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TITLE

**Use of Twitter to gain mainstream media attention:
A case study of environmental NGOs during Barrancones and Castilla
conflicts in Chile**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the strategies and tactics employed by environmental nongovernmental organizations (ENGOS) on Twitter to gain mainstream press coverage during environmental conflicts. This problem is approached by studying the conflicts of Barrancones and Castilla thermoelectric plants in Chile between 2010 and 2012. Analyzing tweets and news articles by means of descriptive content analysis, the study finds that using Twitter to discuss these conflicts is one of the factors that lead ENGOS' media visibility. In particular, it reveals that these organizations employ, simultaneously, two strategic orientations and six different tactics to call journalists' attention. The information strategy includes research, grassroots and opinion tactics, trying to provide reporters with data and viewpoints directly. The activism strategy comprises awareness, mobilization and organization of collective actions tactics, co-producing news stories indirectly by means of events and issue salience. The implications of these results are discussed in the discussion and conclusions.

KEYWORDS: Civil society, ENGOS, newsmaking, media visibility, mainstream press coverage, social media, Twitter.

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Table of contents

Introduction.....	06
Chapter I. NGOs, social media and press coverage.....	11
I.I. NGOs' visibility: The role of the media.....	11
I.II. Newsmaking strategies and tactics.....	16
Chapter II. Barrancones and Castilla.....	24
II.I. Developing world: Case of Chile.....	24
II.II. Barrancones: A matter of accountability.....	26
II.III. Castilla: Local opposition via legality.....	27
Chapter III. Methodology.....	30
III.I. Data.....	30
III.II. Hypotheses testing.....	33
Chapter IV. Data analysis.....	37
IV.I. Barrancones.....	37
IV.II. Castilla.....	40
Chapter V. Discussion.....	45
V.I. Twitter and press coverage.....	47
V.II. Evolution of environmental conflicts.....	49
V.III. Effect of ENGOS' political agenda.....	52
Conclusions.....	53
Bibliography.....	56
Appendix.....	60

Index of tables and figures

Tables

Table 1. Data structure according to case.....	33
Table 2. Codification schema of tweets into newsmaking tactics.....	35
Table 3. Proportion (%) of ENGOS' tweets on Barrancones according to newsmaking strategies/tactics.....	39
Table 4. Proportion (%) of ENGOS' tweets on Castilla according to newsmaking strategies/tactics.....	43
Table 5. ENGOS' political agenda according to profile, mission and activities.....	50

Figures

Figure 1. Co-evolution of ENGOS' Twitter activity on Barrancones and their visibility on the press coverage of the issue, June-September 2010.....	38
Figure 2. Co-evolution of ENGOS' Twitter activity on Castilla and visibility on the press coverage of the issue, June 2010 - September 2012.....	42

Introduction

Civil society is increasingly becoming a powerful actor in politics. Under a context of crisis of traditional forms of participation, past decades have witnessed a worldwide growth of social movements as an alternative channel of citizen involvement (Shaw, 1996). Nowadays, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are playing a pivotal role in this process by working on behalf of civil society (Bach and Stark, 2004; Lang, 2013). Among these movements, environmentalism is particularly strong in both the developed and developing worlds (Price, 2014; Randall, 2011). The environmental movement has been highly politicized. Environmental NGOs (ENGOS) may be considered enhancers of these mobilizations around the world (Obar et al, 2012).

Civil society organizations are diverse in terms of goals and organizational scheme; however, by definition all of them pursue a political agenda (Stammers & Eschle, 2005). Scholar consensus posits that media coverage is one of the most used and efficient ways for NGOs to gain citizen support and influence on political decisions (Gaber & Willson, 2005; Van Leuven & Joye, 2014). However, receiving attention from mainstream media is not easy task for NGOs since they have to compete with official sources such as governments or companies from an outsider status (Boydston, 2013; Waisbord, 2011).

NGOs may improve their chances to become news sources if they meet different media codes strategically (Bob, 2005; Carrol & Ratner, 1999; Waisbord, 2011). Cutting-edge research has found that social media improves NGOs' chances to gain media visibility because journalists are increasingly relying on it to gather news information and test salience of issues (Parmelee, 2014). Hypothetically, NGOs' are being assisted by their online outlets to pursue their newsmaking efforts (Warkentin, 2001). For its potential to spread information publicly, as well as its potential to mobilize citizens, Twitter may be a

key tool to be considered in this interplay between NGOs and mainstream media (Parmelee, 2014; Theocharis et al, 2014).

A contribution to the field

Current literature has addressed the relevance of mainstream and digital media for social movements. However, the specific role that NGOs play via Internet to co-produce news is still out of academic discussion. This gap opens up the possibility to improve academic understanding on the field. Accordingly, the aim of this dissertation is to analyze how environmental nongovernmental organizations use online social platforms to gain media attention. Specifically, the research question of this dissertation asks what possible strategies these organizations employ via Twitter to intervene positively in their press coverage during environmental conflicts.

The methodological route to examine these phenomena is descriptive content analysis. The study will demonstrate whether ENGOS are covered by mainstream newspaper while they tweet contents about environmental conflicts, and then identify how they use the networking tool for this purpose. In order to work on this objective, the study analyzes and compares two environmental conflicts that occurred in Chile between 2010 and 2012: Barrancones and Castilla. Both conflicts began with citizen opposition to thermoelectric projects to be installed close to natural reserves in Northern Chile. Local ENGOS took part in this opposition, employing Twitter to campaign against them. The conflicts received significant mainstream press coverage.

Chile seems to be a suitable case study for analyzing the connection between media attention, Twitter and ENGOS because, representing part of the developing world, it shows how the environmental movement has grown up until becoming a mature political issue with strong nationwide citizen participation (Randall, 2011; Valenzuela et al, 2012). Further, Chile is characterized by a constrained media environment, which affects negatively the visibility of civil society (Waisbord, 2011).

This dissertation intends to address the problem of media visibility of civil society actors because the media are key platforms for these organizations to achieve their political goals. Conventionally - as this chapter discusses it further - NGOs have status of outsiders in the political arena (Shaw, 1996; Walzer, 1995). Hence, lacking of public visibility, they cannot in turn make visible their projects of social change (Callaghan & Schnell, 2005). This is particularly relevant in the case of environmentalism, because by default it is an issue out of media attention and, consequently, it requires public concern to obtain press coverage (Uscinski, 2009).

The relationship between social media and NGOs' newsmaking strategies is still an emergent academic field. Since media attention is scarce, and NGOs must be strategic in accessing it, understanding what ways these organizations use and prefer to receive press coverage makes political and practical contributions to the field.

At political level, this dissertation would offer relevant findings to analyze how democracy may be improved in transitional systems. By showing how the relationship between Twitter and ENGOS' newsmaking options work, this study has the potential to test the democratizing power of social media when it serves to make social change causes publicly salient and engage citizens in them.

In practical terms, clarifying how ENGOS command their visibility is an asset for both civil and media organizations. Digital platforms are becoming increasingly natural among the communication tools for civil society actors to engage in politics (Theocharis et al, 2014). This dissertation will raise relevant information on the use, efficiency and limitations of applying online tools to achieve media visibility.

Political agenda of civil society organizations

Before moving forward, this study requires addressing some conceptual definitions. In order to engage in current literatures on political communication and media studies, a theoretical framework on ENGOS and their political causes must be introduced. This goal is

challenging because a definition of NGO has not been free of debate between scholars from different disciplines (Bach & Stark, 2004; Edwards, 2013).

However, in recent times scholars are converging in terminology by defining NGOs as civil society organizations that, despite structural differences, share a symbolic dimension of ideological activism and an instrumental approach based on strategies (Edwards, 2013; Stammers & Eschle, 2005; Waisbord, 2011). Ideology sustains the composition of their political struggles, which in turn generates social capital (Dahlgren, 2009; Putnam, 2000; Walzer, 1995). This implies that NGOs have a political agenda oriented towards social change projects, while design activities to attract public support. NGOs may be divided into two major categories: Service providers and public policy advocates (Lang, 2013: 12). While the former aim to fix market problems, the latter propose new sociopolitical schemes (Edwards, 2011).

Accordingly, recent evidence collected by Powers (2014) in his study of human rights NGOs' publicity work show that there are two types of organizations: (1) research-oriented groups holding an antagonistic relationship to the state, and (2) marketing-oriented groups with a neutral position. While the main goal of the former is policy change, the objectives of the latter are fundraising and education (p. 96).

Addressing the particular case of environmental NGOs, they have been turning their approach from research to activism throughout time in the developed world, with particular emphasis on organizing grassroots movements and legitimating policymaking and research expertise (Rootes, 2009: 213-9). In developing regions like Latin America, ENGOs are following this trend. Analyzing organizations from Mexico and Venezuela, Price (2014) observed a movement from education campaigns towards direct intervention in the last three decades.

In sum, connecting the different inputs analyzed in this section, two ENGOs' agendas can be identified: (1) services and (2) policy projects. This categorization will be used further as a theoretical model to interpret the political dimension of ENGOs.

Outline

This dissertation is structured in five chapters. The first chapter evaluates and systematizes literature on the overall problem of civil society, Internet and newsmaking prospects to prepare a theoretical framework for this study. Chapter II describes the two environmental conflicts that are compared as case studies for this analysis. This chapter includes a brief account on the developing world and Chile to offer the rationale of choice behind these cases.

Chapter III, IV and V reports the research part of this study, being divided into methodology, data analysis and discussion. Methodology section describes how this analysis is carried out in terms of questions/hypotheses, sampling decisions, tasks/procedures and coding scheme. Chapter IV displays the results of the analysis and reports its main findings. Chapter V discusses these findings in detail by systematizing them according to academic inputs. The dissertation ends with a conclusions section that goes back to its main questions to contextualize them in the light of the results of this analysis and their contribution.

Chapter I

NGOs, social media and press coverage

This dissertation aims to analyze how ENGOs use online social platforms to gain mass media attention. This objective leads to process what ways these organizations may deploy on social media to co-produce news stories. This exercise requires, first, to understand why having media visibility is relevant for NGOs. Accordingly, this chapter summarizes and systematizes different literatures and research findings to advance a conceptual framework suitable for this problem.

