels to do so. This is relevant if we move it to the place that these can have in the construction of collective memory in scenarios of conflict or political transition where according to García (2017), "subjectivity is influenced by the hegemonic discourse reproduced from the media, while the discourse is understood as a type of memory that means something about the one who organizes it" (p. 99).

Humanes *et al.* (2013) point out that "traditional media are not pluralistic in terms of information, they do not usually represent interests different from their own whether ideological, economic, political, which becomes an information barrier that affects equity" (p. 7), showing a limitation against subalternated discourses that sometimes fail to have a place of expression. In this sense, the MCA have the alternative of contributing to build memory, understood this and in the words of Nora (2008) as:

> Memory is life, always embodied by living groups and, in that sense, is in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of memory and amnesia, unaware of its successive deformations, vulnerable to all uses and manipulations, capable of long latencies and sudden revitalizations. (pp. 20-21)

In this same way, Halbwachs (1992) describes Collective Memory as a construct of stories, narratives that are not defined with a single story and that, as stated (Martín-Baró 1983 quoted in Villa, 2014), "is the relationship of the group that remembers, placing the subject in a social structure" (p. 81), the construction of collective memory requires plural, non-homogenizing speeches that are linked to reflections on what happened and as Castillo points out (2016):

> The intense presence and influence of the media has allowed much to be said about their power and the roles and positions they occupy in the political dynamics. From defined as fourth power to counterpower, passing through the influence they can exert on public decision makers as subjects that publicly express the opinions of citizens. (p. 9)

For Erll (2012), "Collective memory is a generic concept that covers all those processes of organic, medial and institutional type, whose meaning responds to the way the past and the present influence each other in socio-cultural contexts" (p. 45), and in it the role of the media in fundamental terms.

Truth and post-truth as an active element in every historical moment

The conception around truth and the right to the term itself has been by innate design (Bernales, 2014). As it is known from different non-governmental institutions and organizations, it has always been considered as adjacent to "due process", i.e., it is taken for granted that the truth must be present in each person, integrating it as an autonomous right. It should be emphasized that recognizing the truth in this way is not sufficient for its correct implementation. What is currently at stake for a truth implemented from the legal point of view is that it should be recognized from the formality in international conventions, "as in the fundamental charters of States" (Bernales, 2014, p. 34).

If speaking since history, the truth has been directly linked to the passage of the victims to the multiple humanitarian crises of various kinds, whether these are given by authoritarian governments, or by a transcendence of undignified facts and conditions in certain territories. This being so, the truth develops in terms of seeking answers for violent events that leave without any trace the people who are involved in these events, especially the families and/or communities to which the victims belong. In the searching for answers arise questions such as why the events occurred? In the case of enforced disappearance, where are they?

During the Colombian peace process, truth has been recognized as one of the agreement points reached in 2016. Victims have wondered for decades what is the truth behind the injustices that have threatened the lives and integrity of their families and communities. This process has therefore allowed the truth to be demanded from an institutional response that will enable the peace process to continue from all its actors. At the moment in which expectations of the truth are not met, as in the Colombian case, these demands begin to be perceived from victims and people who hail the truth as a clear abuse of the right seen from the political sphere, leaving aside the recognition as a fact that allows the development of social justice. The truth then moves to a place in politics that takes polarized positions in a context of demanding answers through negative emotionality, leaving aside the dignity of the person as a fundamental cause for the search and demand for a truth.

The hegemonic discussion comes into play from the perception of the media that takes the discourse of truth. It can be accepted or rejected socially, sustaining and strengthening the political discourse as a dignified fact. Is this truth manipulated by a private interest? what the reality does not show is that the victims who claim truth during the process continue to be the most affected by the fact of directly suffering the crime, remembering the events in the judicial process, waiting long bureaucratic procedures that provide clear answers, being that these have transcended both over time where they end up being forgotten, or in the worst case generate threats to the same collectivity who demand narration and recognition of the truth. The victims of peace processes then disband, lose hope in dialogue and relapse into the rejection, rightly so, of an opportunity to claim their dignity and rebuild the social fabric.

Conclusions

The data exposed in the period 2017-2020 in nine MCA show a continuity in the presence of murders of social leaders and people reported missing in the municipality of Meta, indicating that these crimes continue to operate as means of pressure and repression of people who live in this territory, although the data normally do not mention who committed these crimes, it is evident that they are actors that continue operating with active war schemes in these territories.

The research does not cover the period after 2020, so this is a call to systematize this information and make possible analyses of the variations and particularities of these events in the face of the change of government and the bet for the "Total Peace" of current President Petro; other factors not explored here can be analyzed.

The silenced voices in these crimes represent a group historically affected by the conflict as are the peasants; therefore, we think it is positive the recent willingness to name them as subjects of reparation and special protection. This will be a way to make visible multiple affectations that continue to occur, but above all, the measures and policies to protect, repair and accompany their processes from different perspectives.

The alternative MCA investigated represent collective initiatives whose main purpose is to generate critical political opinion and give tools to the citizenry to occupy the space of communication as a field of debate, denunciation, and positioning. In addition, these media accompany their actions with collective processes of mobilization, monitoring and constant reporting of human rights violations committed in this region and in the country. This research emphasized on the Ariari region, but some of these outlets cover other regions where the conflict has been equally acute.

References

Anzola, L. S. (2010). Santos, Presidente de los pobres¡ un oxímoron! *Revista Foro,* (71), 52-65.

Ayala Ramírez, C. (1996). Medios de comunicación alternativos: rasgos, logros, obstáculos y retos. *Realidad: Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 49,* 119-134. https://doi.org/10.5377/realidad.v0i49.5103

Bernales, G. (2014). La imprescriptibilidad de la acción penal en procesos por violaciones a los derechos humanos. *Revista Ius et Praxis, 13*(1), 245-265. http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-00122007000100009

Butler, J. (2017). *Vida precaria. El poder del duelo y la violencia.* Paidós.

Cárdenas Ruiz, J. D. (2015). Los medios de comunicación como actores (des) legitimadores. Algunas reflexiones acerca del rol de los medios de comunicación sobre la construcción de la opinión pública en torno al Proceso de Paz de la Habana. *Análisis Político, 85*, 38-56. Bogotá. https://bit.ly/43vb9ww

Cardozo Rusinque, A. A., Morales Cuadro, A. R. and Martínez Sande, P. A. (2020). Construcción de paz y ciudadanía en la Educación Secundaria y Media en Colombia. *Educação e Pesquisa, 46*, e214753. https://bit.ly/3O3mZIx

Carrasquilla, O. (2020). *La continuidad del conflicto por la paz en Colombia* [Especial]. Colectivo Voces Ecológicas. https://bit.ly/3Q4QA72

Castillo, A. (2016). Los medios de comunicación como actores sociales y políticos. Poder, Medios de Comunicación y Sociedad. *Razón y Palabra, 75.* https://bit.ly/46XDHl8

Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2018). Hasta encontrarlos. El drama de la desaparición forzada en Colombia. CNMH.

Chinchón Álvarez, J. and Rodríguez Rodríguez, J. (2018). La actividad cuasi-judicial del Comité de Derechos Humanos, Comité contra la Tortura y Comité contra las Desapariciones Forzadas: alcance y limitaciones.

Coronado Riaño, S. M. (2019). *Información que El Tiempo Digital y el portal web Verdad Abierta emitieron sobre el sector social LGBT víctima del conflicto armado en Colombia.* (Trabajo de grado). Bogotá. https://bit.ly/470rlcg

Erll, A. (2012). *Memoria colectiva y culturas del recuerdo. Estudio introductorio.* Johanna Córdoba, Tatjana Louis (trads.). Universidad de los Andes, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Uniandes.

Estévez, A. (2018). Biopolítica y necropolítica: ¿constitutivos u opuestos? *Espiral, Estudios sobre Estado y Sociedad, XXV(*7). https://bit.ly/3K7J7jW

Federación Internacional de Periodista. (2016) La concentración de medios en América Latina: su impacto en el derecho a la comunicación. Oficina Regional Latinoamérica y Caribe. https://bit.ly/46QQ5U2

Fernández-Flórez, L. (2009). La revolución de los pobres: ética y política de la necesidad en Ágnes Heller y Hannah Arendt. En Á. Prior Olmos y Á. Rivero Rodríguez (eds.), *La filosofía de Ágnes Heller y su diálogo con Hannah Arendt* (pp. 191-202). Universidad de Murcia.

