COMMUNICATION NETWORKS FOR SOCIAL MOBILIZATION
IN MARGINALIZED POPULATIONS:
THE CASE OF THE ANTIMINING MAYAN MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA

By

Karina J. GarciaRuano

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ABSTRACT

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This study analyzes the role of networked communication for social mobilization in marginalized populations. Although the potential of the new technologies to build networks and mobilize power has been shown in empirical research (e.g., Castells, 2007; Juris, 2008), the empowerment of citizens to use these networked communications effectively cannot be taken for granted. Marginalization conditions, such as poverty, sociopolitical exclusion, and limited access to information and communication technologies (ICTs) may affect people's capability to successfully use networked communication to voice their demands.

Using a combination of qualitative methodologies, this research develops a case study of the Mayan movement against mining and natural resources exploitation in Guatemala to examine under which conditions excluded populations, such as rural indigenous communities, use networked communication to mobilize power. Specifically, ethnographic research was conducted from November 2011 to December 2012 in Mayan communities in the Western highlands, where the movement has mainly developed.

Results show that Mayan communities in Guatemala have implemented networked communication using self-tailored, integrated communication toolboxes containing a combination of interpersonal, traditional, and digital media that respond to their goals and cultural values. Networked communication has proved crucial to the development of strategies in

two ways: a) internal strategies, empowering communities despite their marginalization through strategic outputs, such as resource sharing, citizen journalism, and collective action coordination; and b) external strategies, articulating support with allies at a local, national and international level to gather external resources, exert more pressure to influence elites' decisions, and to get protection against political persecution.

Networked communication was found to be successful in furthering mobilization goals within the movement, but limited in influencing decision making outside the movement. On one hand, networked communication showed empowers marginalized communities, reinforcing key mobilization aspects, such as group cohesion, collective efficacy, and social capital. Moreover, networks are used as a strategy of pressure and self-protection, aiming to gain support internationally to exert more pressure and get protection nationally. On the other hand, repressive measures used by political elites in Guatemala limit the opportunities of the Mayan communities to further their mobilization goals. Ineffective dialogue and political persecution against indigenous leaders dull the potential of the Mayan movement to influence corporate and political decision-making, resulting in increasing social conflict, violence, and even deaths, consequentially harming the already fledging Guatemalan democracy. This investigation concludes proposing a "decalogue of empowering networked communication" for mobilization in marginalized communities based on the Mayan case that may be applied in populations under similar conditions in other sites of the world (i.e., emergent democracies, developing countries, multicultural societies).

Para "Juditha" la grande, la aguerrida, la única

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INTRODUCTION

This study examines the use of networked communication in a socioenvironmental movement organized by marginalized populations in Guatemala. In the last decade, a rise of cases exist in the developing world where communities in the periphery organize social movements to challenge their governments about the environmental and human development costs of irresponsible exploitation of natural resources (e.g., Akpalu & Parks, 2007; Holden & Jacobson, 2007; Horowitz, 2002; Imbun, 2006; Whiteman & Mamen, 2002; Root, Wiley, & Peek, 2002; Ulloa 2001). In Central America, a movement led by Mayan rural communities in the highlands of Guatemala started in 2004 against mining and natural resources exploitation. The indigenous movement believes that mining activities violate their rights and beliefs about nature conservation, development, and autonomy in their territory.

Taking advantage of the emergence of new spaces for political participation opened by the recent return to democracy in 1985, the nascent environmental movement is defeating a past of silence and a present of socioeconomic limitations using a combination of communication tools to voice their needs. An amalgamation of community media, interpersonal communication, and information technologies seem to provide the movement with the possibility to build multi-scaled networks to mobilize support within and across the borders to influence political decision-making. Thus, the combination of marginalized local communities, powerful global corporations, and spreading transnational networks creates a compelling scenario for the analysis of the communications performed by social movements to influence political power that emerges locally and resonates globally.

Using a multidisciplinary theoretical framework and a combination of qualitative methodologies, this investigation examines how social movements in marginalized populations use communication to gain political power and influence authorities' decision-making. For this purpose, this research conducts a case study of the antimining social movement in Guatemala. The social context of the country, characterized by high inequality indices, ethnic discrimination, and an emergent democracy, is helpful to understand the conditions under which communication facilitates the empowerment of marginalized population for political mobilization. Specifically, the study analyzes the evolution and dynamics of the antimining movement in Guatemala during an eight-year-time lag, examining the use of different communication tools (e.g., community media, protests, information and communication technologies), with different stakeholders (e.g., communities, activists, government) at different scales (e.g., local, national, transnational). The study then examines how and why these communications help the movement to succeed in their goals and whether political mobilization results in significant reallocations of power within society.

The study of the use of communication by marginalized populations in social movements is important because it helps to understand how different types and forms of communication are used by this particular segment of population. Particular limitations affecting peripheral populations, such as high levels of poverty, illiteracy, and restricted access to media and technologies can affect important aspects of social mobilization, such as strategic communication skills and media usage.

Studies in political science (Offe, 1985), critical public relations (Dozier & Lauzen, 2000; Karlberg, 1996), and information and communication technologies (ICTs) (Cartier, Castells, &

Qiu, 2005; Norris, 2001) have emphasized on the need of more research to understand how resource and power differentials impact the capacity of marginalized groups to influence political power.

Studying how and why communication enables political mobilization of disadvantaged populations is also important to provide information that can be applied to strengthen the skills and resources that can be used by these movements in their efforts to defeat silence and social alienation. Open-pit mineral mining and the responses of grassroots movements has become a highly sensitive sociopolitical issue of equity in sharing of benefits withing richer and poorer states and among social classes within those states. Thus, the study of the antimining movement in Guatemala provides a reference case about environmental movements that can help to sensitize governments, corporations, and communities to the issue, and to enhance strategies for effective mobilization, negotiation, corporate social responsibility, and conflict resolution. Exploring the potential of communication for empowerment of marginalized people in Guatemala will also offer important insights for governance in turbulent, polarized, developing societies, as well as in more stable, developed environments.

Contributions of this Study

This investigation aims to contribute to the understanding of the role of communication for the empowerment of marginalized populations in social movements dynamics. Results from this investigation are expected to contribute to theory development in three directions. First, this research aims to provide a communicative perspective of social movements, analyzing the role of communication along different cycles of of the movement. This analysis will allow to outline media typologies differentiating potential and limitations of diverse advocacy strategies (i.e.,

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public relations and social mobilization) and various media types (i.e., community media, protests, information technologies), used for different purposes, attaining different outcomes, in different stages of the process.

Second, the present investigation also extends agenda-building theory by providing empirical evidence from a context that has not being investigated before. Previous research in developing countries (e.g., Pratt & Manheim, 1988) has shown that agenda dynamics may vary depending on political (e.g., high urban-rural divergencies) and cultural features (small groups decision-making practices). Some Guatemalan relevant features—developing country, social marginalization, fledging democracy—offer a different analysis to those previously conducted in industrialized societies and more mature democracies.

Third, despite of the highly prevalent academic research on social networks and ICTs, there is sparse discussion on how networked communications can be affected by power differentials and limitations in access to communication resources that generate power, such as the ICTs. Thus, this study aims to provide empirical evidence for these tenets with results from a social movement initiated by leaders of marginalized populations in Guatemala that helps to reveal under which circumstances networked communication and ICTs do or do not facilitate the empowerment of marginalized people.

The results from this investigation are also expected to have practical implications relevant to social organizers, activists, communication strategists, and media designers. This study provides specialized information that can be used by organizers and activists in Guatemala to improve their communication performance, as a key component for enhancing their strategies on organization, mobilization, and political impact in the country.

This research also may be a valuable reference for other countries. In the last decade, open-pit mineral mining has become a highly sensitive sociopolitical issue around the world. This research also may be a valuable reference for other countries, in sensitizing governments, corporations, and communities to environmental justice issues in order to prevent exacerbating the conflicts.

In addition, information from this study may be useful for policy making in general and environmental policies in particular to spot relevant aspects that enhance policy-making processes, more inclusive politics, and therefore, governance. Information on communication and empowerment from this study might also help other indigenous rural communities under similar conditions to those in Guatemala, providing them with relevant information to counterbalance power differentials and further historically unattended demands.

Finally, results from this investigation can also be integrated into the teaching activities performed by the researchers in undergraduate and graduate programs, filling a teaching/ research gap (Dozier & Lauzen, 2000; Dutta-Bergman, 2005) by covering content regarding a traditionally underrepresented (a) sociopolitical sector (civil society, social movements), (b) geographical region (Central America), and (c) ethnic group (indigenous communities).

CHAPTER 1
LITERATURE REVIEW

This investigation uses a multidisciplinary framework of theories in sociology, political

science, and communication to review the role, dynamics, and potential effects of networked

communication for the empowerment of marginalized communities with mobilization purposes.

In democratic systems, civil society builds bottom-up communications to voice demands

(Cobb &Elder, 1972) that should be addressed by political and economic elites, especially during

critical situations (Habermas, 1996). Networked communication may empower citizens to

mobilize power to influence political decision-making (Castells, 1996; Juris, 2008). However,

not all networked communication leads to empowerment. Communication and power

differentials may limit networked communication effectiveness to mobilize power (Castells,

2007; Karlberg, 1996; Ulloa, 2001). Thus, there is an unanswered question regarding the

conditions under which networked communication empowers marginalized populations to

mobilize power, which this research aims to answer. This chapter reviews the literature and

previous research relating to these arguments, which were used as a theory framework to

develop the present study.

Social movements dynamics

For the purposes of this study, socials movements are defined using the inclusive concept

proposed by Snow (2004), as collective challenges to systems of authority—not only restricted to

the state or the polity. Although the case proposed in the current research analyzes a social

movement that originally emerged challenging the national government, it is not the intention of

this study to anchor the analysis to a limited concept, but instead to consider other potential

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evolutions of the movement challenging authorities in other indirect manners—through covert means or by exiting the system, as in the case of separatist and communal movements such as *la comunalidad* in Mexico (Meyer & Maldonado, 2010).

The present investigation seeks to understand the character and course of the antimining movement in Guatemala as a process, observing how communication is used in different stages of the process and what are the cycles they produce for the movement evolution. This analysis allows to examine the potential and limitations of different types of communication for different purposes, and what are the outcomes power dynamics they produce along the development of the movement. For this purpose, this study uses the resource mobilization approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) that studies movements evolution shaped by authorities and societal support or constraint interactions with the movement. This approach analyzes social movements based on the examination of the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements.

The authors expand on Olson's (1965) and Oberschall's (1973) work on collective action arguing that cost-reward and resource cumulation are central to understand mobilization. The analysis highlights the need to observe beyond the confrontation of movement beneficiaries and opponents because often the resources come from external sources. Thus, the cost-rewards balance is crucial to explain the degree and types of mobilization at different stages of the analysis. Recent research has provided empirical evidence to this contention, showing how mobilization follows endogenous (local initiative and resources), exogenous (resources from outside the movement), or networked (collaboration of local and external resources) channels in

order to mobilize resources and support (Salmon, Fernandez, & Post, 2011).

The resource mobilization approach also explains an organizational aspect for the analysis of social movements related to collaboration-competition dilemmas. The existence of less or more social movements organizations in a given social environment may traduce in competitive or collaborative conditions to attain cumulated or limited resources, shaping the movements in distinct manners. In addition, different ideological approaches (e.g., more reform- or more revolution-oriented projects) result in different opportunities for alliances and can have different effects in different stages, depending on factors such as political opportunities and strategic objectives of the group. The ideological component and collaboration potential of social movements have been empirically tested through framing alignment analysis (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow, 2004; Snow & Benford, 1992). Results show that frame alignment (i.e., resonance of ideas between the social movement and potential supporters) increases the potential of collaboration and therefore, mobilization of resources.

Two main factors in the resource mobilization approach are of special relevance for the current investigation are directly related to the role of communication in the social movements dynamics. First, communication is crucial to mobilize resources directly from supporters by engaging in collaborative relationships and alliances. And second, the use of mass media is a key factor to bargain legitimacy and credibility of the group grievances with their opponents and gain political power to influence responses from authorities. In addition, the model highlights the need to study media coverage responding to different issue cycles, observing the change of the level of political commitment and authorities responses as the issue changes over time:

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"Social movements exist and may be maintained even when the media do not focus upon them. Yet in a society where movement success in mobilizing resources and in affecting authorities depends to some extent upon arousing constituencies through the media, issue-attention cycles become predictors of movement and organizational success." (Zald & McCarthy, 1977, p.4)

The resource mobilization model also relies on keystone work developed by Lipsky (1968), arguing that authorities respond to protest not only through fear of the direct political and violence potential of the movement, but also because of the activation of reference publics (i.e., those groups to whom the decision makers are most sensitive) and elites, who in turn control resources relevant to the authorities (e.g., large corporations). Recent research has found evidence of the key role of media coverage in different issue-cycles of movements, especially during protests and after authorities repressive responses, such as the case of Egypt and other recent events in Africa and the Middle East (e.g., Khamis, 2011; Bowe, Blom, & Freedman, 2011).

Finally, the resource mobilization model includes authorities and societal response as central factor for social movements analysis. The analysis should observe the constant interaction of the movement with authorities (e.g., government) and other actors such as adversaries (e.g., corporations), who respond through control (e.g., repression) or concessions (e.g., partial or total incorporation of some of the movement petitions). Research has shown that authorities and societal responses vary in different social environments and respond to sociopolitical circumstances and other contextual factors. For instance, Root, Wiley, and Peek (1999) conducted a study of the environmental social movement in South Durban showing that with the fall of the apartheid the government has to develop community consultations to solve social

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problems. Although this mechanism is still vulnerable to be manipulated by the hegemonic structures of the country, it has provided the grassroots with a mechanism of negotiation to scale-up action and draw public attention to their concerns.

The inclusion of societal responses in the resource mobilization model also suggests a special manner to scrutinize the movement outcomes, both on the participants and upon the governance of societies. This factor is particularly important because some studies evaluate the failure or success of social movements efforts based on the achievement of big political or social goals such as policy change. However, research has shown that social ties (e.g., associational membership, personal network) have positive effects on participants' civic engagement, and in turn enhances social capital (Rojas, Shah, & Friedland, 2011).

Since the main focus of the present study is to analyze the role of communication to influence political power in social movements dynamics, the resource mobilization approach particularly informs the study on the antimining movement in Guatemala with three main contentions: (a) social movement dynamics and outcomes are shaped by authorities and societal response (i.e., incorporation or social control), (b) media coverage reflects movement cycles and is crucial for the movement's bargaining of legitimacy and credibility with its opponents, becoming a predictor of mobilization success, (c) in order to mobilize resources, movements use communication to develop multi-scaled mobilization and collaborative relationships with internal and external sources.

Cycles of mobilization

Tarrow (1993) builds upon the resource mobilization approach to propose the analysis of social movements through cycles that describe its evolution over time. Mobilization cycles are

defined as the "crucibles in which movements of madness are tempered into the permanent tools of a society's repertoire of contention" (p. 284). Although the model acknowledges that mobilization waves do not have a regular frequency or extend uniformly to entire populations, there are five features that have shown to appropriately characterize social movements cycles: (1) heightened conflict, (2) geographic diffusion, (3) appearance of new social movement organizations (SMO), (4) frames of meaning, and (5) expanding collective action repertoires.

Social movements cycles are shaped by heightened conflicts that other scholars have also defined as critical moments (Opp, 2009). In general, is the frequent occurrence of turbulence across the social sector that brings it to the attention of elites and sets in motion a process of adaptation or collapse. Regarding geographic diffusion, Tarrow (1993) posits that geographic diffusion of the movement results from the alliances of different groups of supporters during the peak of the mobilization waves. Moreover, to the extent that new social movement organizations join the protest, contention will not cease and will be sustained even when another group leaves the movement. Protest cycles are also shaped by frames of meaning that justify and dignify collective action and around which support can be mobilized. Frames have a crucial role introducing new cultural contents, that do or do not prevail among the political culture. Finally, protest cycles are marked by interrelated collective actions and the responses of political elites to them. Based on these factors shaping mobilization processes, Tarrow (1993) suggests the operationalization of cycle as "increasing and then decreasing wave of interrelated collecting actions and reactions to them, whose aggregate frequency, intensity, and forms increase and then decline in rough chronological proximity" (p. 288).

This study relies on Tarrow's (1993) cycles analysis to investigate the dynamics of the

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antimining movement in Guatemala. The mobilization cycles approach has been previously investigated in diverse social contexts, such as urban social movements in Italy, France, and the United States (e.g., Shorter & Tilly, 1974; Tarrow, 1989). The use of the model in the case study in Guatemala will test the suitability of this theoretical framework in a different social context and is expected to provide additional details from its application to rural environments and marginalized populations in developing countries.

After analyzing the dynamics of social movements, the following section reviews literature on agenda-building theory, the model of deliberative democracies, and network society, discussing the role of communication to influence political power of social movements, which is the main focus of the present study.

Agenda building for bottom-up initiatives

Based on resource mobilization dynamics, this investigation analyzes the course of the antimining movement in Guatemala resulting from its interactions with the authorities (i.e., government) and other key societal actors involved in the issue (i.e., mining corporation, media, allies). Thus, this section reviews literature that helps these interactive dynamics in a democratic society.

Cobb and colleagues (Cobb & Elder, 1972; Cobb, Ross, & Ross, 1976) developed what is known as agenda-building theory to explain the dynamics of participation of different social actors for the construction of the political agenda in a democratic society. They define agenda-building as the power dynamics between different political actors that define the emergence, evolution, and decision-making regarding public issues in society. The authors proposed three main models of agenda building based on who places the issue and the dynamics before final

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decision-making (Cobb, Ross, & Ross, 1976). In the first model, the-inside-access model, the

initiative comes from the political leaders and they decide about it without circulating it through

the public. The second is the mobilization model, which is also introduced by the political

leaders, but circulates through the public for support or for implementation. The third model, the

out-of-the-elite initiative model, is a bottom-up model where the issue emerges from the side of

the public (i.e., civil society, public interests groups), aiming to mobilize supporters and

influence public opinion in order to influence political decision from authorities. This study will

focus in the third model because is the one that corresponds to the characteristics of the social

movements dynamics such as the one being studied in the present investigation.

In the bottom-up process of agenda building, organizers use advocacy communication

aiming to mobilize support. Given the limited resources, social movements rely mainly—and

sometimes totally—on public relations strategies (Karlberg, 1996; Tarrow, 1993), that allow

them to create and maintain relationships with key supporters, build alliances locally and

globally, and obtain media attention to permeate the public opinion debate and gain power to

influence elites decisions. These strategies use a variety of communication channels (e.g.,

informational materials, massive protests, community gatherings, electronic messages) that the

movement assess as accessible and useful to reach its goals.

Although the relevance of public relations for activism and social movements, there is

paucity of research addressing the particular needs of these groups, and scholars have pointed out

a latent bias of research that mostly generates information that enhances corporate

communications (Karlberg, 1996; Dozier & Lauzen, 2000). For instance, studies on the

development of public relations in Latin America have shown that the development of public

relations has mainly responded the needs of corporate and political organizations (Molleda &
Moreno, 2008). Specifically in Guatemala, previous research has found that social conflicts
between political or economic elites and activist groups often become a crisis given the lack of
information that guides effective communication management (Garcia-Ruano, 2009).

