Councilors and selected community leaders Perceptions found in their communicative relationships[*]

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Abstract

The democratic participation of citizens and forms of local government have changed since the 1991 Constitution, which is reflected in citizen oversight and network governance. With a qualitative approach, this work seeks, from the perspective of governance and traditional politics, to analyze the communicative relations of the councilors of Bucaramanga with the communes, based on the perceptions of the councilors of the period 201- 2019 and the community leaders. From the results obtained from the *Communication Policy* of Mazzoleni (2010) and *Citizenship* Urdaneta (2012), the predominance of relationships identified cooperation according to councilors and absence of relationship according to community leaders. It is concluded that these relationships are conditioned by direct communication, the use of means to inform and the implementation of citizen participation mechanisms.

Keywords: Citizen participation; Democracy; Political communication; Public communication; Councilors; Community leaders

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1. Introduction

The democratic participation of citizens and forms of local government have undergone a series of transformations that were evident from the Political Constitution of 1991 with the implementation of citizen participation mechanisms, political functions of the parties, emergence of models of government based on: citizen oversight, network governance and participatory democracy, and the reconfiguration of the role of the political leader. The municipal councils, bodies of political control and public management, were not alien to these changes, as new forms of relationship emerged with an emphasis on co-management and public co-management, promoting cooperation and transparency.

In this way, these changes in the modes of communication are expressed in the new form of discourse of the councilors, in the use of citizen participation mechanisms to encourage the intervention of the communities in matters of public interest, the rendering of accounts , the periodic publication of public management, the promotion of transparency practices before citizens, the incorporation of communication strategies to involve citizens in the exercise of political control and public management, and the use of information technologies to establish new communication channels.

Participation, then, appears as the axis of this type of relationship, which alludes to the idea that there is a participant citizen who decides for him, also, the public issues, as well as his governors, because "(...) it takes active part voluntarily and personally of public affairs, setting itself in motion" (Sartori, 2007, p. 174).

But how are political leaders and institutions related and communicated? Harold Laswell, from his view on propaganda and political discourse, responds that every political leader maintains a primary model of communication, called unidirectional. Thus it affirms: "(...) a convenient way to describe an act of communication is the one that arises from the answer to the following questions: who, says what, in what channel, to whom, and with what effect?" (In Moragas, 1985, p. 1). These forms of relationship are called: Political Communication and / or Public Communication. The first relates to "(...) the exchange and confrontation of the contents of public-political interest produced by the political system, the media and the citizen-elector" (Mazzoleni, 2010, p. 36); and the second, indicates "(...) the production and dissemination of messages addressed to large audiences through traditional media and new technologies" (Aguilar, 2017).

This article is the product of the research entitled: *Communicative relations between councilors and the communes of Bucaramanga within the framework of traditional politics and democratic participation*, which answers the question: how can communicate the councilors with the communes of Bucaramanga, represented in the local action boards and the local administrative boards?

In order to explain the question, the following were proposed as objectives: to analyze the communicative relations of the councilors with the communes of Bucaramanga, to know the perception that the community leaders have on the control and public management of the councilors and to determine the type of communicative relationship of the councilors with the communes of Bucaramanga.

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The theoretical basis of the project is based on the relationship between *communication* and *policy* from the perspective of Mazzoleni (2010), which establishes three actors (political system, media and citizens), and of which there are six forms of relationship. The concept of *Citizen Participation* as an integrating element of the political system and citizens is also recognized and studied; that is why it became necessary to link the role of the councilor as political leader and public servant in the framework of participation. The above without letting go the importance of the communes as a basis for participation, a scenario where mechanisms and participation activities materialize. The methodological record, the results obtained and the reflections that emerged after systematizing what was collected are also part of the document presented below.

2. Conceptual reference

2.1. Communication and politics, an indissoluble marriage

As mentioned, Gianpietro Mazzoleni proposes an indissoluble marriage between communication and politics, in which there are three actors and six flows or forms of communication. There is the political system, the media system and the citizen-elector system. But for this study only two types of flows were addressed. The first, called the political system of the citizen-elector, resulting in three forms of relationship: 1) institutions or political leaders usually inform their activity and functions to citizens; 2) personal contact: actors or political leaders for various reasons meet with citizens and speak directly with them; and 3) propaganda-publicity: is the communication mechanism used by parties, candidates or political leaders to convince citizens of their proposals or seek approval of their political management (see Mazzoleni, 2010, p. 32).