García, A. (2017). Memoria, subjetividad y medios de comunicación en el conflicto armado de Colombia. *JSR Funlam J. Students'Res., 2*(11), 95-105. https://doi.org/10.21501/25007858.2584

Gobernación del Meta. (2016). Plan de Desarrollo El Meta Tierra de Oportunidades - Inclusión Reconciliación y Equidad. Villavicencio.

Gómez, G. I. (2020). Las disputas por la Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz (JEP): una reflexión crítica sobre su sentido político y jurídico. *Vniversitas, 69.* https://doi.org/10.11144/Javeriana.vj69.djep

Gutiérrez-Peláez, M. (2009). Trauma theory in Sándor Ferenczi's writings of 1931 and 1932. *The International Journal of Psychoanalisis, 90,* 1217-1233. 10.1111/j.1745- 8315.2009.00190.

Indepaz and Marcha Patriótica (2020). Informe Especial. Registro de líderes y personas defensoras de DDHH asesinadas desde la firma del acuerdo de paz. Del 24/11/2016 al 15/07/2020. INDEPAZ.

Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos. (2007). Atención integral a víctimas de tortura en procesos de litigio: aportes psicosociales / Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos. San José, C.R.: IIDH.

Halbwachs, M. (1992). La memoria colectiva de los músicos. En R. Ramos Torre, *Tiempo y Sociedad*. CIS, Siglo XXI.

Humanes, M. L., Montero Sánchez, M. D., Molina de Dios, R. and López-Berini, A. (2013). Pluralismo y paralelismo político en la información televisiva en España. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, (68), 566-581. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2013-990

Huertas Díaz, O., Torres Vásquez, H. and Díaz Pérez, N. C. (2011). El leviatán de los mass media, el peligro de la otredad y el derecho penal: La construcción mediática del enemigo. *Revista de Derecho*, (35), 96-117. https://bit.ly/3O2KZf1

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture.* [La cultura de la convergencia de los medios de comunicación]. Paidós.

Mbembe, A. (2011). *Necropolítica.* Melusina.

Nora, P. (2008). *Los lugares de la Memoria.* Editorial Trilce.

Pazos, J. G. (2019). *Medios de comunicación: ¿al servicio de quién?* CLACSO. https://doi.org/10x.2307/j.ctv1gm030s

Peña, T. and Pirela, J. (2007). La complejidad del análisis documental. *Información, cultura y sociedad: revista del Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliotecológicas,* (16), 55-81. https://bit.ly/3O0XNCv

Rodríguez, N. and Lévy, P. (2014). Inteligencia colectiva en la era digital: Una revolución que apenas comienza. *Comunicación: estudios venezolanos de comunicación,* (166), 35-38. https://bit.ly/3Q5aQ8u

Tizón, J. (2004). *Pérdida, pena, duelo: Vivencia, investigación y asistencia.* Ed. Paidós.

Valencia, S. (2010). *Capitalismo gore.* Melusina.

Valverde Gefaell, C. (2016). *De la necropolítica neoliberal, a la empatía radical. Violencia discreta, cuerpos excluidos y repolitización.* Icaria.

Villa Gómez, J. D., Velásquez Cuartas, N., Barrera Machado, D. and Avendaño Ramírez, M. (2020). El papel de los medios de comunicación en la fabricación de recuerdos, emociones y creencias sobre el enemigo que facilitan la polarización política y legitiman la violencia. *El Ágora USB, 20*(1), 18-49. https://bit.ly/44YKiKx

EDITORIAL GUIDELINES

NORMAS EDITORIALES

Publication guidelines in «Universitas»

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS XXI
UNIVERSITAS

ISSN: 1390-3837 / e-ISSN: 1390-8634

1. General Information

«Universitas» is a bilingual scientific publication of the *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* of Ecuador, published since January 2002 in an uninterrupted manner, with a semi-annual periodicity, specialized in Social and Human Sciences and its interdisciplinary lines such as Sociology, Anthropology, Social Psychology, Social Development, Communities, Latin American Studies, Political Studies, among others.

It is scientific journal, which uses the peer-review system, under double-blind review methodology, according to the publication standards of the American Psychological Association (APA). Compliance with this system allows authors to guarantee an objective, impartial and transparent review process, which facilitates the publication of their inclusion in reference databases, repositories and international indexing.

«Universitas» is indexed in the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) of Web of Science, the LATINDEX catalog, Regional Online Information System for Scientific Journals of Latin America, the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal, is part of the Directory of Open Access Journals-DOAJ, belongs to the Ibero-American Network of Innovation and Scientific Knowledge, REDIB, Network of Scientific Journals of Latin America and the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal, REDALYC, It is also part of the Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals, MIAR and is being evaluated, in the medium term, to become part of SCOPUS.

The journal is published in a double version: printed (ISSN: 1390-3837) and digital (e-ISSN: 1390-8634), in English and Spanish, each work being identified with a DOI (Digital Object Identifier System).

2. Scope and Policy

2.1. Theme

Original contributions in Humanities and Social Sciences, as well as related areas: Sociology, Anthropology, Social Psychology, Social Development, Communities, Latin American Studies, Political Studies, and all related interdisciplinary disciplines with the central theme.

2.2. Contributions

"Universitas" preferably publishes results of empirical research on Human and Social Sciences, written in Spanish and / or English, as well as reports, studies and proposals, as well as selected state-of-the-art literature reviews.

All works must be original, have not been published in any medium or be in the process of arbitration or publication.

- **Research:** 5,000 to 6,500 words of text, including title, abstracts, descriptors, charts and references.
- **Reports, studies and proposals:** 5,000 to 6,500 words of text, including title, abstracts, charts and references.
- **Reviews:** 6,000 to 7,000 words of text, including charts and references. Justified references, would be specially valued. (current and selected from among 70 works)

"Universitas" has a biannual periodicity (20 articles per year), published in March and September and counts by number with two sections of five articles each, the first referring to a **Monographic** topic prepared in advance and with thematic editors and the Second, a section of **Miscellaneous**, composed of varied contributions within the theme of the publication.

3. Presentation, Structure and Submission of the Manuscripts

Texts will be presented in Arial 10 font, single line spacing, complete justification and no tabs or white spaces between paragraphs. Only large blocks (title, authors, summaries, descriptors, credits and headings) will be separated with a blank space. The page should be 2 centimeters in all its margins.

Papers must be submitted in a Microsoft Word document (.doc or .docx), requiring that the file be anonymized in File Properties, so that the author / s identification does not appear.

Manuscripts must be submitted only and exclusively through the OJS (Open Journal System), in which all authors must previously register. Originals sent via email or other interfaces are not accepted.

3.1. Structure of the manuscript

For those works that are empirical investigations, the manuscripts will follow the IMRDC structure, being optional the Notes and Supports. Those papers that, on the contrary, deal with reports, studies, proposals and reviews may be more flexible in their epigraphs, particularly in material and methods, analysis, results, discussion and conclusions. In all typologies of works, references are mandatory.

1) Title (Spanish) / Title (English): Concise but informative, in Spanish on the first line and in English on the second. A maximum of 80 characters with spaces are accepted. The title is not only the responsibility of the authors, changes being able to be proposed by the Editorial Board.

2) Full name and surnames: Of each of the authors, organized by priority. A maximum of 3 authors will be accepted per original, although there may be exceptions justified by the topic, its complexity and extent. Next to the names must follow the professional category, work center, email of each author and ORCID number. It is mandatory to indicate if you have the academic degree of doctor (include Dr./Dra before the name).

3) Abstract (Spanish) / Abstract (English): It will have a maximum extension of 230 words, first in Spanish and then in English. : 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written “This paper analyzes ...”. In the case of the abstract, the use of automatic translators will not be accepted due to their poor quality.

4) Descriptors (Spanish) / Keywords (English): 6 descriptors must be presented for each language version directly related to the subject of the work. The use of the key words set out in UNESCO’s Thesaurus will be positively valued.