Karlberg (1996) argues that although the prevalent definition of public relations prescribe
symmetrical, two-way communication (Grunig, 1989), activists have to confront structural
disadvantages (e.g., lower socioeconomic status, limited media access, lack of specialized
communication skills) compared to the privileged conditions economic and political elites they
aim to challenge. There is a need for more research that better equips activists and social
movements on how to defeat their structural limitations and increase their communication
effectiveness. This type of research should address questions that allow first, a better
understanding of the conditions of the disadvantaged populations, and then, how they can
optimize their communication resources and skills. The present study aims to fill this research
gap by providing empirical evidence on the potential and limitations confronted by marginalized
communities in Guatemala in developing advocacy communication to influence traditional
power in the country.

Agenda-building theory informs the present study providing a theoretical framework to
understand the dynamics bottom-up initiatives from the side of the civil society, and how
opposing interest groups try to influence political decision-making within a democratic system.
In addition, agenda building suggests the analysis of advocates' discourses (advocate agendas)
and news media coverage (media agenda) to assess advocates' success to influence on policy-
making and political decisions processes.

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Deliberative democracy, communication, and political agenda building

Scholars studying environmental social movements in the developing world (e.g., Akpalu & Parks, 2007; Pieck, 2006; Root, Wiley, &Peek, 2002; Ulloa, 2001) have highlighted the need to use theoretical frameworks that take into account resource and power differentials among different political actors for mobilization purposes (e.g., access to information, liaison with political officers, relationships with the mass media, wealth).They suggest the use of theoretical perspectives that recognize the power imbalances between grassroots movements and their competing actors. Thus, this study uses relies on Habermas's (1996) work on the dynamics of deliberative democracy, which acknowledges power differentials between social actors and also explains how traditionally disadvantaged actors can develop agency and reverse the normal circuits in the public sphere.

Habermas (1996) posits that despite the structural disadvantages of the civic society compared to the political and economic systems (i.e., economic resources, media access, high level of organization), at critical moments the civil society can reverse the normal circuits of problem solving of public issues. Since social movements do not possess power inherently, they derive it from the social and cultural capital that they accumulate in their aim to gain public influence to put their ignored demands forward (Habermas, 2006).

Habermas describes the rise of social movements as social escalators that emerge in situations of *crisis* when the power holders fail to address the needs from civil society. He describes that the public sphere traditionally performs as a filter of the pool of opinions that after being publicly debated get consolidated into considered opinions, which are the base for political decisions, reached legitimately. But when civil society perceives that the state is not considering

its opinions, they get organized and perform collectively. Usually they abandon the communicative mode of their actions (rational, mutual-understanding oriented actions) and perform strategically (persuasive, pressure-oriented actions) momentously until they reach attention from the state to be listened. This is what has been named as the warning function of the public sphere (Hove, 2009), where the organization of social movements is like an alarm system for the state to readdress important issues that have been overlooked.

Despite of the disadvantage of being at the periphery of the power dynamics—compared to the political and economic systems who are closer to the center—this is also an advantage because it provides them with sensitivity in detecting and identifying new problem situations, which is an important source of legitimacy and potential political power.

Communication for mobilization

Consistent with agenda-building theory (Cobb & Elder, 1972), Habermas's (1996, 2006) model of deliberative politics recognizes the central role of communication in the process of political decision-making. The whole idea of deliberation is based on the conception of interactions between different social systems through communicative actions, that is, actions of rational communication oriented to mutual understanding as mechanism for political decision-making in society. Only in critical situations the social actors perform strategic actions as a persuasion mechanism of pressure to call for attention of the other actors and engage into dialogue again to make their opinions to be heard.

Specifically relevant for social movements, Habermas (2006) finds that communication is the main source of power through which traditionally underprivileged social actors in the periphery of political communication dynamics (i.e., civil society) acquire visibility, prominence,

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reputation, and moral status of their social and cultural capital to gain public influence. .

In the deliberative model, the mass media play a crucial role for both the filter and warning function of the public sphere (Habermas, 2006). They are main channels of the public debate. They help to sort and resonate the public opinions to chose those considered opinions from which the state make decisions under legitimate circumstances. Since published opinions on the media represent potential to gain public influence for political decision-making, the capacity of actors to permeate the media channels to promote their positions represent the power or capital they have at their disposal. Politicians and special interests groups (e.g., business corporations) have privileged access to media because are seen as important suppliers of information. However, public interest groups from civil society are in the weakest position given their limited access to communication resources and techniques (for a comprehensive analysis see Dozier & Hauzen, 2000). However, they can reach media access by exerting public influence through strategic interventions in the public sphere, where they accumulate visibility, prominence, reputations and moral status for their social capital.

There are two main conditions in the exchanges between social systems and the media that can also be used as detectors for the discovery of causes for lacks of legitimacy: independence of the media from the social systems in their environment and civil society must empower citizens to participate in and respond to a public discourse that in turn, must not degenerate into a colonizing mode of communication. Habermas (2006) provides examples of pathologies of political communication such as the state monopoly of public broadcasting in Italy and the ties of access and participation in mediated communication largely correlated with social status and cultural background, which yet still prevalent, has been loosen in the last

decades.

Thus, Habermas's political deliberation model is useful to understand (a) the interactions between social movements arose from the civil society, the state, the competing economic system, and the media; (b) the conditions under which social movements can permeate their voices in the public sphere through communicative and strategic actions; and (c) the process for political deliberation between different actors to reach legitimacy in the political decisions and the pathologies that can distort this process.

Networked communication for mobilizing power

Castells (1996, 2007a, 2011) has developed a stream of research on what he calls the network society, proposing that the advent of the Internet and information and communication technologies (ICTs) allows the development of both many-to-many and one-to-one horizontal communication channels, i.e., mass-self communication. This new communication environment opens opportunities for autonomous processes of social and political mobilization that have the potential to bypass political or business control of communication. This section discusses research showing the potential and limitations of networks and ICTs to empower marginalized populations to influence political agenda-building.

Castells (2011) proposes a network theory of power. He argues that the media have become the social space where power is decided. The development of interactive networks of communication supported by new technologies has generated a new form of communication over the Internet and wireless communication networks. Using these networks insurgent politics and social movements are able to intervene more decisively the communication space, a space of power. Castells (2011) states that a main source of power in a networked society is the potential

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of social actors for programming and switching networks. That is, the capability to create and connect networks. This feature is particularly relevant for empowerment and mobilization purposes in social movements, whose power greatly depends on the membership, mobilization and alliances they build. The network power is what allows the civil society to connect multi-scaled communications from local and translocal to national and global spaces (Castells, 2007a), which has proved crucial for activist efforts in the last decades (e.g., Juris, 2008; Sassen, 2004, Bowe, Blom, & Freedman, 2011).

Although the potential of the new technologies to build networks and circumvent traditional power structures has been confirmed in empirical research (e.g., Castells, 2007b; Juris, 2008; Khamis, 2011), the empowerment of civil society and social movements and their influence on political decision-making do not have to be assumed. The social and power structures may limit or enhance the networks power potential. Environments with high socioeconomic disparities affect networked communication access and usage, and therefore, its empowerment potential (Murdock & Golding, 1989; Norris, 2001; Cartier, Castells, & Qiu, 2005).

For instance, Cartier, Castells, and Qiu (2005) studied the use of ICTs (i.e., cellphone) in marginalized urban immigrants communities in China. They found that although mobile phones create networks that broaden economic opportunities for the immigrants, these benefits do not mean they have gained political power because they are seldom connected to the state's modernization policies to promote articulation of shared experiences. Institutional constraints on the formation of networks beyond the scope of informal relationships and association fundamentally disempower marginalized populations:

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"While translocal networks allow people to sustain existing relationships, they may also distract people's attention from local problems. Mobility and translocal networks therefore may not always work in the long-term interests of the have-less, as the socio-political consequences of have-less ICTs almost always depend on specific power relationships at the grassroots as well as the content conveyed on these networks of connections." (p.26-27)

Thus, the relative autonomy of the content and process of communication allowed by the networked communication does not necessarily lead to social change (Castells, 2007b). The potential of new information technologies to empower peripheral populations depends on the access to those technologies, but also on the manner that these channels are used to convey relevant contents and social structures that enhance group cohesion, leadership and collective efficacy among marginalized groups.

Habermas (2006) also posits that although the Internet has potential to empower the public and counterbalance the seeming deficits that stem from the asymmetrical character of the mass news media media, the discourses developed online need to permeate into the news media in order to become part of the formal dynamics of public opinion and have an impact on elites decision-making:

"In the context of liberal regimes, the rise of millions of fragmented chat rooms across the world tend instead to lead to the fragmentation of large but politically focused mass audiences into a huge number of isolated issue publics. Within established national public spheres, the online debates of web users only promote political communication, when news groups crystallize around the focal points of the quality press, for example, national newspaper and political magazines." (Habermas, 2006, p.423).

Thus, theory and research on networked communication informs this investigation

regarding (a) the potential of the new horizontal, many-to-many networked communications to intervene and shift traditional power structures; (b) the potential of networks power through programming and switching functions to create and build partnership at local and global scale; and (c) the limitations of the networked communications used by marginalized populations to translate into actual relocation of power in society. The present study particularly builds upon these arguments, aiming to provide empirical evidence that helps to fill an existing research gap on the potential and limitations of networked communication used by marginalized populations to mobilize and effectively influence political power in society.

CHAPTER 2
THE MAYAN SOCIOENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA

In order to provide the context for the case study developed in this investigation, this chapter discusses background information about Guatemala, the mining issue, the Mayan communities in the West of the country, and the socioenvironmental movement's antecedents and actors.

Guatemala and indigenous social mobilization

Guatemala is a clashing environment (Sosa, 2009). Its high levels of social conflict is the result of a blatant political and social exclusion. The country is characterized by poverty, inequality, racial discrimination, and decades of coups, dictatorships, and a recent civil war. With the Peace Accords signed in 1996, the State committed to strengthen participation and promote the inclusion of historically marginalized populations, especially indigenous.

With the advent of democracy, Guatemala reached relative sociopolitical steadiness and started a new model toward an open, industrialized economy. However, the slow pace of the postwar recovery and insubstantial follow-up of the Peace Accords have reinforced old problems and brought new ones. According to the United Nations Development Programme (2009), 56.2 percent of the Guatemalan population lives below the poverty line (less than $2 a day) and 69 percent of the population is illiterate. Guatemala's GINI coefficient (measure of inequality of income of wealth) is 55.1, the sixth country with highest level of inequality in the Latin American region, and the thirteenth in the world, with the lowest side of the gap affecting mainly the rural Mayan population (about 40 percent of the population in the country).

The new democratic period brought higher levels of different kinds of freedom, including press freedom and freedom of speech. However, most of the media only reach audiences living

in urban areas. The Internet access in the country is 16 percent concentrated in urban populations (International Communication Union, 2011). Cellphone and radio are the two communication technologies with higher access levels in rural population (CEPAL, 2005). However, both traditional mass media and the new cellular and Internet industry have been criticized as a manipulative oligopoly because are managed responding to traditional elites interests. Experts recurrently questioned how the myriad of voices, that are the foundation of a democratic system, are supposed to develop in a country where powerful elites rule through the political, economic, and media systems, seemingly without checks, and without a real plurality (Rockwell & Janus, 2002). Thus, a new challenge for the emergent democracy in Guatemala is to give voices to the segments of population traditionally excluded, and also assure that those voices are been heard for policy and political decision-making.

The signature of the Peace Accords in 1996 opened the possibility to change the country's history of marginalization and start the transition towards a more inclusive State. To start a process of inclusion of historically marginalized populations, especially Mayan rural populations, the Peace Accords included commitments, such as: a) recognition of traditional authorities of indigenous peoples; b) promotion of indigenous social and political participation, and c) recognition of customary laws of the indigenous people. In addition, the State ratified international conventions that promote the right to consultation and autonomy of indigenous peoples (e.g., International Labor Organization, ILO, Convention 169).

Unfortunately, nearly two decades after the signing of Peace Accords, their implementation has not progressed effectively (Luján, 2004). There are more spaces for excluded populations to express their demands. However, their complaints and grievances are rarely heard

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by the power elites (Sosa, 2009). The exclusion of marginalized populations, therefore, remains latent.

Mayan rural communities in the western highlands of Guatemala

The present study analyzes how the Maya groups in the western highlands of Guatemala have handled their marginalized situation to develop a socioenvironmental movement against mining and natural resources exploitation. Several elements of sociopolitical exclusion take place in Mayan rural communities in Guatemala: ethnic discrimination, antecedents of exploitation and civil war, and poverty. This marginalization conditions have accumulated historically, from the conquest and Spanish colonization until the present times. Typically, these are rural villages dedicated to agriculture, commerce, and in some cases, handicrafts. However, these activities do not provide opportunities for integral development in the absence of adequate rural development policies in the country (Rosada & Bruni, 2009).

The exclusion of rural Mayan population is evident in their low social indicators of formal education, health, employment, and access to media and technology, among others. The Peace Accords signed in 1996 were intended to solve these depriving conditions of the Mayan population but have failed to comply with this political agenda so far (Lujan, 2004).

These exclusion conditions make these populations a breeding ground for social conflict. Constant attempts social upheaval has caused political persecution and repression of people of these communities. Despite the repressive political measures, protests and mobilization in the western highlands have prevailed. Women and peasants have led the movements, especially associated with the vindication of human rights, land, and lately, the defense of the territory (Warren, 1998).

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Most of the social movements of the new democratic era in Guatemala have emerged in the Mayan populations of the western highlands. Likewise, most groups of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement have emerged and spread in this area (Map, 2012). Since many of these Mayan communities have some experience of sociopolitical mobilization of the past five decades, a specific objective of this study is to analyze what is the additional input of the use of networked communication to the repertoire of effective mobilization in these communities.

Mayan social movements in Guatemala

Mayan populations in Guatemala have been subject to different types of marginalization: socio-economic, ethnic, and political. While it is true that with the advent of democracy in the 1980's there have been an emergence of movements in defense of Mayan rights that had been censored and persecuted in times of dictatorship and militarism, their leaders repeatedly claim that their demands are not addressed by decision makers. In other words, now they have a voice, but nobody listens.

This systematic and structural exclusion suffered by Mayan populations in Guatemala, added to some group divisions reduce their ability to empower and effectively influence policy decisions (Sosa, 2010). Some studies argue that the Spanish conquest was facilitated by the internal struggle between two of the strongest Maya groups (Luján, 2004). These studies also hypothesize that the disappearance of the Mayan empire was the result of fights between antagonistic groups. Currently, multiple studies have indicated that one of the factors that has affect the effectiveness of Mayas social movements in Guatemala is precisely the failure to cope with the internal rivalry between the various ethnic groups (Ramos & Sosa, 2008). Among other consequences, this division limits their ability to unify their voices to gain more power to

influence political decision making. Moreover, when the political contenders notice this lack of cohesion between indigenous groups, they take advantage of the situation to bypass their claims and demands (Sosa, 2010).

From protest to proposal

Even with a history of exclusion, repression, and discrimination, Mayan populations in Guatemala have found ways to rebuild their identities and renew their fights demanding effective responses to cumulative problems from the past (Ramos & Sosa, 2008). Different movements of peasants, war widows, and rural development organizations reiterate their demands for land, autonomy in their territories, and compensation for the victims of the war (mostly indigenous people, approximately 150,000), among others.

Some recent studies show a transformation in the contemporary indigenous proclamations and demands: they have moved from protest to proposal (Moreno, 2010; Sosa, 2009). Indigenous movements resurged in the late 1980s opposing any policy or decision that the government imposed on them. However, some groups have taken a step forward and propose concrete alternatives. In the process, they develop identity defining processes they use to determine their positions, decisions and actions. It is no longer only with resistance movements populations but specific expressions of who they are and what they want (Sosa, 2009).

Moreno (2010) notes that in the past two decades a process of "Mayan cultural revitalization" has emerged. Through the analysis of Mayan literary production, the author has identified the intention of Mayan populations to overcome repression and silence where authoritarianism have submerged indigenous peoples for centuries. The emergence of indigenous movements such as the Zapatistas, have brought favorable conditions for

Mesoamerican native populations to regain their voices. Moreno (2010) points out that the Mayan people are reviving their values, traditions, and worldview in order to self define themselves and discard the labels that have been imposed by stereotypes of dominant social models. Similarly, Ramos and Sosa (2008) found that current socio environmental Mayan movements are result of a revitalization of traditional values that not only motivates new protests, but also inspire renovated proposals.

The revitalization of indigenous identity and values is not an unique phenomenon to the Guatemalan indigenous. Cases in the Americas, such as Peru, Bolivia and Chile also show similar evidence (see http://www.conflictosmineros.net/). The common denominator is not only the revitalization of indigenous groups and movements, but also the values that underlie their struggles. Central Mayan concepts, as the defense of *Madre Tierra* (Mother Earth) are equivalent to the Pacha Mama Quechua concept of main importance to many Andean indigenous peoples in South America. Similarly, the proposal of a *"buen vivir"* (good living) is a holistic idea promoted through indigenous struggles, especially by environmental activists, from North to South America.

The Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala

The Mayan movement against mining and exploitation of natural resources in Guatemala began as a local struggle that has grown nationally, and has achieved global resonance. It is part of the new wave of social movements that emerged with the country's return to democracy. The movement began in Mayan communities in the Western highlands in 2004. Communities of San Miguel and Sipacapa, department of San Marcos, began protests when the government granted the exploitation license to Montana, Corp., a subsidiary of transnational Goldocorp to start gold

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and silver extractions at the Marlin mine. This project became the first open-pit mineral mine in Guatemala. The granting of this exploitation license was a result of the new Mining Law amended in 1997, which included changes such as the reduction of mining royalties to two percent of the profits in order to attract investors.

Despite permanent protests against the opening of the Marlin mine, the project continued and became the first of the numerous conflicts associated with natural resource exploitation in Guatemala. Mayan communities against mining in San Marcos mainly argued that the mining project: 1) contravened the right of indigenous people to prior consultation and information, 2) had adverse impacts on health and the environment, especially water, in their communities, and 3) was contrary to their Mayan worldview care of Mother Nature conservancy. The peak point at of the conflict against the Marlin mine was a farmer killing while participating in a roadblock in 2005. All these cumulative incidents set a highly negative tone of the conflict: high rejection of communities against corporations and government, perceived as allied enemies, and increasing levels of conflict. Data from the Human Rights Ombudsman showed that by 2011, there were over 80 cases of conflicts associated with mining projects in the country (Mapa de conflictividad, 2009).

The mobilization against mining and natural resource exploitation was gradually spreading. New national indigenous mobilizations started despite no mining projects where situated on its territory, as a preventative measure to set their posture against potential projects in the future. Gradually, other social and environmental movements in the country joined the movement (e.g., CALAS, Colectivo Madre Selva, SAVIA) who served as a resonance box to generate more public opinion attention.

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One of the first actions performed by the protestants in Sipacapa, San Marcos against the Marlin Mine was a *consulta comunitaria*, community consultation, in 2005. Based on ancestral collectivist traditions and supported by the ILO Convention 169, the communities developed a local consultation process to express their opinion regarding mining in their territory. The results of "No to Mining," were almost unanimous. Progressively, other Mayan communities, mainly in the West of the country, got organized and by the end of 2012 had developed 61 *consultas comunitarias* in different communities. Moreover, despite no extractive project had installed inside their territories, communities of different Mayan ethnic groups have organized local consultations. The consultation exercise became not only a mechanism for dissemination of information, but also a collective action that has raised membership and group cohesion around this issue among different Mayan groups, which were split for decades.