The literature review is divided into two sections. The first section introduces the political importance of mainstream media and then it moves towards its particular relevance for NGOs and environmental movements. The second section engages with political communication literature to explain, firstly, how new online platforms, particularly Twitter, may intervene in the newsmaking process, and secondly, to describe the ways by which civil society actors can use them for these purposes. This discussion leads to articulate three research hypotheses.

I.I. NGOs' visibility: The role of the media

Since the last decade, political communication scholars have been evaluating the influence of mass media on politics. Approaching three different outputs, agenda-setting, policymaking and public opinion, studies have found contradictory evidence. However, although media's role in policymaking remains obscure, current literature do not ignore its power over the political environment. Theoretically, media is the space where power is decided because media agenda is firmly connected with political agenda (Castells, 2007). In a word, while politicians stage issues for the media to get public support, absent issues in media content are ruled out of public debate (p. 240-1). Media is a political player because it makes society visible by providing information and ideas (Dahlgren, 2009: 3).

Political function of mainstream media

After analyzing two decades of connection between media and opposition parties in Denmark, Green-Perdersen & Stubager (2010) found significant media effects on macro-politics. Politicians' agenda is influenced by media agenda as long as the media focus on issues in which parties have prior strategic interest in politicizing (p. 664). In brief, press coverage provides an opportunity for political actors to pay attention publicly to issues that they want to promote (Elmelund-Præstekær & Wien, 2008; Walgrave et al, 2008).

This finding implies that type of issue determine the direct influence of media on policy. Analyzing correlations between news and policies in Belgium, Walgrave et al (2008) claim that also type of media and coverage play a role in this process. However, there is no significant evidence that the press impacts on substantial policy agenda (p. 831-1). Consequently, media is key in producing political activity but not action (Elmelund-Præstekær & Wien, 2008).

Another limitation of this approach is that audience is not a passive recipient that follows everything what media produces (Castells, 2007: 241). Research findings have found that public concern sets the issue agenda in less newsworthy topics that do not comprise spectacular events like energy, environment and grassroots movements (Uscinski, 2009: 800). In these areas, audience drives reporters' coverage (p. 796-7).

Considering these limitations, other scholars have put their attention on less direct media effects on policy via shaping public opinion trends. This approach relies on evidence of audience-driven salience of issues. Theorizing about political power of intense press coverage periods, so-called media hypes, Vasterman (2005) claims that news waves are triggered by real-life events that, after their media representation, end up being amplified as social problems (p. 509-11). In this cycle, social problems may reach crisis proportions, forcing authorities to make decisions (p. 526). In his cascading activation model, Entman (2003) suggests that the media identify dissent between political elites and manufacture it as a proxy of public opinion to move it upwards and report social problems to authorities.

Authorities would react automatically to public opinion because of the permanent campaign phenomenon. Newman (1999) advanced this notion: in many countries the governing process has turned into an electoral campaign period, and authorities constantly monitor polls to assess their popularity in order to improve their performance in real time (p. 110). By being popular, incumbent parties may have a guarantee of being reelected. In sum, press consumption is correlated with political attitudes towards the government (Arriagada et al, 2010).

Public visibility of environmental agendas

The Introduction defined ENGOs in terms of their challenging policy agendas. The first section of this chapter has discussed how the press may impact on politics by turning issues into social problems to co-produce public opinion. The connection between these two theories raises the argument that the media are strategic platforms for ENGOs to achieve their political goals. Arguably, ENGOs are political actors competing for media attention because it is key for making their struggles salient in the public realm (Callaghan & Schnell, 2005; Krøvel, 2012).

Scholars agree that, historically, nongovernmental groups have spent resources in targeting the mass media to champion their political causes (Cottle & Nolan, 2007; Thrall et al, 2014). This is particularly evident in the case of ENGOs. Environment is not a regular issue within political elites' agenda; thus, the media are necessary to produce discussion about it (Walgrave et al, 2008). Environment is also an audience-driven issue, which means that public concern is required for the media to cover it (Uscinski, 2009: 796-7). These expressions of concern are not necessarily spontaneous. Studies prove that interest groups are behind many trends of public opinion (Kollman, 1998). Thus, ENGOs facilitate engagement of individuals in civil society, whereas the media link both NGOs and people (Warkentin, 2001: 4).

Finally, recent evidence from humanitarian agencies reports that NGOs target the media to engage with political elites and attract supporters (Powers, 2014). Hence, the mass media are key platforms for ENGOs to make visible their services, identities and projects of

change. Reasonably, independently of their agendas, most of civil society organizations pursue press coverage because it is the channel by which they intervene in political negotiations, influence policy decisions and inspire citizen action (Gaber & Willson, 2005; Van Leuven & Joye, 2014).

Restricted access to the media

The previous section clarified why ENGOs require gaining visibility on the mainstream news to achieve their political goals. Yet, their chances to get media attention are very constrained by power and resources (Van Leuven & Joye, 2014: 161). Studies converge in addressing the many difficulties that civil organizations face when trying to be news sources in comparison with governments, parties and private companies. Media attention is scarce, brief, sporadic and biased towards status quo (Boydston, 2013; Shaw, 1996; Waisbord, 2011). Therefore, challenger projects usually do not have representation in the media agenda.

NGOs' prospects to gain media coverage might be greater if they meet basic newsmaking standards - or media logic - in their communication and PR efforts. News outlets produce stories from everyday events that they select following newsworthiness values and organizational predispositions (Boydston, 2013: 6). Evidently, this means that they cannot process all information, and therefore they exclude issues that do not fit into these parameters. Media logic derives from Western media and it is present in almost all societies via agencies (Gaber & Willson, 2005: 100). Waisbord (2011) describes it in terms of three core elements: newsworthiness based on dramatic events, entertainment codes, and commercial pressures.

This literature proposes that NGOs must employ a strategic approach to access the media. Different organizations have been adapting their research, fundraising and mobilization activities to a media-savvy language (Carroll & Ratner, 1999; Dimitrov, 2008). Competition for public attention occurs in a context of inequality that advantages some challengers over others, particularly those fitting into acceptable types of political

advocacy (Bob, 2005: 4-5). Marketing tactics are, thus, instrumental for ENGOs to receive more/better media coverage (Waisbord, 2011: 153).

Accessing the media via online networking

Recently, scholarship has been focused on the role of online networking platforms in improving NGOs' strategic activities. Internet has transformed the political communication environment in the last two decades (Dimitrov, 2008: 11). Consistently, Internet has changed the communication paradigm of NGOs, enhancing their influence and lowering the costs of distributing more content to more publics (Waisbord, 2011; Yang & Taylor, 2010). Overall, new technologies have expanded civil society; thus, journalists draw upon a much more diverse constellation of news sources (Van Leuven & Joye, 2014: 161).

By turning their newsmaking practices into online strategies, NGOs may be able to take advantage of the attributes of Internet to enhance citizen involvement, produce alternative information and bypass media logic constraints (Cantijoch, 2012; Chadwick, 2012; Dahlgren, 2009; Norris, 2002). Social media, particularly Twitter, seems to be key in this regard.

Social media contributes to a stronger ENGOs' online visibility than regular websites (Obar et al, 2012: 14). Political information distributed via Twitter has strong chances to produce new coverage because journalists are relying on tweets as information subsidies (Parmelee, 2014: 436-7). Therefore, Twitter may drive issue salience in the media agenda (p. 437). Accordingly, ENGOs achieving some media visibility are expected to use Twitter while they are visible on the news. Under this logic, this study should tests the role of ENGOs' use of Twitter in gaining visibility on the news. Hypothetically, this claim can be systematized as follows:

H1. Mainstream newspapers pay attention to those ENGOs that use Twitter to discuss salient environmental issues.

I.II. Newsmaking strategies and tactics

This section engages with different literatures on newsmaking strategic approaches and social media to hypothesize two possible ways by which ENGOS employ Twitter to gain media attention. This field offers several gaps since most of the inputs address this problem just indirectly. Thus, this task adapts and categorizes a diverse array of theories and findings to propose a conceptual framework to be applied for this topic.

Information strategy: ENGOS as news sources

Producing/spreading information works as the most recurrent civil organizations' newsmaking strategy because information is what they do in a professional fashion (Weyker, 2002: 115). Frequently, NGOs are more useful sources for journalists than government offices because they provide quick and reliable information, particularly when reporters have to meet deadlines under resource constraints (Waisbord, 2011: 152). Many organizations exploit this opportunity to co-produce news. Thus, information strategy should be considered a direct newsmaking approach because its aim is to turn ENGOS into sources to be quoted in news stories.

However, the results of the information strategy depend finally on journalistic practices and restrictions. The fact that NGOs feed reporters with information does not guarantee that, once the media appropriate of it, they will control the final product (Timms, 2005: 127). Accordingly, this strategy might build reputation but also lead to noise and misinterpretation (Weyker, 2002: 117-8).

Internet seems to be key to afford these risks. Using online platforms allows NGOs not only to improve amount, speed and quality of information, but also to produce horizontal and alternative knowledge (Dahlgren, 2009; Weyker, 2002). Twitter is the best example, because political actors use it to build agenda by providing story ideas, events, quotes and background information to journalists (Parmelee, 2014). Tweets work like press releases, although they may be more influential because they reach publics directly (p. 434-46). This feature is key for challengers who want to manage information about themselves

and their struggles (Bob, 2005). Arguably, online platforms may allow ENGOs to overcome journalists' information misinterpretations because they have the chance to make public their data in open outlets. Hence, media is forced to quote these organizations appropriately.

The use of press releases and other information resources can be categorized according to the content that they want to provide to journalists. For instance, while a press release is understood as a strategic approach, its content would be a particular tactic. As follows, this section describes three hypothetical tactics by which ENGOs might use Twitter for spreading news information.

- Research

Conventionally, ENGOs' strategic use of information to affect press coverage is the production of research. This content is the most common because it is the most credible within policy debate. Evidence from the UK suggests that NGOs usually lack of legitimacy to be official sources for the media; thus, they must produce analysis/policy reports proactively to improve their source reliability (Timms, 2005).

Analyzing a successful campaign of media visibility, Gaber & Wilson (2005) found that research reports are an efficient way to target media outlets consumed by policymakers. If advocacy organizations want to influence on policy rather than just raise public awareness, they must go beyond emotional information and generate cognitive data (Weyker, 2002: 117).

