

The role of social media in the rise of the Mexican Social Movement

#YoSoy132



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“In all cases in history social movements are triggered by emotions. These emotions are sheared collectively through a process of communication”. Castells, 2014

“I look at them (social media) more like an extension of human capacity. They don’t generate new human capacities or new necessities, they just extend and magnify them, and this creates new tonalities. There are no new colors coming out of the social media, there is only one palette of colors, what you do with it is up to you” Brito, 2014

CONTENT

Content.....	
Acronyms.....	
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
The case of the study and it's context.....	3
The #Yosoy132 movement	3
Media in Mexico	6
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework.....	8
Social Movement	8
Weak and Strong Ties.....	11
Vertical vs. horizontal structure.....	12
Social Media	13
Public Sphere Theory.....	15
Traditional media as a public sphere	15
Internet as a public sphere	16
Agenda setting.....	18
Chapter 3: Methodology	20
Case Study.....	20
Qualitative Interviewing	21
Quantitative method - newspapers	25
Qualitative method – Newspapers	25
Ethics	26
Chapter 4: Analysis I	27
In which way were the social media used by the #YoSoy132 movement?.....	28
Emotion and identity.....	28
Organizational tools.....	31
Conclusion.....	36
Did the movement have a horizontal structure, and if so, how did this affect it?	38
Why leaderless?	38
Actually leaderless?	39
Ephemeral?	42

Control – operational and of message	43
Efficiency of the movement.....	44
Conclusion.....	46
Chapter 5: Analysis II.....	48
To what degree did the movement succeed in becoming a part of the public agenda and what role did the use social media have?	48
Social movements vs traditional media	48
The coverage of the #YoSoy132 movement – Perspectives from the interviewees.....	50
Coverage by two newspapers: La Jornada and Excelsior	52
Coverage by television	55
Significance of social media	59
How does social media expand the public sphere in Mexico?.....	61
Conclusion	62
Chapter 6: Conclusion	65
Generalization.....	69
Limitations of the thesis	69
Bibliography	70
Appendix	75

ACRONYMS

AMIPCI Asociación Mexicana de Internet

AMLO Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (candidate for the PRD party in 2012 elections)

EPN Enrique Peña Nieto (candidate for the PRI party in 2012 elections)

IFE Instituto Federal Electoral

ITAM Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

UIA Universidad Iberoamericana

INEGI Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática

PRD Partido Revolucionario Democrático

PRI Partido Revolucionario Institucional

UNAM Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

COFETEL Comisión Federal de Telecomunicaciones

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Social media has during the last ten years become an important part of the everyday life of people around the world. One can maybe argue that a large part of the use is largely for entertaining and self-promotion. However, by enabling people to communicate and publish whatever they would like to on the web, these tools have gotten a wide range of roles in society. One of the most discussed topics related to social media in the mass media has been regarding these tools role in social movements. This coverage, at least from western journalists, has tended to praise the role of the social media with words like “Facebook protests” and “Twitter protest”. The technology is given a lot of credit and hyped as promoting political change. This triggered my interest and made me wanting to find out myself. Are the social media the blessing for activism that some claim it to be? And if so, what influence do they have on the social movements?

These topics will be discussed by answering the following research questions:

- 1) In which way were the social media used by the #YoSoy132 movement?

In this question I am interested in looking at how the movement #YoSoy132 used social media as an emotional conduit. I will also look at the social media`s efficacy as an organizational tool.

- 2) Did the movement have a horizontal structure, and if so, how did this affect it?

In this question I want to understand the impact of using social media allowing a horizontal structure.

- 3) To what degree did the movement succeed in becoming a part of the public agenda and what role did the social media have?

In this question I want to investigate to what degree the movement was able to become a part of the public agenda. I will primarily do this by looking at the coverage of the traditional media like newspapers and television. I will also discuss how the social media contributed in this regard.

The first and the second question will be discussed in the Chapter 4, the question three will be discussing in the Chapter 5.

In chapter 2 I will first present the theoretical framework and the concepts that are relevant to the thesis, then I will discuss theories applied to the #Yosoy132 movement. In the study of this I will use theories and concepts related to a) Social movements, b) The public sphere, c) Agenda setting and d) Social media. The analysis will be based on a range of sources like interviews, newspaper articles, books and websites. In chapter 3 I will present the methodology used in the thesis. This includes both qualitative and quantitative methods, the method of case study and an interview guide. Chapter 4 and 5 contains the analysis of the research questions. In chapter 6 I will present the conclusions and main points.

As for why I choose this topic this was partly because the movement was formed by university students, some of them from the same area of study as my self. It is also exciting to see that these students are interested in and worried about the situation in my country, both in the politics and in the media.

THE CASE OF THE STUDY AND IT'S CONTEXT

THE #YOSOY132 MOVEMENT

The #YoSoy132 (#IAm132) movement was created by students from the Ibero-American University (UIA) in Mexico City. The movement is centered on the democratization of the country and its media. It started as a protest when the presidential candidate Enrique Peña Nieto from the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), visited their university the 11th of May 2012. The visit was part of his campaign as he was running for presidency in the election that was to be held on the 1st of July in the same year. During the speech some of the students started shouting at the candidate. Later the situation escalated and when trying to leave the candidate at one point ended up hiding in the bathroom trying to escape from the agitated crowd of students (Muños Ramirez & Desinformemonos, 2012, p. 43).

Some of the background for the anger was the so-called Atenco incident, in which then-governor of the State of Mexico, Peña Nieto, called in the state police to break up a protest by local residents. Among the consequences of this incident was the death of three civilians, 26 women reported being sexually abused and 200 people were arrested (Alcantara, 2006). During the speech Peña Nieto was asked about this incident, and as a reply he insisted that he would do it again to defend the “rule of law”. The answer provoked the students even more and as mentioned the candidate then left the campus under heavy protests. The students used their smart phones to film the incident and immediately published the happenings through social media. When Peña Nieto left the university the following hashtags were already circulating in Twitter: “#EPNlaIberoNoTeQuiere” (“#EPNtheIberoDoesntLikeYou”), “#MeEscondoEnElbañoComoPeña” (“#ImHidingInTheToiletLikePeña”). According to an overview made by Illuminati of the activity on Twitter (Illuminatilab, 2012), the first tweet had 30,337 and the second 47,000 impacts. A sample from this overview can be seen in Figur 4 Sample from Illuminati lab, trending topics in the Appendix.

The main television companies Televisa and TV Azteca did not dedicate much time to the incident. Some newspapers even published articles stating that Peña Nieto’s visit to the university had been a great success (Terra, 2012). This regarded especially to the newspapers owned by Organizacion Editorial Mexicana (OEM), a private company that

owns a news agency, 70 newspapers, 24 radio stations, one television channel and 44 internet page (OEM, 2015). Some of the newspapers did, on the other hand, try to give the impression that the protest had been started by rebels and paid people. In addition comments made by the president of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) Pedro Joaquin Coldwell did not diminish the discontent of the students. He claimed that the protests had been initiated by a handful of intolerant people and that they were possibly linked with the presidential candidate of an opposing political party, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (RECREO., 2012).

As a reaction to these accusations Rodrigo Serrano and other students from the Ibero-American University made a video where 131 students appear with their students ID's assuring: "We use our right to respond, to denounce your lies. We are not cheerleaders or thugs and nobody trained us for anything" (RECREO., 2012). They also mentioned that they were a part of the protest at the university and that they had not been paid by anybody. The students then published the video on YouTube. Six hours later it had been seen by 21,747 persons (Mauleon, 2012). The video was published the first hours on Monday 14th of May. Later the same day the hashtag "#131 alumnos de la Ibero" ("#131 students from the Ibero") became a trending topic on Twitter. As a reaction to the video the hashtag #SomosMasde131 (#wearemorethan131) starts to circulate on Twitter reaching 17,425 impacts (Illuminatilab, 2012). In order to show support to the group in the video people also started tweeting "Yo soy 132", ("I am 132"). According to the journalist Hector Mauleon, this tweet reached 2,027,811 impacts (Mauleon, 2012) (a sample can be seen in Figur 4 Sample from Illuminati lab, trending topics in the Appendix). A movement was born.

The first protest organized by the movement was held on the 18th of May. The participants represented various universities and were divided into two groups, one gathered at the Ibero-American University and marched to the offices of Televisa in Santa Fe, the other gathered at the ITAM University and marched towards Televisa's offices in San Ángel. Around 800 students attended (Poy & Saldierna, 2012). On the 19th the May a protest was arranged against Peña Nieto. The movement did not specifically organize this protest, however, they did participate. This protest was organized using Facebook and Twitter via the hashtag #MarchaAntiEPN and were held in various cities simultaneously led by students

of different colleges. In Mexico City there were at least 46,000 protesters (AnimalPolitico, 2012). On the 23rd of May the movement organized its second protest against Televisa where the main slogan was democratization of the media. This protest was announced with a poster (Figur 6 Poster for protests 23 of may in the Appendix) posted on the movement's Facebook page and mobilized around 15,000 people (Hernández & Solano, 2012). Some weeks later on the 10th of June a second protest against Peña Nieto was held with around 90,000 protesters (Ascención, 2012).

On May 23, 2012, the movement released its manifesto. An excerpt from it states:

"First – we are a nonpartisan movement of citizens. As such, we do not express support of any candidate or political party, but rather respect the plurality and diversity of this movement's participants. Our wishes and demands are centered on the defense of Mexican's freedom of expression and their right for information, in that these two elements are essential to forming an aware and participating citizenry. For the same reasons, we support informed and well thought out voting. We believe that under the present political circumstances, abstaining or making a null vote is ineffective in promoting the edification of our democracy. We are a movement committed to the country's democratization, and as such, we hold that a necessary condition for this goal is the democratization of the media. This commitment derives from the current state of the national press and from the concentration of the media outlets in few hands" (Animal Politico, 2012).

"Second – YoSoy132 is an inclusive movement which does not represent one single university. Its representation depends only on the persons who join this cause and form connections among the university committees" (Animal Politico, 2012).

MEDIA IN MEXICO

In the last two decades, the media in Mexico has changed from being authoritarian institution to a hybrid system. “The old authoritarian system was characterized by media access inequality, concentration of ownership, mark advertising and regulatory weakness. The hybrid system however shows market-driven, oligarchic, propagandistic, ideological, civic elements and diversity rather than uniformity in journalistic norm is relatively new” (Ocando, 2008, p. 131).

The dominant media in Mexico is Television. The biggest private TV companies in Mexico are Televisa and TV Azteca; these are recognized for their soap operas and large productions of entertainment. Regarding possible political ties, Televisa has been accused for having an alliance with the political party PRI and for giving their presidential candidate a favorable coverage during the 2012 presidential election campaign (Tuckman, 2012). In 1990 the network's chief Emilio Azcarraga Milmo even declared that he was “a soldier of the PRI” (Casey & Jose, 2012).

Examples of state owned channels are CanalOnce and Canal 22. These broadcasts cultural programs, reports and from time to time, debates. But compared to commercial media they do not have sufficient audience and economical resources to be able to compete. The newest private network in Mexico is CadenaTres with some cultural programs, news and American series. All of these channels have national coverage. That said, Televisa and TV Azteca still control 94% of the market share of television viewing in Mexico and are hence often called a duopoly (COFETEL, 2011, p. 5).

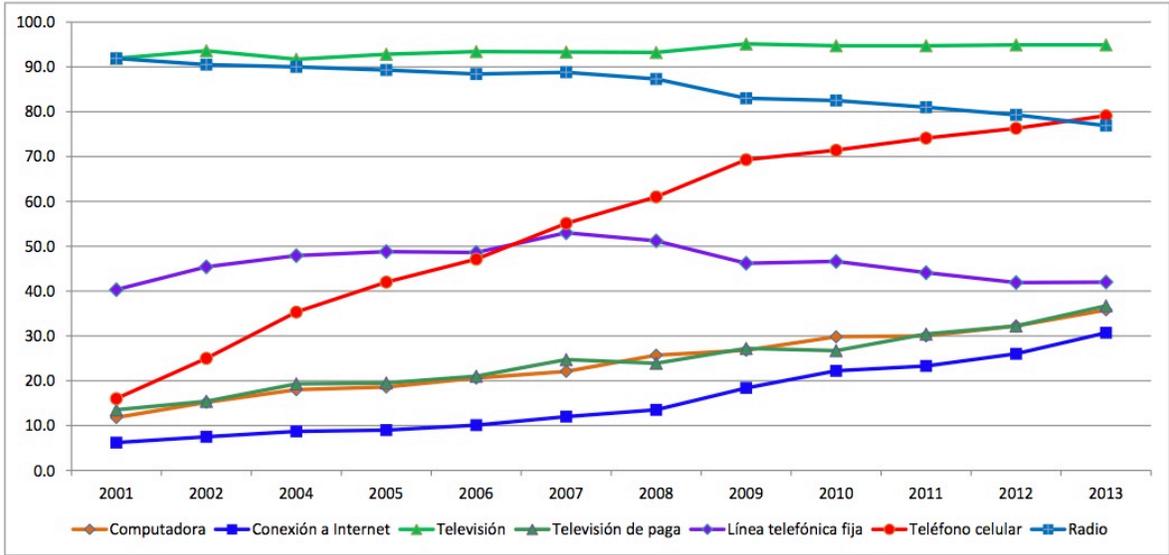
Unlike the situation of the television market, the newspaper market more diversified both in quantity and political opinions. However for people with lower incomes and residence outside the major cities it is more difficult to obtain diverse viewpoints and verified information. Access to diverse perspective in the media increases with the ability to purchase the elite press, cable and Internet in all parts of the country.