In less than five years of mobilization, different Mayan groups in different parts of the west country, were not only joining the movement, but articulating their work. In 2008 these groups created the Western People Council, CPO, which portrays a united voice of Mayan communities against mining and natural resources exploitation. Their motto is "the defense of the territory, Mother Earth, the collective rights, and the good living." The CPO has led most of the mobilization in the Mayan communities of the western highlands of the country through a horizontal and participative organization, based on ancestral collectivist values. The council seeks not only to reach more cohesion within the different Mayan groups, but also to extend their mobilization efforts beyond the communities' borders. Besides the articulation with other local and national organizations, the Mayan movement against mining and exploitation of natural resources also began to develop international networks of support. Non governmental

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organizations, activists, international press and academics in other countries have joined the networks of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala, engendering a movement that fights locally and resonates globally.

Stakeholders of the Mayan movement

The Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala involves a great range of stakeholders at multiple levels, from the bottom up and from local to global. The movement emerged from civil society groups in Western Maya communities of the country. These communities started building alliances with other groups locally, such as Mayan organizations in different regions, local activists, religious organizations, and NGOs (e.g., Consejo de Pueblos de Occidente, CPO, and Comisión Pastoral Paz y Ecología, COPAE); and expanded to networks of support globally, such as activists, religious and human rights NGOs (e.g., Observatorio de Conflictos Mineros and the ecumenical organization for ecological justice and human rights, Kairos). Given the transnational nature of the issue at the center of the protest (multinational mining industry), the movement also involves a great range of stakeholders at multiple levels, from local to global, such as: national economic elites, including local subsidiaries of mining corporations and extractive industry associations; national political elites, including local and national government officials and legislators; international economic elites, including mining companies headquarters; international political elites, including international government organizations, such as the United Nations and the World Bank and the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights; and local, national and international news media. Table 1 includes a summary of the institutional profile (organizational mision /functions, positioning, main public communication channels) of the actors associated with the Mayan

socioenvironmental movement as a framework of reference for further analysis in this study.

Table 1. Stakeholders of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala. 2012.

Stakeholder	Description
Government and State Agencies	

Stakeholder	Description
Ministerio de Energía y Minas, MEM **(Ministry of Energy and Mines)**	It is the government agency that manages the energy and mining sectors. Its institutional objectives are: (a) to satisfy the energy and mining requirements within quality standards across the country; (b) to promote the diversification of energy supply, with a focus on renewable energy sources (c) to promote the efficient and productive use of energy resources and mining (d) to adopt the necessary measures for the conservation, development, and utilization of natural resources –renewable and nonrenewable—efficiently; and (e) to create the appropriate conditions to promote investment from domestic and foreign capital in the energy and mining sectors. Under the O. Perez Molina administration (2012 - current), the MEM has implemented some changes: (1) the creation of the sustainable development unit as strategy to manage to social conflict associated with mining and energy industry, (2) the "voluntary royalty agreement" with mining companies (increase in royalties from 1% to 5%), which has been criticized as an obscure strategy because evades substantive changes directly in the mining law, (3) continuation of licensing process for mining and hydroelectric projects that the previous government had put in hiatus due to increased social conflict, arguing that the ministry has to observe the law and continue the licensing processes. Positioning: The MEM has maintained an enfilade position with corporations and industry chambers during the two administrations covered by this study (2008 - 2012, 2012 – present), which has been strongly criticized as exclusionary by the Mayan communities. The MEM has stated their interest of dialogue with the communities. However, there is no concrete evidence of this stance. Chief officers have expressed they are not entitled to the information and mediation role and that the company must negotiate directly with communities. Some officials delegitimize social protest and community consultations, blaming the international community of being "financing the conflict."

Table 1 (cont'd)

Predominant public communication: (a) advertising through mass media showing mining as a development option for the country, focusing on royalty and tax revenues and job creation, (b) publicity through press conferences. It should be noted that the current MEM minister's family owns one of the main media networks in the country.

Ministerio de Ambiente y Recursos Naturales, MARN **(Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources)**	Ministry responsible for environmental and natural resources management in the country. Institutional objective: to protect, preserve and use natural resources rationally, fostering a culture of respect and harmony with nature in order to forge a competitive, supportive, equitable, inclusive and participatory management of natural resources in the country. It is the institution responsible for conducting the environmental impact reports required for mining licensing. Positioning: During the government of A. Colom (2008-2012), MARN tried to further effective environmental audit to mining and had conflicts with the MEM. Under the current administration, (O. Pérez Molina, 2012 - present), MARN has maintained a low profile and it has been criticized for its lack of professional standards and for holding an enfilade position with the MEM, mining corporations, and industry chambers. Predominant public communication: MARN has remained predominantly silent.
Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos, COPREDEH **(Presidential Commission for Human Rights Defense)**	It is the governmental institution responsible for the promotion and protection of human rights in Guatemala. Regarding the mining and natural resources conflict, the Commission monitors social conflict events and coordinates the activities of the ministries and institutions of the executive to meet the State's commitments in international agreements. COPREDEH officials have asserted that the institution has no funds or political support to ensure conflict resolution. Positioning: The position of COPREDEH is not evidently enfilade with any other actor and has remained largely silent. Predominant public communication: predominantly remained silent to the public opinion. The communication with the communities is mainly through "dialogue tables" (multisectoral tables for negotiation) and private meetings.

Corporations and industry associations

Montana Montana Exploradora de Guatemala is a subsidiary of Goldcorp, Inc. , a gold

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Table 1 (cont'd)

Exploradora de Guatemala, subsidiary of Goldcorp, Inc.	mining corporation headquartered in Vancouver, Canada. It is the company that owns the Marlin mine, the first project of chemical open-pit metal mining in the country, which began operations in 2005 in the department of San Marcos. Under the current law, the company should pay 1% of royalties for mining activities plus tax. However, in 2012 Montana signed a voluntary agreement with the Guatemalan government to increase the royalties to 5%. Positioning: Both the headquarter and the subsidiary companies have stated they are open to dialogue and negotiation with the communities. The company opened a local unit of community relations. They have also requested a more effective role of the Guatemalan government for information and negotiation with the communities. The communication used is mostly advertising, showing mining as a development opportunity and promoting social responsibility projects (schools, health centers, tree planting and training).
Other mining and extractive industry companies	There are other mining, hydroelectric, and natural resources exploitation companies operating in Guatemala. However, the present study focused on the Mayan communities in the western highlands of the country, and directly followed the Mayan movement that arose as a reaction to the Marlin Mine project in San Marcos, which has extended now to communities with even no mining projects, where the population is mobilized as a precautionary measure.
Gremial de Industrias Extractivas – Camara de Industria **(Extractive industries association – Industry chamber)**	This association is comprised of mining companies in the country. It is affiliated to the Chamber of Industry of Guatemala. They have recently launched a sustainable development unit, which is in charge of community relations management. Positioning: They show a unified position representing the extractive companies in the country. They periodically denounce that the communities are not open to dialogue. They request an effective mediation role of the state and more protection to the rule of law in the country. The communication used is mostly advertising, framing the mining and development opportunity for the country because it provides income to the national treasury and employment opportunities. In recent months, the chamber is also using press releases, and *campos pagados* (paid spaces) in the mass media to state their position, pointing out their openness to dialog and requesting the government to observe the law and protect the mining licenses already granted.

Table 1 (cont'd)

National and Local Activists and NGOs

Centro de Acción Legal, Ambiental y Social (Center of Legal, Environmental and Social Action) – CALAS	It is an environmentalist NGO in Guatemala. Its organizational objective is to strengthen environmental management, citizen participation, and respect for the collective rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to the environment. Its director, Yuri Melini, an expert on environmental issues, is one of the most high-profile activists in the country. He suffered an attack in September 2008 attributed to his work as an activist. Position: CALAS has publicly denounced negative mining impacts in the country but has not appeared as a formal member of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement. Public communication: (a) digital media (social networks, mainly), (b) mass communication campaigns, and (c) publicity on the mass media.
Colectivo Madre Selva **(Madre Selva Collective)**	It is an environmental NGO. The group focuses on ecological problems in the following areas: forest management, human rights associated to water, hydroelectric projects, mining, ecological risk management, and community consultation and participation. The group gained popularity though the active public participation of its former director, Magaly Rey Rosa, famous for her weekly newspaper column. Currently, the collective has worked more directly with mining projects in the middle east of the country. Currently, the collective works along with local movements against mining and natural resources exploitation mainly in the central, southeastern regions of the country. Position: Madre Selva has publicly denounced negative mining impacts in the country but has not appeared as a formal member of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement. Public communication channels: (a) digital media (social networks, mainly), (b) communication campaigns at local level, (c) collective actions and public demonstrations, and (d) publicity on the mass media, mainly through press conferences and press releases.

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Table 1 (cont'd)

Comisión Pastoral Paz y Ecología, COPAE **(Pastoral Commission of Peace and Ecology)**	The COPAE is a pastoral project of the Catholic Church that started in San Marcos. Its organization mission is to accompany the demands of the local people related to natural resources (e.g., mining and hydroelectric projects). Position: This organization was a pioneer in social and environmental activism in the western highlands, under the leadership of archbishop Alvaro Ramazzinni. COPAE directly and publicly supports the Mayan movement. Public communication channels: Mainly used digital media (mainly organizational website and social networks), community gatherings, and publicity through press conferences.
Comité de Unidad Campesina, CUC **(Peasant Unity Committee)**	Organization comprised of associations, committees, cooperatives, unions, trade associations, and other community-level organizational forms and indigenous peasants of the country. It is organized at a national and local level. Its main leader, Daniel Pascual has identify as a formal ally of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement, participating in in various demonstrations and other public events. Position: The CUC has openly supported the Maya and socioenvironmental movement. Public communication: Mainly used digital media (social networks, mainly) and press and press conferences for its public communications.
International NGOs and IGOs	
World Bank, WB	It is the international financial organization that granted the loan for the Marlin Mine project and other transnational extractive projects. In recent years, it has promoted transparency initiatives primarily taxes and royalties derived from the extractive industry. Public communication: The WB has not performed public communications related to the mining and natural resources exploitation.
Office of the United	The OHCHR mission statement includes: a) to observe the human rights situation in order to advise the authorities in the formulation and implementation

Table 1 (cont'd)

Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, OHCHR	of policies, programs and measures to promote and protect human rights in Guatemala, b) to advise the Guatemalan state and, in the areas of its competence, representatives of civil society, NGOs and individuals, c) to promote observance of human rights and the implementation of the recommendations made by international bodies and human rights mechanisms, and d) to report about the activities of the Office and the general situation of human rights in the country. Position: The OHCHR has repeatedly reported the need for dialogue and recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples in the country. Public communication is mainly performed through press releases, press conferences, and participation at forums and other public events.
Kairos, Organización Ecuménica	It is an international ecumenical social organization based in Canada. It has developed several initiatives to support the socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala, such as signatures collection to denounce the disrespect of the rights of indigenous peoples by the Marlin mine. Public communication: Kairos uses the Internet through its website, e-newsletters, and email list.
Other ONGs y activistas internacionales	There is a network of about 300 organizations that currently support the Mayan socioenvironmental movement from other countries. Public communication: Mostly digital media (websites, social networks, and email).

Regarding state and government agencies, Guatemala has two specific offices in charge to coordinate and monitor mining licenses and the corresponding environmental impact reports: the Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM) and the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, MARN , respectively. In 2012, the MEM opened a Sustainable Development unit especially oriented to manage community relations in projects related to mining and energy.

Social activists have reiteratively denounced that these are "cosmetic" tactics rather than genuine dialogue and negotiation initiatives. The activists perceive that the government does not respect public will, and on the contrary, leaders suffer political persecution. Likewise, some corporation executives complain that the government does not perform an effective role in informing and mediating between companies and communities and that the communities demands are endless due to the absence of the state to meet the social services in these areas.

The MARN remains in a low profile and has been accused of corruption and lack of professionalism, despite the key role that should play in the evaluation of the environmental impact (which also includes social impact) of mining projects. A key governmental agency for the defense of indigenous groups, the Presidential Commission for Human Rights, COPREDEH, lacks the resources to fulfill its mission and has shown no political power to influence political decision-making.

Regarding national and local NGOs and activists, the Mayan socioenvironmental movement has built networks of support mainly with other local Mayan groups. Some of the Mayan local groups organized the Consejo de Pueblos de Occidente (Western People Council), CPO, considered the most effective Mayan organization in the country nowadays. For some public demonstrations, the Mayan movement is also supported by some peasant organizations historically associated with the land property conflict in the country (i.e., National Indigenous and Peasant Coordination, CONIC, and Peasant Unity Committee, CUC) and some high-profile environmental activism (i.e., CALAS Foundation, and Madre Selva Collective). There are two urban activist leaders with a high profile in the public opinion, Yuri Melini (CALAS) and Magali Rey Rosa (formerly Madre Selva, now SAVIA), however, they are not formally part of the

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Mayan movement.

It should be noted that one of the most influential local non governmental organizations supporting the Mayan movement in Guatemala has been the Catholic Church, particularly local pastoral missions. For example, the Pastoral Commission of Peace and Ecology, COPAE, has played a key role in the mobilization against the Marlin Mine in San Marcos, which is considered a cornerstone for the whole antimining movement in the country. The former archbishop of San Marcos, Alvaro Ramazzinni, now archbishop of Huehuetenango, is particularly acknowledged as a social advocate of the antimining protests.

At the international level, there are about 300 non-governmental organizations and other international supporters of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement. Although the movement started recognizing the importance of these networks with international organizations for their mobilization purposes, these networks are not always publicized as a strategic action in response to public opinion campaigns trying to discredit the alliances between international actors and local Mayan organizations.

Among the International Governmental Organizations, IGOs, the World Bank, WB, is the financing institution of most of the mining projects in Guatemala. However, the bank limits its public interventions mainly to audit the transparency of the collection of taxes and royalties from the projects. International Human rights organizations, such as United Nations agencies, have launched reports calling the Guatemalan state to open dialogue and listen efficiently the community demands. However, these IGOs restate that their role is only to recommend, and is the Guatemalan state who has to effectively make the decision. In 2010-2011 the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States, OAS, issued an injunction against the

Marlin Mine, which was the only occasion on which the Guatemalan government has complied with a ruling of an IGO.

Analyzing the communication used by the different actors, in general, corporate and government groups mostly use advertising communication through mass media. On the other hand, activists and organizations supporting the movement tipically use digital media, especially email, social networks and websites, and recently, they started using publicity to generate press coverage (through press conferences and public events such as marches, sit-ins and mass walks).

Reviewing the alliances and positions of the different organizations described above, on the one hand, there is evidence suggesting that corporations and industrial chambers act in coordination with key government agencies, such as MEM and MARN. On the other hand, although the Maya socioenvironmental movement has multiple allies at the national level (Mayan organizations and opinion leaders, as Melini and Rey Rosa) and expanding allies at the international level (activists and NGOs in other countries), their actions are more dispersed and less coordinated at the present time. However, as it will be discussed in the results section, the present study found that the Mayan movement is precisely getting stronger in their networked organization. Indeed, part of its strategic actions is the "articulation" of support with local, national and global actors.

Relevance of the Guatemalan case study for this research

The investigation of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala is a suitable case study for the analysis of the communication and power dynamics of social movements in marginalized populations because it is based on a movement initiated by indigenous communities with a history of discrimination and living at the low-end of high socioeconomic

inequalities. These circumstances set a suitable scenario to examine the conditions under which the use of communication does or does not empower disadvantaged populations to influence political power. In addition, the case in Guatemala involves multiple actors from local, to national and global spaces, which permits the analysis of the multi-scaled networks that have been used to explain the potential of local actors in global politics in global cities (Sassen, 2004), in an alternative rural, non-industrialized context. It is the length and relevance of the natural resources exploitation issue in Guatemala that makes it possible to analyze the different communication and power dynamics in different cycles of the process that, otherwise, would not be possible in a spurious, unimportant issue. The significance of the issue also facilitates the access and availability of materials and sources of information.

A case study of the Mayan movement is also relevant to test models on social movements, agenda building, and networked communication in a context different to the main stream research conducted in developed countries and more mature democracies. This case study will also shed light about the overarching communication question on who uses what under which conditions, particularly providing information that fills the gaps underlined by scholars in public relations (Karlberg, 1996; Dozier & Lauzen, 2000), information technologies and networked communication (Cartier, Castells, & Qiu, 2005; Norris, 2001) on the potential and limitations of these communication resources for mobilization purposes among unprivileged populations. The case of Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala is also a good illustration to inform studies on environmental conflicts between peripheral communities and powerful transnational corporations, that have been increasingly occurring in several countries around the world with the advent globalization and open-markets economies.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The goal of this study is to investigate under which conditions networked communication reaches to empower marginalized populations to influence political decision-making. Based on the theoretical framework developed above, and using the case study of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement against mining and natural resources exploitation in Guatemala, this research proposes a series of research questions.

Scholars have argued that resource and power differentials within sociopolitical systems affect the types of communication developed by opposing social actors (Norris, 2001; Root, Willey, & Peek, 2002). Activist groups are usually disadvantaged to confront powerful adversaries, such as transnational corporations (Karlberg, 1996; Dozier & Lauzen, 2000). The resource mobilization approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) highlights the main role of allies and external sources of support for the enhancement of the movement to overcome resource deficits in social movements campaigns. Complementarily, the network society approach (Castells, 2004, 2007a, 2011) suggests that globalization and new information and communication technologies (ICTs) allow social movements to build networks at multi-scale levels, from local to national and global, and to mobilize support and generate power to influence political decision-making.

Although the study of networked communication for mobilization is prolific stream of research, most of the studies have been developed in urban contexts and developed countries (e.g., Juris, 2008; Sassen, 2004) and there is paucity of research in rural, developing environments. Moreover, there is no conclusive evidence that shows under which conditions the

use of technologies enables mobilization and empowerment of peripheral populations.

In order to fill this vacuum, this study proposes the following research questions:

RQ1.   *What are the goals of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala?*

RQ2.   *Does the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala use networked*

communication in their mobilization strategies? If so, How? Why?

Another theoretical interest of this study is to assess whether the communication

developed by the movement has succeeded in achieving the goals of the movement, and what

have been the consequences of the movement for the empowerment of the participants and

political decisions regarding the mining issue. As a common argument from different theoretical

perspectives, previous studies have shown that one of the main strategies of social movement to

gain power is building networks of support (Castells, 2007). Previous research has proposed the

influence on media agenda as a main outcome of effective mobilization (e.g., Reber & Berger,

2005).

Likewise, although there is great potential for the Internet to mobilize support through

networked communication, it has been argued that the online debates need to permeate the

mainstream news media in order to be formally incorporated into the public opinion debate and

gain power to influence elites decision-making (Habermas, 2006). Outcomes of the social

movements previously studied also include consequences for participants on the movement in

terms of social capital that facilitates empowerment of marginalized populations, such as

collective efficacy (Cartier, Castells, and Qiu, 2005), strategic communication skills (Dozier &

Lauzen, 2000; Karlberg, 1996), level of political engagement and social capital (Fukuyama,

2001; Rojas et al., 2011).

Thus, this research poses the following research question:

RQ3.   *Has networked communication been effective to achieve the mobilization goals of*

   the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala so far? How? Why?

CHAPTER 4
METHOD

Multi-sited ethnographic research (Marcus, 1995) was conducted using a combination of

qualitative methodologies that are suitable to answer the research questions and appropriate to

the social and cultural context of the research sites in Guatemala. Multi-sited ethnographic

research was suitable to the purpose of this study because it allows for collecting data in multiple

sites where the networked communications are performed (Juris, 2008).

Specifically, in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document analysis were used in

this research. The use of multiple sources of evidence are useful for developing case studies such

as in the present investigation, because it allows enough details from different research

perspectives and enhance the validity of the findings (Yin, 2003).