Scholars suggest that, in terms of media visibility results, this tactic is by far the most effective. Lacking of reputation, the production of well-researched knowledge turns NGOs into credible sources in their area (Weyker, 2002: 116). There is empirical evidence that ENGOs who produce knowledge have more chances to set the agenda for public debate on environmental issues than those meeting media logic requirements of sensationalism and activism (Krøvel, 2012: 265).

Internet, particularly Twitter, is offering greater opportunities for ENGOs to enhance the results of shaping press coverage by this means. According to recent findings, political tweets are employed by the media to access polling data and check facts (Parmelee, 2014: 441). Since the very beginning, the main content that NGOs have disseminated online is research reports (Warkentin, 2001).

- Grassroots

While the research-orientation of some ENGOs leads them to engage in newsmaking activities based on knowledge production, other organizations lack of this expertise. Arguably, these non-research NGOs are more limited to turn into valid sources for journalists, because they do not have scientific authority (Gaber & Wilson, 2005).

The generation of human-interest stories is part of the proactive approach of this type of organization to achieve press coverage (Timms, 2005: 131). These stories can be collected from their work at local level, and processed as firsthand information suitable for journalistic interest (Bob, 2005; Waisbord, 2011). In short, the use of grassroots information is part of the newsmaking tactics of some ENGOs, because it is helpful for journalists who, lacking of time and resources to report in some communities, need to cover what happens at local level (Waisbord, 2011).

- Opinion

While some ENGOs are more oriented towards research than others, some organizations attempt to reach local rather than national media outlets. In particular causes, having public presence at smaller scale might be more effective. Timms (2005) argues that to reach local newsmakers, activist organizations engage less in research and more in comments and opinion articles.

In developed countries, ENGOs with small staff and narrower agendas work with journalists through the provision of clear-cut standpoints (Krøvel, 2012: 266). Media accesses different political sources because it requires conflicting opinions and clear

political solutions to meet professional standards of news storytelling (Elmelund-Præstekær & Wien, 2008: 263). Twitter is a suitable tool for this goal. Journalists use to follow political tweets from specific actors to diversify they array of sources and obtain alternative viewpoints (Parmelee, 2014: 441).

The exercise of identifying ENGOS' newsmaking possibilities through the production of information leads to articulate the second hypothesis of this study:

H2. ENGOS use their Twitter accounts strategically to generate and share information on research, grassroots and opinion contents aiming to gain mainstream press coverage.

Activism strategy: Tactics of public visibility

As part of the media logic concept, protests and events involving surprise or violence attract journalists, playing an indirect influence on press coverage (Bob, 2002: 137). Hence, by means of staging these type of actions, activist campaigners can achieve public visibility indirectly (Bob, 2005). This argument provides support to categorize activism as a strategic approach for ENGOS to co-produce news. The main difference between this approach and the information strategy is that the former does not target reporters directly since its focus is the public and their engagement.

An appropriate way to understand this idea is the concept of outside lobbying proposed by Kollman (1998). Outside lobbying is the attempt of interest groups to mobilize citizens to pressure public officials, who are constantly monitoring public opinion (p. 3). The most visible tactic of this lobbying is the coordination of mass expressions of public concern by means of issue campaigns (p. 3-4). The media is key for issue salience and it is the most important way to learn about public opinion after polls, therefore it is unavoidable during organizations' campaigning stage (p. 22).

According to Kollman, environmental groups prefer outside lobbying regularly (p. 5). This strategy comprises three tactical levels: advertisement, mobilization and protesting, being the latter the most used and efficient in terms of media visibility (p. 18). From the

outset, online platforms enhance the prospects to inform, mobilize and organize people to join public manifestations, diversifying these repertoires because of their features of interactivity and immediacy (Norris, 2002; Theocharis et al, 2014; Welp & Wheatley, 2012). Also, via Internet, information on protests is public, counting with several eyewitnesses; thus, the media cannot avoid them (Weyker, 2002: 120).

Next, this section discuss the three interconnected tactical levels mentioned above, reframed as awareness, mobilization and organization of collective actions, to have a better understanding of how activism may produce news coverage indirectly.

- Awareness

In terms of outside lobbying, advertisement is one of the three tactics employed by nongovernmental organizations to reach policymakers indirectly (Kollman, 1998: 18). Data from activist organizations in Southern countries show that raising awareness about little-known conflicts is part of their strategies to mobilize resources and pressure governments (Bob, 2005: 4). Usually, using celebrities is part of the tactic because it helps to the credibility of ENGOS' campaigns (Timms, 2005: 128). Thus, the measurable activity to see how ENGOS attempt to raise awareness is campaigning (Warkentin, 2001: 80).

Social media offers greater opportunities to get positive results from this tactic. Political networks are expanding quickly on Twitter because, via user interaction, it encourages greater by-product learning about politics than other means (Chadwick, 2012: 53-4). Thus, many civil society organizations are assisted by their online outlets to shape public perception (Warkentin, 2001: 35-6). Therefore, while ENGOS produce useful information for the news, they are also campaigning to get public support for their causes (De Jong, 2005; Norris, 2002; Weyker, 2002).

- Mobilization

The second level of the activism approach to co-produce news is mobilization, which is consequence of raising public awareness in terms of participation. There are three

phenomena that work together to produce mobilization: motivation, engagement and participation. Theoretically, engagement is the affective and cognitive prerequisite for participation, while participation takes a communicative form (Dahlgren, 2009: 81-4). Therefore, participation is the final and observable outcome of mobilized people.

Motivation is at the beginning of this mechanism, being an attitudinal response of support for a political cause persuaded by an emotional stimulus (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1996: 117). When promoting challenging projects, political groups tend to exploit the affective dimension of issues, based on ethical codes, to build identity, values and narratives that end up fostering a sense of togetherness around these struggles (De Jong, 2005; Enjolras et al, 2012; Gerbaudo, 2012).

Academic consensus posits that Internet is an appropriate environment for producing motivation. Sociologists define microblogging as an ecosystem to perform collective identity, an activity in which affective dimension is unavoidable (Zappavigna, 2012: 38-54). Evidence from different organizations show that Twitter and similar platforms are employed to construct affective space and inspire people to take part in activism through emotions such as indignation or anger (Chadwick, 2012; Gerbaudo, 2012; Hart et al, 2005). As a result, digital media has positive and significant effects on engagement (Jensen et al, 2012; Jorba & Bimber, 2012).

Regarding participation, scholars agree that online tools are expanding the effects and diversifying the repertoires of participatory modes, which supplements traditional ways by reaching and empowering less involved publics (Jorba & Bimber, 2012; Norris, 2002; Yang & Taylor, 2010). Online platforms have this effect because they lower and simplify costs of participation (Dahlgren, 2009; Jensen & Anduiza, 2012). Consequently, different segments of population are increasingly engaging in some political repertoire (Edwards, 2013; Jensen et al, 2012). Greenpeace is an example of an organization using social media to find and empower citizens to participate in their causes (Obar et al, 2012).

However, there are limitations in terms of effective production of motivation, engagement and participation via online social tools. These limitations can be split into two types: (a) reinforcement rather than activation, and (c) digital divide.

Firstly, studies point out that Internet rarely activate less motivated citizen, being mainly a reinforcement tool for those already engaged in politics (Boulianne, 2009; Jorba & Bimber, 2012; Norris, 2002). Individuals who spend more time getting information online are more likely to engage in protest, whereas level of prior interest in political affairs intervenes this correlation (Valenzuela et al, 2012: 306-7).

Digital divide is an extensively discussed limitation since the foundational study of Norris (2001). According to Norris, digital divide is the multidimensional phenomenon of inequality between nations and social strata in accessing and using Internet, particularly for political purposes (p. 4). This gap derives from prior socioeconomic exclusions (p. 10-1). For instance, young people with better education, income and experience, among other variables, are more able to meet the costs of political involvement (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1996; Welp & Wheatley, 2012). Thus, the publics that ENGOs might try to reach via online means are limited by this cyber-stratification, which might increase the inequality of participation in online politics.

- Organization of collective actions

Once people engage in some participatory activity, the activism model reaches its third level: collective actions. The mobilization process described above suggests that people do not engage and take part in activities such as petition signing, hacktivism or street protests spontaneously. There are some actors behind the coordination of these actions. Activists employing outside lobbying play two roles in terms of mobilization: firstly, they signalize latent public opinion, and then they expand the conflict by producing protest behavior (Kollman, 1998: 8-10).

Empirical data from different countries show that environmental activism is in fact negatively related to voting and positively linked to protest (Norris, 2002: 212). The ability of this tactic to generate news coverage is one of the reasons of this preference. By

describing the signaling step as making salient preexisting public opinion, Kollman (1998) suggests that the media agenda is already set; therefore, the real newsmaking potential of outside lobbying resides in this expansion cycle.

Media logic is key to understand this phenomenon. ENGOs' chances to gain media attention increase if they produce conflict-driven and event-centered news, particularly in national contexts where historically street theatre has been news material (Gaber & Willson, 2005; Waisbord, 2011; Welp & Wheatley, 2012).

Studies from different events around the world suggest that networking tools are key in organizing protests because of their horizontality, velocity and motivational dimension (Jensen & Anduiza, 2012; Jensen et al, 2012; Lewis et al, 2011; Warkentin, 2001; Weyker, 2002). Networking platforms such as Twitter are employed by activists to set dates and share logistics about collective actions, while constructing symbols to gather dispersed people together in physical space (Gerbaudo, 2012: 3-5). Under this logic, activism via Internet is a bridge between online interactions and offline citizen participation (Valenzuela et al, 2012: 311).

In terms of results, Waisbord (2011) is cautious in claiming that protests are the most efficient way for challengers to generate press coverage. Focused on the drama, the media may pay less attention to the issues that ENGOs would try to make salient (p. 157). Current findings are challenging the idea that spectacular events are the most media-friendly tactics in the developed world; conversely, the most successful ENGOs are those providing in-depth information (Krøvel, 2012: 266).

After proposing three possible tactics by which ENGOs may raise media attention indirectly when engaging in activism, this discussion leads to a third hypothesis about Twitter and newsmaking prospects for environmental organizations:

H3. ENGOs use their Twitter accounts strategically to produce awareness campaigns, mobilize people and organize collective actions aiming to gain public visibility and shape mainstream press coverage.