According to the National Institute Statistic and Geography (INEGI by its name in Spanish, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía) in 2013 there were almost 46 million users of

Internet in Mexico (out of a population of approximately 122 million). Most users are between the ages of 18-36 years old (INEGI, 2013). According to the Mexican Internet Association, (AMIPCI by its name in Spanish, Asociación Mexicana de Internet) 90% of the users in Internet have a Facebook account, 60% You Tube account, 56% Twitter account, and 37% have Google+ account (AMIPCI, 2012).

According to the market intelligence agency, The Competitive Intelligence Unit, Mexican mobile phone preferences are migrating to Smartphones, whose penetration in the first quarter of 2013 was 25.94% (with 26.36 million devices), this same consulting firm indicates that by the end of the year the adoption rate will be 34.7% and by the end of 2015 will reach 68% of total users in the Mexican market (The competitive intelligence Unit, 2013).

The following chart summarizes the penetration of the information technologies in Mexico between the 2000 and 2013 (INEGI, 2014):



FIGUR 1 PENETRATION OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES IN MEXICO BETWEEN 2000 AND 2013

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I will present some theoretical perspectives. First I will present some concepts and theories related to social movements. Under which circumstances do the movements emerge? And what characterizes the contemporary social movements? What kind of personal ties do we find in the social networks? I will then give a brief introduction of social media in general and a brief description of the most popular networks.

Also for having a general understanding I will present theories related to the public sphere which ultimately is the space where the social movements take place. And at last I will present some general theories of agenda setting. These will be needed when discussing to what degree the movement succeeded in becoming a part of the public agenda.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT

According to Diani, a social movement is defined as a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities (Diani, 1992, p. 1). In turn, Taylor and Whittier define a collective identity as the shared definition of a group that derives from member's common interest, experiences and solidarity (Taylor & Whittier, 1992, p. 105). For Melucci the construction of a collective identity is one of the first tasks to be dealt with during the process of mobilization, alongside "the identification of an enemy, the definition of a purpose and an object at stake in the conflict" (Melucci A., 1996, p. 292).

However, according to Castells, the first requirement for the creation of a movement is emotion. He claims that, in all cases throughout the history social movements have always been started by emotions. These emotions are sheared collectively through a process of communication (Castells, Holbergprisen, 2014). He continues by explaining that poverty or political despair is not enough for a social movement to arise. They require an emotional mobilization triggered by outrage against blatant injustice, and by hope of a possible change

as a result of examples of successful uprisings in other parts of the world, each revolt inspiring the next one by networking images and messages in the internet (Castells, 2012, p. 220).

Regarding how the movements are triggered, Castells explains that they are “most often triggered by emotions derived from some meaningful event that help the protesters to overcome fear and challenge the powers that be in spite of the danger inherent to their action” (Castells, 2012, p. 219).

As for concrete examples, Castells mentions recent social movements that have emerged in for example Iceland, Tunisia, Brasil, Turkey, Chile and Portugal. He claims that all these movements have some similarities in common, both regarding the cause of the movement and its characteristics. Related to the cause, he states that they have all been created by the emotion of the discontent of how the democracy is functioning in the respective countries (Castells, 2012). Obviously the democracy in the countries mentioned has reached different levels. On one hand, Egypt and Tunisia can hardly be called functional democracies, and some claim that the uprisings had more to do with food prices than with human rights (Paul, 2011). On the other hand, the movement in Mexico started by middle class students demanding democratization of the media. Still Castells believes that all the recent movements have one thing in common; they all want a society of more dignity. People are tired of being governed by an elite who is only protecting it’s own interests (Castells, 2014).

Regarding characteristics, Castells claims that the recent social movements (Castells, 2012, p. 221):

1. are connected in multiple forms. The use of Internet and mobile communication networks is essential. However, the network in form is multimodal. It includes social networks online and offline, as well as pre-existing social networks and networks formed during the actions of the movement. Because they are network of networks they can afford not to have an identifiable center, and yet ensure coordination functions, as well as deliberation, by interaction between multiple nodules. The dissenter structure reduces the vulnerability of the movement to the threat of repression, since they are few specific targets of repress, except for the occupy sides,

and the network can reform itself as long as there are enough participants in the movement. Networking as the movement's way of life also protects it against its own internal dangers of bureaucratization and manipulation.

2. became a movement by occupying the urban space. Although these movements usually start on the Internet, they need to reclaim the space of the city in order to become a transformative force by challenging the disciplinary institutional order.
3. are local and global at the same time. They act locally and fight for a local cause, at the same time these movements are connected throughout the world. They learn from other movements and often inspired by them.
4. are spontaneous in their origin, usually triggered by a spark of indignation either related to a specific event or to a pick of disgust with the actions of the rulers.
5. are viral, following the logic of the Internet networks.
6. are usually leaderless movements because of deep, spontaneous distrust towards any form of power delegation, this essential feature results directly from one of the causes of the movement: rejection of political representatives by the represented. Some of the participants may be more active or more influential by others, just by committing themselves fulltime to the movement. But these activists are only accepted in their role as long as they don't make major decisions by themselves.
7. have a horizontality of networks that supports cooperation and solidarity while undermining the need for formal leadership.
8. are highly self-reflective movements constantly interrogating themselves about who they are and what they want to achieve.
9. are non-violent movements. Acting peacefully is important for sustaining legitimacy.
10. are aiming at changing the values of society.
11. are very political in fundamental sense.

For the mobilization of social movements, this is according to Melucci defined as “the current sociological terms for the process by which a social movement is created and begins to take action” (Melucci A., 1996, p. 289).

WEAK AND STRONG TIES

According to Granovetter: “the “strength” of an interpersonal tie should be satisfied by the following definition: the strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie” (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1361). Regarding the weak ties developed online that some claim that these have a positive effect on activism. Others have noticed that the rapid growth in support is often followed by an even faster decline.

Regarding how weak ties can be valuable for political activism, Castells explains: “Weak ties are useful in providing information and opening up opportunities at a low cost. The advantage of the Net is that it allows the forging of weak ties with strangers, in an egalitarian pattern of interaction where social characteristics are less influential in framing, or even blocking communication” (Castells, 1996, p. 388). Granovetter adds: “Weak ties are more likely to link members of different small groups than are strong ones, which tend to be concentrated within particular groups” (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1376). Granovetter illustrates this theory by using the example of spreading a rumour: “If one tells a rumor to all his close friends, and they to likewise, many will hear the rumor for a second and third time, since those linked by strong ties tend to share friends. If the motivation to spread the rumor is dampened a bit on each wave of retelling, then the rumor moving through strong ties is much more likely to be limited to a few cliques than that going via weak ones; bridges will not be crossed” (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1366). Thus, the information is contained in one social group.

Various authors do, however, point out that weak ties are not enough to form a strong movement. Diani explains: “Sustained collective action is unlikely to originate from purely virtual ties if they are not sustained by previous interaction” (Diani, 2000, p. 394). Passy adds that “strong ties have a crucial impact on participation in social movements, mainly because they provide individuals with trust” (Passy, 2002, p. 18). And according to Passy, Pizzorno has pointed out that:

“trust is crucial to the understanding of political behaviour in situations of uncertainty. Before people join a movement organization, they are often in a state of uncertainty because they lack information and knowledge about the organization. Recruiters are usually an important channel of knowledge about the protest. When recruiters are close friends (as opposed to acquaintances), potential participants tend to trust them and to be convinced that a particular organization is the one most appropriate for conversion of their political interests into a strong degree of commitment” (Passy, 2002, p. 18).

VERTICAL VS. HORIZONTAL STRUCTURE

Through the history most of the movements have been organized in a vertical structure, normally in a homogeneous group with a stable and centralized organization represented by the idea of a party or the workers union. However, Jose Candon Mena mentions that an inclination towards a horizontal structure has existed for a while as hierarchical organization in political parties, workers unions, movements etc. has showed limited success since the seventies (Candon Mena, 2014). And now with Internet and social media it has apparently become possible to have a more horizontal structure. According to Castells: “the horizontality of networks supports cooperation and solidarity while undermining the need for formal leadership” (Castells, 2012, p. 225). As Clay Shirky presents his book “Here comes everybody” with “what happens when people are given the tools to do things together, without needing traditional organizational structures” (Fitzgerald, 2012). As to why these movements more concretely want to be leaderless Castells explains that it is not because they lack candidates, but because of a deep, spontaneous distrust towards any form of power delegation (Castells, 2012, p. 224)

However, according to Paolo Gerbaudo the adoption of social media within contemporary social movements does not allow them to become leaderless or horizontal automatically. Very much to the contrary, it is precisely through the use of social media that new forms of leadership are constructed (Gerbaudo, 2012). Gerbaudo mentions that not everybody has the same influence and that hierarchy is eliminated. At this level the leadership is diffuse rather than concentrate in one person. He also mentions that even though the movement is organized with assemblies, this doesn't transform social movements into horizontal

structure because of two reasons: 1. “Hierarchy of engagement” where decision-making bodies are in theory open to everybody, the fact is that they tend to be mostly attended by people highly involvement in the movement. 2. The intervention of highly involved and experienced participants or core organizers, who are responsible for “getting things done” (Gerbaudo, 2012). Castells admits that some members may have more influence than others, but doesn’t call them leaders: ”There are many cases where some of the participants are more active or more influential by others, just by committing themselves fulltime to the movement. But these activists are only accepted in their role as long as they don’t make major decisions by themselves” (Castells, 2012, p. 225).

SOCIAL MEDIA

For defining social media I will use the article “Social Media as communicative genre” by Stine Lomborg. In this article Lomborg describes how social media differs from forms of mass and broadcast communication in terms of a number of key characteristics:

First, compared with mass media the Internet and mobile phone allow for symmetrical communicative relations between the people interacting. Furthermore, the social media allow its users to communicate directly with each other (not through an intermediary agent like a newspaper which acts as a moderator or gatekeeper). Second, social media and the Internet, constitute a de-institutionalized/ de-professionalized space, because ordinary people and media professionals have to same possibility to produce and distribute content. Third, texts published in social media are continuously revised, and may change as different users re elaborate or re interpret them (Lomborg, 2011, p. 65).

Applied to social movements these characteristics can be useful. For communication these media allows the movement members to communicate directly. Regarding content the social media allow the movements to produce and distribute its own material. Finally, the social media allow the movement members to for example question and comment on content produced by others as for example mass media.

A quick introduction to the most popular and influential social media:

Facebook – One of the first social networks that were launched (2004) and is by far the most popular network globally. As per June 2014 it had 1.32 billion members (Facebook, 2014). The purpose of the network when developed was that the young students could use it for the purposes of flirting and friendship. Its users have to create a profile normally containing name, pictures and some personal information. You connect with others, or become “friend” via an invitation that has to be accepted by the other person. You can choose the level of privacy, i.e., whether you want your information to be visible to just your friends or with everybody. On your profile you can, in addition to text, upload pictures, videos etc. It is also possible to create groups, either purely communicative groups where you can add the friends you want to chat with, or page type groups like for example “Mexicans in Norway”. These can be either private or public.

Twitter – One of the most popular social networks with 302 million active users (Twitter, 2015). It is a micro blogging network that enables its users to send and read short 140-character messages called “tweets”. Registered users can read and post tweets, but unregistered users can only read them. On Twitter the users are not connected as friends, but rather as “followers”. If you find a person interesting you hit a button called “Follow” and you will then be notified when this person posts a new message or tweet. An important feature of Twitter is the hashtag which enables the users to tag certain words or phrases with a # sign. If you then search for this hashtag every message containing it will appear.