The fieldwork was conducted in Mayan communities of five departments in the Western

highlands of the country: Quetzaltenango, San Marcos, Totonicapán, Huehuetenango, and

Quiché. These locations were selected because they represent the different Mayan groups leading

the Consejo de Pueblos de Occidente, CPO (Western Peoples Council) in their respective

regions. In addition, ethnographic research was conducted in Guatemala city to document

demonstrations, meetings, and press conferences targeted to political decision makers and media,

and to conduct interviews with government officials, activists, international officials, and mining

corporate representatives, whose offices are located in the capital city.

Predissertation data was collected in two first waves, during winter and summer breaks,

from December 2010 to February 2011, and from May to August 2011. The dissertation data

was collected in a third longer wave using granted research funds, from November 2011 to December 2012. This time period was assessed appropriate based on the research objectives and the resources available for this investigation. Despite the fact that the antimining movement in Guatemala has not ended yet (it emerged in 2004 and is an ongoing process), previous research (e.g., Tarrow, 1993) has shown that social movements are usually long processes that can be studied in stages or cycles that also allows the researcher to observe the character of the movement. Moreover, the present study can be used as point of reference for further longitudinal research addressing the evolution of the movement.

This research was built upon intense pre-dissertation work in Guatemala that helped to develop the research questions, methodologies and collaborative work with the communities for this project. It was important to develop relationships with Mayan community leaders because this issue has become increasingly sensitive and the communities are doubtful about strangers.

Qualitative methodologies

To answer **RQ1, RQ2,** which ask what are the goals of the movement and the use of networked communication to achieve them, this study conducted informant in-depth interviews, direct observation and document analysis to gather information regarding the goals and type of communication used by the Mayan movement in Guatemala. This investigation aimed to attain a deep understanding of the topics from the unique experiences of key informants through interviews and from events recorded through direct observations and document analysis.

Informant, non-directive interviews were used because they allow data collection from participants who provide insights about essential features of the phenomenon being studied based on their particular experiences. The interviews include open-ended questions to the movement

participants in Guatemala regarding (1) the objectives of the movement, (2) different uses of

communication, and the types of communication and technologies used for different purposes

and in different stages of the mobilization process, (3) description of network-building for

mobilizing support locally and globally. Interview guides include exemplar questions of these

topics (see Appendix A). The interviews were non-directive and used open-ended questions to

give participants enough freedom to assemble their own rhetorical construction of their

experiences. They were conducted following qualitative interviewing procedures by Lindlof and

Taylor (2002).

The subjects participating in the interviews were selected because they are considered key

informants of the mining issue. They were identified and contacted in the predissertation work in

2010 and 2011. The interviews were conducted during 2011 and 2012, after several sessions of

conversations and exchange with participants in order to build enough level of trust, given the

antecedents of repression and current political persecution. The interviews were conducted in

person, in different stages of the movement, in order to assess the evolution of strategies,

discourses, and communication usage.

The participants were selected through convenience sampling using a combination of

typical and maximum-variation strategies in order to attain as much illustrative data of the

characteristic qualities of the phenomena and to observe potential differences related to

contextual and demographic factors, such as small/large community, time in the movement,

Mayan ethnic group, gender, and age (see Appendix B for a detailed list of interviewees). The

sample of 11 subjects interviewed along different stages of the movement in the 2011-2012 time

lag included :

-Top-organizers of the movement (representing different communities, different genders, and different ages).

-Organizers of *consultas comunitarias (*community consultations, mechanism used by the movement since 2005, based on national and international laws oriented to secure participation of indigenous people in political decision-making)

-Organizers of other relevant collective actions

-Communication coordinators of the movement

-Representatives of the Catholic Church involved in the movement

-Representatives of local and national activist organizations, scholars, and other allies of the movement

-Representatives of international activist organizations, scholars, and other allies of the movement (some of these interviews were conducted using video conference).

Direct observation was used to record details of the movement's strategies, communication usage, and network dynamics, directly witnessing processes that illustrate these phenomena. Direct observations are useful because they allow the researcher to obtain first-hand information in a naturalistic environment, revealing important details that are key to understanding the phenomena being studied. Observations aimed to record elements such as (1) who are the actors participating—and not participating—in different mobilization events, (2) who they interact with and how, (3) usage of interpersonal and mediated communication media, (4) local, national, and global networks dynamics, and (5) the context of these scenes.

Some observation scenes were identified through the predissertation research and others were selected based on the information gathered in the interviews. Other observations were developed spontaneously during the ethnographic fieldwork. As with the in-depth interviews, observation of in-group meetings (e.g., community assemblies) was conducted after building

enough levels of trust with the communities.

The scenes, sites, events, and length observed were selected using typical and maximum-variation sampling strategies, prioritizing those with higher potential to provide relevant information and considering the time and resources available for this investigation. Some of the main events where observation was conducted were:

-Whole process of *consultas comunitarias:* One in a Maya-Mam population, less rural community, with more mobilization experience (West, department of Quetzaltenango); and another in a Maya-Q'ich'e population, more rural community, with less mobilization experience, where movement organizations are recently rising (North-West, department of Quiché).

-Community assemblies and other group meetings where communities organize their mobilization strategies and coordinate collective actions.

-Collective actions from different communities (old and new in the movement): selected as key illustration of the networked communication processes during key mobilization actions.

Qualitative document analysis was used to collect evidence regarding communication actions, outlets, discourses, interlocutors, and multi-scaled networks of support (local, national, and international). Documents were collected recording the date and source where they were publicized in order to assess communication usage during mobilization evolution. The documents analyzed include:

-Documents used for communication actions (e.g., reports, leaflets, newsletters, videos) developed by the main local social movement organizations of the antimining movement (SMOs, identified in predissertation work and informant interviews)

-Websites and social network sites (SNS) of the main social movement organizations in

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the antimining movement (www.copae.org, http://consejodepueblosdeoccidente.blogspot.com/,)

-Other websites and SNS, local and international, related to the antimining movement and the mining issue in Guatemala

-Mainstream news media, i.e., radio, television, and newspapers (local, national and international) .

To answer **RQ3,** which asks about whether the movement's communication has been successful so far and its outcomes, the same combination of qualitative methodologies was used (i.e., in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document analysis). This study did not attempt to provide a yes / no answer to this research question. It is impossible to completely evaluate success in a movement that has not concluded. However, social movements are long processes with multiple intermediate outcomes that empower or disempower participants and influence political agendas in different ways and in different stages, which can be measured at intermediate stages, although they do not result in political concessions to the movement's petitions after all the mobilization process (Tarrow, 1993).

Thus, this study analyzed the narratives of informant interviews, behaviors from observed scenes, and actions recorded in documents during an eight-year lag to estimate the effect of the movement's networked communication on features that previous research has found to be associated with effective mobilization, such as (1) growth of movement groups and local, national and international allies; (2) empowerment of participants through group cohesion, collective efficacy, and social capital; (3) influence on media agenda; and (4) responses from corporate and political authorities with either concessions or social control. These features and others that emerged from the particular experience of the movement in Guatemala were found in

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the chronicles of key informants' interviews, observable actions and behaviors through direct observations, and events publicized in institutional documents, both from the movement,the authorities, and third parties.

Informant, non-directive interviews included a set of questions addressing effective mobilization. In addition to members of the movement, who were asked about their perceptions of the effects of their mobilization efforts, other subjects were interviewed, including corporate and political executive officials that could provide details about the effects of the movement's communication. IGOs representatives and mass media directors were also interviewed to convey their perceptions regarding the use and effects of communication by the Mayan movement (see Appendix B for a detailed list of interviewees). The sample of 17 interviewees included :

-Congressmen from different political parties and ideological wings

-Representatives of the Ministry of Energy and Mining official

-Representatives of the Industry Chamber and Mining Association

-Mining companies executives

-Representative of United Nations, the World Bank, and other IGOs

-News media directors

Direct observations also addressed the effective mobilization features recording events and details related to these elements during the observation scenes described above . Direct observations are particularly useful to analyze power dynamics between the movement representatives and authorities; the network building processes as means of power; and potential outcomes for the empowerment of participants, such as civic engagement, collective self-efficacy, and media use skills.

Qualitative document analysis was also used to identify mobilization features, searching for actions that evidenced authorities' responses, such as law revisions, mining policy changes, mining activities requirements, and corporate policy changes. An additional set of documents was collected to respond to this research question, including:

-Official reports from the Legislative Energy and Mining Commission of Congress

-Executive reports from the Dialogue Table Committee

-Official reports of the Minister of Energy and Mining

-Corporate reports

-Written responses from authorities and corporation to actions of the movement

Data analysis

From the methods described above, the following data sets were obtained: (1) transcripts from informant interviews, (2) field notes from direct observations, and (3) electronic files with material for qualitative content analysis. The information was transcribed, translated/interpreted, and analyzed by the researcher (native Guatemalan) using thematic analysis (King & Horrocks, 2010) guided by the research questions of the study.

Data management

The data was gathered following IRB protocols standards and approval. The researcher developed instruments of informed consent that werre appropriate to the cultural and political context of this research. These instruments not only informed the subjects of the nature of the research, potential risks and voluntary nature of their participation, but also guaranteed to subjects their privacy and confidentiality of their answers.

Given the sensitivity of the topic under investigation (activism, political conflict), in both

primary data sets and research reports, the identities of the persons who provided information

was kept confidential. In order to assure the preservation and security of the primary data, its

access will be restricted to the investigator of the project.

CHAPTER 5
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings from the study of the role of networked communication for

mobilization in marginalized Mayan communities in Guatemala. These findings were obtained

through multi-sited ethnographic research (Marcus, 1995) using a combination of qualitative

methods: in-depth interviews, direct observations, and document analysis. The results are

organized into three sections corresponding to the three research questions posed in this study: a)

the movement's goals, b) the role of networked communication in the strategies used to achieve

those goals, and c) the level of success achieved with the use of network communication and its

impact on the movement.

The goals:

Historically rooted, strongly motivated, and gradually and sustainably built

The first research question posed by this study was to understand what the mobilization

goals are of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala and how the communities

have developed them. The answer to this question was obtained from the interviews and direct

observations regarding communication and collective actions of the Mayan groups, which

according to agenda-building theory, reflect their positions and strategic goals (Cobb & Elder,

1972). Moreover, the data collected during a two-year lag of ethnographic research allows for

analyzing the evolution of the movement goals in different stages or cycles of protest, as

suggested by Tarrow (1993).

In general, this study shows that the goals of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement

against mining and natural resources exploitation in Guatemala reveal the nature of the movement: historically rooted, highly motivated, and gradually and sustainably built. The following section describes each of these three main characteristics of the movement's goals and discusses how they are reflected in the communication performed by the Mayan communities.

Same wine in different bottle

The goals of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement are strongly influenced by unresolved problems of the past. The central motto, *"Por la Defensa del Territorio, La Madre Tierra, Los Derechos Colectivos y el Buenvivir[1]"* (For the defense of the territory, Mother Earth, our collective rights, and the good living "), is not limited to an environmental claim. This phrase is a historical claim of Mayan populations for land and against imposed development models (see figure 1).

Sosa (2010) points out that since the Spanish conquest until the current neocolonizing system, indigenous groups in Guatemala have suffered the looting of their lands and the subjugation of socioeconomic and political systems that do not correspond with their cultural values and worldview. The advent of the modern mining industry, which started without prior information or consensus, made accumulated problems of the past emerge again. In the speeches during mass marches it is common to hear claims such as *"we will not allow a new dispossession,"* or *"we will not give up this third conquest,"* which denotes the high association of the current problem with the history of exclusion of the Mayan peoples.

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1 Slogan used in the majority of communication outlets during 2012.

---Figure 1. The message in the banner links the historical land conflict with current antimining mobilization: "They have tried to cut our flowers, but spring always comes back." For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation. ---

The Mayan movement also learned from their experiences in the past to enhance their mobilization strategies in the present. The leaders of different ethnic Mayan groups recognize that the divisions and antagonisms between themselves weakened them in the past and do not want the same thing happening in the present. A Maya-Mam leader who coordinates communication activities between different groups in the coalition of the Consejo de Pueblos de Occidente (Western Peoples Council), CPO, points out:

> *"We know that the conquerors and colonizers took advantage of the divisions between our groups to keep us down [...] but now we know that it weakens us and we want to fix it. We are trying to act articulated. We use the analogy of 'pop,' a textile formed by very different threads, with many different colors [...] Separated they are thin and weak, but together they are more beautiful and stronger. "*

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Motivation defeating marginalization

   The high resonance between current mining conflict and unresolved social demands accumulated from the past, has impregnated a special stamina to the socioenvironmental Mayan movement in Guatemala. The emergence of the movement is strongly related to the conflict over land, which has been the cause for multiple contemporary social upheavals and has been identified as one of the main causes of the civil war in Guatemala (Luján, 2004; Sosa, 2009). In addition, the mining issue touches one of the deepest values of the Mayan culture: harmony with nature. In the majority of the speeches and in communication materials there is a proclamation of respect and defense of "Mother Earth" and natural resources (see Figure 2). A key factor causing indigenous resistance to mining is that they perceive extractive activities as transgressors of a basic Mayan principle of coexistence with nature.

---Figure 2. Handmade mural painted in a wall of a public school in Chinique, Quiché. The picture portrays a core value in Mayan culture: harmony with Mother Earth. The text on top of the mural says: *"Chinique is a clean town, with water and forests for a healthy and dignifying life for everybody".*---

An anthropologist conducting research on Mayan politics stated that lack of awareness of the cultural values of the Mayan peoples has caused increasing conflict with mining companies from the beginning. Mistakenly, mining companies have focused for a long time in massive advertising campaigns whose main slogan was "mining is development" (see figure 3).

---Figure 3. Advertising piece from mining company's campaign. The messages in Spanish say: "Development = education = better quality of life" (top), "invest in Guatemalan future means responsible development with people" (middle), and "For us at Goldcorp, the valuable thing is development."---

Instead of generating a positive attitude toward indigenous communities with this

message, the campaign unleashed resistance and offended feelings. For Mayan communities, development equals nature conservation, but mining represents exploitation and extermination. *"With my friends we like to walk and climb mountains and we are afraid that one day [they] disappear with mining. I don't think I want that kind of development,"* said a young Maya-Mam guy interviewed during community consultation.

Another value that Mayan communities of the socioenvironmental movement perceived as being violated by the new extractive policies is their right of autonomy; that is, the right to decide what they want to do in their territories. A young man who worked in collective action coordination explained that he participates in the movement as an expression of resistance to imposition: *"Contrary to what mining companies and the government think, Mayan communities are not against development but rather we are against 'that' kind of development they want to impose, we want development that means life not death."*

Likewise, a Maya-K'iche' leader analyzing the communication messages sent by mining companies and the government says:

> *"Mining companies are so ignorant of who we are that they don't realize that their campaign messages are useless. They say 'mining is development', but in our Mayan language the word 'development' does not even exist. Instead, we have a different concept that translated into Spanish would be 'good living' [...] that's what people really want here."*

The historical claims and resonance with central values of the Mayan culture are not only part of the reasons for the emergence of the movement in Guatemala. These elements also

impregnate special stamina to maintain and expand the movement and make it sustainable, which

is discussed in the next section.

Gradual and sustained

Both the goals and corresponding strategies and actions used by the Mayan communities

for mobilization have been developed in a spontaneous and gradual manner that has led the

movement to grow sustainably. During the eight years of the movement analyzed in this

investigation (2004-20012), its goals, strategies and communications evolved as the movement

was developing. Table 2 shows the evolution of the movement's strategic goals over time.

**Table 2. Strategic goals evolution of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in
Guatemala. 2011 - 2012.**

Strategic goal	Place, Date	Main petitions/complaints	Event	Main media used
To state resistance to chemical metal mining	San Marcos and extended to other Western regions Started in May/11. By the end of 2012 there have been celebrated 62 *consultas comunitarias.*	1. No to mining: (a) to specific projects, e.g., Marlin mine in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, San Marcos; and Cementos Progreso project in San Juan Sacatepéquez, Guatemala; (b) to potential mining activities in their territory.	*Consultas comunitarias*	Email Press releases & press conferences Community radios Cellphone Facebook (since 2010)
To challenge the marginalizing legal system in the country.	Guatemala city 12/8/11	1. Demand for recognition of results of 58 consultas comunitarias stating "no a	Exchange forum "The defense of	Printed program

Table 2 (cont'd) To use legal strategy as a communication strategy: To grab attention from media and public opinion.		la minería" (no to mining) 2. Rejection to the Consultas Regulation propose by the president office on february 2011 because it lacks previous consultation 3. Denounce violation of the right to self determination and autonomy as indigenous peoples 4. Call to all different *pueblos* (peoples) to remain vigilant for the defense of the territory, and consultas comunitarias	land and territory of indigenous peoples under the new B'aqtun, 15 years after the Peace Accords," organized and sponsored by local and international civil society organizations	Press release Public speech
To discuss and gain internal consensus about what the Mayan groups want as an alternative to mining and natural resources exploitation (proposal, instead of just resistance). To extend movement's position statements from only against mining to against all natural resources exploitation (hydroelectric plants, "megaprojects", etc.) in their territories.	Multiple sites Since 2012	1. No to natural resources exploitation projects in indigenous territories (not only mining but hydroelectric plants, "megaprojects")	Press conferences Pubic events	Press releases, mass speeches, blog, facebook messages, emails.

Table 2 (cont'd)				
To extend networks of support to other allies beyond the local communities (e.g., urban groups, scholars, columnists, national and international activists). To diffuse the movement's messages on the mass media. To use legal actions as communication actions To use all the legal and communication tools instead of violence.	Guatemala city 9/13/12	1.Articulation of support: "We are here to ask you to support us with your pencil because the mass media are not helping us" 2."We know we need to articulate with others"	Columnists meeting	Public speech
		3."We need to reach mass media to make others know that this fight is for everybody not only us" 4."We know that the government wants to frighten us. They are criminalizing our protest, but we will remain peaceful" 5."We want the invalidation of the mining law. Our legal strategy is our communication strategy. We know they have the system on their side, but we are position ourselves."	Columnists meeting	Public speech

At the beginning of the movement, the strategies were designed to convey messages of resistance and specific complaints, such as *"no to mining,"* (the slogan most used collective action and community consultations mainly), *"we do not want our water contaminated,"* and *"mining is killing our people and our animals."* However, five years later, when the movement gained more matureness, the proclamations became more extensive and comprehensive, reflecting more the deep roots of their struggle with messages such as: *"for the defense of*

territory and Mother Nature," or *"respect for the collective rights of the native peoples."*

The movement's evolution has enabled its members to gradually become aware of their main needs to sustain their mobilization and how they want to meet them. The ethnographic work of this study allowed longitudinal evidence showing how the leaders of the movement were identifying their mobilization goals. In one of the initial research interviews in 2010, one of the leaders said: *"When we participate in the dialogue tables the government mediators ask us that if we do not want mining, then what do we want. And we answer honestly: 'do not know what we want, but we are thinking about it'."*

Indeed, eight months later, in another meeting with the same community leader discussing the new strategies of the movement, he said: *"We realized we first had to structure who we are and what we want. We discussed this among different groups and now we have the proposals. Now it comes the most difficult part: that the government listen to us."* The community leader identified two fundamental objectives of their struggle: a) the defense of territory and natural resources, which represents local development alternatives that do not involve mining or extractive industry, and b) enforce the ancestral practices and collective rights of indigenous peoples, such as the *consultas comunitarias* (community consultations). Two years later, during a press conference, the same community leader recounted what had been advanced regarding those goals and added a third proclaim: *"Our requests are not being heard. Worse yet, we have been criminalized and suffer political persecution. So now we set a new goal: To coordinate our work with other national and international organizations to support us to be stronger and exert more pressure over the elites.*"

Thus, the strategic plans of the Maya socioenvironmental movement evidences a process

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of "Mayan revitalization" already described by Moreno (2010) in studies of indigenous literary production and Sosa's (2010) research on collective actions and territory among Mayan communities. The objectives of of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement have evolved from mere resistance to reconstruction of their identity, influence of the public discourse on nature conservation, and mobilization of power to influence public policy and political decisions. This gradual progression has allowed the movement to build stronger, more unified, and sustainable political demands. In an interview with a director of a mining company, he was questioned about his perception of the socioenvironmental movement growth. He replied, *"I do not know if the movement has grown or not. But what I can say is that it has remained unabated for all this time."*

This section discussed the Mayan socioenvironmental movement's goals and how it is reflected in their communications. The next section discusses how these mobilization objectives have been developed through networked communication strategies and actions.