The second system, called the citizen-elector of the political system, is the response of the citizen - elector to the messages of the political system, which is materialized in three ways: 1) the vote, which is the maximum communication expression of the citizen - elector, because it expresses his will, choice and orientation; 2) the public debate: which involves the participation of citizens in political life by discussing issues and problems of general interest; and 3)direct interaction: this type of relationship refers to all the ways in which the citizen comes into contact with the political actor and expresses his feelings (see Mazzoleni, 2010, p. 33).

Of these two interactions, citizen participation is highlighted as an integrating element of the political system and citizens electors. This theoretical explanation lands in the exercise of public administration and political control carried out by the municipal councils, and the citizen participation of the communities, which appears as a scenario to give them space where they present their needs and interests through participation mechanisms, either political or citizen

In this context, two approaches are allowed. On the one hand, participation is conceived as a strategy: "(...) a means of strengthening civil society, involving the transfer to it of functions or decisions that had traditionally remained in the hands of the State or the Public Administration" (Urdaneta, 2012, p. 49). The other approach understands participation as a relational

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instrument: "(...) a means of socializing the policy that entails generating new spaces and mechanisms of articulation of the State with social subjects" (Urdaneta, 2012, p. 49). In this way, the concept alludes to the intervention of the community in public political activities as bearers of social interests in search of a common benefit.

In Colombia, citizen participation is regulated and established by Law 1757 (Statutory Law on Citizen Participation) of 2015 (Presidency of the Republic, 2015). This norm proclaimed it as a fundamental right that allows citizens to influence, considerably, in the field of public policy, and that through daily exercises of agreement, debate, consultation, deliberation and communication with State institutions consolidate citizen oversight, the social control of the public, the rendering of accounts and the joint public administration in matters that may directly affect them.

Based on this normative framework, the political systems and citizens - electors materialize their integration in activities such as open town councils, citizen oversight processes, vigilance boards, development and social control committees of public services, audits citizens of the community leaders, and the instances of citizen participation through the representation of the local administrators boards (JAL) and the community action boards (JAC). The purpose of these is to contribute to the political leaders making transparent and efficient management of public affairs.

2.2. Councilors and community leaders, participation relationships

In the case of Bucaramanga, the councilors established strategies to promote the participation of citizens in the decisions that affect them in the dimensions: economic, political, administrative, cultural and ecological. They highlight mechanisms such as the organization of community forums, the connection to the JAL community committees, the community routes in the neighborhoods and the open councils.

What role, then, do the councilors fulfill in strengthening citizen participation in the communes? The Political Constitution of 1991 (Constitutional Court, 2015) established the autonomy of the Municipal Council as an administrative body, directly linked to the Mayor's Office. Therefore, it is "(...) a public corporation, which performs as co-administrator of the Municipal Administration, which exercises functions of political control, made up of councilors directly elected by the population resident in the jurisdiction of each municipality" (Martínez, 1995, p. 97). In Bucaramanga, 19 councilors are elected.

From this definition follows one of the main characteristics of the Council. It is a space for the exercise of participatory and representative democracy, because "(...) represents the interests of citizens as subjects of rights and duties, likewise, it is a fundamental actor for the achievement of good governance and the management of the development of your municipality" (Department of National Planning, 2011, p. 20).

This gives the council two features: political leaders for their activity and party membership and public servants for their management and control of public resources.

The other side of the coin of this investigation belongs to the citizens. They find in the commune the place where the concept of Citizen Participation is embodied. The communes are the manifestation of the decentralization of the public administration, which allows the communities to participate in the municipal political life, through the generation of participation scenarios and citizen oversight. This makes decision-making close to the citizens and reinforces the associative life. In Bucaramanga there are 17 communes since 2013. It is the JACs and the JALs that embody this function of representation and participation.

In addition, a model of democratic participation is fostered in the communes that promotes, involves and empowers citizens. However, in local bumanguesa politics, the phenomenon of clientelism or traditional politics is entrenched, understood as a hierarchical and vertical relationship, marked by the presence of asymmetric transactions, that is:

> (...) who controls more resources distributes goods and grants services to subjects with less resources and status, in exchange for loyalty and political support. It is, in turn, a paradoxical relationship, since it implies reciprocity and voluntarism, but also involves exploitation and domination (Arraigada, 2013).