Twitter also has a feature of measuring the most popular topics, word or phrases. A special algorithm is used to evaluate user tweets, and this is how Twitter determines its trending topics. The topic, word or phrase is considered a trend when there is a sudden increase in the number of tweets on that topic. This is what distinguishes twitter trending topics from popular topics. A popular topic might be tweeted about for days or weeks, while a trending topic could appear and disappear in a matter of hours.

YouTube – The largest video-sharing website globally. Owned by Google. As well as uploading and watching videos, users can also leave comments on them. For common users the maximum duration of videos is 15 minutes.

PUBLIC SPHERE THEORY

TRADITIONAL MEDIA AS A PUBLIC SPHERE

Social movements are taking place within the public sphere. In order to understand their mechanisms it is hence necessary to understand the main theories and concepts of the public sphere. The media plays an important role in the public sphere. Regarding the traditional media there is a lot of scientific work and knowledge about how these media create and influence on the public sphere. Regarding the Internet based new media, however, and especially the social media there is still a general lack of understanding of how these media influence and expands the public sphere. Some work has been done; however, and in this chapter I will present some theories of recognized academics and their perspectives on the new media as well as the traditional ones.

To start with, Habermas explains how the bourgeois public sphere was developed in Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The development of the public sphere was driven by the growing bourgeois class' need of laws and predictability to protect their interests. Related to the early press, he emphasizes their central role as a forum for the public use of reason and later he identifies "the transformation from a journalism of conviction to one of commerce" as a destructive invasion of "private interest". Habermas was also one of the most important contributors to the perspective of the deliberative democracy, which settled that conversation and communication are essential in a functional democracy. Habermas defines public sphere as "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body" (Habermas, 1964). The concept stresses the active and participatory role of the public in the formation of their common opinion.

Manuel Castells is one of the writers concerned with the public sphere and social movements. He has written many books about information society, communication and globalization, and he is the most cited academic in works regarding information and communication technology. According to Castells,

"it is the interaction between citizens, civil society and the state, communicating through the public sphere, which ensures that the balance between stability and social change is

maintained in the conduct of public affairs. If citizens, civil society, or the state fail to fulfill the demands of this interaction, or if the channels of communication between two or more of the key components of the process are blocked, the whole system of representation and decision-making comes to a stalemate. A crisis of legitimacy follows because citizens do not recognize themselves in the institutions of society.” (Castells, 2008, p. 79).

According to Richard Butsch in his book *Media and Public Spheres* from 2007, commercial media present different problems for a public sphere. Butsch explains:

“Their first master is the drive for profit, which conceives media in relationship to consumers in the market rather than to citizens in a public sphere. It provides what sells rather than what informs and enables public discussion, often two different and competing types of programming, squeezing out the public sphere” (Butsch, 2007, p. 8).

INTERNET AS A PUBLIC SPHERE

According to Dahlgren, for a democracy to be functional, the interactional dimension, i.e. civic discussion is of prime importance. The theory of deliberative democracy presents an ideal as to how such a discussion should be carried out. The main idea is to have open discussion aimed at achieving rationally motivated consensus (Dahlgren, 2005, p. 156). Not surprisingly, recent research has shown that online discussions do not always follow the high ideals set for deliberative democracy (Dahlgren, 2005, p. 156). Speech is not always so rational, tolerance toward those who hold opposing views is at times wanting, and the forms of interaction are not always so civil (Wilhelm quoted in (Dahlgren, 2005)).

Castells explains how “the diffusion of internet, mobile communication, digital media, and a variety of tools of social software has prompted the development of horizontal networks of interactive communication that connect local and global in chosen time” (Castells, 2007, p. 246). He calls this interactive communication “mass self-communication”. It is mass communication because it reaches potentially a global audience, it allows many to communicate with many, and it is “self-generated in content, self-directed in emission, and self-selected in reception” (Castells, 2007, p. 248). Related to social movements, Castells

settled that the mass self-communication offers “an extraordinary medium to build their autonomy and confront the institutions of society in their own terms and around their own projects (Castells, 2007, p. 249). He also argues that the same technology offers the global civil society the possibility to exist independently from political institutions and from the mass media (Castells, 2008, p. 86). However, Castells continues, “the capacity of social movements to change the public mind still depends, to a large extent, on their ability to shape the debate in the public sphere” (Castells, 2008, p. 86).

James Bohman is another author preoccupied with the public sphere. In his book: “The Internet, The Public Sphere, and Prospects for Transnational Democracy”, he discusses how Internet expands the public sphere and how it affects democracy. He mentions that new technologies generally are met with political optimism, and that they have been believed to create an “electronic democracy” that would replace the mass media democracy.

Bohman elaborates the basic concepts and assumptions needed to analyse what kind of public sphere the new technologies are creating. He starts by stating that for a public sphere to have democratic significance it must be a forum, i.e. a social space where the participants exchange and discuss their opinions. The communicative interaction in a forum should take the form of a dialogue, i.e. manifest commitments of freedom and equality. According to Bohman a potentially misleading assumption is that this dialogue has to happen face-to-face. But for the dialogue to be public it must address an indefinite audience. In this sense, any social exclusion undermines the existence of the public sphere (Bohman, 2004). The assumption must hence be corrected.

Bohman emphasizes that a public sphere always requires the expansion of dialogue beyond face-to-face encounters and is therefore always dependent of some form of communication technology. New media can extend the forum not just in speed and scale, but also with a new form of interaction: as a many-to-many mode of communication, it has radically lowered the costs of interaction with an indefinite and potentially large audience, especially with regard to adopting the speaker role without the costs of the mass media (Bohman, 2004). Bohman continues, “computer-mediated communication offers a potentially new solution to the problem of extension of communicative interactions across space and time and thus, perhaps signals the emergence of a public sphere that is not subject to the specific

linguistic, cultural and spatial limitations of the bounded national public spheres that have up to now supported representative democratic institutions” (Bohman, 2004).

AGENDA SETTING

The term agenda setting was developed in the seventies by Maxwell E. Mc Combs and Donald L. Shaw (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). More concretely it was introduced in a study these authors did on the 1968 American presidential election where they surveyed what a hundred residents thought were the most important issues of the election. They then compared these to the issues the mass media had reported to be the most important. The study showed a great correlation between the two. In short, the theory of agenda setting describes the medias power of orienting the audiences’ attention towards certain topics while depreciating others. As Eugene Shaw explains: “People tend to include or exclude from their cognitions what the media include or exclude from their content. People also tend to assign an importance to what they include that closely resembles the emphasis given to events, issues, and persons by the mass media” (Shaw, 1979, p. 96). This is known as the first level of agenda setting. Coleman et al. has a more accurate definition: “Agenda setting is the process of the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others. Simply put, the more coverage an issue receives, the more important it is to people” (Coleman et al., 2009, p. 147).

There are three types of agenda setting; the public, media and policy agenda setting:

- The public agenda, determines the interest topic of the public. According to Candon Mena it is more decentralized with an easy access for the individuals.
- The media agenda determines what the media consider important; as showed at the figure, compared to the public agenda, the media agenda is more centralized and with less accessibility. Candon Mena mentions some factors that limit the access to it, as the work routine from the journalists, the dependency of traditional sources, the timelines and deadlines. It also depends about what media consider what is news.

- The political agenda, determines the order of priorities from the politics. There are two sorts of agenda: The electoral agenda, which has a low access and a high level of centralization. The accessibility is determined by the electoral system. And the governmental agenda with the less accessibility and the most centralized level (Candon Mena, 2011).

Candon Mena summarized the different types of agenda as follows (Candon Mena, 2011, p. 102):

TABELL 1 TYPES OF AGENDA WITH LEVEL OF CENTRALIZATION AND ACCESS

Agenda	Level of Centralization	Level of Access	Guardians
Public	Minimum	Maximum	Opinion leaders, social media, movements.
Media	Medium	Medium	Media, Journalist, Editors, Owners, Advertisers
Electoral	High	Low	Political Parties
Government	Maximum	Minimum	Government

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

CASE STUDY

The aim for this thesis is to look at the role of social media in a specific social movement called #YoSoy132. I therefore used the case study design. According to Alan Bryman, the main point when choosing study design is what your focus of interest is. For choosing a case study design, the case itself should be the unit of analysis, rather than the sample that is the unit of analysis (Bryman, 2012, p. 68). In this work I consider the movement the focus of interest, rather than just a sample for investigating another focus of interest. I will hence argue that choosing a case study design in this work meets Brymans “requirement” in that regard.

A common concern related to the case study design is the external validity or generalizability of its results. Regarding whether the findings in this work related to the #YoSoy132 movement can be generalized, I believe they to some degree can. According to Østbye et al. every case is unique, and this apparently makes it impossible to generalize without simplifying. But, as they continue, there is not necessarily any contradiction between a detailed description of a specific case, and the most important and basic features of a process (Østbye et al., 2013, p. 235). In this case I believe the basic processes related to mobilization and organization, and how the use of social media affects these processes, are similar for most social movements. As for what kind of generalization that is possible, a part of the thesis is to discuss how my case fits the existing theories on the subject; hence, this allows an “analytic generalization”, using the case study to illustrate, represent or generalize a theory (contrary to a “statistic generalization”) (Bryman, 2012, p. 71).

According to Bryman, case studies are usually associated with qualitative research. The qualitative method is a method for generating knowledge where the researcher investigates which meaning certain happenings and experiences has for the people experiencing them, and how this can be interpreted or understood by others. Opposite of the quantitative method, the qualitative method typically investigates a few occurrences instead of many, and it investigates why and how, not just what, where and when (Bryman, 2012, p. 380).

In this work the research questions ask for a deep analysis, which requires a qualitative research strategy. The qualitative method will mainly be based on interviews, however, I will also to some degree use content analysis of two newspapers. As a supplement I will also use the quantitative method by presenting the coverage of the movement in two newspapers in number of articles per week. Using different methods could be beneficial. In addition I am also referring to Østbye et al. which say that by combining different data and analytical techniques, it is possible to check if these give a matching description of a phenomenon (Østbye et al., 2013, p. 22).

To summarize, I will use the following methods:

- 1) Qualitative interviewing
- 2) Quantitative method - newspapers
- 3) Qualitative method - newspapers

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWING

According to Bryman there is much greater interest in the interviewee's point of view in a qualitative interviewing, it tends to be flexible, responding to the direction in which interviewees take the interview and perhaps adjusting the emphases in the research as a result of significant issues that emerge in the course of interviews (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). Also, in a qualitative interview the researcher wants longer and more detailed answers as opposed to a quantitative interview where the researcher often wants short answers that can be presented statistically.

In order to get various perspectives I interviewed people of different backgrounds. Two of them are academics, three are journalists and four of them are students. This gives a total of nine persons interviewed. For a qualitative analysis I consider the quantity of persons interviewed as sufficient. I have also interviewed at least two persons from each category in order to be able to compare answers internally. Performing more interviews with complete transcription would be very time consuming.

Regarding interview type, I used the semi-structured type having a list of questions, but also having the option to create new questions in the course of the interview. I used the same

interview for all the interviewed which allowed me to identify common or divergent elements.

The questions were:

1. What was the key factors in the success of the movement?
 - a) What are the requirements/fundamentals for social movements?
 - b) Which circumstances do you think triggered the creation of the movement?
 - c) What was the motivational force driving the people?
 - d) How were movements organized before Internet?
 - e) What were the main achievements of the movement?
 - f) What were the main factors that contributed to the success of the movement?
 - g) The role of the spokespersons?
 - h) The role of political and social conditions that motivated the development of the movement?

2. In which way were the social media used by the #Yosoy132 movement?
 - a) What was the role of the Internet as a public sphere?
 - b) What kind of technology was used and how?
 - c) What kind of social media was used and how?
 - d) Which social media tools were seen as most effective in promoting this organization?
 - e) How important was SM in creating participation?
 - f) How important was SM in promoting awareness?
 - g) How important was SM in promoting motivation amongst people?

3. What was the impact of using social media in the #Yosoy132 movement?
 - a) How did the horizontal and decentralized structure affect the movement?
 - b) Do you believe the movement would have been created without social media?
 - c) What has been the role of social media in other contemporary movements?
 - d) What are the limitations of social media in the movements?

4. What was the role of traditional media?

a) How did the traditional media cover the movement?

During the realization of this thesis I prepared a second interview to help me understand some points. The follow interview was divided in two parts. The first part was focused on mobilization. The second part was focused on agenda setting. This interview was only performed with two of the students because of lack of time.