The strategies:

Networking, from empower to power

The role of networked communication has proved crucial to the development of strategies of the socioenvironmental Mayan movement in Guatemala in two ways: a) strategies to the inside of the movement, empowering communities despite their marginalization through strategic outputs, such as resource sharing, citizen journalism, collective identity building, group cohesion, and collective efficacy; and b) strategies to the outside of the movement, articulating support with allies at local, national and international level to gain more power to influence elites' decisions. This section explains these two types of networked communication through two illustrative

strategies: the *consultas comunitarias* (community consultations) and the resources-pressure-protection strategy. This part of the study also examines the reasons, main features, and main effects of the movement going global. Finally, this section analyzes the self-tailored, integrated communication toolbox used by the Mayan movement to develop their mobilization strategies.

Networking inside: *Consultas comunitarias*

*Consultas comunitarias (*community consultations) are a mechanism used by the movement since 2005, inspired in ancient collective practices and supported by national and international laws oriented to secure participation of indigenous people in political decision-making). *Consultas comunitarias* are used in this study as the best illustration of how networked communication is applied to the Mayan mobilization against mining and natural resources exploitation.

---Figure 4. Two community volunteers during the *consulta comunitaria* in San Juan Ostuncalco, Quetzaltenango, on february 18, 2011.---

Consultas comunitarias are an ancient Mayan practice (Sosa, 2010), therefore, its implementation in mobilization strategies is highly valued and effective because communities have them as part of their culture already. The *consultas* started being used as a mobilization strategy since 2005, with the first two being held in Comitancillo and Sipakapa, both small communities in San Marcos, as a mechanism of resistance to the opening of the Marlin Mine in the neighboring territories. From then until 2012, there have been 61 *consultas comunitarias* in different municipalities across the country, mainly in the West.

Throughout the entire process, communities develop a collaborative work, horizontal organization, and permanent collective consultation. Generally, the decision to organize a *consulta* is taken collectively in Community Assemblies. Then, the *consulta* is coordinated through volunteer work using social networks within the community, with other communities or organizations in the country, and with international allies.

A Maya-K'iche' community leader defines networking processes as articulation, stating that *"*consultas *are the result of a lot of coordination with others. It's pure articulation. As resources are limited, we share what we have. Fellows in other communities who already had organized* consultas *share their knowledge, others share their* chilacayote *[traditional meal, which main ingredient is a local vegetable similar to zucchini] for lunch, and others lend their computers to send emails."*

These collaborative practices of community consultations provide stamina, generate group cohesion and increase the members' collective efficacy, which is very important especially in historically marginalized populations (see figure 4). A young volunteer during a *consulta comunitaria* described this collective efficacy outcome:

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"sometimes I feel afraid to participate because the government has given orders to capture some leaders and some say it is not worth to participate because nothing will change [...] but when we meet in the Community Assemblies or go to the marches along with all my community I feel more confident and I think that even if I just collaborate with a little thing, that what I do will make a difference"

The implementation of networked communication in these collective actions has been a spontaneous process because networking has cultural resonance with Mayan collective practices. One of the coordinators of communication in the *consulta comunitaria* of San Juan Ostuncalco, summarizes the role of communication for building networks of support:

"[...]we do not think whether we are building networks or not, we just do what we have always done. Men get organized to work in the fields, women also organize themselves to take care of the children and sell our produce in the markets. Important things for our village are informed and collectively organized during our community assemblies. So, [when organizing] the consultas *we do the same."*

Networking outside: The movement goes global

The Mayan socioenvironmental movement started building networks of support across the country and beyond Guatemalan borders spontaneously, as part of the strategies they found effective during the mobilization process. The Mayan groups have found global networks effective for three main functions: (1) resource gathering function, to gather additional resources to counteract their economic and political disadvantaging conditions, (b) safeguard function, to denounce in the international public opinion the blatant persecution and criminalization of the mobilization leaders, and (c) the boomerang function, the more prominent strategic global action used by the movement so far, to gain power with international actors and exert enhanced

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pressure over national decision-makers. These three functions are discussed in this section.

Different to working together with members inside the community, Mayas do not naturally and spontaneously work with outsiders. The civil war that hit most of the Western and North Western territory, which are the same locations of many extractive projects, ripped the social fabric in these communities. Thus, Mayan populations have low confidence in foreigners and strangers. However, this feature has changed gradually, driven by the need of support and the positive experience of networking. As a consequence, a movement that began as a local struggle have increasingly become a movement with global resonance.

In the case of the Mayan movement in Guatemala, one of the founders of the movement noted that the strategy of building networks of support in other countries was not pre-planned, but arose spontaneously, as a response to a latent need for support: *"At the beginning we were very closed to accepting people from outside our community, especially from other countries, but then we realized that the government paid more attention to us when our case was covered by international news media or when we got support from allies in other countries."*

The global-networks building was a gradual process, as the movement itself. Building networks was part of the growth of the movement: *"we felt we were strong within our communities, but we needed to articulate more support with others to become stronger; and we have done it, step by step,"* said a communication coordinator. The movement is using reiteratively the concept of *articulación (*articulation) because it is recognizing the value of support with other groups in the country and in other countries. Some of the benefits perceived by the movement from the transnational networks is that new allies share their knowledge and resources and provide the movement leaders with indirect protection from political persecution.

Disadvantage conditions of most of the mayan communities, such as poverty, illiteracy and scarce access to information and communication media limit their mobilization efforts. When the movement started building networks across the country and in other countries, the leaders perceived the value of the additional support. More than financial resources, the communities saw how information, knowledge, and ideas were helping them to enhance their mobilization actions. International allies also have been helpful in inviting and raising travel funds for Maya representatives to participate in international forum, where they can continue building networks and spreading their messages across.

In addition, as part of the safeguard function of the global networks, the movement makes public statement of its claims in other countries as a way to obtain resonance of its messages and protection in case the community leaders are persecuted. The leaders are continuously denouncing that the government is criminalizing their protest. Thus, they feel less vulnerable if they make this situation evident to the international community. A Maya-K'iche' leader in a highly rural community explained:

> "[...]the mining issue is very complex, so it is very important for us to get
> information that helps us to build our strategies [...] for instance, we did not
> understand the energy business until a friend from Spain explained the energy
> matrix to us. Also, [it is important to have] friends who can be our armor against
> repressive actions that the government has started in our communities. Specially
> this government, the president Otto Pérez Molina was a General in the army and
> directly participated in the civil war. Later, he was in charge of intelligence and
> national security units in different administrations. He know how to scare our
> people. Some of our leaders have been arrested with even terrorism charges. The
> good thing is that we are united this time. We are united and we have friends all
> around the world with their eyes put over us."

One of the most important functions of the global networks built by the socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala is what Keck and Sikkink (1999) have defined as the "boomerang pattern." The boomerang effect occurs when the movement seeks the support from allies outside the country to gain more power and exert more pressure with decision-makers inside. This strategy is very effective in marginalizing environments, such as Guatemala, where Mayan communities have been disempowered and excluded from political decision-making for centuries.

A Maya-Mam leader from San Marcos pointed out that the groups have found some international organizations as key allies because the government and corporations seem to pay attention to them more than to the communities: "the government has never heard our claims because they only listen to the companies, but when some international actors endorse us, then, they do pay attention because they know we are not alone."

An example of the boomerang effect was the caution measures dictated by the Interamerican Commission for Human Rights, CIDH of the Organization of American States, OAS, in 2011-2012, ordering the closure of Montana mine based on community's allegations of water contamination and other problems with this mine. The government immediately formed a commission to answer this demand. Although this measure did not stop the mine, at least the company started some community projects to neutralize the negative image of the organization.

The Mayan movement has been successful in reaching international leaders attention. For example, the United Nations, UN, Indigenous rights Special Rapporteur, James Anaya, has visited Guatemala twice in the last three years (see figure 5). These events has not only reached international exposure of the mining conflict in Guatemala causing calls of attention from

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Goldcorp's stockholders, but also had positive effects to mobilize power nationally. Indeed, looking at the chronological events of the mining issue (see Appendix C), the government and mining corporations have launched some strategies in attention to some movement demands when international actors visit the country or when some international events take place.

---Figure 5. Visit of UN Indigenous rights Special Rapporteur, James Anaya. Huehuetenango, 2010. Photo courtesy of The Esperanza Project.---

Extending their local struggle to global networks has also represented an issue for internal discussion within several Mayan groups who are still dubious about accepting allies from outside for different reasons. First, some groups do not trust outsiders given the antecedents of exploitation, discrimination and the civil war in Mayan territories. Second, representatives from the government and corporations and some opinion leaders launched a public opinion strategy in the last two years subtlety attacking the alliances between social movements and international organizations. The key message is that international organizations financially and ideologically support protesters in Guatemala to create conflict and gain more funds. Experts assert that this argument also encompasses -even when hidden- a way of discrimination or racism, since

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indigenous populations are seen as incapable of leading their own movement and easy to be

manipulated. As a reaction, some Mayan groups want to show that they can lead their movement

by themselves and reject international alliances.

Finally, there are other Mayan groups who feel that building networks with international

actors represent additional efforts they are not able to do in the current moments. Although there

are several benefits from building global networks, some groups have more limitations,

especially with time available to participate in the mobilization activities. They acknowledge that

building networks abroad may have benefits for the group but it also requires time and also

abilities to manage digital media, follow up conversations with the allies, and having internet

access periodically. Therefore, these groups prefer to continue working with other groups in the

same geographic region, and wait until the moment they feel they can afford building networks

abroad.

It is important to note that mobilization in general and global networking specifically

seems to be easier and more fruitful in communities with younger and more educated leaders and

membership. There are several groups with young Maya leaders with higher education level and

college degrees. They usually lead the movement actions and help the rest of the members to

make sense of incoming information from the global networks, are more skilled to use digital

media, and convey information locally and with partners abroad. For instance, in the last two

years, the movement has launched several legal strategies led by their own Mayan lawyers and

has promoted them through social networks. With these actions, the strategies represent better

the Mayan interests, the movement gains more attention in the local and international public

opinion, and the groups increase their collective efficacy because they see themselves achieving

several mobilization goals.

In sum, the global networks have arose as a spontaneous process in the Mayan mobilization, triggering new challenges, such as building trust with potential allies from outside and managing communication resources to build and maintain the networks. In turn, the movement has received benefits from incorporating global networks in their mobilization efforts, such as access to new knowledge, protection against political persecution, and enhanced power to exert more pressure over national decision-makers. Even though the global networks are growing, the Mayan movement still has to work on manners to coordinate better the international support and multiply the beneficial effects of the global network to the more excluded groups in the movement.

The self-tailored, integrated communication toolbox

The gradual evolution of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement has allowed communities traditionally inexperienced in the use of media (especially ICTs) due to their marginalized situation, to identify and progressively create their "communication toolbox" resonant with their cultural values and particular mobilization needs. The self-construction of communication toolkits provides greater sustainability in mobilization actions because communities perceive them as genuine and relevant, different to the temporary impact of imposed interventions. Scholars have proposed to explore the dynamics and outcomes of networked communication, since it might sensitively vary in different cultures and environments (Castells, 2007; Juris, 2008). Specifically for deprived populations, there is empirical evidence (Cartier, Castells, & Qiu, 2005) that sometimes networked communication does not reach to empower people under marginalization conditions. Therefore, it is important to analyze some of

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the main features of the Mayan movement usage of media to build, maintain, and enhance their mobilization actions. Appendix D includes a summary of the different communication outlets and actions used by the Mayan movement describing the period/s of time when they have been used, main functions, and mobilization outcomes.

The old, the folk, the new

Results show that the use of different media has evolved along with the evolution of the movement itself. Different strategies and collective actions have driven the various movement's groups to discover, implement, adapt and mix diverse media that they find effective to achieve their goals. Each movement's group find its own formula to combine traditional practices, such as community assemblies, with folk media embedded in their culture, such as oral narrative and music, and new digital media such as cellphones and computers. A group communication coordinator emphasizes that Mayan communities have thread their traditional communication tools with new ones; those they find useful and therefore meaningful for their mobilization purposes:

"At the beginning we were using the traditional Community Assembly to gather with community members to share information and make collective decisions. This has been our tradition for centuries. It is what we have been inherited from our grandpas and grandmas. Sometimes, we used art performances at the central park of the 'pueblo.' Where available, we used community radios. These radios are ours, not like the big ones where they do not transmit our voices and desires. We are discovering new ways of communicating with others. The youngest are good with Internet and new things such as Facebook. But we use them only if they help to our mission and if they do not go against our own values and traditions. We like to talk and make decisions as a group, not individually. So, we use media that allow us to keep doing things in this way."

---Figure 6. Mayan communities have incorporated the use of ICTs along with other community media for their mobilization purposes.---

The media use for mobilization can be characterized more as expansion than replacement of the media repertoire in the Mayan communities. Even in communities where the movement has incorporated more decisively ICTs (e.g., computer mediated communication, CMC, and SNS) in their strategies, other traditional media have not disappeared. Each medium is used for certain objectives with specific audiences (see figure 6). Moreover, sometimes the use of ICTs has triggered more effective use of other media, as it was described by a community leader who is in charge of the communication functions:

> *"We learned how to send text messages and now we use it to announce community assemblies and art performances that we organize for the weekends. Also for the* consultas comunitarias *we use cellphone to transmit live to the community radios about the voters affluence to the different voting centers. We stopped using printed invitations and started using text messages when we have an emergency or when we want to avoid been tracked by people who not only opposes the movement but also have tried to harm physically or psychologically our leaders."*

Information sharing, community journalism, and collective action coordination

Besides understanding the general role of digital media for mobilization in Mayan communities in Guatemala, it is important to highlight three particular communication and organization activities supported by ICTs usage: information sharing, community journalism, and collective action coordination. Traditionally, Mayans used community assemblies for information sharing and collective decision-making. Each community assembly begins with a Mayan ceremony where participants share flowers, incense, and other natural offerings and pray for wisdom to make decisions that benefit the community. Later, the community starts sharing information and make decisions collectively. The assembly usually finishes with a pot-luck where members share meals with each other (see figure 7).

---Figure 7. Maya-K'iche' community assembly during the opening ceremony. Communities share resources and information and make collective decision-making, contributing to high levels of group cohesion. Gumarcaaj, Quiché. March, 2012. ---

Complementary to the traditional community assemblies, the mobilization against mining

started incorporating other communication tools that allow them to extend their collaborative work with groups and allies beyond their communities. A communication organizer pointed out that each group has communication coordinators delegated to coordinate the digital media usage. They use email and social networks to gather new information and then process and distribute it both in person with the community during the assemblies, and through the same digital media.

The Internet became even more important when the movement became bigger, to share new information with other members in the diverse locations not only in the country but also in different places around the world. *"It would be impossible for us to reach people in other countries without Internet. It has helped us not only to obtain important information, but also feel their support. Knowing there are other people supporting us out there is important because gives us more power to pressure our local or national authorities, who seem to pay more attention to foreigners,"* pointed out a communication coordinator.

Communication organizers acknowledge that access to the Internet is limited in rural areas, but the Mayan collectivist culture helps to find a way to get organized to take advantage as much as possible of the scarce or limited resources they have. Digital media have also contributed to the development of new practices of community journalism, both in a formal and informal manner. The movement has reiteratively condemned the lack of attention from the mass media to cover their position on the mining issue. Therefore, during relevant events, such as *consultas comunitarias*, local leaders and community report information using cellphones and transmit it through community radios or local newspapers. In addition, community members informally become reporters of the events, transmitting text messages and pictures to their social networks.

Different to the Internet, cellphones are accessible in almost all the country, which facilitates its usage for mobilization even in rural areas. In addition, the cellphone technology results easier to use and allows more mobility than computers and internet. Finally, digital media have provided significant support for collective actions organization. Cellphones are used to coordinate the group gatherings, press conferences, and demonstrations, and the email and social networks are used to publicize the results to the mass media and public opinion. A young member of the organization highlights the relevance of cellphones for public demonstrations:

> *"In some communities, we live very far away from each other, the only way to spread the word and coordinate when we will have a public event rapidly is through cellphone. Also, we try to update each other regarding relevant information but we do not like to do it by mail because is risky given the political persecution that we experience all the time."*

The use of social networks, such as Facebook, occurred more recently, trying to reach more attention from the public opinion, especially in urban areas, and gain their support: *"In the capital city and other urban areas people think that mining exploitation is only our problem and not theirs, that is why we want to share our view with them to articulate more support,"* said a group organizer. In addition, Facebook and Web sites helped the movement getting more exposure with national and international audiences, who otherwise would not know about this Mayan cause. Thus, although the social media sites, SMS, are not the main tools used by the movement in its mobilization actions, it has become an expansive instrument to reach other people beyond their community. In the words of a communication coordinator, *"the Internet gives us the opportunity to struggle locally and resonate globally."*

<div align="center">**The outcomes:**</div>

<div align="center">**Successful inside, limited outside**</div>

Traditionally, measures of mobilization success are restricted to observing the movement's strategies effectiveness in influencing public policies and political decisions (Zald, 1977). However, the analysis of the effects of networked communication developed in this study allowed the analysis of two dimensions to evaluate the success of the strategies implemented: (1) the internal effects, over the movement, and (2) external effects, from the movement over policies and elites' decision-making. Results from the case study in Guatemala show a contrast in the role of networked communication for mobilization effectiveness: strong and effective inward, strengthening community organizations and their networks with local and global partners; and weakened and dulled outward, causing increasing conflicts between Maya communities and economic and political decision-makers (ie, government, mining companies).

This section analyzes how the inward-outward, contrasting effects of networked communication occur within the mobilization dynamics of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala. In addition, three measures of networked communication success are proposed complementary to the traditional assessment of policy and political change: movement's influence on media, corporate, and political agendas.

Strong and effective inside

On the one hand, communication has been a highly successful tool among members of the Mayan communities for internal organization. The socioenvironmental issue has led to a process of "revitalization" of indigenous Mayans, as stated in recent studies (Moreno, 2010). Reflecting the idiosyncrasies, traditions and particular needs and resources available, every

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community has built its own internal communication mechanisms to undertake a robust and sustainable social mobilization process in the last eight years. This mobilization has grown locally (in communities with current and potential projects of natural resources projects), nationally (movements in other communities and allies and activists across the country), and globally (through networks of regional and international partners). The movement has grown not only geographically, but also qualitatively, showing increasing levels of group cohesion, collective efficacy, and collective actions.