5) Introduction and state of the issue: It should include the problem statement, context of the problem, justification, rationale and purpose of the study, using bibliographical citations, as well as the most significant and current literature on the topic at national and international level .

6) Material and methods: It must be written so that the reader can easily understand the development of the research. If applicable, it will describe the methodology, the sample and the form of sampling, as well as the type of statistical analysis used. If it is an original methodology, it is necessary to explain the reasons that led to its use and to describe its possible limitations.

7) Analysis and results: It will try to highlight the most important observations, describing, without making value judgments, the material and methods used. They will appear in a logical sequence in the text and the essential charts and figures avoiding the duplication of data.

8) Discussion and conclusions: Summarize the most important findings, relating the observations themselves with relevant studies, indicating contributions and limitations, without adding data already mentioned in other sections. Also, the discussion and conclusions section should include the deductions and lines for future research.

9) Supports and acknowledgments (optional): The Council Science Editors recommends the author (s) to specify the source of funding for the research. Priority will be given to projects supported by national and international competitive projects. In any case, for the scientific evaluation of the manuscript, it should be only anonymized with XXXX for its initial evaluation, in order not to identify authors and research teams, which should be explained in the Cover Letter and later in the final manuscript.

10) The notes (optional) will go, only if necessary, at the end of the article (before the references). They must be manually annotated, since the system of footnotes or the end of Word is not recognized by the layout systems. The numbers of notes are placed in superscript, both in the text and in the final note. The numbers of notes are placed in superscript, both in the text and in the final note. No notes are allowed that collect simple bibliographic citations (without comments), as these should go in the references.

11) References: Bibliographical citations should be reviewed in the form of references to the text. Under no circumstances should references not mentioned in the text be included. Their number should be sufficient to contextualize the theoretical framework with current and important criteria. They will be presented alphabetically by the first last name of the author.

3.2. Standards for references

Periodic Publications

Journal article (author): Valdés-Pérez, D. (2016). Incidencia de las técnicas de gestión en la mejora de decisiones administrativas [Impact of Management Techniques on the Improvement of Administrative Decisions]. *Retos, 12*(6), 199-2013. https://doi.org/10.17163/ret.n12.2016.05

Journal Article (Up to six authors): Ospina, M.C., Alvarado, S.V., Fefferman, M., & Llanos, D. (2016). Introducción del dossier temático "Infancias y juventudes: violencias, conflictos, memorias y procesos de construcción de paz" [Introduction of the thematic dossier "Infancy and Youth: Violence, Conflicts, Memories and Peace Construction Processes"]. *Universitas, 25*(14), 91-95. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n25.%25x

Journal article (more tan six authors): Smith, S.W., Smith, S.L. Pieper, K.M., Yoo, J.H., Ferrys, A.L., Downs, E.,... Bowden, B. (2006). Altruism on American Television: Examining the Amount of, and Context Surronding. Acts of Helping and Sharing. *Journal of Communication, 56*(4), 707-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00316.x

Journal article (without DOI): Rodríguez, A. (2007). Desde la promoción de salud mental hacia la promoción de salud: La concepción de lo comunitario en la implementación de proyectos sociales. *Alteridad, 2*(1), 28-40. (https://goo.gl/zDb3Me) (2017-01-29).

Books and book chapters

Full books: Cuéllar, J.C., & Moncada-Paredes, M.C. (2014). *El peso de la deuda externa ecuatoriana*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Chapter of book: Zambrano-Quiñones, D. (2015). *El ecoturismo comunitario en Manglaralto y Colonche*. En V.H. Torres (Ed.), Alternativas de Vida: Trece experiencias de desarrollo endógeno en Ecuador (pp. 175-198). Quito: Abya-Yala.

Digital media

Pérez-Rodríguez, M.A., Ramírez, A., & García-Ruíz, R. (2015). La competencia mediática en educación infantil. Análisis del nivel de desarrollo en

España. Universitas Psychologica, 14(2), 619-630. https://doi.org.10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-2.cmei

It is prescriptive that all quotations that have DOI (Digital Object Identifier System) are reflected in the References (can be obtained at http://goo.gl/gfruh1). All journals and books that do not have DOI should appear with their link (in their online version, if they have it, shortened by Google Shortened: http://goo.gl) and date of consultation in the format indicated.

Journal articles should be presented in English, except for those in Spanish and English, in which case it will be displayed in both languages using brackets. All web addresses submitted must be shortened in the manuscript, except for the DOI that must be in the indicated format (https://doi.org/XXX).

3.3. Epigraphs, Figures and Charts

The epigraphs of the body of the article will be numbered in Arabic. They should go without a full box of capital letters, neither underlined nor bold. The numbering must be a maximum of three levels: 1. / 1.1. / 1.1.1. A carriage return will be established at the end of each numbered epigraph.

The charts must be included in the text in Word format according to order of appearance, numbered in Arabic and subtitled with the description of the content.

The graphics or figures will be adjusted to the minimum number required and will be presented incorporated in the text, according to their order of appearance, numbered in Arabic and subtitled with the abbreviated description. Their quality should not be less than 300 dpi, and it may be necessary to have the graph in TIFF, PNG or JPEG format.

4. Submission Process

Two files must be sent through the OJS system of the journal:

1) Presentation and cover, in which the title in Spanish and English will appear, names and surnames of the authors in a standardized form with ORCID number, abstract in both Spanish and English, descriptors and keywords and a statement that the manuscript is an Origina lcontribution, not sent or in the process of being evaluated in another journal, confirmation of the signatory authors, acceptance (if applicable) of formal changes in the manuscript according to the rules and partial transfer of rights to the publisher (use official cover model).

2) Manuscript totally anonymized, according to the norms referred in precedence.

All authors must register with their credits on the OJS platform, although only one of them will be responsible for correspondence.

No author can submit or have in review two manuscripts simultaneously, estimating an absence of four consecutive numbers (2 years).

NORMAS DE PUBLICACIÓN EN «UNIVERSITAS»

REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y HUMANAS
ISSN: 1390-3837 / e-ISSN: 1390-8634

1. Información general

«Universitas» es una publicación científica bilingüe de la Universidad Politécnica Salesiana de Ecuador, editada desde enero de 2002 de forma ininterrumpida, con periodicidad fija semestral, especializada en Ciencias Sociales y Humanas y sus líneas interdisciplinares como Sociología, Antropología, Psicología Social, Estudios Políticos, Estudios del Desarrollo, Estudios Latinoamericanos, Estudios de la Cultura y la Comunicación, entre otras.

Es una revista científica arbitrada, que utiliza el sistema de evaluación externa por expertos (*peer-review*), bajo metodología de pares ciegos (*doble-blind review*), conforme a las normas de publicación de la American Psychological Association (APA). El cumplimiento de este sistema permite garantizar a los autores un proceso de revisión objetivo, imparcial y transparente, lo que facilita a la publicación su inclusión en bases de datos, repositorios e indexaciones internacionales de referencia.

«Universitas» se encuentra indizada en Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) de Web of Science, el catálogo LATINDEX, Sistema Regional de información en Línea para Revistas Científicas de América Latina, El Caribe, España y Portugal, forma parte del Directory of Open Access Journals-DOAJ, pertenece a la Red Iberoamericana de Innovación y Conocimiento Científico, REDIB, Red de Revistas Cientificas de America Latina y el Caribe,España y Portugal, REDALYC, además conforma la Matriz de Información para el Análisis de Revistas, MIAR y está siendo evaluada en mediano plazo para pasar a formar parte de SCOPUS.

La revista se edita en doble versión: impresa (ISSN: 1390-3837) y electrónica (e-ISSN: 1390-8634), en español e inglés, siendo identificado además cada trabajo con un DOI (Digital Object Identifier System).

2. Alcance y Política

2.1. Temática

Contribuciones originales en materia de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, así como áreas afines: Ciencias Sociales y Humanas y sus líneas interdisciplinares como Sociología, Antropología, Psicología Social, Estudios Políticos, Estudios del Desarrollo, Estudios Latinoamericanos, Estudios de la Cultura y la Comunicación y todas aquellas disciplinas conexas interdisciplinarmente con la línea temática central.