The opposite of this reality or the ideal is known as governance, that is, a consensual form of government and a participatory model, in which the delegation of power is consolidated, characterized by the decision-making of collective interest as a whole, in which all participate.

When carrying out this theoretical support, it can be pointed out that the Council of Bucaramanga (2014) has launched a political strategy called *The Route*, which consists of leaving the campus of Plenary to travel the city in order to observe and find out what are the most pressing needs of the communities and then make political control and give participation to them.

However, so far this proposal has not achieved the objectives set, since the image that the bumangueses of the Council have is negative. Survey Citizen Perception 2017 conducted by the *Bucaramanga How Come*, indicates that 70% of respondents have an unfavorable image, compared to 30 % who does trust. Hence, some questions arise: why a bad image of the councilors among citizens? Do the bumangueses feel involved in the management and control of the Council? And what are the forms of communication implemented by the councilors in their relationship with the communes?

3. Methodology

The previous questions were the axis of the methodological proposal that investigated the communicative relations between the councilors and the community leaders, from the approach of the citizen participation.

The methodology was based on what was proposed by Roberto Hernández Sampieri (2014) and Carlos Sandoval Casilimas (2002). Also to the methodological proposal of the work of María Fernanda Ramírez and Juliana Tabares in Medellín, which analyzed the relations of the councilors with other social actors.

From the statement it was defined that the focus of the research is qualitative. Regarding the scope of the research, this is exploratory in nature since the problem, besides being little addressed by its specificity, makes it differentiating and therefore it deserves to be located in this typology. In addition, based on the types of research reviewed by Hernández Sampieri, this was placed in the descriptive ones, since it was oriented to describe and analyze the communicative relationships and interactions of the subject-object of the research.

Regarding the information collection techniques used, the objectives mentioned above were taken into account. The documentary review was chosen to obtain information about the councilors in newspapers and Internet pages. The second technique selected was the semi-structured interview that, as a technique of analysis and collection, involves the presence of variables, that is why two were designed, one for the councilors and one for the community leaders. In this case, the categories of media, relationship-participation and communication-dissemination were specified.

Finally, a matrix or grid of qualitative analysis was proposed that served to determine the type of communicative relationship between the councilors and the community leaders of Bucaramanga. It was structured from four types of relationship according to the methodology proposed by María Fernanda Ramírez and Juliana Tabares (2011):

– Relations of cooperation: are those interactions based on mutual collaboration, where the benefits are reciprocal. The actions are support and accompaniment to each other with a vision of work for the city.

– Intermediation relations: are those interactions between two actors in which a third party intervenes that, in general, establishes the rules of the game of the relationship and defines the field of action of each one.

– Competitive relations: are those interactions based on the antagonism between the actors, which are derived from the struggle on the part of these to be located in a higher place in the structure of local government or territorial control.

– Absence of relationship: when there are no links between the actors (see Ramírez & Tabares, 2011, p. 225).

Within the analysis, the fundamental axis is citizen participation, an element of reflection on these relationships and communications. The community leaders were asked: Do you attend the means of citizen participation proposed by them? Do you feel part of the activities proposed by the councilors? Do the councilors listen to your proposals, give you participation in their public management?

While the councilors were asked: What is their relationship with the JAC and what is the incidence of these in their role as councilor? What is your relationship with the JAL and what is the incidence of these in your role as a counselor? What means of citizen participation do you implement in your relationship with the communes (JAC and JAL)? In what areas of public policy do you focus your activity and management, and with whom do you relate or communicate to execute them?

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In general, sampling was established using the non-probabilistic sample modality for convenience, according to Hernández Sampieri (2014). The selection criterion was accessibility and openness to the consultation of information, as stipulated by the Bucaramanga program, How We Go Council. For the group of Councilors, 10 members were selected, representing 50% of the Corporation. For the group of communes, the selection criteria were based, first, on the places where the councilors (selected) obtained the highest vote in the elections of October 2015 (according to the results provided by the National Registry) and second, the degree of influence exercised as a political leader or public servant. To this end, the electoral zones were crossed with the geographical division of the communes, which are 17. After this crossing, they were confronted with the data of the 10 selected councilors, of which 9 communes resulted (see table 1).

Within the second sampling criterion for the communes, the community leaders of the JAL and the JACs were taken into account, elected the elections of October 2015. The selection was made (randomly) with the database provided by the Mayor's Office Bucaramanga. 12 community leaders were chosen; this number is due to the fact that in communes 12 and 14 there were 2 councilors with the highest number of votes, respectively, and because commune 3 has the largest extension and population.