Chapter II

Barrancones and Castilla

In order to analyze the ways by which Twitter makes ENGOs able to achieve media visibility, this dissertation employs two environmental conflicts in Chile between 2010 and 2012: Barrancones and Castilla. Both cases display public opposition to thermoelectric power nearby natural reserves in a developing country. Additionally, they include clear public opinion trends and substantial policy and judicial decisions. However, the timing, evolution and outcome of these conflicts differ. These attributes are the main reason to work on a comparison of both cases.

This chapter is structured in four sections. The first part develops a rationale of choice regarding the developing world and Chile. Further, third and fourth sections describes the cases of Barrancones and Castilla, summarizing the main milestones during their evolution as environmental conflicts.

II.I. Developing world: Case of Chile

Most of the theoretical inputs processed in the literature review come from experiences of the developed world. The nature of the relationship between civil society and media remains less clear in developing countries. Thus, this study relies on two cases in Chile, which could be considered a representative example of a transnational democracy in which civil society actors are increasing their influence while the media are still restricted by post-authoritarian and free-market imperatives.

Challenging organizations in the developing world face problems of legitimacy that are not necessarily present in mature Western democracies (Welp & Wheatley, 2012; Yang & Taylor, 2010). Frequently, media does not pay attention to insurgents in small or

economically disadvantaged countries (Bob, 2005: 49). Therefore, NGOs must work on PR and training strategies to get press coverage (Minic, 2014).

Latin America offers a case of these phenomena. In the region, the model of mediated politics does not fit with US and Europe democracies because of media patrimonialism and effects of past authoritarian rules (Waisbord, 2011: 143-4). In addition, it exhibits an active but weak civil society in terms of socioeconomic transformation results (Welp & Wheatley, 2012: 177-8). Accordingly, NGOs are not strong lobby actors in comparison with governmental agencies, which forces them to professionalize their attempts to affect mainstream news (Price, 2014: 55).

Arguably, Internet plays a pivotal role in Latin America to assist NGOs in commanding their newsmaking efforts. In mature democracies, digital media reinforces existing political institutions, whereas in less developed environments it configures an alternative mechanism of political information and participation (Welp & Wheatley, 2012: 198-9). Within this context, Chile outstands as an example of how digital media is having influence over social activism after the boom of the environmental movement.

Chile is well known internationally for its macroeconomic growth and stability under a liberal free-market orientation, being a model of successful transition to democracy in Latin America (Valenzuela & Arriagada, 2011). Nevertheless, social inequality has been a major stumbling for Chile to achieve status of developed country (Randall, 2011: 18). This inequality has produced growing issue-based protest movements during the last two decades (Valenzuela et al, 2012: 300-1).

The nationwide environmental movement, in particular, has been growing up and acquiring a political dimension in the country since the 1990s (Haynes, 1999; Urkidi, 2010). Nowadays, the movement is considered advanced in terms of size and duration, being very similar to the mobilizations observed in larger developing countries such as China or Brazil (Randall, 2011: 15). In parallel, protest activity has become a key means for political change in Chile (Valenzuela et al, 2012: 300).

Valenzuela et al (2010) have found a correlation between use of social media and participation in protest repertoires in Chile. Arguably, Internet is offering a consistent space of mobilization and political organization in Chile. In terms of mass media, data show that in Chile more press consumption is correlated with reinforcement of prior political attitudes towards incumbent administration (Arriagada et al, 2010). Although exposure to media content does not determine public evaluation of the government, it does strengthen existing opinions (p. 691). Current literature has not engaged in the role played by NGOs in these correlations, which gives an opportunity to improve scholar understanding of this problem.

II.II. Barrancones: A matter of accountability

Barrancones was a 540 MW thermoelectric coal-fired power plant, approved by the administration of Sebastián Piñera to be installed in northern Chile in August 24 2010. Submitted by the French company GDF Suez to environmental impact assessment in 2008, the investment would operate in La Higuera, nearby Punta de Choros, a conservation area of endangered species such as the Humboldt penguin. Local opposition to the plant dates back to 2008, when communities and activists staged demonstrations in the region.

Aware of this opposition, different ENGOS began to lead massive offline and online demonstrations to Barrancones. National newspapers covered these events intensively once they achieved public visibility on the streets. In his election campaign, Piñera promised to reject any environmentally harmful thermoelectric plant¹. Celebrities and politicians employed these declarations to hold the President accountable for this decision. For instance, the actress Leonor Varela appeared in a campaign video, recorded by the ENGO Oceana Chile, to remember publicly Piñera's promise and ask him to keep his word².

Just two days after its approval, the President turned down the project. Under the increasing pressure of massive citizen protests, the President decided to relocate the plant in agreement with GDF Suez's local branch (Valenzuela et al, 2012: 301). The authority also

¹ *El Mercurio*, 2010. Figuras del espectáculo defienden Punta de Choros y presionan a Piñera, *El Mercurio*, Santiago, 25 August.

² *El Mercurio*, 2010. Leonor Varela destaca triunfo de las manifestaciones ciudadanas ante proyecto en Punta de Choros, *El Mercurio*, Santiago, 26 August.

announced a new policy of territorial planning to map out the areas available to place power plants without affecting the environment. The Ministry of National Properties implemented this plan only in four days.

As a final outcome, in September 2010, GDF Suez announced the cancellation of Barrancones, because they did not find the conditions to install it in another location. In their public accounts, the company emphasized that their project met all the required standards and did not harm the environment.

Elite actors expressed concern about the impact of this outcome on the interest of companies to invest in Chile. From the energy sector, businessmen representing international companies warned about the market effects of the authorities' political intervention³. However, according to polls, 51% of the population evaluated positively the decision to relocate Barrancones, while 86% did not think that there were enough regulations to protect the environment (UNAB-Opina, 2010).

Barrancones case is insightful for this project because social media seems to have played a pivotal role in these events. Most of the mobilization against the project was coordinated by civil organizations via online (Valenzuela et al, 2012: 301). Environmental activists used online platforms to run viral campaigns informing on the issue and setting the character, place and time of the protests. The conflict began and was solved in just one month, demonstrating a quick presidential reaction to public opinion. Arguably, this incident could have opened a new trend in Chile: One year later, several protests claiming better education and less centralism erupted on social media (Sherman et al, 2013).

II.III. Castilla: Local opposition via legality

Castilla was a 2,100 MW thermoelectric plant submitted by the Brazilian company CGX to be installed in Punta Cachos, Atacama region, in northern Chile. The Supreme Court paralyzed the project in August 2012, after two years of negotiations with local

³ *La Tercera*, 2010. Intervención del Gobierno en Barrancones causa malestar y sorpresa en sector empresarial. *La Tercera*, Santiago, 27 August.

communities to agree compensations and mitigations. The Chilean government originally approved Castilla; however, different NGOs and neighborhood committees carried the case to the justice. The Supreme Court identified problems during the approval of the plant, which culminated in its cancellation.

Since July 2010, opposition to Castilla was public on Twitter. However, unlike Barrancones, most of this opposition was canalized through judicial procedures rather than public demonstrations. Another relevant difference is the key role of local neighbors and fishermen unions in comparison with ENGOs.

Comprising six plants and one port terminal, Castilla plant was framed by its opponents as dangerous for the health and the environment⁴. Different lawyers worked for this antagonism in court, while the company had the government's support because it required multiplying domestic power production to satisfy the increasing energy demand of mining projects in Northern Chile. Concerned about this support, opposition legislators accused the government of fast tracking and irregularities during the project approval⁵.

CGX submitted Castilla to the environmental impact assessment process in 2008. In 2010, local communities presented first legal remedies against the project, which turned the process into a legal battle with different resolutions during two years. In 2011, the plant received permission to be built. In March 2012, the Appellate Court of Antofagasta accepted a remedy submitted by Totoral community to revoke that approval. This dispute reached the Supreme Court, paralyzing Castilla. Totoral fishermen refused to negotiate with the company; consequently, the Supreme Court decided to confirm the definitive withdrawal of the project in August 2012.

Castilla case shows a few environmental awareness and citizen mobilization campaigns on Internet. The role played by ENGOs does not look as clear as in the case of

⁴ *La Tercera*, 2010. Termoeléctrica Castilla: Tres visiones de un megaproyecto en la Región de Atacama. *La Tercera*, Santiago, 26 July.

⁵ *La Tercera*, 2011. Cámara respalda informe sobre irregularidades en aprobación de proyectos Campiche y Castilla. *La Tercera*, Santiago, 3 March.

Barrancones, since they did not have same press coverage than when they campaigned against Barrancones in a shorter period of time. In terms of public agenda, the thermoelectric plant was unpopular from the very beginning. According to private polls, 64.67% of the Santiago respondents thought that Piñera should have led the cancellation of Castilla just as he did it with Barrancones⁶. These factors explain why Castilla is another relevant conflict in terms of media visibility.

⁶ *El Mercurio*, 2010. 65% de los chilenos cree que Presidente Piñera debería impedir construcción de Central Castilla. *El Mercurio*, Santiago, 5 December.

Chapter III

Methodology

The previous chapter systematized different literatures to develop a theoretical framework to understand how ENGOs might use social media platforms to receive mainstream media attention. A research route results based on the following hypotheses results from this task:

-
- H1. Mainstream newspapers pay attention to those ENGOs that use Twitter to discuss environmental issues.
-
- H2. ENGOs use their Twitter accounts strategically to generate and share information on research, grassroots and opinion contents aiming to gain mainstream press coverage.
-
- H3. ENGOs use their Twitter accounts strategically to produce awareness campaigns, mobilize people and organize collective actions aiming to gain public visibility and shape mainstream press coverage.
-

This section designs a research strategy to address the assessments that will be carried out to test these hypotheses. In the first part, the methodological account describes and structures the data retrieved from the cases under study and reports sampling decisions. The second part informs the methods to analyze these data.

III.I. Data

This dissertation aims to assess how ENGOs achieve mainstream press coverage via Twitter. This means that the media outlets that are useful for this objective are those identified as mainstream, whereas the environmental groups to be included are those that employed Twitter to discuss publicly the environmental conflicts under analysis:

Barrancones and Castilla. Consequently, this analysis requires a strategic rather than random targeting of newspapers and organizations.