2.2. Aportaciones

«Universitas» edita preferentemente resultados de investigación empírica sobre Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, redactados en español y/o inglés, siendo también admisibles informes, estudios y propuestas, así como selectas revisiones de la literatura (*state-of-the-art*).

Todos los trabajos deben ser originales, no haber sido publicados en ningún medio ni estar en proceso de arbitraje o publicación. De esta manera, las aportaciones en la revista pueden ser:

- **Investigaciones:** 5.000 a 6.500 palabras de texto, incluyendo título, resúmenes, descriptores, tablas y referencias.
- **Informes, estudios y propuestas:** 5.000 a 6.500 palabras de texto, incluyendo título, resúmenes, tablas y referencias.
- **Revisiones:** 6.000 a 7.000 palabras de texto, incluidas tablas y referencias. Se valorará especialmente las referencias justificadas, actuales y selectivas de alrededor de unas 70 obras.

«Universitas» tiene periodicidad semestral (20 artículos por año), publicada en los meses de marzo y septiembre y cuenta por número con dos secciones de cinco artículos cada una, la primera referida a un tema **Monográfico** preparado con antelación y con editores temáticos y la segunda, una sección **Miscelánea**, compuesta por aportaciones variadas dentro de la temática de la publicación.

3. Presentación, estructura y envío de los manuscritos

Los trabajos se presentarán en tipo de letra Arial 10, interlineado simple, justificado completo y sin tabuladores ni espacios en blanco entre párrafos. Solo se separarán con un espacio en blanco los grandes bloques (título, autores, resúmenes, descriptores, créditos y epígrafes). La página debe tener 2 centímetros en todos sus márgenes.

Los trabajos deben presentarse en documento de Microsoft Word (.doc o .docx), siendo necesario que el archivo esté anonimizado en Propiedades de Archivo, de forma que no aparezca la identificación de autor/es.

Los manuscritos deben ser enviados única y exclusivamente a través del OJS (Open Journal System), en el cual todos los autores deben darse de alta previamente. No se aceptan originales enviados a través de correo electrónico u otra interfaz.

3.1. Estructura del manuscrito

Para aquellos trabajos que se traten de investigaciones de carácter empírico, los manuscritos seguirán la estructura IMRDC, siendo opcionales los epígrafes de Notas y Apoyos. Aquellos trabajos que por el contrario se traten de informes, estudios, propuestas y revisiones podrán ser más flexibles en sus epígrafes, especialmente en Material y métodos, Análisis y resultados y Discusión y conclusiones. En todas las tipologías de trabajos son obligatorias las Referencias.

1) Título (español) / Title (inglés): Conciso pero informativo, en castellano en primera línea y en inglés en segunda. Se aceptan como máximo 80 caracteres con espacio. El título no solo es responsabilidad de los autores, pudiéndose proponer cambios por parte del Consejo Editorial.

2) Nombre y apellidos completos: De cada uno de los autores, organizados por orden de prelación. Se aceptarán como máximo 3 autores por original, aunque pudieren existir excepciones justificadas por el tema, su complejidad y extensión. Junto a los nombres ha de seguir la categoría profesional, centro de trabajo, correo electrónico de cada autor y número de ORCID. Es obligatorio indicar si se posee el grado académico de doctor (incluir Dr./Dra. antes del nombre).

3) Resumen (español) / Abstract (inglés): Tendrá como extensión máxima 230 palabras, primero en español y después en inglés. En el resumen se describirá de forma concisa y en este orden: 1) Justificación del tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5) Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal "El presente trabajo analiza…". En el caso del abstract no se admitirá el empleo de traductores automáticos por su pésima calidad.

4) Descriptores (español) / Keywords (inglés): Se deben exponer 6 descriptores por cada versión idiomática relacionados directamente con el tema del trabajo. Será valorado positivamente el uso de las palabras claves expuestas en el Thesaurus de la UNESCO.

5) Introducción y estado de la cuestión: Debe incluir el planteamiento del problema, el contexto de la problemática, la justificación, fundamentos y propósito del estudio, utilizando citas bibliográficas, así como la literatura más significativa y actual del tema a escala nacional e internacional.

6) Material y métodos: Debe ser redactado de forma que el lector pueda comprender con facilidad el desarrollo de la investigación. En su caso, describirá la metodología, la muestra y la forma de muestreo, así como se hará referencia al tipo de análisis estadístico empleado. Si se trata de una metodología original, es necesario exponer las razones que han conducido a su empleo y describir sus posibles limitaciones.

7) Análisis y resultados: Se procurará resaltar las observaciones más importantes, describiéndose, sin hacer juicios de valor, el material y métodos empleados. Aparecerán en una secuencia lógica en el texto y las tablas y figuras imprescindibles evitando la duplicidad de datos.

8) Discusión y conclusiones: Resumirá los hallazgos más importantes, relacionando las propias observaciones con estudios de interés, señalando aportaciones y limitaciones, sin redundar datos ya comentados en otros apartados. Asimismo, el apartado de discusión y conclusiones debe incluir las deducciones y líneas para futuras investigaciones.

9) Apoyos y agradecimientos (opcionales): El Council Science Editors recomienda a los autor/es especificar la fuente de financiación de la investigación. Se considerarán prioritarios los trabajos con aval de proyectos competitivos nacionales e internacionales. En todo caso, para la valoración científica del manuscrito, este debe ir anonimizado con XXXX solo para su evaluación inicial, a fin de no identificar autores y equipos de investigación, que deben ser explicitados en la Carta de Presentación y posteriormente en el manuscrito final.

10) Las notas (opcionales) irán, solo en caso necesario, al final del artículo (antes de las referencias). Deben anotarse manualmente, ya que el sistema de notas al pie o al final de Word no es reconocido por los sistemas de maquetación. Los números de notas se colocan en superíndice, tanto en el texto como en la nota final. No se permiten notas que recojan citas bibliográficas simples (sin comentarios), pues éstas deben ir en las referencias.

11) Referencias: Las citas bibliográficas deben reseñarse en forma de referencias al texto. Bajo ningún caso deben incluirse referencias no citadas en el texto. Su número debe ser suficiente para contextualizar el marco teórico con criterios de actualidad e importancia. Se presentarán alfabéticamente por el primer apellido del autor.

3.2. Normas para las referencias

Publicaciones periódicas

Artículo de revista (un autor): Valdés-Pérez, D. (2016). Incidencia de las técnicas de gestión en la mejora de decisiones administrativas [Impact of Management Techniques on the Improvement of Administrative Decisions]. *Retos, 12*(6), 199-2013. https://doi.org/10.17163/ret.n12.2016.05

Artículo de revista (hasta seis autores): Ospina, M.C., Alvarado, S.V., Fefferman, M., & Llanos, D. (2016). Introducción del dossier temático “Infancias y juventudes: violencias, conflictos, memorias y procesos de construcción de paz” [Introduction of the thematic dossier “Infancy and Youth: Violence, Conflicts, Memories and Peace Construction Processes”]. *Universitas, 25*(14), 91-95. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n25.%25x

Artículo de revista (más de seis autores): Smith, S.W., Smith, S.L. Pieper, K.M., Yoo, J.H., Ferrys, A.L., Downs, E.,... Bowden, B. (2006). Altruism on American Television: Examining the Amount of, and Context Surronding. Acts of Helping and Sharing. *Journal of Communication, 56*(4), 707-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00316.x

Artículo de revista (sin DOI): Rodríguez, A. (2007). Desde la promoción de salud mental hacia la promoción de salud: La concepción de lo comunitario en la implementación de proyectos sociales. *Alteridad, 2*(1), 28-40. (https://goo.gl/zDb3Me) (2017-01-29).

Libros y capítulos de libro

Libros completos: Cuéllar, J.C., & Moncada-Paredes, M.C. (2014). *El peso de la deuda externa ecuatoriana*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Capítulos de libro: Zambrano-Quiñones, D. (2015). *El ecoturismo comunitario en Manglaralto y Colonche*. En V.H. Torres (Ed.), Alternativas de Vida: Trece experiencias de desarrollo endógeno en Ecuador (pp. 175-198). Quito: Abya-Yala.