Table 1
Councilors and selected community leaders

Party of the councilors	Community leaders
4 of the Liberal Party	1 of the JAL commune 1
1 of the Democratic Pole	1 of the JAL commune 1
1 of the MAIS	1 of the JAL comuna 4
1 of Citizen Option	1 of the JAL commune 5
1 of the Democratic Center	1 of the JAL commune 11
1 of ASI	2 of the JAL and JAC commune 12
1 Radical Change	1 of the JAL commune 1
	1 of the JAC commune 14
	1 of the JAL commune 16
	1 of the JAL commune 17

4. Results

In thecategory of *Relation,* in the questionnaire applied to the councilors, in front of the question what was their relationship with JACs and JALs and their incidence in them: two indicated that they are accompaniment point; two, management support; two, give voice to community leaders, and two others argued that advocacy is listening to them? However, of the ten councilors, six affirmed that within the communes there are political forces that hinder this relationship and incidence.

When going to the mechanisms of citizen participation, the councilors pointed to the same horizon: the community tables. Other mechanisms mentioned were: open council (six times), communal conservatories (two), community meetings (two), and neighborhood visits (three).

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On how or how to communicate the work done by the councilors, eight councilors agreed that they do so with the support of their technical or communication units and that of the Council's Press Office. The other two highlighted the implementation of a network and content plan. When asked about what they use the media for, six of the ten councilors said they use them to make visible or show the work, management and control they do. Three use them as tools of relationship with the community and one does so to inform or communicate (see table 2).

In story that applied to community leaders questionnaire can be noted that in the category of *Perception management, control and work of the councilors*, agree in their opinion and the they qualify as deficient. Eight of the twelve community members have this perception, giving them characteristics such as: mediocre, terrible, complicated, mild or half-hearted and sporadic. The other four describe it as good, but mention that the councilors lack commitment to the community.

In the category on the *Citizen Participation* three questions were designed to investigate the assistance to the mechanisms, the perception of participation and the listening of the council members to the community. About the first variable (assistance), nine community members indicated that they did attend and three that did not. However, there are disagreements such as that the communes feel orphaned by councilors, that petitions remain on paper, that there are political affiliations and that management falls short.

When asked if they feel involved in the activities proposed by councilors, nine out of twelve community leaders acknowledge that they do not feel they are participating, because they believe that this management remains on paper or in a photo. However, the remaining three gave a yes in response. In the third question of this category, ten community members agreed that the councilors listen to the proposals presented by the JACs and JALs, but they also affirmed that these proposals do not go beyond the management and only remain in promises or commitments (see table 3).

By crossing the two perceptions in a matrix of analysis, these were the results of the councilors and community leaders. According to the corporates *the communicative relations* that predominate in the two chosen categories are cooperation. In this, they indicated that joint work, good feedback through communication channels and the implementation of citizen participation mechanisms are the way to advance in the management and political control. The way in which this relationship occurs was also highlighted: the councilors go to the commune, meet with the community members and the community, hold community meetings and from there there is a list of demands according to the needs of the community.

In view of the perspective of *the communicative relations* from the citizen participation presented by the community leaders is contrary to the one manifested by the councilors. In the comuneros the typology of absence of relationship predominates, because they do not feel involved or involved in the management and control. They perceived that they are orphans of councilors, that they shine by his absence and that it is urgent the listening of the community.

Table 2

Sample of the interviews applied to the councilors.