Defeating internal divisiveness between indigenous groups and the aftermaths of the recent civil war, the issue of the natural resources exploitation has triggered a double fight that for centuries has been relegated and now has found momentum to resurge: the defense of the territory and vindication of the rights of indigenous peoples. Despite the high resource and power differentials that can limit communication and social mobilization (Castells, 2007; Karlberg, 1996), the Guatemalan case has shown that the marginalization conditions under which most of the mobilized people live have not totally limited mobilization because the groups keep high levels of motivation and work following their traditional collaborative patterns. Moreover, it seems that the obstacles that these groups face for mobilization help them to reach a greater degree of cohesion and solidarity.

Members volunteer their time, food, and resources to contribute with the mobilization actions within their community. Furthermore, there is an inter-group collaboration, because communities with previous experience or more resources (knowledge, technology, contacts) collaborate with others with less resources. In addition, the groups reached to build the Council of Western Peoples, CPO, coalition that started performing united communication campaigns

(see figure 8).

---Figure 8. Snap shot of a movement's post viralized on web sites, email, and social networks sites. The main message was to join to a collective action at the Constitutional Court organized by the Mayan coalition, Western Peoples Council: "Public Hearing. Mining law constitutional law. Date: July 19 2012, Time: 9:00 Am, Place: Debates room of Constitutional Court. Address. Bring your ID. Western Peoples Council, CPO." During the press conference, the Mayan leaders expressed that even if they do not succeed with this legal action, it helped them to articulate different groups and to show others that Mayan peoples are united and strong.---

The best example of the successful outcomes of networked communication for the

empowerment of the mobilized communities is constituted by the more than 60 *consultas comunitarias* developed in different municipalities in the country since 2005, all of them organized by local civil society and supported by their transnational networks. Although the authorities of the state of Guatemala has not clearly resolved key points about whether these procedures are binding or not, these consultation processes have built strong ties within the communities and between them and national and global allies. Moreover, the emergence of *consultas comunitarias* has even strengthened other local government structures, sometimes dysfunctional, such as the Community Development Councils, COCODES, and the Municipal Development Councils, COMUDES, integrating them into the mobilization actions. Thus, community consultations have become not only effective practices of communication and community involvement, but also alternative norms of direct democracy, more resonant with the ancestral collective values of the Maya population.

Beyond the local borders, the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala is an example of effective communication power (Castells, 2011). The movement that started in a small rural town in the highlands of Guatemala has reached support from activists, scholars, and different types of allies all around the world linked by interpersonal and technology-mediated communication. Thus, what began as a local protest, has now become a global networked movement.

Weakened and dulled outside

On the other hand, the communication developed as part of this socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala has not resulted equally effective for mobilizing power externally; that is, influencing economic and political decision making. The processes of dialogue, negotiation

with stakeholders in government and extractive corporations have not been effective so far. One of the main causes of this situation is the high level of conflict that characterizes the natural resources exploitation in the country.

As a chain effect, dysfunctional communication with external stakeholders results in the low influence of the positions and requirements of communities in decisions of high political and economic spheres, which in turn, leads to more heated conflicts that have ended in violent events and even murdered community members. In constant public demonstrations, especially in the last three years, communities repeatedly denounced the exclusion of their voices in decision-making of natural resource management policies and decisions, both locally and nationally. In many cases, conflict levels gets too high it causes violent events that further exacerbate polarization and lead to serious harm to the levels of governance in the country (recent example occurred in 2012 with the upheavals in Barillas, Huehuetenango, resulting in a community leader dead).

Both the movement leaders and political and economic authorities have recognized that dialogue between them is ineffective and see the need to work at it. However, there is no legal actions (i.e., reform of the mining law, *consultas comunitarias* recognition) or communication mechanisms (effective procedures for dialogue and negotiation) institutionalized to alleviate this situation. On one hand, the economic and political authorities state that although they have an interest in solving these increasing conflicts, they see serious difficulties due to the high dispersion of community leaders, the limited openness of some communities for discussion, and radicalization of the issue, which does not allow effective negotiation. On the other hand, communities state that they do not see conditions to trust the authorities and build an effective

and fair dialogue. Instead, the Mayan movement denounces repression by the economic and political authorities, whom they accuse of criminalizing and persecuting their leaders.

International government agencies (e.g., Organization of American States and United Nations) have issued reports, recommendations and even injunctions to Guatemala's state recommending to engage in an effective social dialogue that responds to the demands of the indigenous communities in order to lower the conflict. Responding to these recommendations, the political authorities of the country of the last three administrations have announced various initiatives to promote social dialogue without overwhelming positive results. The Mayan leaders see these initiatives as superficial and lacking a real intention to include their claims. The conflict has increased recently, since the new administration that took office in 2012 announced its intention to promote mining, hydroelectric projects, and natural resource exploitation as a central engine for their economic plan. However, the government has not yet announced any comprehensive policy or legal and social mechanisms through which they will address the Mayan movement requests. This situation has generated that the conflict continues to climb.

The management of natural resources in Guatemala requires substantive decisions about the pattern of economic and social development in the country. The high level of mobilization reached by the organized communities evidences the importance that the issue of natural resource management accounts for them and, therefore, its high potential for social conflict, and high implications for the country's governance. International activists, scholars and governmental agencies have set special attention on the socioenvironmental issue in Guatemala. Equally important should be handled this issue by economic and political decision makers in the country. It is crucial that the decision makers first, acknowledge the high level of organization behind this

movement, and then, engage in a genuine dialogue and negotiation process to solve efficiently the problem in a sustainable manner. Inclusive policies and political decisions may be effective means to ensure economic, social, and political stability and counterbalance the conflictive sociopolitical environment that currently characterizes the natural resources management issue in Guatemala.

Measurable effects

Although the main requests of the socioenvironmental movement to the decision makers have not yet been resolved (eg, stop granting mining licenses, address the results of the *consultas comunitarias*, reform of the current mining law), there are three factors that make perceptible and potentially measurable the level of success that the movement has achieved so far: its influence on the media agenda, the agenda of mining corporations, and on the political agenda.

Influence on media agenda. Although the development of a content analysis is not in the scope of this research, the observation of news media covering the mining issue during ethnographic field work evidenced that the issue has increased its influence on national and international media agenda. From scarce two or three short notes per year in 2004, coverage has grown to tens of notes during a single month during 2012. Moreover, the mining issue has reached to appear in front pages and main headlines repeatedly.

Increasing attention from the mass media to the mining issue and the Mayan socioenvironmental movement can also be seen in the high attendance of different media to press conferences organized by the movement. In 2010, two or three media sparsely attended the conferences. In comparison, in 2012 attendance increase to about 20 journalists during press conferences, including major media and even international media, resulting in high media

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coverage of the communities' messages (see figure 9).

The news director of local broadcasting and print media pointed out that even when he wants to cover the two sides of the mining issue, *"it is complicated to cover information from the Mayan communities because it is difficult to identify the legitimate sources of information given their blurry leadership where there is a leader today and another tomorrow."* He said that it is easier to get information from the mining companies side because they have specialized professionals and resources and are constantly sending information.

---Figure 9. Press conference showing high attendance of national and international media. Guatemala city, 2012.---

The news director emphasized that it is necessary that the Mayan communities work more on the form and content of their discourse because it is sometimes too abstract: *"their speeches are too flowery, we cannot use them in those words,"* the director said. He also urged

scholars, researchers and experts in the mining topic to participate in the public debate and generate informed opinions that news media can use as alternative source of information.

Influencing media agenda is an important factor for successful mobilization. According to Habermas (1996) electronic media can contribute significantly to spreading the messages of civil society that seek to influence the decisions of elites. However, it is essential that such messages are covered by the mass media to acquire legitimacy and, consequently, obtain more power to influence the agendas of the elites.

Influence on corporate agenda. Another suggested manner of measuring results of mobilization is through changes in policies and decisions of the corporations. In the socioenvironmental case in Guatemala, two events can be attributed to the pressure exerted by the Mayan movement especifically over the operations of Marlin Mine: the strengthening of an aggressive program of corporate social responsibility (includes community training programs, highway construction, local school, and health center), and the creation of administrative units for "community relations management. These corporate decisions were not implemented from the beginning of operations of the Marlin Mine, but until the conflict was rising.

A manager in the headquarters' office of a transnational mining company with operations in Guatemala reaffirmed in the interview that social mobilization had influenced corporate policy towards a more open attitude and genuine dialogue: *"Management in Guatemala changed significantly from being a defensive bunker in the first years […] We said 'we need to seat and talk.'"*

Influence on political agenda. The influence of the Maya socioenvironmental movement on the political agenda was evident mainly in two aspects: a) as a relevant issue in the campaign

speeches during 2010-2011 general elections, and b) as a target of political strategies from government and legislative officers. For the first time, the issue of mining and natural resources exploitation was part of the election campaigns or presidents, congressmen, and mayor candidates. The elected president, Otto Perez Molina, during his campaign said he would not allow irresponsible natural resources exploitation and royalties would be rised at least 35% (significant increase over the 2% required by law). None of these offers are fulfilled. Moreover, other mining exploration licenses and hydroelectric projects have been granted with public denounces of inadequate environmental impact studies to back them up.

Knowing the increasing sensitivity of the issue of mining, former president, Alvaro Colom (2008 – 2012), prevented his government to authorize any mining licenses, leaving on hold more than 60 exploration and exploitation licenses. However, the current government of Otto Perez Molina has taken a particular stance in favor of mining. Both executive officer and legislative representatives of the official party, in resonance with the extractive industry representatives in the country and other opinion leaders, have developed a public opinion strategy. They argue that *"mining is a unique opportunity for the development of the country"* and social conflict around extractive industry projects *"is caused by misinformation and manipulation of rural communities orchestrated by foreign NGO's"*. In less than a year, about a dozen of exploration licenses and several hydroelectric projects have been granted. It was also publicly announced will grant pending exploitation licenses as well because *"the State must comply with the law."* As a result, several upheavals have arose during 2012 with three protesters dead, a couple disappeared and several imprisoned (see Appendix C for more details of chronological events of the mining issue).

According to an international activist interviewed regarding the increasing violent confrontation between communities and the political and economical elites: *"the government of Otto Perez Molina knows the intensity of the conflict but decided to repress it rather than solve it."* The activist points out that the president has a lot of pressure to grant mining licenses and approve hydropower projects *"and he has decided to use smear strategies, persecution, and criminalization of community leaders to neutralize mobilization, as in the recent confrontation in Barillas, Huehuetenango, where there was a military intervention, several arrests and a murdered communitarian."* As a mitigation strategy given the increasing sensitivity of the issue, the Ministry of Energy and Mining announced the launch of an initiative to reform the Mining Act. However, it does not include anything about the community consultations because *"this is not the law where that issue should be discussed,"* the Minister said.

The Mining Ministry also opened in 2012 a unit of sustainable development and community relations, arguing that this will help to reach effective dialogue. However, communitarians see these actions as superficial image tactics because the government and the companies are never open to genuine dialogue or negotiation. A community leader who coordinates legal actions described with frustration tone:

> *"The government and mining companies are the same thing, they say one thing and do other. They use dialogue as a smoke curtain. Sometimes, we have started talking about concrete issues of the extractive projects but there are no concrete responses. Even when we try to hold our communities in a peaceful attitude, there have been several violent events because people get tired. Then, we have our people arrested or persecuted. It's scary because the government uses the same strategies they used during the armed conflict. [...] after all, the negotiations end up focusing on the liberation of our people. It's frustrating that our protests are totally criminalized."*

In sum, there are some intermediate signs of success of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala, such as influence on media agenda, changes in corporate policies, and some minor public policy modifications. However, ineffective dialogue and political persecution against indigenous leaders dull the potential of the Mayan movement to effectively influence corporate and political decision-making, resulting in increasing conflict and the consequential harm to the already fledging Guatemalan democracy.

CHAPTER 6
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research aimed to analyze the potential of networked communication for mobilization purposes of marginalized populations. The case study of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement against mining in Guatemala was used to examine whether underprivileged populations, such as indigenous rural communities in the country, are able to use communication to build networks of support, and under which conditions this occurs. Exclusion factors of the Guatemalan context, such as poverty, social discrimination, and limited access to communication technologies may limit citizens' capability to mobilize political power, as shown in prior research (Cartier, Castells, & Qiu, 2005; Castells, 2007; Karlberg, 1997; Sassen, 2004).

Using a combination of qualitative methodologies (i.e., in-depth interviews, direct observations and document analysis) during multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork (Marcus, 1995), this case study shows that Mayan communities in the Western highlands of Guatemala are defeating marginalization and challenging the status quo in the country. Indigenous communities have assembled their own communication toolbox to build multi-scalar networks of support for a movement that fights locally but resonates globally.

The Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala has gradually integrated interpersonal, traditional, and digital media that respond to the evolving mobilization goals. These communications reflect the collaborative nature of their core values, resulting in sustained networks of support within their communities, and beyond their communities, at a local, national, and international level. Even with great limitations for access and operation, the Mayan

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movement has successfully used networked communication mainly for information sharing, community journalism, and collective action, supplementing the traditional and community media they originally used.

The assessment of the success of networked communication to further mobilization goals shows to be strong inside the movement but weak outside. Networked communication empowers marginalized communities, reinforcing key mobilization aspects, such as group cohesion, collective efficacy, and social capital. Moreover, networks are used as a "boomerang" strategy to gain support internationally that might help to get more attention and exert more pressure nationally. However, repressive measures used by political elites in Guatemala limit the opportunities of the Mayan communities to further their mobilization goals. Ineffective dialogue and political persecution against indigenous leaders dull the potential of the Mayan movement to influence corporate and political decision-making, resulting in increasing social conflict.

This study proposes some intermediate-level measurement of success, complementary to the long-term policy change effects: influence on media agenda, changes in corporate policies, and some minor public policy modifications. The study concludes that the final effects of networked communication for mobilization should measure not only the impact on public policies and elites' decisions but also, and more importantly, the mobilization effects on processes of identity building, public discourse, and sociopolitical norms as mechanisms for genuine and sustainable social change.

Thus, this study shows that communication can empower marginalized populations to mobilize power. But, what can be learned from the case study in Guatemala about the conditions

under which networked communication enables empowerment of deprived populations?

Decalogue of empowering networked communication

The present study found some key factors that showed being effective in the practice of networked communication for the empowerment of disadvantaged populations:

1.Genuine: Communication networks that emerge in a spontaneous manner during the mobilization process are effective because they are relevant to the needs of the communities. As shown in the socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala, the Mayan communities see the communication networks as authentic because they have been built gradually instead of being imposed by others. Therefore, the members feel capable and motivated to maintain these networks as effective means to achieve their mobilization goals.

2.Culturally resonant: Networked communication is effective for marginalized communities' empowerment when it is resonant with their cultural values. For the Mayan communities in Guatemala, collaborative work, horizontal structures, and group-decision making is not something new or strange. Rather, networked communication reinforces ancient traditions of these indigenous communities, as it was illustrated in this study. This is the reason why some movement leaders acknowledged that they prefer using ICTs that allow for more personal interaction and collective action, such as mobile phones in combination with community radios. Although resonant with indigenous core cultural values, networked communication still has a way to go with network-building beyond the community borders because some communities do not trust people from outside given past experiences when they have been exploited or persecuted by outsiders.

3.Strongly propelled. Much of the stamina that empowers deprived populations when using networked communication for mobilization comes from the nature of their demands. In the case of the Mayan movement in Guatemala (and most of movements against extractive industries that have emerged in Latin America in the last decade), the movement´s demands respond to historic and unsolved socioeconomic and political problems strongly affecting rural Mayan communities where the extractive projects take place. Natural resources exploitation in Guatemala is not only an environmental issue; it involves themes such as the struggle for land, the country´s development model, and the rights of indigenous peoples, which are demands accumulated for decades.

Movement mottos, such as "for the defense of the territory," are also associated with core Mayan values, based on a sense of belonging and harmony with nature. These factors give a special force to the movement´s efforts to create and maintain networks of support. For centuries these communities have been relegated to exclusion. Therefore, the movement has strong motivations to extend their potential to mobilize power by building networks of allies locally and globally, even defeating great obstacles, such as poverty, trust in foreigners, and limitations for media access.

4.Self-tailored, integrated media toolbox: Mobilization among deprived populations shows being more effective and sustainable when it is supported by media that they choose and implement according to their needs, capabilities and at their own pace. Specifically with the Mayan movement in Guatemala, the development of networked communication required some communities to use, additional to their traditional media, new information and communication

technologies (ICTs), such as the Internet. When members perceived the benefits of using new media for their goals (e.g., obtaining new knowledge, reaching people in other regions and abroad, diffusing their messages through their own media alternatively to mass media) they started integrating them with other media they were already using, such as community assemblies, murals, and community radio. There has not been any imposition or media-mix formula; each community has had its own process to select its own media mix. They did not substitute traditional media with new ones; they used them complementarily.

5.Relevant: Networked communication strengthen its empowering potential when it is performed through media that communities find relevant to achieve their goals and suitable with their values. In the case of the Mayan movement in Guatemala, information and communication technologies, such as social networks sites (SNS) and mobile phone are increasingly being incorporated into the media toolbox because the communities perceive them effective and culturally pertinent.

Specifically, these digital media have helped the movement to display their messages and build and maintain networks of support, at the same time that allow for more interpersonal interaction, resources sharing, and group collaboration, which are key collectivistic values in the Mayan culture.

The use of SNS and the internet has limitations in the rural communities context, such as lack of electricity, high cost of digital devices and internet service, and low digital media usage skills. Differently, mobile phones are broadly used, even in very rural communities. The mobile communication infrastructure covers almost all the country and users have defeated other

potential limitations, for instance, paying a neighbor to charge the phone if they do not have electricity at home, or learning how to write and read key messages for SMS even when illiterate.

6. Key "networked" mobilizers: Networked communication creates or reinforces group binders that empower deprived communities through three key mobilization factors: resource sharing, social capital, and collective efficacy. In the case of the Mayan movement in Guatemala, networked communication provides the communities with opportunities to build and maintain networks of support to defeat some of their limitations by sharing different resources through the networks, such as information, access to digital media, and experience. The experience of sharing resources not only creates stronger support ties, but also increases the social capital in the communities. In addition, the binding effect of sharing resources and the growing social capital enhances the self collective efficacy among the members of the groups, who feel stronger and capable of achieving their goals when act together.

7.Networks of pressure and protection: Besides the impact of networked communication on mobilization within local groups, its empowering potential increases when the networks expand to international allies as strategy of pressure and protection. In the case of the Mayan movement in Guatemala, the communities have extended their networked communication to potential allies in other countries, aiming to gain support internationally as means to gain power and exert more pressure decision-making nationally. In addition, the movement uses the international networks as a protection mechanism given the political persecution and repressive measures imposed by the local elites. These transnational networks strategy have been effective

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to empower the communities because it reinforces the collective efficacy of the groups, who feel stronger and more capable to achieve their goals when they are supported by allies abroad as a symbol that they are not alone.

8.Catalyzer: Although most of the factors discussed above indicate the effectiveness of networked communication for the empowerment of marginalized communities this effect is not homogeneous in all the communities. Rather, it appears that networked communication works as a catalyst for existing conditions in the communities where it operates. In the Mayan case study, networked communication for mobilization has mostly leveraged synergies and collective work of the community, but sometimes also has exacerbated conflict and division of communities given particular clashing contexts.

On the one hand, the emergence of networked communication for mobilization has prompted social synergies where mobilized groups have developed new ways of linking native ancestral forms of collective organization with a recent experience of social protest after the civil war, and new forms of digitally mediated communication strategies. In these cases (the majority, according to the results of the present research), the emergence of networked communication has been the catalyst for the reinforcement of collectivist values and practices embedded in the social and political organization of the Maya communities.