1. What was the main strategy to mobilize the people?
2. Which strategy did you have for mobilize trough social media?
3. Who decided what to put in the Facebook page?
4. Which other media did you use to mobilize?
5. Which percent of the movement do you believe was mobilized by social media compare with other traditional media like newspapers or face to face?
6. Until which grade do you believe the movement had success to influence in the ageda-setting?
7. Do you believe the movement could influence in the public-agenda trough social media?
8. Did you have any strategy to manage the traditional media?
9. Who and how managed the Traditional Media when they were looking for an interview?
10. In which ways helped social media as an organizational tool?

For carrying out the interviews I traveled to Mexico two times. The journalists and three of the students were interviewed personally in Mexico City. The academics and one of the students were interviewed via Skype. All the interviews were carried out in Spanish and recorded with a smart phone. Each interview lasted between one and two hours. The interviews were then transcribed in Spanish and summarized in English. All quotes referred to in this work have been translated by myself to English. Translating always carries the risk of causing minor changes to certain words or the message the interviewee tries to communicate. I have, however, done my best and translated the quotes as accurately as I could.

A brief description the persons interviewed:

- Jose Ignacio Candon Mena is a Spanish professor and researcher. Currently he is a professor in the communication faculty at Sevilla University. He was awarded a prize by the Complutense University of Madrid (UCM) in 2010 for his PhD thesis: “Internet in movement: new social movements and new mass media in the information society”.
- Luis Miguel Martinez Cervantes is a Mexican professor at the Ibero-American University (UIA).
- Jenaro Villamil is a Mexican writer and journalist. He studied journalism at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Currently he works as a reporter for the Proceso magazine and as a teacher at the University of Journalism Carlos Septien Garcia. He also sometimes writes for the La Jornada newspaper.
- Alberto Morales is a Mexican journalist. He studied journalism at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Currently he is a reporter at the El Universal newspaper.
- Silvia Garduño is a Mexican journalist. She studied Journalism at Monterrey Institute of Technology and higher Education (ITESM). Currently she is a reporter at the Reforma newspaper.
- Carlos Brito studied Communication and Journalism at the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education (ITESM).
- Diego Dante Mondragon studied International Business at the Anahuac University.
- Tevye De Lara studied Business at the Mexico Autonomous Institute of Technology (ITAM). He currently works for *Uno*, the media division of The Carso Group, one of the largest Telecom conglomerates in the world. Tevye was in charge of its media strategy as early as the first months of its development when the movement caught the attention of media outlets throughout the world.
- Sandra Daniela Patargo studied International Relationships at the Ibero-American University (UIA).

QUANTITATIVE METHOD - NEWSPAPERS

In order to complement the method of qualitative interviewing, I have used the quantitative method to get a certain overview of the newspaper coverage of the movement. This has been done by counting the number of articles published about the #YoSoy132 movement in two different newspapers during a period of three months. I tried to get this data directly from the journalists, but unfortunately they couldn't give this information. I hence had to count the number of articles per day manually and I therefore needed to find newspapers with all the editions from this period available online. Representing the left-wing I chose La Jornada. From the right wing, I preferably wanted to choose Milenio because they supposedly gave the movement a negative coverage, but unfortunately Milenio was not available online. As an alternative, I chose Excelsior, which is also usually considered right wing. Both La Jornada and Excelsior have national coverage and are between the most influential newspapers in Mexico.

Concretely this was done counting the articles and opinions containing the word “#YoSoy132”. There were probably articles related to the movement that did not specifically contain this word, but I chose this approach for practical reasons. Regarding the period I chose three months because this is an extensive period of time for a topic to be on the media agenda. In addition most of the important events in the history of the movements took place during the first three months including the presidential elections on the first of July 2012. This hence allowed me to identify any changes in coverage prior to or after the elections.

QUALITATIVE METHOD – NEWSPAPERS

As a third method I wanted to use content analysis presenting some perspectives from the same newspapers, La Jornada and Excelsior. In order to identify any differences, I choose to look at the articles and opinions from the 24th of May the day after the second protest. Material from one day gives limited data, but could give an idea of the perspectives of the respective newspapers.

ETHICS

I this work I will strive to be neutral and avoid giving preference to any of the involved persons or parties. Some of the quotes referred to from publications and books have been translated from Spanish to English by myself. Regarding the interviews, all the interview objects have agreed that their names and answers can be used in the thesis. The answers from the interviewees have, as mentioned, been translated by myself.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS I

This chapter is divided in two parts, in the first part I will discuss how the movement used social media with focus on what role these media played in the mobilization phase of the movement. I will also discuss how these tools were used more concretely as an organizational tool. The research question I will answer in this first part of the chapter is:

In which way were the social media used by the #YoSoy132 movement?

In the second part of this chapter I will discuss how social media and the horizontal structure some claim they permit, affected the #YoSoy132 movement. Here I will answer the following research question:

Did the movement have a horizontal structure, and if so, how did this affect it?

In order to answer both question I will combine key theoretic perspectives with the answers from the interviews with movement members, Mexican journalists and academics.

IN WHICH WAY WERE THE SOCIAL MEDIA USED BY THE #YO SOY132 MOVEMENT?

As various theorists affirm, emotion is the main factor in the creation of social movements. As Castells explained in his speech at the Holberg prize ceremony: “In all cases in history social movements are triggered by emotions. These emotions are sheared collectively through a process of communication” (Castells, 2014). And as Castells mentions in the same speech, that the social movements are, to some extent, affected by the forms of communication (Castells, 2012). There are also people that think that the social media further than being communicative tools, they can organize and even create the movements (for example the western media’s praise of the social media during the Arabic spring). But, provided the social media are still basically computer programs, do they really possess such capabilities?

EMOTION AND IDENTITY

Various academics claim that the main factor creating social movements is emotion. Castells mentions that one single meaningful event tends to make the people overcome fear and challenge the power (Castells, 2012). In this case, this single meaningful event seems to have been the happenings at the Ibero-American University on the eleventh of May, where the presidential candidate Enrique Peña Nieto was forced to leave the campus under heavy protests from the students. One of the interviewed journalists, Jenaro Villamil, agrees: “The visit of Peña Nieto at the Ibero-American University on the 13th of May 2012. What happened there and how the media covered the event detonated a discontent that was already latent” (Villamil, 2013). One of the members of the movement, the student Carlos Brito adds: “The situation at the Ibero-American University generated a lot of indignation for different reasons like freedom of expression, the authoritarian dynamic, the crisis of the international capitalism, conspiracy by the media against innocents” (Brito, 2014). The discontent was expressed on Twitter with hashtags like: “#EPNlaIberoNoTeQuiere” (“#EPNtheIberoDoesntLikeYou”) and “#MeEscondoEnElbañoComoPeña” (“#ImHidingInTheToiletLikePeña”) (Illuminatilab, 2012).

But even though this event caused a lot of discontent, it would probably have been possible for the PRI to avoid any further escalation. As the student Tevye de Lara mentions: “If

better handled they could have managed to turn the buzz off, but they did everything wrong” (Lara, 2014). Then three days later, the publication a video “131 Alumnos de la Ibero responden” on YouTube where 131 students are proving they were actually students after being accused of being paid to protest against the presidential candidate at the Ibero-American University (RECREO., 2012) made the activity explode. As the journalist Villamil puts it: “Everything starts with the video” (Villamil, 2013). The academic Jose Candon Mena adds: “Something that is clear is that without the video “131 Alumnos de la Ibero responden” the only protest would have been the one at the Ibero-American University” (Candon Mena, 2014). The video reached 21,747 in just six hours (Mauleon, 2012) and is believed to have caused a great feeling of solidarity among the students. This is supported by the names and quantity of the tweets. Examples are “#SomosMasde131” or “#WeAreMorethan131” with 17,425 re-tweets and “#YoSoy132” or “#IAm132” with 61,698 re-tweets. The student Brito affirms that it was a necessity of solidarity to support the students from the Ibero-American University (Brito, 2014).

The mobilization of a movement also requires the existence of a collective identity. As quoted from Taylor and Whittier: “collective identity is the shared definition of a group that derives from member’s common interest, experiences and solidarity (Taylor & Whittier, 1992, p. 105). In the book “#YoSoy132 Voces del Movimiento” Pablo Reina, professor at the Ibero-American University explains: “The video generated identity because suddenly we all loved the Ibero-American University and felt identified; it generated an empathy that took us to the streets. Everything happened naturally” (Muños Ramirez & Desinformemonos, 2012, p. 61)

Several of the interviewees also mention the importance of social media contributing to the collective identity. The student Sandra Patargo says that the people decided to go out to the streets because there was a certain feeling of empathy; they felt identified (Patargo, 2015). Candon Mena explains that for the movement, Internet appears to be a crucial value to the cultivation of their activist identity. He believes that, to them, the Internet is arguably, the most important resource to their continued cultivation of identity as active citizens, not least since they consider themselves to be marginalized by traditional news media . Candon Mena continues:

“The movement sees the new technologies as a metaphor of the world they want. They are interactive, i.e. everybody can participate. In the networks the people collaborate creating content. They are horizontal and allow the citizens to participate actively. This is opposite to the existing society with predominantly vertical structures. Politicians and people from the elite govern the society and make the decisions. The citizens simply obey. It is also opposite to the way the traditional, unidirectional media works with one active publisher and many passive receivers” (Candon Mena, 2014).

Regarding how the social media contributed giving the students an identity, the student Lara uses himself as an example: “If it hadn’t been for the social media, persons like me, for example, would never have become interested. I am not a person that normally gets attracted to protests. Getting aware of a happening through the social media excites you. You seek the information by yourself and this process shapes your identity”. He continues: “the social media were relevant for self-consummation and for the operation, and also for re enforcing the identity of the ones that had already joined the movement”. Lara also mentions: “our lifestyle currently is very individualized: If you don’t sent the message at the individual level, it would never be received. People consume information individually” (Lara, 2014). Castells remarks: “Furthermore, the development of the technology of self-communication is also the product of our culture, a culture that emphasizes individual autonomy, and the self-construction of the project of the social actor” (Castells, 2007, p. 249).

To sum up, we have seen that the social media played an important role both in the process of increasing the emotion of discontent required for the people to take action and in giving the movement some of its identity. Regarding the emotion, the video of the 131 students published on YouTube was important increasing a feeling of solidarity among the students. Several of interviewees, like the journalists Vilamil and the academic Candon Mena, also affirm that the video was a crucial step in the creation of the movement.

When it comes to the identity, Candon Mena explains that the Internet is important in the people’s cultivation of an identity as active citizens. The activists also look the horizontally structured, multimodal social media as a metaphor of the world they want and as something opposite to the unidirectional traditional media. The student Lara explains how finding out

about the movement via the Internet increased his interest; partly because of the way you seek the information yourself. This process, he claims, shapes your identity. Both Lara and Castells point out that the Internet and social media fits well to the current, individualized lifestyle.

ORGANIZATIONAL TOOLS

In this part of the analysis I will look at how the different social media like Facebook and Twitter were used concretely as organizational tools in the mobilization phase of the movement. In that regard, the journalist Jenaro Villamil explains: “note that the social media don’t organize. They bring people together and help mobilizing, but the movements are not organized via social media. The organizing happens at the school, in the classrooms” (Villamil, 2013). However, he continues: “the social media give the movement an “organicity” that it wouldn’t have had without them. They wouldn’t have had it because they didn’t have their proper media of communication” (Villamil, 2013).

FACEBOOK

Facebook was one of the first social networks that were launched and is by far the most popular network globally (Facebook, 2015). It is therefore, one of the most used networks in social movements. According to the author of the book “Tweets and the streets” Paolo Gerbaudo, the reason why movements turn to Facebook to “recruit” participants is fairly easy to understand: it has the largest number of users and they can potentially be reached with one page (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 146). With its 1.32 billion members (as per June 2014, (Facebook, 2014)) few media give access to a larger audience and certainly not in the interactive way this medium allows for. This also applies to Mexico where 90% of Internet users have a Facebook account and the use of smart phones is quite widespread (AMIPCI, 2012). Gerbaudo continues: “For many contemporary social movements, this most popular of all social networking sites (Facebook) has come to constitute a platform for political organizing and mass mobilization” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 145) In his book “Tweets and the Streets” Gerbaudo analyses the use of social media in the Egyptian uprising, the Spanish 15-M and US Occupy movements. He concludes that the use of Facebook varies greatly across these movements. Despite of high penetration in the US, Facebook had almost no role in the mobilization phase of the Occupy movement. On the contrary, in Egypt, Facebook had an

important role even though its penetration rate in Egypt was only four per cent (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 146). Below I will discuss its role in the #YoSoy132 movement.