Categories	Questions	Answers	Observations
Relationship	What is your relationship with the JAC and JAL, and what is the incidence of these in your role as a counselor? What means of citizen participation do you implement in your relationship with the communes (JAC and JAL)? While the councilors were asked: What is their relationship with the JAC and what is the incidence of these in their role as councilor? What is your relationship with the JAL and what is the incidence of these in your role as a counselor? What means of citizen participation do you implement in your relationship with the communes (JAC and JAL)? In what areas of public policy do you focus your activity and management, and with whom do you relate or communicate to execute them?	R/: With the local administration boards or the community leaders we have been making a connection, since each one has a series of very marked interests in front of their community and they have a very high expectation of the council, because they believe that the council must solve everything, they believe that the council has a checkbook, which has a pen to authorize. We must be clear that we do not administer public monies, we do political control, and as a control tool we receive all the concerns and requests of the community to work for them. R/: Every time we visit, we open 5 or 6 topics where the axes of each community are located. Each leader makes a summary of what he collects and gives it to us, then we turn it into a right of petition and the administration is required to respond. R /: In some communes we have managed to introduce, but I am clear that from the council we have led social campaigns such as gangsterism, drug addiction, micro-trafficking, and with many of these local boards we have worked together these issues, as well as schools of parents and work community with young people. My work with the meetings has been a resocialization work in the community.	Relations with the JAC and JAL, are controversial, because, according to the mayor, local representatives are not clear about the function that the Council performs. The councilor recognizes himself as a bridge or mediator to receive the concerns and requests. This is materialized in the visits and in the drafting of request rights. Regarding Public Policy, the process is not well established, but progress is made on issues such as child protection, micro-trafficking and Parent School.
Communication, media and dissemination	What means or channels do you use to communicate your management, political control, performance and accountability of your activity?	R/: Communication is difficult because each commune has some political sponsors and those sponsors tie the community, so entering is not easy, and also spreading the ideas and activities that one leads becomes more limited because they are people with a stipulated scheme. What is being done is diffusion through social networks, and the one that does not have them, then, through the radio or through a pamphlet. And it is very complex because when you go to a commune you only touch 30 or 20 percent of the inhabitants of the sector, pretending to reach the whole community, spread and that everyone finds out is very difficult.	The council recognizes that in the communes there is presence of other movements and political parties that make diffusion complex. However, it maintains the dissemination of direct information and social networks in order to reach the largest possible population. Go to other media such as the radio, community visits, voice-over or pamphlets.

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Question	Response	Notes
What are the means of communication used to relate to the communes that you represent, represented in JACs and JALs?	R/: Our first tool is called social networks. From a time here they took a leading role. There is a great difference between communication and information communication, for example, when reporting only one issue or account, but today's success is feedback, that is, when people participate by sending an email, or a message by inbox, of a comment in a photo or when they propose something, and then communication is effective. We are clear about a communication plan on the topic of social networks: Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, likewise, we do not neglect radio, television, which is the subject of management reports. For example, when we visit a community, we take the opportunity to disseminate this report of what we have done to generate spaces for approaching the community and providing information. That would be the same channels to communicate with the JAC and JAL.	The difference between communicating and informing is clear. It qualifies the media it uses as effective and relevant, of which the most active is the Facebook Fanpage. It works with a support team, who feed the contents of networks or manage spaces in stations and television channels. The same strategy used for JAC and JAL.
Are these means, channels or forms of communication sufficient for good feedback with the communities?	R /: Today it is not easy to have feedback, a photo can have a thousand views up to 10 thousand views; Of those about 500 I like, and of those 40 people who comment, some to offend others to congratulate. At least there is a bad or good effect. But our concern is that there is a segment of the population that does not have access to the media, which is equivalent to 30 or 40 percent, it feeds from voice to voice and that is not controllable, because it is not guaranteed information that is issued and that is very dangerous. It is an uncontrollable fragment that cannot be handled.	Likewise, it has invested time and resources to maintain good management of networks and media, considering them as bridges to maintain the image, leadership and validity of political and social work. Explain why each social network can be useful.
Are these means, channels or forms of communication relevant for clear and understandable communication?	R/: They are effective for the population segment we are working with, because they do not respond so we know they see it and there is a guarantee that they saw it. But there is a very high number of the population that does not know these means, does not have those channels and that is where it becomes dangerous, because they live on the rumor and that is not controlled. Twitter is political, Facebook is a novel and Instagram is show business. Then according to each platform you define how you do it. On Twitter you have to be concrete and argumentative, on Facebook you touch emotions to highlight the social or the human. And Instagram is more show business, mount the photos.	
Of those media or communication channels, which are the most permanent activity to communicate?	R/: The Facebook Fanpage more than the web page. People look for it first on Facebook rather than on the website.	
How do you do to communicate your work?	R/: With my work team we communicate all the activities, what we do is feed the social networks or search spaces in media, when necessary, to let people know what we are doing.	
How do you sustain the communication link in non-electoral periods with the communes?	R/: I have maintained my network and media plan. But now that I am a counselor, he has fed more and has invested more. And there is a constant interaction.	
What do you use the media for?	R/: They are bridges to maintain our validity, to translate our vision.	

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Table 3
Sample of the interviews applied to the councilors.