Medios electrónicos

Pérez-Rodríguez, M.A., Ramírez, A., & García-Ruíz, R. (2015). La competencia mediática en educación infantil. Análisis del nivel de desarrollo en España. Universitas Psychologica, 14(2), 619-630. https://doi.org.10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-2.cmei

Es prescriptivo que todas las citas que cuenten con DOI (Digital Object Identifier System) estén reflejadas en las Referencias (pueden obtenerse en http://goo.gl/gfruh1). Todas las revistas y libros que no tengan DOI deben aparecer con su link (en su versión on-line, en caso de que la tengan, acortada, mediante Google Shortener: http://goo.gl) y fecha de consulta en el formato indicado.

Los artículos de revistas deben ser expuestos en idioma inglés, a excepción de aquellos que se encuentren en español e inglés, caso en el que se expondrá en ambos idiomas utilizando corchetes. Todas las direcciones web que se presenten tienen que ser acortadas en el manuscrito, a excepción de los DOI que deben ir en el formato indicado (https://doi.org/XXX).

3.3. Epígrafes, tablas y gráficos

Los epígrafes del cuerpo del artículo se numerarán en arábigo. Irán sin caja completa de mayús-culas, ni subrayados, ni negritas. La numeración ha de ser como máximo de tres niveles: 1. / 1.1. / 1.1.1. Al final de cada epígrafe numerado se establecerá un retorno de carro.

Las tablas deben presentarse incluidas en el texto en formato Word según orden de aparición, numeradas en arábigo y subtituladas con la descripción del contenido.

Los gráficos o figuras se ajustarán al número mínimo necesario y se presentarán incorporadas al texto, según su orden de aparición, numeradas en arábigo y subtituladas con la descripción abreviada. Su calidad no debe ser inferior a 300 ppp, pudiendo ser necesario contar con el gráfico en formato TIFF, PNG o JPEG.

4. Proceso de envío

Deben remitirse a través del sistema OJS de la revista dos archivos:

1) Presentación y portada, en la que aparecerá el título en español e inglés, nombres y apellidos de los autores de forma estandarizada con número de ORCID, resumen, abstract, descriptores y keywords y una declaración de que el manuscrito se trata de una aportación original, no enviada ni en proceso de evaluación en otra revista, confirmación de las autorías firmantes, aceptación (si procede) de cambios formales en el manuscrito conforme a las normas y cesión parcial de derechos a la editorial (usar modelo oficial de portada).

2) Manuscrito totalmente anonimizado, conforme a las normas referidas en precedencia.

Todos los autores han de darse de alta, con sus créditos, en la plataforma OJS, si bien uno solo de ellos será el responsable de correspondencia. Ningún autor podrá enviar o tener en revisión dos manuscritos de forma simultánea, estimándose una carencia de cuatro números consecutivos (2 años).

GUIDELINES FOR EXTERNAL REVIEWERS OF «UNIVERSITAS»

The C**ouncil of External Reviewers of «Universitas»** is an independent collegiate body whose purpose is to guarantee the excellence of this scientific publication, because the blind evaluation - based exclusively on the quality of the contents of the manuscripts and carried out by experts of recognized International prestige in the field - is, without a doubt, the best guarantee for the advancement of science and to preserve in this header an original and valuable scientific production.

To this end, the **Council of External Reviewers** is made up of several scholars and international scientists specialized in **Education,** essential to select the articles of the greatest impact and interest for the international scientific community. This in turn allows that all the articles selected to publish in **«Universitas»** have an academic endorsement and objectifiable reports on the originals.

Of course, all reviews in **«Universitas»** use the internationally standardized system of double-blind peer evaluation that guarantees the anonymity of manuscripts and reviewers. As a measure of transparency, the complete lists of reviewers are published on the official website of the journal (www. http://Universitas.ups.edu.ec/) los listados completos de los revisores.

1. Criteria for acceptance/rejection of manuscript evaluation

The editorial team of «Universitas» selects those that are considered more qualified in the subject of the manuscript from the list of reviewers of the Council of Reviewers. While the publication requires the maximum collaboration of reviewers to expedite the evaluations and reports on each original, acceptance of the review must be linked to:

a. **Expertise.** Acceptance necessarily entails the possession of competences in the specific theme of the article to be evaluated.
b. **Availability.** Reviewing an original takes time and involves careful reflection on many aspects.

c. **Conflict of interests.** In case of identification of the authorship of the manuscript (despite their anonymity), excessive academic or family closeness to their authors, membership in the same University, Department, Research Group, Thematic Network, Research Projects, joint publications with authors ... or any other type of connection or conflict / professional proximity; The reviewer must reject the publisher's invitation for review.
d. **Commitment of confidentiality.** Reception of a manuscript for evaluation requires the Reviewer to express a commitment of confidentiality, so that it cannot be divulged to a third party throughout the process.

In the event that the reviewer cannot carry out the activity for some of these reasons or other justifiable reasons, he/she must notify the publisher by the same route that he/she has received the invitation, specifying the reasons for rejection.

2. General criteria for the evaluation of manuscripts

a) Topic

In addition to being valuable and relevant to the scientific community, the topic that is presented in the original must be limited and specialized in time and space, without excessive localism.

b) Redaction

The critical assessment in the review report must be objectively written, providing content, quotes or references of interest to support its judgment.

c) Originality

As a fundamental criterion of quality, an article must be original, unpublished and suitable. In this sense, reviewers should answer these three questions in the evaluation:

- Is the article sufficiently novel and interesting to justify publication?
- Does it contribute anything to the knowledge canon?

- Is the research question relevant?

A quick literature search using repositories such as Web of Knowledge, Scopus and Google Scholar to see if the research has been previously covered, may be helpful.

d) Structure

Manuscripts that refer to «Universitas» must follow the IMRDC structure, except those that are literature reviews or specific studies. In this sense, the originals must contain summary, introduction, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion.

- The ***title, abstract, and keywords*** should accurately describe the content of the article.
- The ***review of the literature*** should summarize the state of the question of the most recent and adequate research for the presented work. It will be especially evaluated with criteria of suitability and that the references are to works of high impact - especially in WoS, Scopus, Scielo, etc. It should also include the general explanation of the study, its central objective and the followed methodological design.
- In case of research, in the ***materials and methods,*** the author must specify how the data, the process and the instruments used to respond to the hypothesis, the validation system, and all the information necessary to replicate the study are collected.
- ***Results*** must be clearly specified in logical sequence. It is important to check if the figures or charts presented are necessary or, if not, redundant with the content of the text.
- In the ***discussion,*** the data obtained should be interpreted in the light of the literature review. Authors should include here if their article supports or contradicts previous theories. The conclusions will summarize the advances that the research presents in the area of scientific knowledge, the future lines of research and the main difficulties or limitations for carrying out the research.
- ***Language:*** It will be positively assessed if the language used facilitates reading and is in favor of the clarity, simplicity, precision and transparency of the scientific language. The Reviewer should not proceed

to correction, either in Spanish or English, but will inform the Editors of these grammatical or orthographical and typographical errors.

- Finally, a thorough **review of the references** is required in case any relevant work has been omitted. The references must be precise, citing within the logic of the subject at study, its main works as well as the documents that most resemble the work itself, as well as the latest research in the area.

3. Relevant valuation dimensions

«Universitas» uses an evaluation matrix of each original that responds to the editorial criteria and to compliance with the publication normative. In this sense, the reviewers must attend to the qualitative-quantitative assessment of each of the aspects proposed in this matrix with criteria of objectivity, reasoning, logic and expertise.