“Facebook was the platform of the movement”

In the #YoSoy132 movement, Facebook was used to share information in the form of text, pictures and videos. Examples were example announcing protests, sharing of ideas, publishing videos of relevant happenings, and redistribute articles by the traditional media etc. The student Tevye de Lara explains: “Facebook was used to organize the first meetings and for the people to share ideas” (Lara, 2014). The journalist Alberto Morales adds: “Facebook was the platform of the movement. It was used to publish summons and general information about the marches etc” (Morales, 2013). Another important feature of Facebook is that you can create groups. The student Lara explains:

“The social media were operational tools. The information was diffused instantaneously, we trusted a lot in the Facebook groups, and it was very interesting to have all the information condensed in one single application, but divided into different segments. You can have small, closed groups with only the core participants or you can have large groups open for all. In the small group you can communicate in more detail, whereas in the larger group you can publish more simplified messages” (Lara, 2014).

The journalist Silvia Garduño adds: “Every assembly, for example, had its own group on Facebook” (Garduño, 2014).

Another feature of Facebook is ability of generating ties between the members of the movement. Sandra one of the spokesperson of the movement explains:

“On the 11th of May (the day of the presidential candidate’s visit at the Ibero-American University) we communicated by Facebook and started creating groups. And by using these groups we then started to have contact with students from other universities. We also communicated with mobile phones” (Patargo, 2015).

This was actually the first movement in Mexico’s history where the public and private universities came together for a common cause. The journalist Silvia Garduño believes that the networks helped connecting them:

“From the beginning at the Ibero-American University and until the marches, students from both private and public universities participated, everything was organized through social media. If the students from the Ibero-American University (private university) had invited students from the UNAM (public university), it would not have been taken seriously. It would have been very difficult to do this person to person. Social media helped to gestate the movement quickly and to maintain the anonymity of the students who were mobilizing for a common cause” (Garduño, 2014).

The student Tevye de Lara seems to support this view: “this effect of “stirring up” the universities has been very beneficial, and we were noticing that we don’t know each other, people are doing very interesting things, but at their own universities, in their bubbles, closed, and this was a way for us to unite, and to get to know each other” (Lara, 2014).

The above shows the advantage of the weak ties the social networks are able to create. This is in accordance with Granovetter in that the advantages of weak ties over strong ties lie in their ability to diffuse information and ideas across social groups and that weaker ties (such as a friend of a friend) are more likely to be bridging ties and thus provide access to novel information (Granovetter, 1973) and Castells: “The advantage of the Net is that it allows the forging of weak ties with strangers, in an egalitarian pattern of interaction where social characteristics are less influential in framing, or even blocking communication” (Castells, 1996, p. 388).

Another advantage of the weak ties is that it allows for quick expansion. In the first protest around 800 persons participated (Mauleon, 2012). At the second protest five days later the movement expected 500 people, but 15 000 showed up (Hernández & Solano, 2012). This shows the effect the social media’s many-to-many communication can have when mobilizing. At the same time they allow people to communicate at a low cost. Together these features enable movements to expand quickly. But the mobilizations don’t necessarily happens quickly only because of the networks. For this to happen it also demands quick action from the leaders or organizers.

In Facebook, however, depending on the person, the majority of your friends can actually be real friends. As Passy explains, “strong ties have a crucial impact on participation in social

movements, mainly because they provide individuals with trust” (Passy, 2002, p. 18). As Pizzorno according to Passy also pointed out,

“trust is crucial to the understanding of political behaviour in situations of uncertainty. Before people join a movement organization, they are often in a state of uncertainty because they lack information and knowledge about the organization. Recruiters are usually an important channel of knowledge about the protest. When recruiters are close friends (as opposed to acquaintances), potential participants tend to trust them and to be convinced that a particular organization is the one most appropriate for conversion of their political interests into a strong degree of commitment” (Passy, 2002, p. 18)

To sum up, the above shows that Facebook seems to contain both the weak type favourable for connecting groups, and the strong ties that are necessary for generating sufficient trust for people to join the protests.

TWITTER

Although Twitter has considerably less members than Facebook globally (302 million active users (Twitter, 2015)), it has become an important tool for social movements. At the same time it only allows for messages of maximum 140 characters and is hence mainly a tool for short and simple messages. Further, compared to Facebook it is a more “open” media. As the journalist Garduño explains: Twitter is more impersonal and that people don’t have to accept someone while in Facebook you communicate just with your friends” (Garduño, 2014). Gerbaudo mentions that similar to Facebook, the use of Twitter varies greatly between the movements: “while it only a limited impact in Egypt, mainly reflecting the low Twitter penetration rate there, it was very important in Spain, and extremely important in the US” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 151). According to the Mexican Internet Association, 56% of Mexican Internet users had a Twitter account (AMIPCI, 2012). This shows a relatively large penetration rate.

An important feature of Twitter is the hashtag. This refers to a word or sentence labeled with a # sign. This sign allows grouping of similarly tagged messages and also allows an electronic search to return all messages that contain it. Further, when a hashtag becomes extremely popular, it becomes a trending topic. The most popular trending topics appear on

the front page of Twitter and people can hence find out about these in a passive way. Topics that are not trending, however, have to be looked for actively. This can according to Gerbaudo “prove an obstacle when it comes to reaching out to people outside of the activist community” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 152). The people following activist-related hashtags are not exactly the average of Internet users, or average Twitter users either. The users need to have an interest for the topic already (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 152). In our case (as showed in the Twitter overview (Illuminatilab, 2012)) several tweets became trending topics and probably hence helped getting the messages out to a broader public.

Explaining how the members of the movement used Twitter concretely, the student Tevye de Lara says: Twitter was used to interchange information and to publish all the information we wanted to make public. It was the public image of the movement” (Lara, 2014). The student Sandra Patargo adds: “Twitter was observed by many. It was like a box of resonance where we tweeted something, and hundreds of others re-tweeted the message. It was a way to inform and to connect with other people” (Patargo, 2015). On how the people were finding out about the marches, Lara explains how a lot of people typically saw the messages first in Twitter, but then used Facebook to validate them (Lara, 2014).

Twitter's micro blogging nature allows for massive real-time communication. As Gerbaudo states: “For contemporary movements Twitter has thus come to constitute a centre or focal point in their real-time communications: a single platform where all the information can be collected and by being gathered in one place made available to a dispersed public of participants and sympathizers” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 151). Regarding its use as a real-time tool during the protests, the student Brito explains that it was used to some degree. Mostly to find out where the different protests were heading and whether we should expect some kind of problem (Brito, 2014). The journalist Alberto Morales explains how he used Twitter to follow the marches: “I used Twitter to follow them because it contained the most recent information about what they were doing, the plan of the day etc” (Morales, 2013). His journalist colleague Silvia Garduño agrees: “I used the #YoSoy132 hashtag to follow the agenda” (Garduño, 2014).

CONCLUSION

According to the theorists like Castells and Melucci, emotion and identity are crucial factors in the mobilization phase of a social movement. In this chapter we have seen that social media plays an important role in the shaping of both the emotions and identities of the people joining the movement. In this case the event at the Ibero-American University increased the emotion of discontent that was already latent between the student. The video of the 131 student published on YouTube, in turn, added a feeling of solidarity between the students that, among other places, was expressed on Twitter with hashtags like “#SomosMasde131” (“#WeAreMorethan131”) and “#YoSoy132” (“#IAm132”). Together these emotions reached the level necessary for street mobilization. This is in accordance with Gerbaudo: “The most important role of social media lies in the construction of an emotional sense of togetherness among dispersed participants” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 162).

When it comes to identity, Candon, explains how Internet seems to be of crucial value in the cultivation of the peoples identity as active citizens. They see the “horizontal” Internet as a metaphor of the world they want and as something opposite to the existing structures of power. Castells also adds that the development of the social media with its individual structure, is a result of a current culture the emphasizes individual autonomy. The student Lara to a great degree affirms that, at least for him, these theories apply. He explains how finding out about the happenings on Internet incresed his interest. He also affirms how searching for this information individually on the net shapes your identity and that this matches the current individualized lifestyle.

Regarding how the social media are used more concretely, we have seen how they serve as an organizational tool in the mobilization phase of the movement. Facebook is by the journalist Alberto Morales called “the platform of the movement” (Morales, 2013). It was used to publish summons, information about the marches etc. And according to the student Lara, Facebook was considered trust worthier than Twitter (Lara, 2014). The same Lara explains how on Facebook you can create different types of groups, and like this organize the movement. The feature of weak and strong ties has also been discussed. The advantage of the weak ties present in the social media is that this opens communication between groups that normally don’t have any contact. Several of the interviewees explain how this,

for example, connected the different universities (even the public and private). This, together with the low entry cost of the social media and the many to many interaction, creates a tool that potentially, allows for a very quick expansion. But, Facebook, unlike Twitter, is mostly based on strong ties, which every movement need for generating sufficient trust between the members for them to mobilize.

Twitter's accessible structure makes it suitable for publishing messages to a potentially very large audience. At the same time it includes the feature of the hashtag which facilitates finding all published messages about the same topic and the possibility of re-tweeting the messages. Lara explains how she used Twitter to publish everything they wanted to make public (Lara, 2014). Another feature is its micro blogging nature allowing for real time communication. Brito explains how they used Twitter as an operational tool of communication during the marches (Brito, 2014). The journalists also took advantage using Twitter to follow the same marches.

To sum up by trying to compare the two media, Facebook and Twitter, it seems as if they complement each other. Whereas Facebook is largely based on closer relationship (strong ties) and provides fixed pages and groups, Twitter is a more open media based on weak ties with the focus always on the last message. In asking which tool was most important for the #YoSoy132 movement, some, like the journalist Hector Mauleon says Twitter. The student Carlos Brito explains that this could be because Twitter with its hashtag feature is more measurable than Facebook (Brito, 2014). Brito himself, however, argues that Facebook was more important because of its ability to publish and share summons, images etc (Brito, 2014). The student Lara also believes that Facebook had more interaction than Twitter (Lara, 2014). Lara also mentions that people often saw the message first on Twitter, but then checked if they were true on Facebook. Facebook hence seemed to have more credibility. In the end, each media has its own strengths and weaknesses and are used for different objectives. Moreover which tool the people use is also a question of personal preference.

DID THE MOVEMENT HAVE A HORIZONTAL STRUCTURE, AND IF SO, HOW DID THIS AFFECT IT?

In this part of the thesis I will discuss how social media and the horizontal structure some claim they permit, affected the #YoSoy132 movement. Various theorists like for example Manuel Castells claim that: “recent movements are usually leaderless”. There are also people (sometimes called “horizontalists”) “that believe that thanks to the ability of modern technologies of communication social movements don’t need the kind of linear command structure characteristic of bureaucratic organizations” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 134). According to Castells the horizontality of networks supports cooperation and solidarity while undermining the need for formal leadership (Castells, 2012, p. 225).

The topic is thoroughly discussed by Paolo Gerbaudo in his book "Tweets and the Streets" with case examples from three different movements, 15-M (or Indignados) movement in Spain, the Occupy Wall Street movement in the US and the Egyptian uprisings. With the phrase: “Follow me, but don’t ask me to lead you” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 134) he tries to illustrate the complex role and some times contradictory view of leadership in contemporary movements. In the same way as the 15-M movement in Spain and the Occupy Wall Street movement, members of #YoSoy132 constantly stress that they have no leadership and that they appeal to the spontaneity of participation (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 134). But is it true that the #YoSoy132 movement truly was horizontal, and if so, how did this affect it?

WHY LEADERLESS?

According to Manuel Castells the reason why the movements want to be leaderless is not because they lack candidates, but because of deep, spontaneous distrust towards any form of power delegation. This essential feature results directly from one of the causes of the movement: rejection of political representatives by the represented because of feelings of having previously been betrayed and manipulated by the politicians (Castells, 2012, p. 224). One of the academics interviewed, Jose Candon Mena, adds that the movement's inclination towards a horizontal structure has existed for a while as hierarchical organization in political

parties, workers unions, movements etc. has showed limited success since the seventies (Candon Mena, 2014).