On the other hand, in some communities with particularly clashing environments (strong antagonisms between leaders, antecedents of groups confrontations, negative leaderships) the emergence of networked communication for mobilization may exacerbate polarization and social conflict. This effect is even more negative in contexts where there is a blatant lack of effective

dialogue between actors and the government remains absent from its role of informant and mediator. In some communities, social mobilization has exacerbated conflicts between members of the community to such levels that has resulted in highly violent riots and has even caused deaths.

9.*Threshold of action-repression:* Despite the great potential of networked communication for the empowerment of indigenous communities, the network power for mobilization diminishes if the communities' demands are poorly addressed by the decision makers (i.e., government, legislators, corporations). In the Guatemalan Mayan movement, there has been an effect that can be called "threshold of action-repression." The elites not only have poorly addressed the communities' demands, but also there has been evidence of social or political repression (persecution, intimidation, siege, etc.). However, these repressive measures have not been sufficient to cause the total stoppage of movement. Rather, in some cases, these events have prompted populations to get closer as an act of solidarity, and to strengthen their communication networks within the communities and between them and other international actors to denounce human rights violation. In addition, the repressive measures do not have to be seen as lack of effectiveness of mobilization, but as a kind of reaction of the elites to the effectiveness of the communities' mobilization, trying to neutralize the power that communities are gaining.

In any case, it is clear that the rural communities need to develop mechanisms to strengthen their negotiation ability. After many years of silence, now these Mayan communities have a voice. However, they must pass the stage of complaint to the stage of negotiation in order

to reach effective solution to their problems.

10.From policy change to social change: Networked communication has the potential to prompt more inclusive forms of sociopolitical organization and participation, which is especially relevant for populations under marginalization conditions. In the Guatemalan case, the Mayan movement did not intend to develop alternative forms of sociopolitical participation as part of their mobilization goals. However, the development of networked communication has stimulated collaborative, horizontal structures and forms of organization and participation. This is what Juris (2008) notes as one of the main results of the networking logic, the rise of new "forms and norms" of rhizomatic political participation and direct democracy practices. As stated by Sosa (2009), these collectivist sociopolitical practices are strong among Mayan populations because they resonate with their ancestral collectivist culture.

These forms of collaborative, rhizomatic participation are an unintended consequence of the Mayan mobilization. Beyond the socioenvironmental mobilization goals and achievements, this Mayan movement has developed an alternative scheme to the vertical, centralized, exclusive sociopolitical patterns prevalent in the country. As suggested in previous research by Sosa and Ramos (2010) these Mayan collectivist sociopolitical practices may be a great contribution for political and social change, leading to the improvement of the quality of governance and democracy in the country.

Marginalization: both limiting and enhancing mobilization

The study of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala evidenced that indeed, exclusion conditions such as political and communication differentials may limit the

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networked communication potential to mobilize power. However, marginalization can also become the motivation, stamina, and social bond to overcome disadvantage conditions.

On the one hand, exclusion restricts key resources for networked communication, such as time spent to organize collective action, resources to implement communications strategies, the ability to obtain information and knowledge useful to the movement, and access to and use of ICT's and other media. Restrictions for communication and mobilization resources put these communities at a disadvantage compared to their adversaries, big companies and political elites, who have vast resources to launch massive communication campaigns, hire experts, and use as many media outlets as they want.

Adversaries, such as big businesses and government pose a double advantaged situation because they also maintain a dominant political position. Hence, one of the factors that limits the effectiveness of the mobilization in the case of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement is repression and political persecution. In cases such as Guatemala, with a recent history of civil war that even includes genocide accusations against indigenous populations (http://www.plazapublica.com.gt/content/juicio-por-genocidio-0), this political persecution can unleash social pathologies ranging from social fear, to reappearance of insurgent revolutions. This not only hinders peaceful citizen mobilization processes but hurts governance and the strengthening of an already fledgling democracy.

 On the other hand, the same factors that limit mobilization of deprived populations may strengthen it when members take their marginalization as motivation to seek social change and to build networks of solidarity to overcome the sparsity of resources. Consistent with Olson's

(1971) classic study and more recent analyses by Grunig (1992) on management of communication between corporations and activist groups, big business material resources can be equated with activists' high levels of motivation and stamina. There are also elements that enhance this effect, as in the case of the socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala, in which the accumulation of unresolved claims and issue mobilization resonate with Mayan core values to encourage and maintain the collective work.

Resource scarcity also may trigger momentum to develop networks that allow deprived populations to build networks through which they can share the few resources they have or look for alternative sources. For the Mayan movement, the community consultations are the best example of how local actors start mobilization using existing networks locally, but then expand the networks to other communities and allies within and across the borders who usually provide them with moral support, experience, or communication resources. Thus, it results not only in an improved learning process, but also in stronger solidarity ties, enhancing interpersonal trust and group cohesion, which have proved key components of collective efficacy (Cartier, Castells, & Qiu, 2005), social capital (Fukuyama, 2001; Rojas et al., 2011), and network power in general (Castells, 2007a, 2007b).

Networked communication may help to defeat political differentials, as well. Consistent with other studies on social movements in Latin America (Alvarez, 2000; Escobar & Alvarez, 1992; Rodríguez-Garavito & Arenas, 2005; Ulloa, 2001) results from this research showed how communities used the "boomerang pattern" (Keck & Sikkink, 1999) to build networks of support in other countries that can exert more pressure over the national elites. In addition, this study also

found that social movements of excluded populations also use transnational networks as a mechanism of protection against increasing political repression and persecution.

In sum, networked communication may help deprived populations to defeat marginalization by generating inspiring and cohesive actions that result in effective and sustained political and social change. Despite these encouraging findings, it cannot be neglected that the beneficial potentialities of networked communication for mobilization are restricted by the lack of genuine dialogue and effective responses to the communities' demands from the political and economic elites. Instead of seeing emerging, locally rooted and transnationally networked social movements as threats, the decision-makers in the country should see them as means to improve more participatory and inclusive processes that may lead to improved governance and a more sustainable democracy in the country.

> *"My husband works in 'el campo,' we both come from peasant families. I sell produce in the local market and take care of the children. Our labor day starts at four in the morning and finishes at six in the afternoon. We spend almost two hours walking back home. We are very committed with the cause but sometimes the body and mind are too tired. We are two of the very few who can read and write in our community, so we feel like we need to make an extra effort to help. In the group assembly sometimes we all agree of what we need to do, but it is difficult do to it if we don't have neither time nor money to do it [...] However, these conditions make us work harder to achieve our goals. We don't have too many things, but we share what we have to get what we want. We are poor but we are strong."*

Young Maya-Mam woman during a consulta comunitaria in San Juan Ostuncalco,

Quetzaltenango.

Repressions instead of concessions: A latent threat

One of the main determinants for effective mobilization of deprived populations is the repression exerted by political elites (i.e., government). As discussed above, political repression against mobilization groups may be a sign of the effectiveness of mobilization and also a major threat to the disappearance of the movement. Social movements theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) has pointed out that the effectiveness of social mobilization can be measured though two types of reactions of the ruling elites: concessions or repression. Therefore, repression may be considered as an indirect sign of mobilization success. However, this study contends that if the repression against members of the mobilization is extreme and surpasses a threshold of collective self-efficacy, it may hush the movement definitely, with dreadful consequences to governance and social peace, especially in fledging democracies.

In the studied case in Guatemala, as shown in the timeline of events related to mining and natural resources exploitation (see Appendix C), the events related to repression and persecution of community leaders have increased over time. The Mayan movement has several cases of violence that resulted in the death of their leaders. Beginning with 2005 in Cuatro Caminos, when a community leader was killed. So far, there are five deaths attributed to the increasing conflict and violence related to mining and extractive projects. Mobilized communities have publicly stated that despite the violent and repressive actions against their populations, they will remain in peaceful resistance. They perceive that the government is setting a strategic trap, inciting communities to revolt to then arrest the leaders.

The present study has shown that networked communication may empower communities internally and also may provide mobilized groups with tools to extend their external networks of

support to minimize their vulnerability to overcome repression and political persecution (e.g., boomerang strategy). However, cases of utmost political repression in highly conflicting environments such as Guatemala (i.e., recent civil war, inequality, high insecurity) may cause total paralysis of civil mobilizations with highly damaging effects to still incipient democracy.

Women and youth leadership: A blatant opportunity

The empowering potential of networked communication may be enhanced through the leadership of women and young population, and viceversa. The socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala has shown that, on the one hand, the empowerment of women and young leaders has facilitated the incorporation of networked communication to mobilization practices because they are a revived leadership, open to collaborative work and innovative communication practices.

On the other hand, collaborative and participatory practices of networked communication have enhanced leadership in women and youth populations. During the civil war, many men from Mayan communities in the highlands were recruited by the army or the guerrillas, leaving widows and orphans who took the leadership in their homes and now they are also leaders in their communities. Nowadays, these women and young people have revitalized their leadership through networking activities, such as collective action organizers, media relations, and social networks sites management.

Young people and women of the socioenvironmental movement represent a renewed leadership and a great opportunity for the effective use of networked communication for social change in their communities and the country (see figure 10).

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---Figure 10. March after violent events in Barillas, Huehuetenango. Women and young Maya population represent an opportunity for a renovated and "revitalized" Mayan leadership---

Theoretical implications

In addition to the socio-political impact of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement discussed above, there are relevant implications for social sciences theory in four interrelated areas that I have discussed in the literature review: communication and networks, policy making, globalization, and social movements in the context of an environmental issue.

First, this research provides evidence of the network power (Castells, 2007a, 2011). Specifically, results show the potential of networked communication to overcome resource and power differentials that characterize activist communication in general (Dozier & Lauzen, 2000; Karlberg, 1996) and environmental mobilization specifically (e.g., Akpalu & Parks, 2007; Pieck, 2006; Root, Wiley, &Peek, 2002; Ulloa, 2001). More importantly, as Juris (2008) suggested, this study analyzes the specific dynamics and context that condition these effects.

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Results from this study lend support to a multidimensional approach of networked communication effects on social mobilization, considering its impact to empower the group and to mobilize power outside the group to influence political decision making. As it was shown in this study, networked communication may be highly effective to generate group cohesion, collective efficacy, and social capital. However, group empowerment do not necessarily translates into higher and immediate political power to influence elites' decision-making.

The Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala also suggest to study the role of networked communication not only as the technology-based networks, but as interpersonal networks. Especially in developing countries contexts, such as Latin America (and probably some collectivist populations in Africa and Asia), the interpersonal relationship is highly valued. In addition, giving the antecedents of war and repression of some of these countries, interpersonal relations help to build trust and stronger ties between members and allies. Media usage shows reinforcing, instead of mutually exclusive patterns, and must be studied in an integrative manner.

As the Mayan movement showed, communities incorporated new communication media to their traditional communication activities. Likewise, the usage of networked media, both interpersonal and mediated, triggered new strategies to reach mass media coverage. This integrated use of networked and mass information media leverages mobilization results because, as suggested by Habemas (2006), although networked communication broadens the potential to diffuse messages within and among mobilization groups, these messages need to enter into the mass media communication flows in order to legitimate their claims in the public opinion court.

Second, the results of the study in Guatemala suggest that the agenda-building process for public policy in general and specifically on environmental issues should be studied considering new strategies that incorporate network communication not only local and national but transnational. Strategies such as the "boomerang pattern" (Keck and Sikkink, 1999) show that political actors, especially in bottom-up processes in the context of socio-political exclusion, seek to mobilize power through networks of partners in other countries that support and protect them in order to exert more pressure over national decision makers.

Third, this study is consistent with previous research showing the multidimensional and multidirectional nature of globalization through mobilization defined as "globalization from below" (Della Porta, 2006, Juris, 2008; Sassen, 2004) and add new findings of "globalization from the south." Prior research shows the paradox of grassroots movements challenging global corporations or international government organizations (IGOs) using global (Juris, 2008) or transnational structures (Sassen, 2004). Most of these studies have been conducted in cities and urban environments, where it is expected to find conditions favorable to transnational network-building (e.g., communication infrastructure, access to ICTs). The case of the Mayan movement in Guatemala, however, provides evidence of the conditions in which such networks can also be constructed and used effectively in peripheral populations.

Fourth, this study contributes to literature on environmental studies in general and environmental policy making specifically from a Latin American perspective. As it was shown in the present research, in the last decade, mining and natural resources exploitation has emerged in the region as a main issue, not only as an environmental theme, but as an "umbrella theme" with

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economic, political, social and even cultural, and ethnic edges. Therefore, it is important to understand the multidimensionality of the issue and which of these dimensions are crucial in each particular case, when approaching corporate projects, mobilization actions, conflict management, and public policies.

Finally, the results of the socioenvironmental Mayan movement in Guatemala propose key elements for the development of measures of the effects of social mobilization in the context of socio-political disparity. Group cohesion, collective identity, interpersonal trust, and collective efficacy were intermediate outcomes of the networked communication that enhanced the ability of groups to overthrow the marginalization and empower populations to influence political decision-making. However, the final effects of networked communication for mobilization should measure not only the impact on public policies and elites' decisions but also, and more importantly, the mobilization effects on processes of identity building, public discourse, and sociopolitical norms as mechanisms for genuine and sustainable social change.

"I do not know if mining companies and government will ever take into account the needs and demands of the Mayan communities. I do not know if they will ever stop granting mining licenses or hydroelectric projects. But the greatest achievement of this Mayan movement is their proposal of a new model of participation. They are leaving a huge legacy for building citizenship. They are showing the true face of democracy. That's priceless "

International Governamental Organization official, interviewed during a national government

event.

Limitations and further studies

These results are limited to the present case study and to the specific time period investigated in this research. More studies need to be conducted in diverse social contexts and analyzing different mobilization stages that allow comparison and/or generalization of these findings. Further research examining separate networked communication actions and outlets, both personal and mediated (e.g., community assemblies, cellphones, SNS), and their association with specific mobilization actions can provide more information about the role and potential of each communication medium for specific mobilization tasks.

Specifically for digital social networks, more research needs to be conducted that identifies devices and features that improve the relevance and empowering potential of ICTs among excluded populations. This has special implications for the cellphones industry, which was found to be the main ICT used in these deprived contexts. There are some efforts in the design of applications and features to promote economic and education betterment of disadvantaged populations. However, there are scarce projects on features and applications to enhance the power mobilization that some of these populations want in order to voice their needs and demands for betterment by themselves.

In the case of the Guatemalan movement, networked communication proved highly effective because it resonates with collective values of Mayan culture. However, there is still an interpersonal trust barrier for networking electronically with people they consider strangers. The reason for this distrust is probably linked to antecedents of repression that are still prevalent in political persecution today. Although it is expected that several of the findings in this study can

be applied to cases in other countries under similar conditions (i.e., emergent democracies, developing countries, multicultural societies), it is important to conduct more case studies with other marginalized populations that allow validation, comparison, and extension of this research.

APPENDICES

Interview guides

Interview Guide 1: For Movement Organizers and Allies

I   Questions about goals of the movement
1. What are the main goals of your movement regarding the mining issue?
2. What is/are the main message/s you want to convey to different interlocutors?

II   Questions about the use of communication
3. Do you use communication to achieve your goals? Which goals? How?
Probe: How do you get organized for the different actions? (e.g., community consultations)
How do you communicate to mobilize support from external sources? (e.g., international networks)
How do you use communicationto influence the political agenda? (e.g., protests, dialogue tables)
4. Which types of communication (interpersonal, group, mediated) do you use for this _____ (specific action/message sent)? Why?
5. Which types of media do you use for this _____ (specific action/message)? How? Why?
Probe: Mention specific types of media/ technologies: Internet? Website? Emails? Facebook or other similar media? Cellphone? TV? Radio? Any other media/technology I haven't mentioned?
6. How do you build your networks to mobilize support? The local, national and global support and allies you have is product of any of your actions? How? Why?
7. Sometimes you have performed actions more oriented to dialogue and others oriented to pressure with political authorities? Why? What have been more effective?
8. Has your communication changed in different moments or stages of the movement? How?

III   Questions about the success/outcomes of communication to achieve their goals
9. Has this_____ communication action you just described been successful so far? Why?
Probe: (If not mentioned, ask directly about: community consultations, dialogue tables, road blocking, local and international networks, web site and social media, email, cellphone, media coverage.
10. Do you think these actions have enhanced some skills for participants, for example, for using communication media, developing civic engagement, higher levels of social organization and participation? Any other? How? Why? Are there any undesirable consequences? How? Why?

Interview Guide 2: Legislators, Government, International Government, Corporation

I   Questions about the success/outcomes of the movement's communication
1. According to you, what have been your effective and ineffective communication experiences? Why?

2. What is the status of the issue now? What are the main points of the negotiation now?
3. News media report that the movement is gaining power? Do you think that is true? If so, why?
4. And, if so, what do you believe are the likely outcomes of the movement gaining power?
5. What is the next step going to be in the negotiation?
6. What would make the dialogue and negotiation processes more effective? Why?

Table 3. Participants interviewed during predissertation and dissertation fieldwork. 2009 – 2012.

No.	Date	Interviewee
1	05/14/09	Local human rights advocate
2	05/14/09	Industry Chamber Consultant
3	12/14/9	Catholic church leader
4	12/14/9	Mayan leader
5	05/14/9	Environmental Activist /community organizer– Capital city – working with nascent groups
6	05/17/09	Government mediator / Director of the National Dialogue System
7	05/18/0	Mayan leader/ national peasant organizer
8	05/19/9	International Social Advocate
9	11/11/11	International Cooperation Director
10	09/01/10	IGO Official
11	03/01/11	Government Official for National Dialogue System
12	11/16/11	Scientist, International Expert
13	12/12/11	Representative Governmental Commission Human Rights
14	12/02/11	Dir Comm Mining Company
15	12/02/11	Director Urban newspaper / TV news program
16	12/08/11	Scholar / Researcher in Territory and Indigenous Rights
17	12/12/11	Environmental expert / activist / NGO director
18	13/12/11	Director Newspaper/ TV reports program
19	15/12/11	Government official – Secretary of Energy and Mining
20	15/12/11	Government representative for Transparency in charge of Extractive Transparency Program (funded by WB) = IETI
21	22/12/11	Representative United Nations (human rights)
22	22/12/11	Transnational mining corporation – local subsidiary manager

Table 3 (cont'd)		
23	01/09/12	International governmental organization financing extractive projects
24	01/06/12	Communication organizer – Mayan community group
25	03/30/12	Peasants organizer
26	11/24/12	Congressman – left wing party
27	11/24/12	Congressman - right wing party
28	07/27/12	Executive transnational mining company - headquarters office

Table 4. Timeframe of relevant events related to mining and natural resources exploitation issue in Guatemala. 1996 – 2012.