Newspapers

Mainstream press comprises national newspapers with at least symbolic political influence over policymakers and elites (Entman, 2003; Walgrave et al, 2008). The press offers greater coverage of issues and tends to be more politically influential than other media (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006). There are two ways to assess this impact: Firstly, by considering their readership according to socioeconomic variables; secondly, by measuring public perceptions about them.

In Chile, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* are the two print newspapers with more elite readership, being the most preferred by upper socioeconomic strata (Ipsos, 2014). Furthermore, both outlets are perceived publicly as the most credible and powerful national newspapers (Fucatel, 2006). For these reasons, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* are the Chilean newspapers included in this assessment.

The selection comprises the online versions of both outlets, because these platforms do not replicate exactly what is published in the print versions, offering an additional news agenda on Internet. Furthermore, in countries like Chile, where media market is structured by commercial competition rather than state regulation, online news tend to display more heterogeneity of contents (Powers & Benson, 2014: 247).

ENGOS

The selection of ENGOS draws on both their legal status of civil organizations and their Twitter activity. Relying on two different official sources, one public and another private, the first step of this sampling process included all registered ENGOS operating in Chile. These sources are the Ministry of Environment of Chile and the Chilean Association of NGOs ACCIÓN, which is a directory of registered national NGOs working on different fields, including the environment. Both sources are considered in this process to preselect

organizations that cooperate with governmental efforts in protecting the environment and more independent activist networks.

The next step preselected from these lists only those ENGOs with an active Twitter account. The final selection was based on the Twitter accounts that were employed to discuss Barrancones and Castilla simultaneously, removing those organizations that did not engage in the issues. The two most used Twitter accounts for both cases were Greenpeace Chile and Fundación Terram. Additionally, the NGO Oceana Chile was included in this task despite the fact that it is not present in the directories cited above. This inclusion obeys to the importance of this ENGO in both cases as it worked local communities and produced key campaigns (see Chapter II).

Data structure

Collection of news articles utilized the search engines of both newspapers to select items about the cases by employing the keywords 'Barrancones' and 'Castilla'. This task filtered the search results manually to take out articles not related to the conflicts. The tracking of the selected ENGOs in the news content was also carried out manually by reading each sampled article.

Collection of tweets selected posts mentioning Barrancones and Castilla in the accounts under study. This selection was carried out manually to include tweets that are referred to the conflicts without employing direct keywords.

The samples of both press articles and tweets range from the date of the selected ENGOs' first tweets on these issues to the date of final rejection of each thermoelectric plant. The samples also include one month before and after these milestones to catch possible cool down processes. Accordingly, the ranges of analysis are June 2010 - September 2010 for Barrancones, and June 2010 - September 2012 for Castilla. As a result, the strategic sampling of data was structured as follows:

Table 1. Data structure according to case

Item	Outlet	Units
▪ Barrancones		
Press coverage (Articles about the conflict)	<i>El Mercurio</i> -print	37
	<i>El Mercurio</i> -online	29
	<i>La Tercera</i> -print	33
	<i>La Tercera</i> -online	30
	Total	129
Twitter activity (Tweets about the conflict)	Terram (@terramchile)	26
	Greenpeace (@greenpeaceCL)	108
	Oceana (@oceanachile)	12
	Total	146
▪ Castilla		
Press coverage (Articles about the conflict)	<i>El Mercurio</i> -print	61
	<i>El Mercurio</i> -online	59
	<i>La Tercera</i> -print	49
	<i>La Tercera</i> -online	62
	Total	231
Twitter activity (Tweets about the conflict)	Terram (@terramchile)	37
	Greenpeace (@greenpeaceCL)	124
	Oceana (@oceanachile)	89
	Total	250

III.II. Hypotheses testing

The design of methodological strategies to generate findings derived from the two main tasks of this study is based on quantitative content analysis. Contrasting data obtained during the development of two different cases turns this design into a comparative research study. As follows, the section describes the framework and practical decisions to approach each task.

Media visibility

The goal of this task is to assess if Chilean mainstream newspapers mentioned the ENGOs during their coverage of Barrancones and Castilla, aiming to connect this visibility with ENGOs' activity on Twitter. Relying on quantitative content analysis, this assessment

counts the proportion (%) of ENGOS' posts about the issues in the total tweets during the periods under study. Additionally, it counts % of news articles mentioning these ENGOS in the total press coverage during the same timelines.

A timeline of ENGOS' tweets about both issues is compared with a timeline of press coverage of them, which reflects the potential co-evolution of ENGOS' media visibility and social media activity during Barrancones and Castilla. This task is approached by quantitative content analysis since repetition is the way to measure how salient issues and sources are in media agenda, revealing the cumulative effect of their visibility (Dearing and Rogers, 1996: 8).

Newsmaking strategies

In order to examine the newsmaking approach employed by ENGOS on Twitter, the second part of the analysis categorizes the content of their tweets on Barrancones and Castilla according to the two strategies and six tactics identified in Chapter I. This task codifies manually each tweet according to these descriptors. Since tweets are limited in length, many of them usually link to external content; hence, the headline of linked online resources was codified when the tweet do not provide enough data.

The criteria for codifying each tweet into a newsmaking tactic is based on the precepts discussed in the literature review (see Appendix for examples of the coding sheet). Table 2 reports these criteria, providing a real tweet from the selected ENGOS, translated from Spanish as an example to understand each code:

Table 2. Codification schema of tweets into newsmaking tactics

Tactic	Codification criterion
Research	Mention to scientific facts and/or hyperlinks to research reports. <i>Example: @oceanachile 2010/11/26 - 'Castilla central will pump 276 million liters of seawater per hour, killing larvae, plankton and many other marine species'</i>
Grassroots	Information on personal testimonies, communities, social gatherings, actions and petitions. <i>Example: @oceanachile 2010/11/29 - 'Complaint against Castilla plant for trying to persuade local communities with money incentives to stop their opposition to the project'</i>
Opinion	Explicit standpoints and/or political claims while delivering facts. <i>Example: @greenpeaceCL 2011/02/25 - 'Greenpeace rejects approval of Castilla'</i>
Awareness	Public campaigns spreading information about the conflicts and their status. <i>Example: @terramchile 2012/08/28 - 'Supreme Court rejects construction of megaproject Castilla'</i>
Mobilization	Explicit invitations to participate in different activities, and/or emotional expression statements. <i>Example: @greenpeaceCL 2010/08/17 - 'Do you want to ask Sebastián Piñera to keep his promise about thermoelectric plants? Send him an email'</i>
Organization of collective actions	Explicit information on dates and places of social gatherings, and/or hyperlinks to digital activities of public expression. <i>Example: @terramchile 2010/08/26 - 'Ecologists accuse Minister Benítez of being part of a political operation for the thermoelectric'</i>

This study is focused on the actual use of Twitter rather than ENGOS' expectations or problems during the production process, which would be relevant information to be collected via qualitative techniques such as interviews or participant observation. Therefore, the analysis relies on descriptive content analysis, which categorizes and measures ENGOS' newsmaking tactics/strategies as percentage of total tweets on the conflicts under study. Resulting tabulations of this method represent the data in terms of frequencies, which is key to compare the different strategies according to ENGO, time and conflict (Krippendorff, 2004: 191-3).

The method of descriptive content analysis counts occurrence of specific characteristics - newsmaking strategies and tactics - in media texts to analyze the message according to its social significance (Hansen et al, 1998: 95). Under this logic, tweets are

Use of Twitter to gain mainstream media attention:
A case study of environmental NGOs during Barrancones and Castilla conflicts in Chile

content units that, like media texts, are produced to have meaning for specific receptors of the communication process (Krippendorff, 2004: 19).

Finally, all these procedures are worked by hand rather than relying on automatic software, which could leave out key entries for this analysis since tweets commonly do not employ direct statements, omitting characters, and including abbreviations or errors (Zappavigna, 2012: 19).

Chapter IV

Data analysis

The purpose of this section is to display the data and interpret the findings obtained after applying the methods described in the previous section. The analysis of the research results is structured according to each case study. In turn, the account of each case is organized by following the order of the hypotheses of this study.

IV.I. Barrancones

The first case under examination is the conflict of Barrancones. From the outset, the case explores how ENGOs may command their media visibility via Twitter under three specific conditions: (a) high mediatization of the conflict; (b) short timeline; and (c) immediate policy reaction of Chilean authorities (see Chapter II). As follows, the section displays the results of the analysis for this conflict.

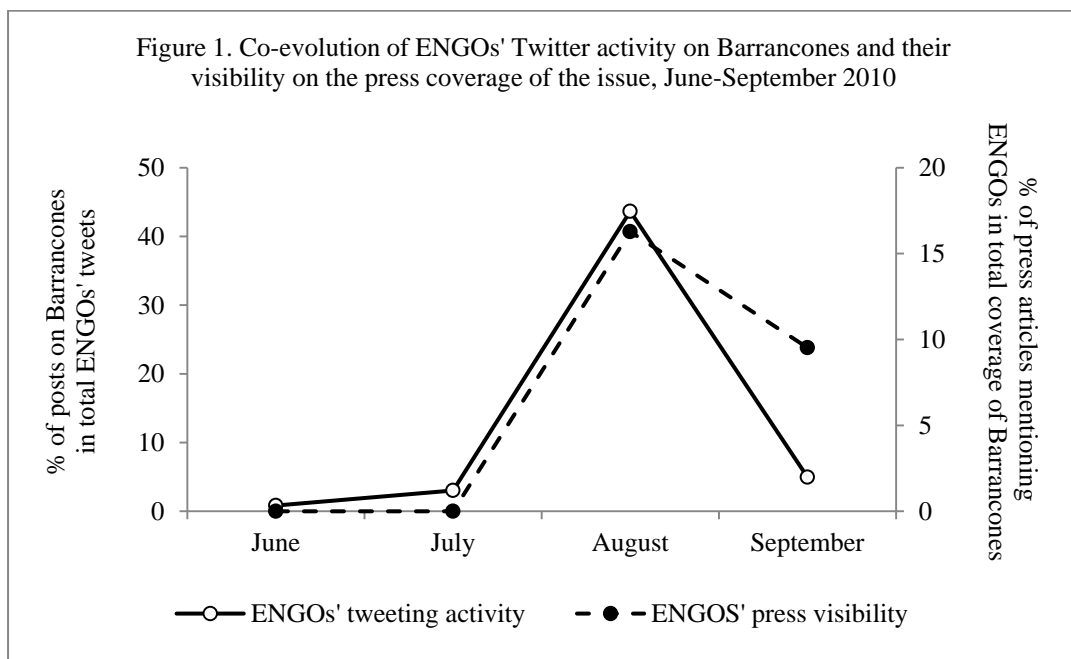
Hypothesis 1: Media visibility

Data from this study demonstrates that Barrancones was a salient issue on the Twitter agenda of Greenpeace, Oceana and Terram. Tweets about the conflict represent 21.3% of the total posts from these three accounts combined. Therefore, between June and September 2010, relevant part of their overall online discussion was about Barrancones. Oceana was the most active: 52% of their tweeting activity addressed the issue. Greenpeace and Terram posted about Barrancones in 19% and 18.2% of their tweets, respectively.