Regarding the movements' reasons for choosing a horizontal structure the student Carlos Brito explains:

“At the first annunciations at the Ibero-American University, we were saying that we didn't want leaders and that we wanted to be horizontal. It was interesting because everybody agreed, everybody were against the authoritarianism. There is a strong distrust against the power. So we wanted a different structure” (Brito, 2014)

The student Sandra Patargo adds: “the movement was a part of the wave of horizontalism trying to move away from the vertical structure” (Patargo, 2015).

As we can see the movement's reasons for choosing a horizontal structure is in accordance with the general ones presented by (Castells, 2012). The main factor is a strong distrust against the power. Moreover, Mexico has traditionally been, and still is, a society with strong vertical structures and large gaps between the social classes. The country was, for example, ruled by the same authoritarian party for seventy years. These conditions may have contributed to the students' attraction towards a horizontal organization.

ACTUALLY LEADERLESS?

However, regarding whether the new movements actually are leaderless or not, Gerbaudo states that: “the adoption of social media within contemporary social movements does not allow them to become leaderless or horizontal automatically. Very much to the contrary, it is precisely through the use of social media that new forms of leadership are constructed” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 140). Gerbaudo mentions that not everybody has the same influence and that hierarchy is not eliminated. At this level the leadership is diffuse rather than concentrated in one person (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 140). Castells to some degree agrees that the networks create new forms of leadership, but seems to downplay its importance: “There are many cases where some of the participants are more active or more influential by others, just by committing themselves fulltime to the movement. But these activists are only accepted in their role as long as they don't make major decisions by themselves” (Castells, 2012, p. 225).

As the #YoSoy132 movement officially claimed that it was leaderless I asked the interviewees about the role of the spokespersons. This question provoked a broad range of answers. Among the students Tevye de Lara and Dante Mondragon suggest that the movement had leaders. As Lara puts it: “Officially it was good to say that we had a horizontal structure. It was not vertical, but yes we had leadership, and yes, we had persons representing universities and faculties. At a certain moment these individuals led the movement” (Lara, 2014) Lara also explains, for example, that he had the responsibility for the relationship with the traditional media (Lara, 2014). Mondragon commented that the original group of leaders generated the ideas like for example the organization of press conferences and the third presidential debate. He also explains that at this stage they already had a structure for taking decisions, but at the same time some of them were aware that at some point they needed to change the structure as more universities joined the movement (Mondragon, 2014).

However, the students Sandra Patargo and Carlos Brito are stressing that the movement didn't have leaders. When asking Brito whether he thinks the movement lacked one or various leaders he answers: “No, no, do you think the movement would have existed with leaders? If there were leaders we would have left. There is a lot of distrust with the powers in Mexico. Would the activists and youngsters have accepted a structure of leaders? We would all have left” (Brito, 2014). The professor Jose Candon Mena agrees with Brito: “the rejection of the hierarchy of leadership was one of the key factors for the movement's realization” (Candon Mena, 2014). Castells further adds that this horizontality is in fact the foundation needed to generate sufficient trust for common action (Castells, 2012, p. 225). However, Brito says that “the movement had leadership, but no leaders” (Brito, 2014). Patargo adds:

“A lot of journalists didn't understand that the movement didn't want leaders. They called us and asked for the leaders. There were also members in the movement that were more inclined towards having leaders. The assembly of ITAM University for example, had a different strategy with more focus on leaders. But most of all this was something that came from the exterior, like for example the traditional media, always looking for charismatic persons, this is attractive for the media” (Patargo, 2015).

The three other students agree that the traditional media to a certain degree created spokespersons/leaders. Brito says: “Off course, they called me a leader” (Brito, 2014). Mondragon gives an example: “Antonio Attolini (one of the members of the movement) was very attractive for the journalists because he had presence and had a very good political discourse. He was like a magnet for the media companies. But instead of using this to our advantage, a lot of people looked at it as something negative” (Mondragon, 2014).

The three journalists Jenaro Villamil, Alberto Morales and Silvia Garduño all claim that the traditional media to a certain degree created the leaders. Villamil explains: “in the beginning the movement didn’t have spokespersons, just representatives from each faculty. At a later point the media created spokespersons. The movement did not assign them. The media decided which student to interview” (Villamil, 2013). Morales says that:

“There were spokespersons with influence and they were the leaders. But they didn’t like that we called them spokespersons as they wanted the movement to be horizontal. The media created the spokespersons; to a certain point we looked for the best speakers and the ones with the most knowledge” (Morales, 2013).

Garduño adds: “To a certain point traditional media helped creating the leaders (even though they got angry when we called them leaders)” (Garduño, 2014).

As we see, out of four students interviewed, two of them claim that the movement had leaders whereas two of them deny it. As all four students had influential roles in the movement I believe that they all have a good insight in how the movement was organized. That they still don’t agree on this question could possibly be explained in differences in how they would like to present the movement. Another explanation could be a question of definition. Where Lara and Mondragon prefer to call the influential members “leaders”, Patargo and Brito prefer to just call them “influential members”. Another possible explanation could possibly be that the students didn’t thoroughly understand how the new forms of leadership created by the social media works. Either way, these members were probably, like Castells explains, only accepted in their role as long as they didn’t make major decisions by themselves (Castells, 2012). As the movement officially claimed to be

horizontal, the members had to give this impression. Like Lara said: “Officially it was good to say that we had a horizontal structure” (Lara, 2014).

Regarding whether the traditional media created the leaders or spokespersons, both the students and the journalists agree that this happened to a certain degree. Leaders and spokespersons are not necessarily the same thing. It seems as if the media probably created spokespersons, but not leaders. In this case the movement definitively had some members that were more influential than others, and some choose to call these leaders. The spokespersons are often well-spoken and charismatic persons, but these are not necessary the people making the important decisions inside the movement.

EPHEMERAL?

Regarding how the horizontal structure affected the movement, the journalists Villamil and Morales agree that the horizontal structure made it difficult for the movement to continue after the elections. Villamil says: “There were no visible leaders and this affected them when they wanted to go past the elections. The movement was not able to institutionalise or create rules of participation further than for the protests” (Villamil, 2013). Morales adds: “Prior to the election one of the main goals was to make the electoral process more transparent. When the election finished they couldn’t agree on new common goals” (Morales, 2013). As an example of a more long lasting movement Morales mentions the 2011 student movement in Chile, which endured for years because they always had a chain of command (Morales, 2013).

That the relevance of the movement decreased after the presidential election, at least from the traditional media’s point of view, is supported by the graph showing the number of articles per week published by La Jornada and Excelsior. The graph shows a peak in number of articles between the third and the fifth week after its birth. As we see there is a noticeable drop between the eighth and ninth week, which corresponds with the date of the elections (1st of July 2012). See *Figur 3 Articles* in the Appendix.

Another factor that could have affected the durability of the movement, apart from lack of leadership, is the type of personal ties created in the social networks. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, strong ties are believed to be more effective in order to mobilize or

activate participants. The same probably applies when it comes to keep the participants activated. This is supported by Diani saying that the weak ties developed online are unable to build a sustainable network of activists (Diani, 2000, p. 394). The student Brito adds:

“On one hand using social media can be more effective in terms of co-ordinating a quick mobilization, but it can have a rhythm of life that can make human relationships more ephemeral. On the other hand without social media to organize a movement or marches requires more personal contact that it suppose to make stronger relations. It is one thing for the other” (Brito, 2014).

To sum up it seems like the relevance of the movement from the traditional medias point of view decreased after the presidential election. This is supported by both the opinions of two of the interviewed journalists as well as by the overview of the articles. According to the journalists this could have been caused by a lack of leadership and failure to give the movement new objectives. But that it lost relevance for the traditional media doesn't mean that the movement ceased to exist. Another reason for the relative short life of the movement could be the weak ties the social networks create.

CONTROL – OPERATIONAL AND OF MESSAGE

Several of the interviewees explain how the lack of leadership made it difficult to control the movement, concerning both the member's actions during the protests and regarding the output of messages. Villamil mentions an example:

“On the first of December when Peña Nieto took the presidency, several violent groups were protesting under the #YoSoy132 name and there was no clear leadership stating that these groups did not belong to the movement. I feel that in this aspect the lack of verticality greatly affected the movement. The movements need leadership and the mechanisms to create this leadership” (Villamil, 2013).

The journalist Garduño adds: “The people didn't have to demonstrate anything to join the movement and this made it easier to gather a big mass. But later this also made it more complicated to control the protests” (Garduño, 2014). Villamil continues: “Social movements have traditionally relied on an organization. The movements need to have a

solid organized core, if they don't they will be easy to infiltrate and neutralize. The #YoSoy132 movement was infiltrated" (Villamil, 2013). The student Mondragon adds: "in traditional movements you first had to build a structure before you start the protests. Now it's the opposite, first you organize the protests and then you generate the structure based on the empathy. This could be a disadvantage. Earlier you had a more solid structure" (Mondragon, 2014).

Regarding the control of the output of messages the journalist Morales explains: "you need to have a structure of leadership because if you don't have it the movement will start to send out different messages" (Morales, 2013). Also, the nature of the social media facilitates that every member can publish their opinions. The student Brito explains:

"in the social media everybody can appropriate, re-appropriate and change messages without any sanction. Everybody used the movement for their own purposes. The name was there, the hashtag was there, and therefore there were different groups publishing announcements about different topics like the elections, the freedom of expression, the Mexican spring, Peña Nieto or the democratization of the media. There were many movements with one name, and this created confusion" (Brito, 2014).

EFFICIENCY OF THE MOVEMENT

When it comes to the effectiveness and quickness of the movement Mondragon says:

"At the beginning nobody wanted a vertical structure; we wanted a lot of people to join the movement, but when many people join it hampers decision making. The negative aspect was that it made the movement slow. For example when something regarding the movement was published in the media our reaction was slow because first everybody had to agree" (Mondragon, 2014).

The journalist Garduño adds: "They decided not to have leaders because in theory everybody is equal and it sounds good, but in the end it makes everything more difficult" (Garduño, 2014). Morales agrees: "To have a horizontal structure is very idealistic. It is

complex and slow because all of the members have to be included when making the decisions. I think they lacked a structure of leadership” (Morales, 2013).

Mondragon and Lara don’t necessarily agree with the movement’s “official” negative view on leadership. Mondragon explains:

“In my opinion we were all leaders. A country without leaders is poor because the leaders have a function, they are the ones that motivate, that support and give energy. Other members had a different view on leadership; they saw it as a way to achieve power, like it is negative to have a vision. Positive leadership made the movement stronger” (Mondragon, 2014).

Lara agrees: “Leadership is not a bad thing, this is the way you do politics, and it is an operational structure. To have leadership is something natural” (Lara, 2014). He continues: “When the UNAM entered they did not want the movement to have leaders. In the end the leaders did not know what they were allowed to say and you got self-censorship. I think this was a burden for the movement” (Lara, 2014).

Lara and Mondragon agree that the movement changed when the public universities like the UNAM joined the movement. Lara explains:

“I don’t think that the horizontal structure was the problem, but it was how it was changed. In my opinion, in the beginning we had a horizontal structure with horizontal leadership. When the structure was changed to a static, vertical one, like the model of political assemblies of the UNAM, the essence of the movement changed. The old models are not very effective and dynamic because everything has to be agreed on within the assemblies. There will always be quarrels for the power. In change, if the movement would have stayed horizontal and in social media this wouldn’t have happened” (Lara, 2014).

Mondragon adds: “When the “La Coordinadora” group was removed, the movement became even slower. It became boring and slow and totally opposite to the spontaneity we had in the beginning. “La Coordinadora” was almost considered an enemy. Because of this

a lot of people lost their enthusiasm. The movement became more politicized, something a lot of us didn't want." (Mondragon, 2014).

Pablo Gerbaudo mentions that general assemblies doesn't transform social movements into horizontal structure because of two reasons: 1. -"Hierarchy of engagement" where decision-making bodies are in theory open to everybody, the fact is that they tend to be mostly attended by people highly involved in the movement. 2. - The intervention of highly involved and experienced participants or core organisers, who are responsible for "getting things done" (Gerbaudo, 2012)

But the interviewees also mention several positive sides of a horizontal structure regarding the participation of the members. Mondragon explains that in a horizontal structure it is more complex to organize and structure the ideas, but at the same time it was good for the movement because a lot of ideas were created. Mondragon continues: "The movement was very broad and this gave us an enormous potential because it made us very difficult to diminish. Nobody could say, "They are just some capitalists or socialists", but the movement represented all kinds of people. The movement grew so quickly that we lost control, but at the same time our size made us stronger" (Mondragon, 2014).