RESEARCHES	
Valuable items	**P.**
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	0/5
02. Thematic relevance 03. Originality of the work 04. Review of the literature	0/10
05. Structure and organization of the article 06. Argumentative capabilities 07. Redaction	0/10
08. Methodological rigor 09. Research instruments	0/10
10. Research results 11. Advances 12. Discussion 13. Conclusions	0/10
14. Quotations (variety and richness) 15. References	0/5
Total	50

If the original is a review of the literature (status of the subject) or other type of study (reports, proposals, experiences, among others), the Editorial Board will send to the reviewers a different matrix, including the characteristics of Structure of this type of originals:

REPORTS, STUDIES, PROPOSALS, REVIEWS	
Valuable items	**P.**
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	0/5
02. Thematic relevance	0/10
03. Review of the literature	0/10
04. Structure and organization of the article 05. Argumentative capabilities and coherence 06. Scientific redaction	0/10
07. original contributions 08. Conclusions	0/10
09. Quotations 10. References	0/5
Total	50

4. Ethical Considerations

a) Plagiarism: Although the journal uses plagiarism detection systems, if the reviewer suspects that an original is a substantial copy of another work, he must immediately inform the Editors citing the previous work in as much detail as possible.

b) Fraud: If there is real or remote suspicion that the results in an article are false or fraudulent, it is necessary to inform them to the Editors.

5. Evaluation of the originals

After the quantitative-qualitative evaluation of the manuscript under review, the reviewer may make recommendations to improve the quality of the manuscript. However, the manuscript will be graded in three ways:

a. **Acceptance without review**
b. **Conditional acceptance** and therefore review (greater or lesser). In the latter case, it is necessary to clearly identify which review is necessary, listing the comments and even specifying paragraphs and pages suggesting modifications.
c. **Rejection** due to detected deficiencies justified and reasoned with quantitative and quantitative assessment. The report should be longer if a score of less than 40 of the 50 possible points is obtained.

INDICADORES PARA REVISORES EXTERNOS DE «UNIVERSITAS»

El C**onsejo de Revisores Externos de «Universitas»** es un órgano colegiado independiente cuyo fin es garantizar la excelencia de esta publicación científica, debido a que la evaluación ciega –basada exclusivamente en la calidad de los contenidos de los manuscritos y realizada por expertos de reconocido prestigio internacional en la materia– es la mejor garantía y, sin duda, el mejor aval para el avance de la ciencia y para preservar en esta cabecera una producción científica original y valiosa.

Para ello, el **Consejo de Revisores Externos** está conformado por diversos académicos y científicos internacionales especialistas en **Ciencias Sociales,** esenciales para seleccionar los artículos de mayor impacto e interés para la comunidad científica internacional. Esto permite a su vez que todos los artículos seleccionados para publicar en **«Universitas»** cuenten con un aval académico e informes objetivables sobre los originales.

Por supuesto, todas las revisiones en **«Universitas»** emplean el sistema estandarizado internacionalmente de evaluación por pares con «doble ciego» (doble-blind) que garantiza el anonimato de los manuscritos y de los revisores de los mismos. Como medida de transparencia, anualmente se hacen públicos en la web oficial de la revista (www. http://Universitas.ups.edu.ec/) los listados completos de los revisores.

1. Criterios de aceptación/rechazo de evaluación manuscritos

El equipo editorial de **«Universitas»** selecciona del listado de revisores del Consejo de Revisores a aquellos que se estiman más cualificado en la temática del manuscrito. Si bien por parte de la publicación se pide la máxima colaboración de los revisores para agilizar las evaluaciones y los informes sobre cada original, la aceptación de la revisión ha de estar vinculada a:

a. **Experticia.** La aceptación conlleva necesariamente la posesión de competencias en la temática concreta del artículo a evaluar.
b. **Disponibilidad.** Revisar un original exige tiempo y conlleva reflexión concienzuda de muchos aspectos.

c. **Conflicto de intereses.** En caso de identificación de la autoría del manuscrito (a pesar de su anonimato), excesiva cercanía académica o familiar a sus autores, pertenencia a la misma Universidad, Departamento, Grupo de Investigación, Red Temática, Proyectos de Investigación, publicaciones conjuntas con los autores… o cualquier otro tipo de conexión o conflicto/cercanía profesional; el revisor debe rechazar la invitación del editor para su revisión.
d. **Compromiso de confidencialidad.** La recepción de un manuscrito para su evaluación exige del Revisor un compromiso expreso de confidencialidad, de manera que éste no puede, durante todo el proceso, ser divulgado a un tercero.

En caso que el revisor no pueda llevar a cabo la actividad por algunos de estos motivos u otros justificables, debe notificarlo al editor por la misma vía que ha recibido la invitación, especificando los motivos de rechazo.

2. Criterios generales de evaluación de manuscritos

a) Tema

La temática que se plantea en el original, además de ser valiosa y relevante para la comunidad científica, ha de ser limitada y especializada en tiempo y espacio, sin llegar al excesivo localismo.

b) Redacción

La valoración crítica en el informe de revisión ha de estar redactada de forma objetiva, aportando contenido, citas o referencias de interés para argumentar su juicio.

c) Originalidad

Como criterio de calidad fundamental, un artículo debe ser original, inédito e idóneo. En este sentido, los revisores deben responder a estas tres preguntas en la evaluación:

- ¿Es el artículo suficientemente novedoso e interesante para justificar su publicación?

- ¿Aporta algo al canon del conocimiento?
- ¿Es relevante la pregunta de investigación?

Una búsqueda rápida de literatura utilizando repositorios tales como Web of Knowledge, Scopus y Google Scholar para ver si la investigación ha sido cubierta previamente puede ser de utilidad.

d) Estructura

Los manuscritos que se remiten a **«Universitas»** deben seguir obligatoriamente la estructura IMRyD, excepto aquellos que sean revisiones de la literatura o estudios específicos. En este sentido, los originales han de contener resumen, introducción, metodología, resultados, discusión y conclusión.

- El ***título, el resumen y las palabras clave*** han de describir exactamente el contenido del artículo.
- La ***revisión de la literatura*** debe resumir el estado de la cuestión de las investigaciones más recientes y adecuadas para el trabajo presentado. Se valorará especialmente con criterios de idoneidad y que las referencias sean a trabajos de alto impacto –especialmente en WoS, Scopus, Scielo, etc. Debe incluir además la explicación general del estudio, su objetivo central y el diseño metodológico seguido.
- En caso de investigaciones, en los ***materiales y métodos,*** el autor debe precisar cómo se recopilan los datos, el proceso y los instrumentos usados para responder a las hipótesis, el sistema de validación, y toda la información necesaria para replicar el estudio.
- En los ***resultados*** se deben especificar claramente los hallazgos en secuencia lógica. Es importante revisar si las tablas o cuadros presentados son necesarios o, caso contrario, redundantes con el contenido del texto.
- En la ***discusión*** se deben interpretar los datos obtenidos a la luz de la revisión de la literatura. Los autores deberán incluir aquí si su artículo apoya o contradice las teorías previas. Las ***conclusiones*** resumirán los avances que la investigación plantea en el área del conocimiento científico, las futuras líneas de investigación y las principales dificultades o limitaciones para la realización de la investigación.
- ***Idioma:*** Se valorará positivamente si el idioma utilizado facilita la lectura y va en favor de la claridad, sencillez, precisión y transparen-

cia del lenguaje científico. El Revisor no debe proceder a corrección, ya sea en español o inglés, sino que informará a los Editores de estos errores gramaticales u ortotipográficos.

- Finalmente, se requiere una profunda ***revisión de las referencias*** por si se hubiera omitido alguna obra relevante. Las referencias han de ser precisas, citando en la lógica de la temática a estudiar, sus principales obras así como los documentos que más se asemejen al propio trabajo, así como las últimas investigaciones en el área.

3. Dimensiones relevantes de valoración

«Universitas» utiliza una matriz de evaluación de cada original que responde a los criterios editoriales y al cumplimiento de la normativa de la publicación. En este sentido los revisores deberán atender a la valoración cuali-cuantitativa de cada uno de los aspectos propuestos en esta matriz con criterios de objetividad, razonamiento, lógica y experticia.