In terms of press attention, the ENGOs did not receive more than 14% of coverage from *La Tercera* and *El Mercurio* during the period. Although scarce, this attention is connected with ENGOs' activity on Twitter. The most visible ENGO was Oceana, being mentioned in 11% of the total press articles about Barrancones, whereas Terram was

present in 2.3% and Greenpeace in 0.8% of the coverage. Data would suggest that higher use of Twitter is related to higher presence on the news.

Figure 1 compares ENGOS' Twitter activity on Barrancones with their mentions on the press articles covering the issue during June-September 2010. By displaying timelines of tweeting and coverage, this figure demonstrates the co-evolution of both trends. The three ENGOS began to post on Barrancones in July, reaching a peak in August when the issue represented 43.7% of their total tweets. In September, the issue became much less important in their Twitter agenda. Their press coverage, on the other hand, began and reached its peak in August, staying in the agenda during September. This point would suggest that, after deploying Twitter, the ENGOS achieved a status of relevant sources for *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*.



The results of this task propose three findings:

- The three ENGOS were covered by *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* during the salience peak of Barrancones, although Greenpeace was the least visible in comparison with Oceana and Terram.

- The ENGOS begin to tweet on Barrancones before their first mention on the mainstream news.
- Mainstream press attention to the ENGOS remained high after the organizations decreased their Twitter discussion on the issue.

In summary, the three most relevant ENGOS that utilized Twitter to discuss Barrancones received media attention. They were not totally invisible for the press. Hence, this result supports hypothesis 1 for Barrancones case. Figure 1 shows that *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* increased their mentions to the ENGOS during and after they tweeted on Barrancones. There is no evidence that the newspapers mentioned them before they began to tweet about the conflict. Arguably, these organizations might have received media attention due to their strategic use of Twitter.

Hypotheses 2/3: Newsmaking strategies

The assessment of how Greenpeace, Oceana and Terram might have deployed Twitter to gain mainstream media attention is summarized in Table 4. This table categorizes these organizations' total tweets on Barrancones according to the strategies of information and activism, and their respective tactics.

Strategy	Tactic	ENGOS (%)		
		Greenpeace	Oceana	Terram
Information	Research	0.9	3.9	8.3
	Grassroots	4.6	7.7	8.3
	Opinion	5.6	11.5	50.0
	Subtotal information strategy (%)	11.1	23.1	66.6
Activism	Awareness	32.4	50.0	33.4
	Mobilization	38.9	19.2	0.0
	Organization of collective action	17.6	7.7	0.0
	Subtotal activism strategy (%)	88.9	76.9	33.4
Total tweets (N)		108	26	12

Table 3 provides evidence that both strategies were employed by the ENGOs in the case of Barrancones. However, there are important differences in how each organization utilized these strategies. While most of the publicity work of Oceana and Greenpeace on Twitter on Barrancones led to activism promotion, engaging in tactics to raise awareness and mobilize people, more than half of Terram's tweets produced/asserted information, particularly opinion.

Furthermore, mobilization was the most deployed tactic for Greenpeace and the second most utilized by Oceana on Twitter. Terram neither produced mobilization nor organized collective actions, although its third most employed tactic was raising awareness about the conflict. The three ENGOs engaged in spreading information on research findings and grassroots activities, but their focus was opinion.

In sum, data from Table 3 suggest that Oceana called for press attention via Twitter indirectly by means of campaigning on Barrancones and mobilizing people to participate in the conflict. Reporting its standpoint regarding the issue supplemented Oceana's focus on activism. Terram, on the other hand, played with direct and indirect newsmaking strategies simultaneously, although their main goal was to provide newsmakers with their opinion on the conflict. In making their attitudes salient, Terram also championed for its cause. Greenpeace's work on Twitter departed from these trends because they rarely engaged in information tactics, being mostly occupied in mobilizing people.

IV.II. Castilla

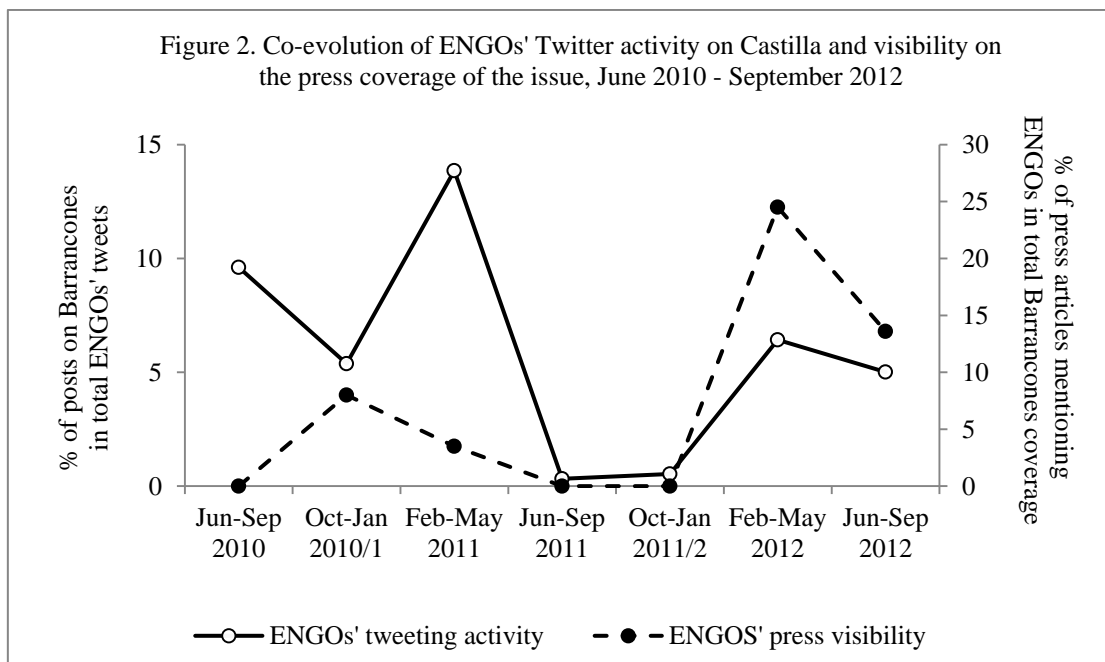
Castilla case offers a different set of conditions to assess ENGOs' media visibility via Twitter. In comparison with Barrancones, Castilla was less intense in terms of mediatization and social media activity. Moreover, national authorities never made key decisions, because courts and local communities solved the entire conflict (see Chapter II). Castilla also offers a long timeline, which helps to explore the correlation between political tweeting and press coverage independently of the influence of media hype phenomena (See Chapter I).

Hypothesis 1: Media visibility

Castilla was part of the Twitter agenda of the selected ENGOs, but it cannot be considered a salient issue. Tweets about Castilla represented 5.7% of the total posts of Greenpeace, Oceana and Terram between June 2010 and September 2012. Oceana was the most active in tweeting about Castilla, since 9.4% of its posts during the period addressed the issue, followed by Greenpeace that mentioned it in 6.5% of its tweets. Terram paid less attention to Castilla: the issue represented 2.4% of its tweets.

Regarding media visibility, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* mentioned the ENGOs in 4.8% of their coverage of Castilla. In line with their activity on Twitter, just Greenpeace and Oceana received coverage, with 2.6% and 2.2% of mentions respectively. Terram was not mentioned in the total of news articles about Castilla during the period. Repeating the pattern seen in Barrancones, media visibility is also associated with the use of Twitter in the case of Castilla. Oceana relativizes this claim because it was the most active organization on Twitter but the second in receiving press coverage in comparison with Greenpeace.

Figure 1 contrasts ENGOs' tweeting about Castilla with their presence on the news on the issue during June 2010 and September 2012. Data suggest a level of co-evolution between both activities; however, this convergence is much less clear than in Barrancones. Together, the organizations reached three peaks of Twitter activity about Castilla: One in the very beginning, Jun-Sep 2010; the highest in Feb-May 2011; and a final hype in Feb-May 2012. During an entire semester, between June 2011 and January 2012, none of the ENGOs tweeted about the conflict.



Press coverage peaks are two, one in Oct-Jan 2010/1 and the highest hype in Feb-May 2012. Only the second peak coincided with a peak of Twitter activity on Castilla. Moreover, the silence momentum about the ENGOS on the news, between June 2011 and January 2012, matched exactly with the period of minimum Twitter activity. Figure 2 shows that during June 2010 and January 2011, while tweets were decreasing, media attention increased. This trend would suggest that prior ENGOS' activity on Twitter, between Jun-Sep 2010, might be one of the factors that produced visibility on the press in the next trimester, Oct-Jan 2010/1.

Furthermore, the highest peak of tweets on Castilla, during February and May 2011, did not lead to an immediate reaction of the newspapers; yet, coverage remained steady during those months and it tended to decrease once the organizations stopped tweeting. Moreover, there is no evidence of media coverage of the ENGOS before their use of Twitter to discuss Castilla issue.

The results of this task propose three findings:

- *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* covered two of the three selected ENGOS during the salience of Castilla conflict.

- The least active organization on Twitter - Terram - is the one that did not get media visibility.
- ENGOs were already deploying Twitter to discuss Castilla when they were mentioned for the first time on the news during the period under study.

Most of the selected ENGOs that employed Twitter to discuss Castilla were mentioned by the mainstream Chilean newspapers. One of them did not receive media attention. Hence, evidence from this case supports partially Hypothesis 1. Arguably, the use of the online platform does not guarantee success in terms of coverage. In the cases of Greenpeace and Oceana, there is no evidence that *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* were addressing them as sources before they began to post about Castilla.