Categories	Questions	Answers	Observations
General perception	What do you think about the management of the councilors of Bucaramanga in your district? How do you recognize the councilman: as a political leader, a public servant, an opinion leader, a proselytizer, a community leader?	R/: Well the truth is wrong, I have not seen them do anything, they do not do anything, they do not, they do not go through the commune. R/: I recognize him as a political leader, because his important figure in the city, and because they are the ones who manage and seek to listen to the community, but only that.	He describes the management of the councilors as bad, because he has not seen it in his community. Although he considers the councilman as a political leader because he leads social processes to help the community.
Media	What are the means, channels or forms of communication that councilors use to relate with the commune? And how do you rate them? Do you consider that the means used by councilors are clear enough to communicate with the community? What are the alternative communication channels used by councilors to communicate, for example: megaphone, billboard, voice to speech, flyers, community meetings, email, letters?	R/: Usually they call you one. The secretary of the councilor calls one and tells him that there is a meeting or an event to touch certain issues and then one attends. That seems good to me, but we want more commitment to the community, not only to communicate with us, but to see actions. R /: They are clear, but that one feels a participant is something else. R/: Sometimes they have used formal invitations that come to the house as letters or a paper.	It is good that the councilors communicate with them, through a call, a message, a formal invitation, but does not feel part of the work of the councilors in the commune.
Citizen participation	Do you attend the means of citizen participation proposed by them? Do you feel part of the activities proposed by the councilors? Do the councilors listen to your proposals, give you participation in their public management?	R/: I have participated when they make calls, but as I said we want to feel more fully in the management, to take us into account. R/: I do not feel like a participant, although I attend events, you do not feel like a participant. R/: That they listen to us yes because they are interested, but that the comply is something else, that stays on paper. However, it is up to one to beg and visit the council to be heard. They only communicate when they need a favor. Even with my fingers I can count the few times they have visited the commune.	The community leader has participated in the meetings and calls made by the councilors, but does not feel a participant, since the councilors do not take them into account and he has to be behind them to be heard.

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5. Conclusions

From the data and information analyzed, it can be noted that the most outstanding trend, according to Ramírez & Tabares (2011), corresponds to the type of cooperation relations, which highlight the importance of JALs and JAC for an adequate social management of the city. This typology refers to what the new forms of government, control and management have called democratic participation or governance, therefore council-commune relations are given the framework of this.

However, based on the perception of community leaders, the type of relationship changes, since they identify the absence or problems in the relations with the councilors because they do not feel they are participating, they are not listened to, that is why their sense of orphanage and abandonment in participation and joint community work.

From this contrast of perception are two ways of understanding citizen participation. The councilors recognize citizen participation, in the perspective of Urdaneta (2012), as a *relational instrument*, because in their management and administration they have established an organized program that seeks the execution of public resources for the solution to the problems posed by the community, all this with the support and help of the JAC and JAL. In addition, according to them, the community tables have been the most used participation mechanism, as well as the open town hall.

The view of community leaders on participation is merely operational and is not spelled out as a means of strengthening civil society in decision-making on issues of common interest, as pointed out by Urdaneta (2012). They consider that despite visits, community tables, open meetings, neighborhood tours, they are not taken into account and participation (and their voice) remains on paper. Likewise, they admit that their proposals are heard, but not reflected in the petitions so that the Mayor's Office, the Interior or the corresponding entity manage and execute the resources.

Councilors and community leaders agree that the communication that occurs between them is a direct relationship, as expressed by Gianpietro Mazzoleni (2010) in the classification of flows and forms of political communication, understanding this type of relationship such as the personal contact of political actors with citizens for various reasons, a direct dialogue between citizens to express their feelings and the needs they have.

In addition, the councilors consider that the use of the media and for what is oriented to information and dissemination of their activities is configured, then, in a unidirectional communication that seeks to send messages without any feedback, but with a purpose: to consolidate its image in the citizens, as stated in the paradigm of Laswell: "Who, says what, in what channel, to whom, and with what effect?" (Moragas, 1985).

Finally, although the Council, according to the Colombian Political Constitution, is an representative body, that is, it represents the interests of citizens as subjects of rights and duties to achieve good governance and the management of the development of their municipality, promoting civic participation among citizens, community leaders do not recognize it as such and perceive councilors as simple political leaders who represent their particular ideals and interests and do not strengthen governance or network governance.

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