CONCLUSION

As we can see from both theorist's perspectives and the answers from the students, the topic of leadership in contemporary movements is a complicated question. Some theorists like Castells claim that these movements are leaderless, partly because the social media enables them to be. Others, like Paolo Gerbaudo, claim that the social media don't automatically allow the movements to become horizontal, and that these media actually to the contrary, creates new forms of leadership. As we see from the answers from the students they do not agree between themselves on whether the movement had leaders or not. Two of them indicate it did, whereas two of them say it didn't. As discussed this could possibly be explained by: a) Difference in how they want to present the movement, b) Different definition of what a leader is, or c) A lack of thorough understanding of how the new forms of leadership created by social media works.

Either way, from the answers it seems clear that the movement had members that were more influential than others, and that it at some point was run by a group of students called “la coordinadora”. The individuals in this group could probably be called the leaders of the movement. At the same time, these individuals, probably executed a type of soft leadership. This would be according to what Castells says about these activists only being accepted in their role as long as they don’t make major decisions by themselves (Castells, 2012).

Regarding why the movement was created with a horizontal structure this seems to have been a requirement for its existence. A vertical structure would have been rejected. This is affirmed by both the student Brito and the academic Candon. The main reason for wanting a horizontal structure seems to be a strong distrust with the existing vertical structures of power. Castells adds that this horizontality is in fact the foundation needed to generate sufficient trust for common action (Castells, 2012, p. 225).

I have also reviewed some of the possible disadvantages of having a structure without a clear leadership. These can be summarized as: a) Failure to endure past the presidential elections, b) Lack of operational control during the protests, c) Lack of control in the output of message, and d) Less efficient in terms of making decisions. There are, however, likely just as many advantages as disadvantages with such a structure. A couple of these are mentioned like increased creativity and plurality, but further than these, the advantages have not been discussed in more detail in this work.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS II

TO WHAT DEGREE DID THE MOVEMENT SUCCEED IN BECOMING A PART OF THE PUBLIC AGENDA AND WHAT ROLE DID THE USE SOCIAL MEDIA HAVE?

As shown in the first analysis the use of the social media seemed to be more for organizing the movement than for placing its message in the public agenda. For distributing its message and to be visible in the public sphere, the contemporary social movements still very much depend on traditional media (Candon Mena, 2012). The aim of this chapter is to answer the following research question:

To what degree did the movement succeed in becoming a part of the public agenda and what role did the social media have?

To carry out this analysis I will use interviews as well as quantitative data collected from two mexican newspapers, La Jornada and Excelsior. The data contain the number of articles published per week during twelve weeks by each newspaper and is presented graphically. In addition I will do a qualitative analysis on articles published about the movement in the same newspapers. I have chosen these newspapers because they are among the most influential in the country and because they belong to different sides on the political scale. La Jornada is usually labeled as a left wing and Excelsior as a right wing newspaper. La Jornada is printed in 107,666 copies and Excelsior in 90,000 copies (IFE, 2013, pp. 1,2). During the analysis I will also mention examples from other influential newspapers like El Reforma, El Universal and El Sol de Mexico. In addition I will apply to my findings theories on the public sphere and media.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS VS TRADITIONAL MEDIA

The relation between social movements and the traditional media is a well known area of study. Among the theory found on this topic is an article by Jose Candon from 2012 called “Citizenship in the Network: power and counterpower in mass media” (Candon Mena, 2012). In this article he discusses the relation between social movements and traditional media. Candon Mena starts by stating that these are traditionally adverse to each other. He

explains how the mass media establish limits for the public debate producing an unspoken consensus that limits the reach of a critic discussion that affects the roots of the system. At the same time the social movements are defined by wanting to challenge the limits of the system they live in. The movements therefore often perceive these limits imposed by the system of mass media and its role as an institution of power execution in the society. This makes it difficult for the movements to express themselves through the mass media, and this in turn generates an attitude of rejection of the mass media by the activists which see them as a part of the politic and economic structure (Candon Mena, 2012, p. 2). In that regard Castells argues that the technology offers the global civil society the possibility “to exist independently from political institutions and from the mass media” (Castells, 2008, p. 86).

Another factor is how the traditional media prefer to cover and present the material. The main objective of the media companies is to get the highest possible penetration or rating. Richard Butsch supports this: “Their first master is the drive for profit, which conceives media in relationship to consumers in the market rather than to citizens in a public sphere. It provides what sells rather than what informs and enables public discussion” (Butsch, 2007, p. 8). To achieve this they normally seek to present the material in a simple way with clear messages. Candon explains:

“The logic of the traditional media prefers the personalization and leadership, the power, public recognition or solvency of the sources, the pre visibility of the events and the proximity, the simplicity of the topics and the defended positions. These values, news or factors of reportability, are distant from the logic and essence of the movements as these are characterized by a lack of clearly defined leadership, spontaneity, the depth of the topics or the radicality of the critic and the defended suggestions” (Candon Mena, 2012, p. 3).

As a consequence the movements turn to social media. Castells supports this explaining that the technology offers the global civil society the possibility to exist independently from political institutions and from the mass media (Castells, 2008, p. 86).

THE COVERAGE OF THE #YOsoy132 MOVEMENT – PERSPECTIVES FROM THE INTERVIEWEES

Most contemporary movements are fighting for a better democracy in their respective countries (Castells, 2014) and are hence in opposition to the existing system of power. The media institutions are in many cases considered a part of this system, but are not specifically targeted by the movements. In the case of the #YoSoy132 movement the main objective was to achieve a more transparent and democratic media. The movement didn't hence just consider the media of being one of the obstacles to achieving a better democracy, but rather as being the main problem.

However, even though the social movements and the traditional media in many ways are adverse to each other, the social movements still largely depend on the mass media in order to publish their message. This is in accordance with the first level of agenda setting which by Coleman et al. is defined as “the process of the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others. Simply put, the more coverage an issue receives, the more important it is to people” (Coleman et al., 2009, p. 147).

And as Castells adds: “The capacity of social movements to change the public mind still depends, to a large extent, on their ability to shape the debate in the public sphere” (Castells, 2008). This results in a contradictory situation. In the case of the #YoSoy132 movement this situation is reflected in the differing perspectives given by the students and the journalists in the interviews. According to the journalist Garduño, the movement sometimes wanted to decide which media companies were allowed to give them coverage and that the plurality and objectivity the movement was demanding from the media didn't seem to apply to them. Garduño continues that the newspaper she works for, El Reforma, gave the movement a positive coverage, but that the movement didn't appreciate it (Garduño, 2014). “In my opinion the movement was never able to define how to have a good relationship with the media. If they would have treated the media in a different way they may have gotten a broader coverage” (Garduño, 2014).

As mentioned, according to Candon Mena, the traditional media also have their preferences, they do, for example prefer personalization and leadership. And as Candon Mena further

explains, the situation for the journalists gets more complicated when they are covering a spontaneous event, led by a large group of people that they struggle to identify (Candon Mena, 2012, p. 3). The journalist Garduño affirms that the leaderless structure complicated the situation, however she does claim that she was able to identify the key persons. As she explains:

“My experience as a journalist was that at the beginning it was complicated to decide which person I should interview because there were no official leaders. I could identify the persons who were organizing, the persons who were more involved and the persons I believed could give me a good interview. In my opinion the movement should have defined a leadership democratically” (Garduño, 2014).

The journalist Morales agrees that the leaderless structure made covering the movement more complicated: “It was complicated to get information from the movement because everything had to be approved by the assemblies” (Morales, 2013).

When asking the students how the traditional media covered the movement, all of them say that the media saw what they wanted to see and that they made their own stories. The student Patargo explains:

“A lot of times the media manipulated the information, this was the main reason for the movements’ existence. They felt obligated to give the movement coverage because it was one of the most important happenings in the country. The OEM (Mexican Editorial Organization) changed what was happening at the assemblies or simply didn’t give it any coverage” (Patargo, 2015).

An example of the coverage given by El Sol de Mexico (one of OEM’s newspapers) is shown in Figur 7 Sample from el sol de mexico in the Appendix. Its main headline states that the presidential candidate Peña Nieto had success at the Ibero-American University despite intent of boycott (note: the candidate had to flee the campus). The student Lara adds:

“The newspapers made their own stories. La Razon (a Mexico City daily newspaper) looked at us as socialists wanting the leftist candidate Lopez Obrador as president, La

Jornada as saviours of the nation, El Reforma as spoiled kids who were protesting because they didn't have anything else" (Lara, 2014).

The student Mondragon agrees: "La Jornada gave us the most transparent coverage, they almost quoted us literally. On the contrary other media covered us more according to their consideration, they changed the information" (Mondragon, 2014). But at the same time Mondragon also appreciates the coverage given by most of the media: "Most of the media outlets supported us, radio, newspapers, and TV channels except Televisa and TV Azteca. Some journalists even told us "Guys, it's very good that you are doing this against Televisa" (Mondragon, 2014). Several of the students also mention that the journalists didn't understand how the movement worked and that this could have affected the coverage.

As we can see from the perspectives given by the students on one hand, and the journalists on the other, their relationship was affected by this situation. The students had a distrustful approach with the mass media and the journalists felt that the students did not cooperate with them, nor that they appreciated the coverage given.

COVERAGE BY TWO NEWSPAPERS: LA JORNADA AND EXCELSIOR

To investigate to what degree the movement succeeded in becoming a part of the media agenda formed by the newspapers; I have used the quantitative method counting the number of articles published in two newspapers, La Jornada and Excelsior. I have also used the qualitative method to discuss how these newspapers covered the movement, and to potentially identify any differences in perspective.

For the quantitative part I have counted the number of articles published about the movement during the first twelve weeks of the movement's existence (starting at the eleventh of May). The result is presented graphically in *Figur 3 Articles from La jornada and excelsior* in the Appendix. As we can see, the coverage in both newspapers was quite extensive. La Jornada peaked in the fourth week with 44 articles per week, whereas Excelsior peaked in the third week with 20 articles. During this period an important event like the second protest at the Estela de Luz took place. In these days the movement also published their demand for a third presidential debate took place. After these weeks, the

number of articles gradually decreased, but La Jornada never published less than 10 articles per week. Excelsior hit a low in the tenth week with 1 article published.

Looking at the total period La Jornada had more than twice as many articles about the movement as Excelsior. This indicates that La Jornada supported the movement. The journalist Morales explains: “In the case of the newspapers, La Jornada and El Reforma took them very seriously because the case fitted their profile. Later El Universal and Milenio joined, initially just by informing briefly, then more seriously on request from the editors” (Morales, 2013).

Qualitatively I will discuss the content of some of the articles published. In order to show potential differences between the newspapers, I will use examples from articles published the 24th of May, the day after the second protest at the Estela de Luz monument. This day La Jornada published three articles (Jornada, 2012):

- Se solidariza la UIA con estudiantes amenazados (UIA (Ibero-American University) show solidarity with threatened students)
- Democratizar medios de comunicación, clamor de #YoSoy132 (Democratise the mass media, outcry of #YoSoy132)
- Cientos de estudiantes de 14 estados salieron a rechazar la información manipulada (Hundreds of students from 14 states took to the streets protesting against the manipulated information)

The articles above show how La Jornada gave a thorough and supportive coverage of the movement. The first article brings up a case where students from the Ibero-American University had received anonymous threats via phone calls and social media. By publishing this note La Jornada supports the threatened students. The second article gives a detailed description of the main objectives of the movement. Some of the slogans are, for example, presented: “Queremos escuelas, no telenovelas” (“We want schools, not soap operas”); “Televisa: bienvenida a la era de la información” (Televisa: welcome to the era of the information) and “Televisa-TV Azteca: no más imposición, libre elección” (“Televisa-TV Azteca: no more imposition, free election”). The opinions of external supporters of the

movement are also quoted in the article. The last article covers protests organized in other states of Mexico.

El Excelsior published two articles (Excelsior, 2012):

- Marchan otra vez por apertura informativa (Marching again demanding openness of information)
- Crean la página web yosoy132.mx (The creation of the page)

and one opinion:

- La chabacana “primavera Azteca” (The tasteless Aztec Spring)

The first article is a relatively neutral informative about the protests on the 23rd of May. It is less detailed than the coverage of La Jornada, but presents the main objectives of the movement. The second article is a small, neutral note about the homepage of the movement, #yosoy132.mx. The opinion, written by the columnist Ricardo Aleman, has a negative bias towards the movement (as the title indicates). In this text the author repeatedly tries to discredit the movement describing them with words like “ternurita” (“cute”), “broma” (“joke”), “grosero” (“rude”), “mentirosos” (“liars”). Aleman also tries hard to link the movement with the leftist presidential candidate Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO) An example: “No, la “primavera azteca” llamó a transmitir el debate en cadena nacional, votar con- tra Peña y por la estupidez de moda: “la democratización de los medios”, todas, ban- deras de AMLO. Y, claro, es un movimiento apartidista”, (“No, the “Aztec spring” called for transmission of the debate via a national channel, vote against Peña and for the trendy stupidity: “democratization of the media”, all of them causes by AMLO. And off course, it is a non-political movement”).