Hypotheses 2 and 3: Newsmaking strategies

Table 4 classifies the selected ENGOs' newsmaking strategies and their respective tactics to assess how they utilized Twitter to gain the attention of the two Chilean mainstream newspapers. According to this assessment, the organizations deployed both information and activism strategies during Castilla conflict. Thus, data from this case confirm hypotheses 2 and 3. The strategy of activism promotion is the most used by them, particularly the tactic of environmental awareness.

Strategy	Tactic	ENGOs (%)		
		Greenpeace	Oceana	Terram
Information	Research	0.8	12.4	10.8
	Grassroots	0.8	13.5	8.1
	Opinion	8.9	23.6	29.7
	Subtotal information strategy (%)	10.5	49.4	48.6
Activism	Awareness	42.7	36.0	43.2
	Mobilization	30.6	13.5	5.4
	Organization of collective action	16.1	1.1	2.7
	Subtotal activism strategy (%)	89.5	50.6	51.4
Total tweets (N)		124	89	37

Analyzing the case of each organization, data show significant differences. Greenpeace represents one extreme by utilizing Twitter principally for activism goals, particularly awareness and mobilization. In comparison with the other organizations, Greenpeace also organized collective actions more. Within its information spreading efforts, the organization was principally focused on asserting opinion.

At the other extreme are Oceana and Terram. Oceana balanced its tactics. According to Table 4, the ENGO divided its focus into half information and half activism. Oceana played with the three levels of the information strategy, giving particular emphasis to assert opinion. Nonetheless, among the three NGOs, Oceana is the one that engaged in grassroots and research tactics the most. In terms of activism, besides its effort to raise awareness, the organization tried to mobilize people and it was the least active in organizing collective actions. Terram shares most of these characteristics, although its focus on both awareness and opinion was stronger.

In summary, Table 4 suggests that Greenpeace was an activist player on Twitter during Castilla; hence, it may have received media attention indirectly. Oceana was more balanced towards information in its attempt to produce news directly. In both cases, asserting standpoints for journalists seems to be the most tactical way to co-produce news information. Therefore, Castilla case supports some of the trends displayed by Barrancones, because Greenpeace fits again with the profile of mobilizing actor while Terram plays with both strategies in a balanced way. On the other hand, in comparison with their approach during Barrancones, Oceana did not promote activism during Castilla. Finally, the three ENGOs employed more the research tactic during Castilla.

Chapter V

Discussion

The previous section analyzed the data obtained from the Twitter accounts of Greenpeace, Oceana and Terram, as well as press articles on Barrancones and Castilla. This exercise led to systematize different findings regarding media attention and newsmaking approaches on Twitter. The discussion section carries out an in-depth interpretation of these results and their theoretical and contextual implications.

The first part of this section discusses the overall findings of the analysis to test its hypotheses and answer its research question. Further, it contextualizes these claims according to a comparison between Barrancones and Castilla cases. In the last part, the discussion articulates a specific account for each one of the ENGOs under assessment by considering their goals and organizational structure.

V.I. Twitter and press coverage

The data analysis shows that press coverage of the ENGOs comes after and not before their use of Twitter to discuss environmental conflicts. Taking this timing factor into consideration, if there were some influence, tweets seem to be leading ENGOs' visibility on the news. In short, both Barrancones and Castilla were already salient issues for the organizations when they received media attention. Additionally, there seems to be a correlation between organizations' tweets on these conflicts and proportion of media attention received. This is due to evidence suggesting that ENGOs were almost three times more active on Twitter during Barrancones than Castilla conflict, receiving in turn three times more coverage in the first case.

The aforementioned set of findings lead to support Hypothesis 1: Mainstream newspapers did pay attention to ENGOs that tweeted about the conflicts under study. After using Twitter, these organizations achieved a status of news sources for these media outlets. However, this attention cannot be considered high and there are exceptions. In the case of Castilla, one organization was never mentioned on the newspapers despite their use of Twitter to discuss the issue. Hence, in most of the cases, and depending on how intensive they are, civil organizations gain media visibility when they tweet about salient issues.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 claim that ENGOs use Twitter to generate information and promote activism as means to get press coverage. The analysis has demonstrated that the selected ENGOs employed both strategies simultaneously. In terms of tactics, while some findings support what literature states about their use and efficiency, other results contradict previous studies.

Scholars have considered information tactics to be more highly regarded in their use and effectiveness in generating press coverage compared to activism promotion on Twitter (Krøvel, 2012; Waisbord, 2011). However, this analysis shows that, although ENGOs engaged in both approaches, the activism strategy was overall the most deployed by them. In both Barrancones and Castilla cases, data confirm that Greenpeace and Oceana engaged more with activist tactics rather than information activities. Terram promoted activism in Castilla, while in Barrancones its efforts were focused on information tactics.

Among information tactics, asserting opinion was the most employed technique by ENGOs in both cases, while research content was the least used. This finding contradicts literature that locates research as the most common newsmaking activity of ENGOs (Gaber & Wilson, 2005; Waisbord, 2011; Weyker, 2002).

Regarding activism, ENGOs produce social media campaigns to make their causes salient and gain public support, which in turn impacts on the media agenda (De Jong, 2005; Norris, 2002; Weyker, 2002). According to Waisbord (2011), articulation of protests would not help ENGOs to place issues into the media agenda because the dramatic features of these events tend to monopolize reporters' focus. Consistently, evidence from this study

proposes that, despite their activist identity, the selected ENGOs did not use Twitter extensively to call for citizen action. Only Greenpeace engaged more in organizing collective actions, being an irrelevant tactic for the rest.

In terms of efficiency, assessing the levels of media visibility of each organization offers some clues. During both conflicts, Greenpeace was the second most active on Twitter and it was principally focused on activism, being the most visible during Castilla and receiving less media attention during Barrancones. On average, Oceana was the most visible ENGO for *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, and also the most active tweeter on both issues. During Barrancones, the ENGO achieved high coverage by utilizing mainly the activist strategy. During Castilla, Oceana was the second most visible by employing a balanced approach. Terram, on the other hand, was the least active on Twitter during both conflicts. The press did not mention it during Castilla, when it deployed a balanced approach, whereas it was the second most visible during Barrancones by utilizing principally the information strategy.

These findings confirm that level Twitter use would predetermine ENGOs success in achieving media visibility. This point leads to include external and internal contextual variables to explain how these organizations command this use of Twitter to co-produce news coverage.

V.II. Evolution of environmental conflicts

Data displayed in the previous chapter show that Greenpeace, Oceana and Terram employed their social media newsmaking strategies and tactics differently depending on the conflict. Arguably, the newsmaking approach of an ENGO via Twitter is determined, among other factors, by the attributes of the environmental issue.

Chapter II has described Barrancones as an event-driven and short-term conflict with a clear policy solution after massive protest movements. The social conflict was organized by different ENGOs, particularly via digital media. Castilla, on the other hand, involved diverse actors such as worker and neighborhood unions, which made ENGOs' role

less clear. Online campaigning against this plant was not as intense as in the case of Barrancones. In addition, the Judiciary and not the Executive solved Castilla after two years of conflict.

The characteristics of Barrancones lead to assume that the most suitable route for ENGOs to co-produce news was a strategic approach towards activism on their Twitter communications. Being highly mediatized, having strong popular support, and including the intervention of celebrities in online campaigns, the conflict fits into the model of event-driven news (Boydston, 2013). Possibly, Barrancones offered enough stimuli to motivate people to participate in collective actions, which could have fed awareness and mobilization campaigns on Internet.

Data suggest that activism is, in fact, the most employed strategy by Greenpeace and Oceana during Barrancones. However, both organizations differ in terms of media attention. This could be explained by the fact that Greenpeace was much more oriented than Oceana towards activism, and particularly towards the organization of collective actions, which results in less press coverage. This proposes that intense activism and promotion of protest do not necessarily leads to more media attention. Terram, on the other hand, was more engaged in information activities, having less visibility than Oceana, which would confirm that activism rather than information was a suitable strategy to get visibility in the case of Barrancones.

Castilla offers a different type of conflict, in which its association with media logic parameters seems to be blurry. The conflict was not an explosion with a populist and immediate response from authorities. These characteristics lead to assume that, during this conflict, an efficient way for ENGOs to generate news coverage via Twitter was a balance between raising awareness through campaigns and producing knowledge and opinion. Mobilization and organization, on the other hand, do not fit in the evolution of Castilla, since there were not enough affective attributes to foster such massive responses (Gerbaudo, 2012).

Oceana and Terram employed the aforementioned hypothetical route. Both ENGOS engaged principally in raising awareness and opinion, and rarely tried to organize protest actions. Oceana and Terram also shared similar focus on research and grassroots information. However, their newsmaking results vary. While Oceana received media attention when employing these tactics, Terram did not achieve visibility. These findings lead to a discussion of the differences in terms of NGO's goals and agenda, which is addressed in the next section of this chapter.

Greenpeace offers contradicting data. Despite being focused mainly on awareness, it mobilized and organized collective actions considerably more than spreading information on Twitter. Against all predictions, Greenpeace was the most visible on the news during Castilla. Therefore, this finding casts doubt on the conclusion that a balance between information tactics and campaigning suits to Castilla. There is not strong evidence to support this idea. Which seems feasible is that Greenpeace had success because of its prior brand strength. In other words, some ENGOS have worked systematically throughout time to become valid news sources.

V.III. Effect of ENGOS' political agenda

ENGOS' agenda; namely, their profile and how they intervene in environmental politics, may be also part of the explanatory model of both the choice and success of their newsmaking approach. This study has identified two major ENGOS' agendas: services and policy (see Introduction). The former produces information to educate and foster awareness, with a strategic work based on PR, whereas the latter articulates policy programs to generate political change, with an activist approach sustained on mobilization (Lang, 2013; Powers, 2014).

In short, Greenpeace, Oceana and Terram are classified into the category of policy agenda, although representing different levels of it. Table 6 reports the profile of each one of the selected ENGOS according to organizational statements retrieved from their official websites. While Greenpeace is principally focused on activism, Oceana and Terram engage in challenging projects without organizing protests as part of their activities. Therefore,

what makes the difference between these three actors is their level of engagement in activism.