Date	Event	Comments
1996 -1998		
Jun/96	June 5, Guatemala ratifies the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention No. 169 – International Labour Organization Convention, also known as ILO-convention 169, which recognizes the prior and informed consultation to indigenous people	
Jun/97	On June 18 comes into force the Mining Law, Decree 48-97 under President Alvaro Arzú's administration (1996 - 2000).	The Mining Law does not recognizes prior and informed consultation to indigenous people as it was ratified by Guatemala in the ILO-convention 169. One of the main changes is the royalties decrease. President Alvaro Arzú's administration.
1998	Exploration license granted to Montana Exploradora (owned by the transnational mining company Glamis, which was then acquired by Goldcorp, Inc).	
2004		
2003	President Portillo's administration grants first exploration and exploitation licenses under the new law. Marlin Mine explotation license granted. Opposition starts in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, San Marcos.	First opposition expressions. San Marcos' Archbishop Alvaro Ramazinni leading protests against mining.
2004		
	Marlin project begins construction phase in San Marcos.	
2005		

Table 4 (cont'd)		
Jan 11/05	First massive march against Marlin Mine. Blocked road at Los Encuentros. Ends up in riots. Government unleashed the security forces . **A peasant dead and 16 gravely wounded.** Community leaders charged with terrorism and sedition.	
May-June/05	First *Consultas Comunitarias* (community consultations): Comitancillo, May – Sipacapa, June 18. San Marcos.	
August/05	Oscar Berger's administration grants more licenses.	Accepts the need for consultation but does not do it, leaving this role to the communities, companies and NGO's.
October/05	Marlin Mine starts extracting gold and silver.	
2007		
2007	Provisional measures to Guatemala because potential harm of Marlin Mine to people and environment, from the Inter American Commission of Human Rights, ICHR(1566-07).	Government responds in 2008. Tries to implement the regulations of Consultas but failed because did not consult any social organization. The bottom line problem was the lack of community consultation but ended up being about water and the company showed no harm, so the measures were withdrawn.
2007	Guatemalan Constitutional Court rules regarding to consultas but Congress has not done anything about it until now	
2008		
	Upheavals and riots of Maya-cackchiqueles communities at San Juan Sacatepéquez against Cement Mine -CEMPRO. Arrest warrants against protesters.	- Main complaints: Harm to roses plantations, noise, dust, potential problems to the

Table 4 (cont'd)		aquifers stratum - Ineffective management from government exacerbates conflict. - OIT reported moral sanction - But the company had not even started operation, which discredited the opposing leadership. - However, the conflict stayed and community became highly polarized -Criminalization of protests strategy started
2009		
	New march against cement mine at San Juan Sacatepéquez end up in riots. **A community protester died.** Military operative with 2,500 agents. State of Siege.	-Criminalization of protests continues -First military intervention
	Government installs a mesa de diálogo (dialogue table) to follow up precautionary measures of ICHR.	
2010		
June 22	UN indigenous rights rapporteur, James Anaya visits Zaculeu, Huehuetenango and agrees to report the complaints and petitions of nine villages visited: Mames, Qanjobales, Aguacatecos, Chalchitecos, Poptíes, Tectititecos, Kichés, Chujes y Mestizos.	
Nov 2010 – Mar 2011	Boom of consultas comunitarias.	
2010 – 2011	Government suspends all licenses processes (173 licenses pending).	
2011		
Feb 22 2011	Government proposes a consultas comunitarias	

Table 4 (cont'd)		
	regulation. Great opposition from communities claiming they were never consulted.	
23 Feb 2011	On February 23, first united and massive Mayan demonstration against consultas Comunitarias regulation at the Central Plaza, Guatemala city.	
	Upheavals at San Juan Cotzal, Quiché, caused by people's opposition to a hydroelectric project.	
July 17 2011	First consultas comunitaria in Ixil indigenous territory, Santa Rosa.	
July (note jul 13)	Presidential campaigns including mining issue. - Candidates H. Caballeros and R. Menchu offer royalties of 50% - Candidate S. Torres states "no to mining" -OPM offers listening to communities and offers to increase royalties	
Oct 25/11	Montana's (Marlin Mine corporation) manager presents water report stating that there is no negative effect on water .	
Nov 16/11	CPO's public event: Informe Agua, Aire, Tierra (Water, Air, Soil Report)	
Jan /12	New government takes office, including Minister Archila as Minister of Energy and Mining. His family owns several news media.	
Feb /20/12	Montana CEO and Mining Chamber representative, M. Marroquin announces "friendly increased royalties agreement" to be official on Jan 27.	No reactions or alternative sources cited on the news coverage.
	Center for the Mining and Energy Studies-USAC announces launch of Guide for Mining Development (colombian scholar authorship)	
2012		
03/05/12	Columnists-journalists Sylvia Gereda y Pedro Trujillo launch political and economic elites strategy: "communities are manipulated by international organizations and Scandinavian governments". Another messages are: "those people	Mayan manipulated strategy Protest criminalization strategy

Table 4 (cont'd)		
	are criminals," "they are paid for protesting," "don't allow to get criminals out from jail, they deserve it"	
Mar 12/2012	The Consejo de Pueblos de Occidente (Western Peoples Council) lodges a constitutional appeal against the Mining Law (decree 48-97) because violates the ILO-convention 169 by failing to recognize the right of indigenous people to prior and informed consultation.	
Mar 14/12	Consulta in Chinique, Quiché	
Mar 27/12	Peasant March: mining issue incorporated.	
Apr 20/12	Emerging theme: Mining fund.	
Apr 25/12	CPO expresses support to San Juan Sacatepéquez (cackchiqueles population) against military detachment installed by the government.	- Mayan groups show more initiative and action to unite their efforts instead of remain separated.
May 1/12	Crisis in Santa Cruz Barillas, Huehuetenango. Community uprising against a hydroelectric project ended in riots. A **community member murdered** presumably by a company's security employee. Angry community attacked the military base. Government responded with repression using strategies similar to those from the civil war in the 1960s – 1980's and declared state of siege (for two weeks). Many community leaders were arrested and persecuted. Communities launched the campaign: "Todas y todos somos Barillas" with peaceful walks. Catholic Pastoral Letter from Archbishopric of Huehuetenango denouncing repressive actions from authorities and benefiting corporations, and demanding respect for the Mayan cosmovision of the value of nature, and urging for effective dialogue.	- Context and evolution of situation similar to others: lack of dialogue and negotiation, a trigger event sparkles community uprising, peasants dead, government repression, leaders arrested or persecuted. - Media coverage superficial: not enough investigation, except for a couple of media. - Government, economic elites and urban public opinion say that communities are manipulated by NGO's and foreign money financing leaders. - Reactions from different segments of

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Table 4 (cont'd)		
		population (e.g., rural and urban) evidences polarization regarding this topic.
May 14/2012	Human Rights Attorney Office shows a social conflict map: 82 latent conflicts in 13 departments related to communities against mining and natural resources management and exploitation.	
	Archbishop Ramazzinni, key leader of antimining movement in San Marcos is moved by the Vatican to Huehuetenango.	
May 15/2012	Peaceful Walking "Todos y Todas somos Barillas" led by all the leaders from different Mayan groups. Rejected state of siege and demanded cancellation of natural resources exploitation, liberation of arrested leaders and stop authorities' repressive actions against communities.	Communities maintain peaceful attitude: "Let's walk with calm and joy because this is our territory." They stated that the Barillas crisis was a consequence of the lack of dialogue and authorities denial to communities demands.
	Government announces new agreements with Chile and Mexico to receive expert advice regarding mining industry.	
May 21/12	UN representative, Brunori, states that social conflict cannot be solved through repression and state of siege, urges to despolitization to *consultas comunitarias*.	
	Government launches Commission of Dialogue and Miguel Angel Balcarcel as commissioner.	
May 22/2	San José del Golfo, Guatemala. Commumities block entrance to the mining project El Tambor.	Mine's CEO states that it is a short project (5-7 years) committed to reforest the area after finishing. Community's leader Yoli Orqueli says they are tired of mine's outrages and not being listened.

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Table 4 (cont'd)		
May 23/12	Peasants denounce that their protest two months before (in March 2012) does not bring any result. Government says cannot cancel mining licenses but revising legislation.	
May 25/ 12	UN relator for the protection and promotion of the public opinion and expression freedom denounce raids to community radios.	
June 12/12	**Mayan leader from Kiche is murdered.**	
	San José del Golfo's antimining leader, **Yolanda Oquelí injured in violent attack.**	
June 16/2012	Minister of Energy and Mining announces 12 licenses granted and 1777 to come. Government announces at eeting at American-Guatemalan Commerce Chamber more mining licenses and projects to come.	
June 20/12	Environmental organization CALAS' press conference denouncing negative facts from the Bosco mining project in Casillas, Santa Rosa.	
June 21/12	Ministry of Energy and Mining, MEM, promotes revision of the Mining Law.	
June 26/12	Extractive industries association publishes a news release on mass newspapers stating that the state has to observe the law and grant the pending licenses.	
July 20/12	Public hearing before the Constitutional Court regarding the constitutional appeal against the mining law lodged by CPO in March 2012.	Constitutional Court avoids sentencing (and has not done it when this manuscript is written, December 2012).
Aug 29/2012	Canadian legislative and diplomatic officers visit Guatemala sponsored by Goldcorp Inc.	
Sep 17/2012	Road blocking: community states they do not want El Tambor mining project (San Rafael Las Flores, Santa Rosa). Government sends "antimotines" (special order force). The blocking becomes riot, several community protestants imprisoned.	Lack of dialogue. Same violent outcomes.
Oct 2/2012	President Perez proposes changes to Mining Law to the Congress.	35 articles with changes. None related to

Table 4 (cont'd)		
		recognize indigenous consultation.
	Mining Minister states that there is no need to indigenous consultation in that law.	
Oct 4/2012	Alaska, Totonicapán. Road blocking against hydroelectric plants (among others). **Seven people murdered** by army members, supposedly.	
Oct 18/2012	MEM introduces the revised mining law. It excludes the consultas comunitarias issue because "this is not the place to regulate it," the Ministry of Energy and Mining asserted.	
Oct 29/2012	Tajumulco and Malacatán, San Marcos. Road blocking in protest against incrased fee to electricity service. Eight hostages: government and police officers and corporation employees.	
Nov 11/2012	Consulta in Mataquescuintla against Minera San Rafael Las Flores. Constitutional Court invalidates the consulta.	
Nov 13-28/2012	La Puya. San José del Golfo: mobilized groups block the road.	
Nov 13/2012	Mining and hydroelectric companies start using paid notes on newspapers to establish their position. E.g., Mining Company Kappes, Cassiday & Associates publishes a paid note on newspaper (Prensa Libre) stating that mining means development for San José del Golfo, but some interest groups are manipulated by polarizing organizations. The note emphasizes that the company are open to dialogue with the communities.	
Nov 16/ 2012	Western Peoples Council, CPO, launches new electronic bulletin.	
Nov 18/2012	Disturbs against mining in Mataquescuintla, Jalapa. Community says they do not listen their demands. Riot fires trucks and steels dynamite from a company truck.	
Nov 20/2012	Telecommunications Law changes passed.	

Table 4 (cont'd)		
	Indigenous communities excluded from new radio and television spaces. Rest of frequencies remain as in the past for another 15 years. Oligopoly.	
Dec 4/2012	CALAS, PLURIJUR, and FREDEMI introduce a demand against Marlin Mine.	Front page on Prensa Libre.
Dec 7/2012 Dec 7/2012	National Civil Police (PNC) arrived to the blocked road in La Puya. San José del Golfo, to evict those who blocked the entrance to the mine. They had asked for government mediation but government kept silent until this moment, only sending PNC.	The protesters lay on the floor to prevent passage to security forces. After negotiating, the security forces committed to not allow anybody to enter to the mine. Governmental authorities said that they will mediate the opening of dialogue between the community and the mining company the following Monday, december 10 (protesters are asking for dialogue since nine months before, in March 2012, when they started blocking the entrance to the mine).
Dec 10/2012	A convergence of human rights organization in Guatemala (Convergencia por los Derechos Humanos) celebrated a public forum to commemorate the 64th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, denouncing the criminalization of human rights advocates, especially related to the natural resources issue. They asked for effective dialogue and negotiation mechanisms.	
Dec 17/2012	Paid note on newspaper (Prensa Libre) signed by Energy Generators Association stating they want dialogue with communities in Barillas, Huehuetenango to stop violence.	

Table 5. Communication toolbox evolution of the Mayan socioenvironmental movement in Guatemala. 2005 - 2012.

Medium/ activity	Description / Main purpose	Period of usage from 2005 to 2012								Relevant mobilization outcome
		05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	
Community assemblies	**Ancestral practice. Formal periodic meetings. Led by a community authority. Each community assembly starts with a Mayan ceremony. Vital for group cohesion and collective efficacy.** Information sharing. Coordination of collective action and resources sharing (i.e., *consultas comunitarias)* Collective decision making. Collective validation of new allies and support networks. Information, catharsis, group solidarity and collective strategies during critical events (e.g., leaders' persecution assassinations, etc.). Articulation of support at local level.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Group cohesion Group coordination Collective identity building Collective discourse building Collective efficacy Stamina Civic engagement Local network building/ maintenance /expansion Social capital
Community gatherings	**Local informal meetings. Led by a legitimate community leader.** Information sharing.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Group cohesion Membership Collective

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Table 5 (cont'd)

	Resources sharing for collective actions.

Follow ups of collective decisions and actions defined in community assemblies.

Follow ups for *consulta comunitaria*.

Articulation of support (network building /enhancement) at local level. | | | | | | | | | efficacy

Stamina

Civic engagement

Network building/ maintenance /expansion

Social capital |
| **Handmade murals** | **Paintings or collages made by**

community members portraying central movement messages using local symbols. Usually allocated at central park, public building, schools.

Diffusion of slogan and key messages to the public.

Make public complaints. | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | Group cohesion

Membership

Stamina

Collective identity building

Civic engagement

Local network building/ maintenance /expansion |
| **Handmade banners** | **Piece of paper or cloth displaying key messages using local symbols.**

Consultas comunitarias announcements.

Diffusion of slogan and key | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | Group cohesion

Membership

Stamina

Collective identity |

Table 5 (cont'd)

	messages to the public. Make public complaints.									building Civic engagement Network building/ maintenance /expansion
Printed newsletters	**Diverse group-specific printed periodical bulletin circulated to members.** Information sharing. Collective action updates. Diffusion of slogan and key messages to the public. Make public complaints. Articulation of support (network building /enhancement) at local, national, and international level.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Membership Group cohesion Stamina Collective identity building Civic engagement Collective discourse building Multi-sited network building/ maintenance /expansion Social capital
Loudspeaker/ microphone	**Speaker device used in group gatherings or demonstrations. Rotates among various members (usually leaders). Using the**	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Stamina Group cohesion Group

Table 5 (cont'd)										
	speaker is a symbol of shared authority and group membership. A foreigner has to ask permission to take the turn. Leadership during group gatherings and collective actions. Diffusion of information.										coordination Collective discourse building. Membership Civic engagement
Community radios	**Radios administered by the community broadcasting local-interest content.** Diffusion of key messages. Information sharing. Citizen journalism. Live transmissions of *consultas comunitarias* and other collective actions (usually through cellphones). Make public complaints. Articulation of support (network building /enhancement) at local level.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Membership Group cohesion Collective identity building Collective discouse building Collective efficacy Civic engagement Local network building/ maintenance /expansion Social capital

Table 5 (cont'd)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Mass media publicity: press releases, press conferences, meetings with columnists	**Media relations activities or outlets used to generate publicity on national and international mass media.** Establish position. Diffusion of key messages. Information and updates about *consultas comunitarias* and other collective actions. Make public complaints, especially about legal actions and increasing persecution, intimidation, and assassinations of leaders associated with mining and natural resources defense. Position legitimate leaders. Obtain attention from international press and potential international allies. Influence the mass public and public opinion. Articulation of support (network building /enhancement) at local, national, and international level.							X	X	Membership Collective identity building Collective discouse building Collective efficacy Influence on media agenda, press agenda, public opinion, mining companies agenda, and political agenda Multi-sited network building/ maintenance /expansion
Email	**First electronic outlet implemented for mobilization purposes. Mainly used by leaders and communication coordinators.**	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Group cohesion Stamina Group coordination

Table 5 (cont'd)											
	Initiate/ maintain communications with local, national and international partners (especially those geographically distant). Information sharing with current or potential members and allies, academics, activists, journalists and other interested publics (local, national and international). Coordination for *consultas comunitarias* and other collective actions. Coordinataion with local, national and international observers and journalists for *consultas comunitarias* and other collective action. Information gathering and coordination of technical studies with local, national and international activists, NGO's, academics and scientists. Diffusion of press releases, blog notes and electronic newsletters. Denounces of human rights violation, persecution, and assassinations. Media outreach: to coordinate interviews, news coverage, etc.										Collective efficacy Influence on media agenda, press agenda, public opinion, mining companies agenda, and political agenda Multi-sited etwork building/ maintenance /expansion Social capital

Table 5 (cont'd)										
	Articulation of support (network building /enhancement) at local, national, and international level.									
Cellphone	**Main electronic outlet for interpersonal communication. Used for basic phone functions (calls and SMS). A few leaders started using smart phones.** Coordination of *consultas comunitarias* and other collective actions. Citizen journalism: community members transmit live to community radios as correspondents. Media outreach: to coordinate interviews, news coverage, etc. In-group network enhancement: main communication channel among members and allies, especially when geographically distant. Articulation of support (network building /enhancement) at local, national, and international level.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Membership Group cohesion Stamina Group coordination Collective identity building Collective discourse building Collective efficacy Civic engagement Influence on media agenda, press agenda, public opinion, companies agenda, and political agenda Multi-sited network building/ maintenance

Table 5 (cont'd)										/expansion
										Social capital
Blog	**CPO institutional blog. Used as website to portray the "official" and united position about an issue or event to the broad public. There are also other group-specific blogs. Mainly used to disseminate information. Rarely used for discussion or exchange.** Diffusion of information to the network members and to the general public, regarding *consultas comunitarias* and other collective actions, position statements, legal actions, other countries' information, etc. Denounces of human rights violation, persecution, and assassinations. Pictures sharing, evidencing collective actions (peaceful protests) or persecution (e.g., military intervention in Barillas in 2012).						X	X	Membership Group cohesion Collective identity building Collective discourse building Collective efficacy Civic engagement Influence on media agenda, press agenda, public opinion, mining companies agenda, and political agenda Network building/ maintenance /expansion Social capital
Facebook	**Increasing usage since 2011. There is a CPO's institutional fan page and also other specific group's pages. Mainly used to**						X	X	Membership Group cohesion Group

Table 5 (cont'd)										
	disseminate information. Rarely used for discussion or exchange. Diffusion of information (mainly notes publishing and links sharing) to the network members regarding *consultas comunitarias* and other collective actions, position statements, legal actions, other countries' information, etc. Denounces of human rights violation, persecution, and assassinations. Pictures sharing, evidencing collective actions (peaceful protests) or persecution (e.g., military intervention in Barillas in 2012).										coordination Collective identity building Collective discouse building Collective efficacy Influence on media agenda, press agenda, public opinion, mining companies agenda, and political agenda Multi-sited network building/ maintenance /expansion Social capital
Ustream and online radios	**Diversity of audiovisual online media managed by community members. Promoted through other groups and CPO's institutional communication outlets.** Enhancement of networks with other groups locally and nationally (NGO's, universities, columnists, etc.)							X	X		Membership Group cohesion Collective discouse building Collective efficacy Influence on

Table 5 (cont'd)										
										media agenda, press agenda, public opinion, mining companies agenda, and political agenda Multi-sited network building/ maintenance /expansion Social capital
Electronic newsletter	**CPO's institutional electronic newsletter. Distributed monthly by email and posted on institutional blog and facebook page.** Information sharing. Establish institutional position. Collective actions updates. Diffusion of slogan and key messages to the public. Denunciation of increasing persecution, intimidation, and murders to leaders associated with mining and natural resources defense. Articulation of support (network building /enhancement) at local, national, and international								X	Membership Group cohesion Collective identity building Collective discourse building Collective efficacy Civic engagement Influence on media agenda, press agenda, public opinion, mining companies agenda, and political agenda

Table 5 (cont'd)	level.									Network building/ maintenance /expansion

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