INVESTIGACIONES	
Ítems valorables	**P.**
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	0/5
02. Relevancia de la temática 03. Originalidad del trabajo 04. Revisión de la literatura	0/10
05. Estructura y organización artículo 06. Capacidad argumental 07. Redacción	0/10
08. Rigor metodológico 09. Instrumentos de investigación	0/10
10. Resultados de investigación 11. Avances 12. Discusión 13. Conclusiones	0/10
14. Citaciones (variedad y riqueza) 15. Referencias	0/5
Total máximo	50

En caso de tratarse el original de una revisión de la literatura (estado de la cuestión) u otro tipo de estudio (informes, propuestas, experiencias, entre otras), el Consejo Editorial remitirá a los revisores una matriz distinta, comprendiendo las características propias de estructura de este tipo de originales:

ESTUDIOS, INFORMES, PROPUESTAS, EXPERIENCIAS	
Ítems valorables	**P.**
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	0/5
02. Relevancia de la temática	0/10
03. Revisión de la literatura	0/10
04. Estructura y organización artículo 05. Capacidad argumental y coherencia 06. Redacción científica	0/10
07. Aportaciones originales 08. Conclusiones	0/10
09. Citaciones 10. Referencias	0/5
Total máximo	50

4. Cuestiones éticas

a) Plagio: Aunque la revista utiliza sistemas de detección de plagio, si el revisor sospechare que un original es una copia sustancial de otra obra, ha de informar de inmediato a los Editores citando la obra anterior con tanto detalle cómo le sea posible.

b) Fraude: Si hay sospecha real o remota de que los resultados en un artículo son falsos o fraudulentos, es necesario informar de ellos a los Editores.

5. Evaluación de los originales

Una vez realizada la evaluación cuanti-cualitativa del manuscrito en revisión, el revisor podrá realizar recomendaciones para mejorar la calidad del original. Sin embargo, se atenderá a la calificación del manuscrito de tres maneras:

a. Rechazo debido a las deficiencias detectadas, justificadas y razonadas con valoración cualitativa y cuantitativa. El informe ha de ser más extenso si obtiene menos de los 30 de los 50 puntos posibles.
b. Aceptación sin revisión.
c. Aceptación condicionada y por ende con revisión (mayor o menor). En este último caso, se ha de identificar claramente qué revisión es necesaria, enumerando los comentarios e incluso especificando párrafos y páginas en las que sugieren modificaciones.

PROTOCOL OF MANUSCRIPT EVALUATION FOR EXTERNAL REVIEWERS

Article Details		
Date of submission for evaluation:	Date of return of evaluation:	Article code: xxxx
Title of the article to be evaluated:		
SECCIÓN: INFORMES, ESTUDIOS, PROPUESTAS Y EXPERIENCIAS		
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	Mandatory comments:	Value 0 to 5
02. Thematic relevance	Mandatory comments:	Value 0 to 5
03. Review of the literature	Mandatory comments:	Value 0 to 5
4. Structure and organization of the article 5. Argumentative capabilities and coherence 6. Scientific redaction	Mandatory comments:	Value 0 to 5
7. Original contributions 8. Conclusions	Mandatory comments:	Value 0 to 5
9. Quotations 10. References	Mandatory comments:	Value 0 to 5
SOCORE	Of the total of 50 foreseeable points, this evaluator grants:	

<table>
<tr><td>REDACTED OPINION
(More detailed if the work does not get 40 points, to inform the author(s)

This text is sent verbatim to the author (s) anonymously.</td><td colspan="8"></td></tr>
<tr><td>WORTH PUBLISHING</td><td></td><td>No</td><td></td><td></td><td>Yes</td><td></td><td></td><td>Yes, with minor changes</td></tr>
<tr><td>PROPOSED CHANGES
(In case of “Yes, with conditions”)</td><td colspan="8"></td></tr>
</table>

PROTOCOLO DE EVALUACIÓN DE MANUSCRITOS PARA REVISORES EXTERNOS

Datos del artículo		
Fecha envío evaluación:	Fecha devolución evaluación:	Código artículo: xxxx
Título del artículo a evaluar:		
SECCIÓN: ESTUDIOS, PROPUESTAS, INFORMES Y REVISIONES		
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	Comentarios obligatorios:	
		Valore de 0 a 5
02. Relevancia de la temática	Comentarios obligatorios:	
		Valore de 0 a 10
03. Revisión de la literatura	Comentarios obligatorios:	
		Valore de 0 a 10
4. Estructura y organización artículo 5. Capacidad argumental y coherencia 6. Redacción científica	Comentarios obligatorios:	
		Valore de 0 a 10
7. Aportaciones originales 8. Conclusiones	Comentarios obligatorios	
		Valore de 0 a 10
9. Citaciones 10. Referencias	Comentarios obligatorios:	
		Valore de 0 a 5
PUNTUACIÓN OBTENIDA	Del total de 50 puntos previsibles, este evaluador otorga:	

OPINIÓN REDACTADA (Más detallada si el trabajo no obtiene 40 puntos, para informar al autor/es). Este texto se remite textualmente a los autor/es de forma anónima.								
PUBLICABLE		No			Sí			Sí, con condiciones
MODIFICACIONES PROPUESTAS (En caso de «Sí, con condiciones»)								

Cover Letter

Section (Mark)
Mnographic Dossier ___
Miscellany ___

Title in Spanish: Arial 14 bold and centered. Maximum 80 characters with spaces

Title in English: Arial 14 cursive.

Maximum 80 characters with spaces

Name author 1 (standardized)
Professional category, Institution,
Country Institutional email
ORCID

Name author 2 (standardized)
Professional category, Institution, Country
Institutional email
ORCID

Name author 3 (standardized)
Professional category, Institution, Country
Institutional email
ORCID

Abstract (Spanish)

Minimum 210 and maximum 230 words. It must include 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written "The present paper analyzes ..."

Abstract (English)

Minimum 210 and maximum 230 words. It must include 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written "The present paper analyzes ..." Do not use automatic translation systems.

Descriptors (Spanish)

6 standardized terms preferably of a single word and of the UNESCO Thesaurus separated by commas (,).

Keywords

The 6 terms referred to in English separated by commas (,). Do not use automatic translation systems.

Financial Support of Research (Optional)

Entity:
Country:
City:
Subsidized project:
Code of the project:

PRESENTATION

Cover Letter

Mr. Editor of «Universitas»

Having read the regulations of the journal «Universitas» and analyzed its coverage, thematic area and approach, I consider that this journal is the ideal one for the dissemination of the work that I hereby attach, for which I beg you to be submitted for consideration for publication. The original has the following title "____________________________________", whose authorship corresponds to ______________________________________ ________________________.

The authors (s) certify that this work has not been published, nor is it under consideration for publication in any other journal or editorial work.

The author (s) are responsible for their content and have contributed to the conception, design and completion of the work, analysis and interpretation of data, and to have participated in the writing of the text and its revisions, as well as in the approval of the version which is finally referred to as an attachment.

Changes to the content are accepted if they occur after the review process, and also changes in the style of the manuscript by the editorial process of «Universitas».

Transfer of Copyright and Declaration of Conflict of Interest

The *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* of Ecuador preserves the copyrights of the published works and will favor the reuse of the same. The works are published in the electronic edition of the journal under a Creative Commons Attribution / Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 Ecuador license: they can be copied, used, disseminated, transmitted and publicly displayed.

The undersigned author partially transfers the copyrights of this work to the *Universidad Politécnica* Salesiana of Ecuador, for the printed editions.

It is also declared that they have respected the ethical principles of research and are free from any conflict of interest.

In ____(city), by the____ days of the month of ______ of 201_
Signed. (By the author or in the case, all the authors)

Authors' first and last name
Identification document

Signature

Authors' first and last name
Identification document

Signature

Authors' first and last name
Identification document

Signature

Note: Once saved the completed and signed document, it must be register through the OJS system in the section "Complementary Files".

Cover Letter

Sección (Marcar)
Dossier Monográfico ___
Miscelánea ___

Título en español: Arial 14 negrita y centrado. Máximo 80 caracteres con espacios

Title in English: Arial 14 cursiva.

Máximo 80 caracteres con espacios

Nombre autor 1 (estandarizado)
Categoría profesional, Institución, País
Correo electrónico institucional
ORCID

Nombre autor 2 (estandarizado)
Categoría profesional, Institución, País
Correo electrónico institucional
ORCID

Nombre autor 3 (estandarizado)
Categoría profesional, Institución, País
Correo electrónico institucional
ORCID

Resumen

Mínimo 210 y máximo 230 palabras. Debe incluir 1) Justificación del tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5)

Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal “El presente trabajo analiza…”

Abstract

Mínimo 210 y máximo 230 palabras *cursiva. Debe incluir 1) Justificación del tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5) Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal “El presente trabajo analiza…” No utilizar sistemas de traducción automáticos.*

Descriptores

6 términos estandarizados preferiblemente de una sola palabra y del Thesaurus de la UNESCO separados por coma (,).