Table 5. ENGOs' political agenda according to profile, mission and activities

ENGO	Agenda	Profile	Mission	Activities
Greenpeace Chile	Policy	Activists	Environment protection and generation of social change.	Public campaigning, information, mobilization, protesting, and development of policy.
Oceana Chile	Policy	Advocates	Environment protection and production of knowledge.	Strategic targeting, research and information.
Fundación Terram	Policy	Challengers	Protection of human rights, democracy and participation, and generation of public debate.	Mobilization and editorializing.

Sources:

Greenpeace Chile: <http://www.greenpeace.org/chile/es/nosotros/>

Oceana Chile: <http://oceana.org/es/sa/sobre-oceana/que-es-oceana/nuestra-vision>

Fundación Terram: http://www.terram.cl/quienes_somos/

The fact that each organization has a different set of internal attributes would explain why they choose different strategies and tactics to co-produce news via social media. This is consistent with prior studies that have addressed the relevance of NGOs' structural variables to explain their different models to pursue media publicity (Dimitrov, 2008; Powers, 2014). Following, each ENGO is analyzed as a particular case to connect their agenda with their use of Twitter for newsmaking objectives.

Greenpeace Chile

Greenpeace was the most stable of the three ENGOs in terms of Twitter use. Its strategic approach towards activism remained the same in both conflicts. Among its activism tactics, the ENGO employed principally awareness and mobilization. In comparison with the other organizations, Greenpeace was the most engaged in organizing collective actions. Table 5

shows that this approach was sustained on their activist agenda of social change, which fed activities such as campaigning, mobilization and protesting.

Previous studies on Greenpeace have identified it as a campaigning organization seeking for environmental justice whose main goal is bearing of witness during disasters and conflicts (Carroll & Ratner, 1999: 8). Therefore, most of Greenpeace's communication efforts seek for enhancing citizen engagement and participation (Dimitrov, 2008: 12). Greenpeace might be classified as an ENGO that leads its newsmaking activities via social media according to their organizational identity, because they employed this tool to empower people engaged in the environmental movement (Obar et al, 2012: 14).

Oceana Chile

According to Table 5, Oceana's profile fits into the logic of advocacy and marketing simultaneously, which means that it is less engaged in activism than the others. Hence, Oceana has a strategic agenda that explains its balanced approach between information and activism to access the media. The case of Castilla demonstrates this balance, because Oceana divided its newsmaking efforts symmetrically into two categories. However, in the case of Barrancones, this approach is less clear since the organization reported more activist than information tactics.

Unlike Greenpeace, Oceana's newsmaking choices respond to contextual rather than identity variables. This suggests that Oceana adapts its strategy depending on the political environment in order to receive press attention. In a highly mediatized conflict like Barrancones, the ENGO did not follow all the precepts of its agenda, taking advantage of the context to pursue more indirect ways to gain press coverage.

Fundación Terram

Terram shares part of Oceana's route to generate news contents. The ENGO balanced its newsmaking efforts during Castilla, while emphasizing information during Barrancones. Hence, Oceana adapted its newsmaking approach to contextual stimuli. Their agenda may

be defined as challenger, with a clear goal of political change. Overall, Terram has chosen to raise awareness, produce opinion and spread research findings in both cases, which seems to be in line with this mission in some degree.

Nonetheless, Terram's approach focused on information worked in terms of visibility during Barrancones case. The previous section concluded that this strategy was not supposed to be suitable to the characteristics of this conflict. Although expected, balancing both positions did not help Terram to receive any coverage during Castilla. This analysis proposes that when challenging organizations advance only information tactics via Twitter, they may not receive media visibility. Further, it proves that asserting opinion may allow them to become official sources for reporters.

V.IV. Summary

In summary, this chapter has composed some general conclusions that may be systematized as follows:

- ENGOs employed Twitter to make environmental issues salient to the public. While tweeting for this purpose, the organizations receive some level of press coverage. The ENGOs that utilized Twitter more intensively, received more press coverage.
- ENGOs employed both information and activism newsmaking strategies via Twitter during Barrancones and Castilla cases.
- Campaigning to raise environmental awareness via Twitter is reinforced by information tactics, which would result in the most efficient way for ENGOs to receive coverage. Additionally, advancing only information tactics might not help challenging organizations to gain media visibility.
- While some ENGOs trace their route to gain press coverage by following their institutional identity precepts, others adapt these strategies according to the context.

Consequently, both the organizational agenda and the nature of the conflict predetermine how ENGOs use Twitter to receive media attention.

Conclusions

This dissertation analyzed and related three concepts, civil society organizations, media visibility and social media. When addressing this problem, it has observed the case of environmental movement seeking for social change in a developing country.

The results of this work allow answering the research question proposed at the beginning of this dissertation: How do ENGOs use Twitter to gain media attention during environmental conflicts? The cases of Greenpeace, Oceana and Terram during Barrancones and Castilla demonstrate that these organizations employ two strategic orientations and six different tactics to call reporters' attention. The information strategy, which includes research, grassroots and opinion tactics, attempts to access the media directly by providing journalists with relevant data and viewpoints. The activism strategy, comprising awareness, mobilization and organization of collective actions tactics, works indirectly via public visibility and issue salience. Data have shown that the second strategy is the most used by ENGOs on Twitter.

The analysis also suggests a possible correlation between how intensively these tactics are deployed via Twitter and the amount of press coverage that ENGOs receive. Therefore, Twitter may be included among the ways by which NGOs achieve media visibility. Regarding ENGOs' preferential use of some tactics over others, there are at least two intervening factors to be considered: the evolution of the environmental conflict and the institutional profile of the organization.

These findings have implications at political, practical and theoretical levels, being a relevant contribution to fill part of the gaps present in current literature on civil society organizations and newsmaking prospects through online social tools.

At political level, the study has proved that Twitter works as a visibility tool for civil society organizations, which by default are invisible in formal political spheres. A question that remains open is how much of this online-led visibility is key for them to raise citizen support and intervene in decision-making processes. The average preference for raising awareness and mobilizing people via Twitter, as an indirect mechanism to co-produce news coverage, supports theories claiming that ENGOs are relevant actors in the increasing involvement of citizens in non-traditional politics. Consequently, this finding displays how relevant civil society organizations may be for improving democracy in developing countries.

At practical level, the results of this research demonstrate that intensive Twitter activity on environmental issues is associated with more press coverage. While this dissertation does not advance an explanatory model about efficiency and limitations of these strategies, at least it suggests that one efficient tactical approach combines raising environmental awareness while asserting opinion statements. Civil organizations interested in fine-tuning their newsmaking efforts via social media might benefit from adopting/adapting this approach.

At theoretical level, previous sections showed that scholars have already analyzed NGOs' newsmaking prospects. Nonetheless, social media's intervening role has been understudied. For this reason, these findings make a contribution to the field. Firstly, the dissertation systematized current literature in order to adapt NGOs' newsmaking inputs from different scholarships to the language of social media strategies. As a result, this work hypothesized different ways by which organizations can access the media via Twitter. This categorization did not exist in the literature before this study. Secondly, the analysis tested these hypothetical strategies, providing evidence of their utilization on Twitter.

Despite these contributions, the study has a narrow theoretical focus and several methodological limitations that might be sorted out in further research. Unsolved dilemmas about use and efficiency of newsmaking strategies and limited generalization of results result from this analysis.

Assessing the efficiency of these strategies to produce news coverage posited several problems that could not be solved by means of the method of analysis of this project. Timing might work as a convincing factor that Twitter is one of the factors behind ENGOS' success in receiving media attention. However, that conclusion underestimates the influence of private activities such as lobbying, branding and PR. Descriptive content analysis is not the appropriate instrument for reading these factors. The nature of these questions leads to engage in methods such as interviews and participant observation, which will allow future researchers to explore how ENGOS co-work with journalists and editors.

The generalization of these results is one of the greatest limitations of this analysis. Due to time and resources constrains, the dissertation focused on particular media platforms, type of conflicts and organizations. This reduces the possibilities to translate findings such as the key use of activism promotion to indirectly impact on the news to another kind of civil society actors. Other conflicts around the world, in which politicians are directly involved, or when there are not positive policy outcomes for NGOs, might be also insightful to find contradicting data.

In conclusion, this dissertation has addressed one of many unsolved questions about the problem that civil society organizations face in terms of public visibility. The identification of specific strategies/tactics to command their press coverage via Twitter is a relevant contribution to the field, which also offers a framework that might be adapted to study this problem under different conditions. The next step is to include new inputs to improve academic understanding of this issue.

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Appendix

This appendix section displays the raw dataset employed for this study. This dataset includes press articles published by El Mercurio and La Tercera on Barrancones and Castilla between June 2010 and September 2012. The set also contains all the tweets published by the accounts of Greenpeace Chile (@greenpeaceCL), Oceana Chile (@oceanachile) and Fundación Terram (@terramchile) during the same period. Following, a selection of both datasets and their respective coding scheme are displayed as an example of how this analysis was carried out.

Total press coverage of Barrancones and Castilla and mentions to selected ENGOS

Newspapers: El Mercurio and La Tercera
 Section: June-September 2010

Barrancones coverage

Month	N° press articles	N° of mentions to ENGOS		
		Greenpeace	Oceana	Terram
June	1	0	0	0
July	0	0	0	0
August	86	0	13	1
September	42	1	1	2
Total	129	1	14	3

Castilla coverage

Month	N° press articles	N° of mentions to ENGOS		
		Greenpeace	Oceana	Terram
June	0	0	0	0
July	11	0	0	0
August	13	0	0	0
September	20	0	0	0
Total	44	0	0	0

Twitter content according to month, organization, case and newsmaking tactic

Twitter accounts: @greenpeaceCL, @oceanachile and @terramchile

Section: June-September 2010

Month	ENGO		Case				Newsmaking tactic						
	Oceana	Terram	Greenpeace	Barrancones	Castilla	Others	Awareness	Mobilization	Organization of collective action	Research	Grassroots	Opinion	None
June	0	16	104	1	0	119	1	0	0	0	0	0	119
July	16	11	72	3	13	83	10	1	0	0	2	0	86
August	28	22	257	135	23	149	46	48	23	1	5	7	177
September	6	17	138	8	30	123	17	8	5	1	0	0	130