Keyword

Los 6 términos referidos en inglés separados por coma (,). No utilizar sistemas de traducción automáticos.

Apoyos y soporte financiero de la investigación (Opcional)

Entidad:
País:
Ciudad:
Proyecto subvencionado:
Código de proyecto:

PRESENTACIÓN

Cover Letter

Sr. Editor de «Universitas»

Leída la normativa de la revista «Universitas» y analizada su cobertura, área temática y enfoque, considero que esta revista es la idónea para la difusión del trabajo que le adjunto, por lo que le ruego sea sometida a la consideración para su publicación. El original lleva por título "______________ ________________________", cuya autoría corresponde a _____________ ____.

El autor/es certifican que este trabajo no ha sido publicado, ni está en vías de consideración para su publicación en ninguna otra revista u obra editorial.

El autor/es se responsabilizan de su contenido y de haber contribuido a la concepción, diseño y realización del trabajo, análisis e interpretación de datos, y de haber participado en la redacción del texto y sus revisiones, así como en la aprobación de la versión que finalmente se remite en adjunto.

Se aceptan la introducción de cambios en el contenido si hubiere lugar tras la revisión, y de cambios en el estilo del manuscrito por parte de la redacción de «Universitas».

Cesión de derechos y declaración de conflicto de intereses

La editorial Abya-Yala (editorial matriz de las obras de la Universidad Politécnica Salesiana de Ecuador) conserva los derechos patrimoniales (*copyright*) de las obras publicadas y favorecerá la reutilización de las mismas. Las obras se publican en la edición electrónica de la revista bajo una licencia Creative Commons Reconocimiento / No Comercial-Sin Obra Derivada 3.0 Ecuador: se pueden copiar, usar, difundir, transmitir y exponer públicamente.

El autor/es abajo firmante transfiere parcialmente los derechos de propiedad (*copyright*) del presente trabajo a la editorial Abya-Yala (Ecuador) (RUC: XXXXXX), para las ediciones impresas.

Se declara además haber respetado los principios éticos de investigación y estar libre de cualquier conflicto de intereses.

En ____(ciudad), a los ____ días del mes de ______ de 201_
Firmado. (Por el autor o en su caso, todos los autores)

Nombre y apellido de los autores
Documento de Identidad

Firma

Nombre y apellido de los autores
Documento de Identidad

Firma

Nombre y apellido de los autores
Documento de Identidad

Firma

Nota: Una vez haya guardado el documento cumplimentado y firmado, deberá consignarlo a través del sistema OJS en la sección "Ficheros Complementarios".

Call for papers Dossier
Trends in contemporary public administration: new methodological and conceptual approaches towards the modernization of democracy

No. 39. September 2023-February 2024

Coordinators

Dr. Daniel Javier De La Garza-Montemayor, Universidad de Monterrey, México
Dr. José Antonio Peña-Ramos, Universidad de Granada, España
Dra. Fátima Recuero-López, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, España

At a historical moment like the present one, in which there are enormous challenges in terms of democratic governance, it is important to debate in the academy on the trends of Contemporary Public Administration, from a multidisciplinary approach. This construction of dialogues and studies of both an empirical nature and a literature review is pertinent in view of the need to influence better practices in Public Administration from a regional perspective as well as from the perspective of comparative studies at an international level.

Within the broad discussion generated by the review of desirable experiences in Public Administration, there is, of course, the ethical and strategic use of public resources. We will find ample experiences and lessons learned in the region regarding participatory budgeting, results-based programs, as well as the exercise of transparency, which allow for greater legitimacy of institutions at a time of political disaffection experienced by several countries.

The construction of effective and efficient public policies is the responsibility of different levels of government, but also of representative groups of the population that actively collaborate in the construction of innovative programs to face the challenges of the present. It is a task in which the academy is called upon to participate in a constructive manner, in order to contribute to generate a virtuous circle in which theory can influence better solutions and, at the same time, practical experience can contribute to enrich the conceptual discussion.

Priority topics for the monograph, but not reserved to those shown for consideration:

- Democratic governance and policies aimed at building comprehensive long-term solutions.
- Transparency, oversight and accountability in the comprehensive fight against corruption.
- Institutional efforts aimed at combating corruption: conceptual, political and legal challenges.
- New Public Management in the current context: new approaches to the present.
- Analysis and evaluation of effective public policies: focus on process and cycles.
- Governmental innovation: building a new institutional framework to face the challenges of the present.
- Open government and civic involvement: institutionalized political participation and collective construction of solutions to common problems.
- Approach based on network articulation. Building alliances between institutional and civil society actors.
- Institutional democratization: decentralization, deconcentrated bodies, management autonomy and community self-management processes.
- Digital transformation and open government in public administration.

Keywords: Public Administration, new public management, democratic governance, transparency, open government, public policies, digital transformation.

Convocatoria del Dossier
Tendencias de la Administración Pública contemporánea: nuevos abordajes metodológicos y conceptuales sobre la modernización del Estado democrático

No. 39. Septiembre 2023-Febrero 2024

Coordinadores

Dr. Daniel Javier De La Garza-Montemayor, Universidad de Monterrey, México
Dr. José Antonio Peña-Ramos, Universidad de Granada, España
Dra. Fátima Recuero-López, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, España

En un momento histórico como el actual en el que existen enormes desafíos en cuanto a la gobernabilidad democrática se refiere, resulta importante debatir en la academia sobre las tendencias de la Administración Pública Contemporánea, desde un enfoque multidisciplinario. Esta construcción de diálogos y de estudios tanto de carácter empírico como de revisión literaria resulta pertinente ante la necesidad de incidir en mejores prácticas en materia de Administración Pública desde una perspectiva tanto regional como de estudios comparados en un plano internacional.

Dentro de la amplia discusión que se genera a partir de la revisión de las deseables experiencias en materia de Administración Pública, se encuentra desde luego la utilización ética y estratégica de los recursos públicos. Encontraremos amplias experiencias y aprendizajes en la región en torno a figuras de presupuesto participativo, programas basados en resultados, así como el ejercicio de transparencia, que permiten una mayor legitimidad de las instituciones en un momento de desafección política que experimentan diversos países.

La construcción de políticas públicas efectivas y eficaces son responsabilidad de diferentes órdenes de gobierno, pero también de grupos representativos de la población que colaboran de manera activa en la construcción de programas innovadores ante los retos del presente. Es una tarea en la que la academia está llamada a participar, de manera constructiva, con el fin de contribuir a generar un círculo virtuoso en que la teoría puede incidir en mejores soluciones y a la vez, la experiencia práctica pueda contribuir a enriquecer la discusión conceptual.

Temas prioritarios para el monográfico, pero no reservados a los que se muestran a consideración:

Gobernanza democrática y políticas orientadas a la construcción de soluciones integrales de largo plazo.

- Transparencia, fiscalización y rendición de cuentas en el combate integral a la corrupción.
- Esfuerzos institucionales dirigidos al combate a la corrupción: desafíos conceptuales, políticos y jurídicos.
- La Nueva Gestión Pública en el contexto actual: nuevos enfoques del presente.
- Análisis y evaluación de políticas públicas eficaces: enfoque en el proceso y en los ciclos.
- Innovación gubernamental: construcción de una nueva institucionalidad ante los retos del presente.
- Gobierno abierto e implicación cívica: participación política institucionalizada y construcción colectiva de soluciones para problemas comunes.
- Enfoque basado en articulación de redes. Construcción de alianzas entre actores institucionales y de la sociedad civil.
- Democratización institucional: Descentralización, órganos desconcentrados, autonomía de gestión y procesos de autogestión comunitaria.
- Transformación digital y gobierno abierto en la Administración Pública.

Palabras clave: Administración Pública, Nueva Gestión Pública, Gobernanza democrática, Transparencia, Gobierno abierto, Políticas públicas, Transformación digital.