To sum up, the quantitative investigation shows that both newspapers discussed gave the movement a broad coverage that peaked in the third and fourth week. After the peak, the coverage gradually decreased, but both newspapers gave the movement coverage during the whole period of twelve weeks. The amount of articles published and the relative long period of time investigated, shows us that the movement succeeded in being visible in the part of

the media agenda of the newspapers. I have only investigated two newspapers, but it is probably fair to assume that most of the newspapers with national coverage covered the movement in a similar way. In total La Jornada published more than twice as many articles as Excelsior. This indicates that the movement matched La Jornadas profile as mentioned by the journalist Morales.

The qualitative analysis of the articles that were published on the 24th of May indicates that La Jornada gave the movement a thorough and supportive coverage. In the case of Excelsior, the articles from this day show a neutral coverage. The opinion, however, clearly reveals a negative bias from the columnist trying to discredit the movement and link it to a specific presidential candidate. As we have seen several of the interviewees claim that the newspapers made up their own stories according to their interest and ideology and that some of them tried to link the movement with one of the presidential candidates (AMLO). In my opinion, the content reviewed fails to approve these claims showing a fairly neutral coverage. The exception is the opinion published in Excelsior, which clearly shows a negative bias and intention of linking the movement with a specific candidate (AMLO). That said, the content reviewed is limited (just one day), so this observation has a limited value. The content reviewed, indicates, however, that the movement succeeded in putting their message in the media agenda, at least the one formed by the newspapers.

COVERAGE BY TELEVISION

For discussing the coverage given by the television companies I will do a qualitative content analysis of some of the reportages that were broadcasted during the first weeks of the movements existence. The first reportage is Televisa's coverage of the events at the Ibero-American University. The second, third, fourth and fifth is the coverage of same event (the first protest organized by the movement) respectively by Televisa, Milenio, Cadenatres and CNN en Español. This allows me to identify any differences in the coverage. The sixth is Televisa's report from the second protest organized by the movement. I have focused on Televisa as it is the main television company with 70% of the market share (WallStreetJournal, 2014). Cadenatres is as Televisa, broadcasted via satellite with national coverage. Milenio and CNN en Español are broadcasted via cable.

a. News reportage from the protests at the Ibero-American University, Televisa Channel 2, 12th of May 2012 (Channel2, Televisa, 2012). – Duration 5:24. The reporter starts by describing the arrival of the candidate at the university where groups of students were receiving him with shouts of rejection. Further the note shows that candidate giving his speech and receiving questions from the students. At the end of the session the candidate responds to various posters regarding the Atenco incident. During his reply negative shouting from the students can be heard. When the candidate left the auditorium, the report shows a mass of students protesting by shouting and showing posters. The reporter describes this, but also claims that there were groups of students showing support to the candidate. Then next half of the note shows the pictures of an interview with the coordinator of Peña Nieto's campaign, Luis Videgaray, while the anchor explains that Videgaray had said "despite the protests, it hadn't been a bad day for the candidate, to the contrary..". Further Videgaray is allowed to explain this more in detail via telephone. As expected he gives a description that is favourable for the candidate. The coordinator was given two minutes to present his point of view. No students or people with a different point of view were interviewed.

b. News reportage from the first protests against Televisa, Televisa Channel 2, 18th of May 2012 (Channel2, Televisa, 2012). – Duration 8:10. This reportage showed pictures from the protest that the Ibero-American University and the ITAM University organized against Televisa. It gives a detailed and neutral description where various movement members are interviewed on the street.

c. News reportage from the first protests against Televisa, Milenio, 18th of May 2012 (MediosyCiudadanos, 2012). – Duration 0:57. Milenio reported that 300 students had been protesting outside the Ibero-American University. According to the reportage the students were protesting against the presidential candidate Peña Nieto, but also mentions that they want more equity in the mass media and that the movement does not have any political preferences. Televisa and the parallel march organized by the ITAM University were not mentioned in the reportage.

d. News reportage from the first protests against Televisa, Cadenatres, 18th of May 2012 (MediosyCiudadanos, 2012). – Duration 2:00. Cadenatres reported that universitarian

students had marched from the Ibero-American University to Santa Fe (western Mexico City) and San Angel (southern Mexico City). According to the reportage the students were demanding plurality in the coverage of the electoral campaign. Televisa was not mentioned by name. At the end of the note the anchor gave his personal opinion.

e. News reportage from the first protests against CNN en español, 18th of May 2012 (MediosyCiudadanos, 2012). – Duration 2:46. CNN reported that there were hundreds of students demanding more openness and equity in the coverage of the electoral campaign. According to the reportage, students from both the Ibero-American and ITAM Universities were protesting at two different Televisa offices demanding respect for the right of information. Later, CNN gave another, more detailed report. The channel also provided information about the next marches planned by the movement.

f. News reportage from the second protests against Televisa, Televisa Foro-TV, 23rd of May 2012 (RafaelH, 2012). – Duration 9:56. From the second protest organized by the movement, Televisa made a detailed and neutral report where more than ten students were interviewed.

The first report discussed shows that Televisa gave a one-sided coverage of the event at the Ibero-American University. The first part of the report was relatively neutral showing students protesting against the candidate. In the second part, however, Televisa allowed the coordinator of the presidential campaign of Peña Nieto, Luis Videgaray, to give a very subjective version of the event. The coordinator tried the best he could to turn the negative attention into something positive. The anchor did not ask the coordinator any critical questions. No students were interviewed. To conclude this was a very subjective report in favour of the presidential candidate Peña Nieto.

The second, third, fourth and fifth report are coverage of the same event (the first protest against Televisa). In this case Televisa gave a detailed and neutral coverage. Milenio, however, gave an inaccurate report claiming that 300 students were protesting outside the Ibero-American University. In reality the protests happened at two of Televisas offices and various sources suggest there were more than 300 students protesting. Also the fact that Televisa was not mentioned (which in reality was the main target for the protest) clearly

shows a lack of objectivity. The coverage by Cadenatres was more neutral and accurate than Milenio, but this television company didn't mention Televisa either. Also, half of the report was the anchor giving his personal opinion. The last channel looked at, CNN en Español gave, as expected a neutral and accurate report.

The sixth report shows Televisas coverage of the second protests. Again they gave a neutral and broad coverage where various students were interviewed.

To sum up, the report by Televisa from the event at the Ibero-American University, showed a subjective coverage in favour of Peña Nieto. The two other reports from Televisa, however, showed a neutral and broad coverage. Regarding the reports made by Milenio and Cadenatres, both these reports failed to mention the main target of the protests, Televisa. Giving a reason for this will only be speculation, but was it a coincidence that both the Mexican television companies I have looked at avoided mentioning Televisa by its name? CNN en Español gave, as expected a neutral coverage.

Regarding whether or not these reports show that the movement succeeded in becoming a part of the media agenda of television, I will argue that they to some degree do. As mentioned, Televisa is the dominating television company with 70% of the market share. To be given coverage by this company is hence crucial in order to reach a large part of the population. In this case Televisa at least gave a broad and neutral coverage of the first two protests organized by the movement.

As to why Televisa gave this coverage, the Professor Luis Miguel Martínez Cervantes claims that at the beginning some traditional media and especially Televisa tried to deny the existence of the movement. After getting criticized in social media they first commented the probably existence of it and then they finally gave the movement coverage to show the population that everybody can have access to the channel (Martínez Cervantes, 2014). This is in accordance with Candon's argument (in the article "Citizenship in the Network: power and counter power in mass media") that coverage of movements is characterized by two basic forms; the first is exclusion or invisibility, the second a negative bias or criminalization of the movements. When it is no longer possible to ignore the movement the media highlights any violence no matter its severity and covers the movement negatively

(Candon Mena, 2012). Morales sums it up by saying that the first week the movement was only covered by the newspapers and how many people read newspapers in Mexico? It was not until the main television channels gave them coverage that everybody got to know them (Morales, 2013).

SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

When it comes to the media agenda and its capacity to configure the public agenda, Candon explains that the Internet enables the movements to distribute information creating their own media that potentially can have a broad diffusion (Candon Mena, 2012). He continues: “Internet and the new media makes it possible to create a new public sphere with a much less centralized and controlled agenda when comparing with the traditional media agenda” (Candon Mena, 2011, p. 161).

In the case of the #YoSoy132 movement, it was possible to get information through Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp etc. Compared to the mass media the social media give the participants the possibility of publishing the events as they. One of the most important examples of how the movement used Internet as an alternative media was the broadcasting of the third presidential debate. Originally the movement wanted the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE by its initials in Spanish) to organize a third presidential debate (only two had been scheduled). When the IFE rejected their proposal, the movement decided to organize the debate themselves and broadcast it on Internet. It was viewed by at least 112,000 Internet users (CNN, 2012). This is an example of how the movement managed to influence on the political agenda.

Another example was the video of the 131 students proving they were actually students after being accused of being paid to protest against the presidential candidate at the Ibero-American University (RECREO., 2012). This video, among other topics, became trending topics on Twitter and this could have contributed to put pressure on the mass media to give the movement coverage. The journalist Jenaro Villamil seemed to support this: “If it hadn’t been for social media, the movement would not have been created; it would have been hidden from the informative scene” (Villamil, 2013).

However, according to Candon Mena, the traditional media still dominates the public agenda through both its classic formats as well as their own digital version in the Internet. This is caused by two factors; first, the limited penetration of Internet, and second, the importance of the media companies in the production of the content (Candon Mena, 2012). Regarding the content a lot of the links that are shared on social media are to traditional newspapers and broadcasters. Through the social media its users are hence able to increase the reach of the messages produced by the traditional media. The social media, however, not only work as a tool for redistribution, but also for reelaboration and interpretation. As Candon Mena puts it, the traditional media filters the reality, but likewise the messages from the media are further filtered by the social networks (Candon Mena, 2012). As a result new opinion leaders like bloggers emerge. These are reinterpreting the media content and compete with the large broadcasters in being influential (Candon Mena, 2011). An example is a video on YouTube called “Peña Nieto en Tercer Grado Regaña a telvisos porque no supo contestar” (“Peña Nieto scolds at journalists because he didn’t know what to respond”) (cachorroed, 2012) where a Televisa program called “Tercer Grado” has been edited with comments with the purpose of showing the real intention of Televisa’s interview with the presidential candidate Peña Nieto.

Regarding what kind of public sphere the Internet allows for, James Bohman explains:

“Computer-mediated communication offers a potentially new solution to the problem of extension of communicative interactions across space and time and thus, perhaps signals the emergence of a public sphere that is not subject to the specific linguistic, cultural and spatial limitations of the bounded national public spheres that have up to now supported representative democratic institutions” (Bohman, 2004).

In the case of the #YoSoy132 movement, it reached all five continents of the world. Outside Mexico there were nine assemblies with their dedicated spokespersons (Muños Ramirez & Desinformememos, 2012, p. 203). In Barcelona, for example, the local assembly organized a meeting with 600 attendants showing their support. Other locations with assemblies included London, Montreal, Amsterdam, Hong Kong among others. A dedicated assembly called “Virtual, International Assembly” was responsible for the contact with the nine

international assemblies. The international assemblies showed their support for example by sending videos.

As we have seen the social media helped the movement getting their message on the public agenda in a variety of ways. On Twitter various topics became trending which means that they at a certain moment were among the most commented topics in the country. Then we have the third presidential debate that was broadcasted directly via Internet. This is an example of how the movement used Internet as its own media. I have also mentioned that the majority of the content online is still produced by the media companies, but that this content is filtered through the social media by re distribution, re interpretation and re elaboration. At the end I have discussed how the Internet forms a public sphere that is not subjected to specific linguistic, cultural and spatial limitations. An example is how the movement reached other countries and to a certain degree became global.

HOW DOES SOCIAL MEDIA EXPAND THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN MEXICO?

Regarding penetration of the different media, in Mexico 95% of the population has television. This makes it the media with the largest reach. Televisa and TV Azteca mainly dominate the market share of television viewing with 70% and 30% respectively. Even household in the most remote and poor regions of the country usually has television. This wide coverage gives these television companies a very influential role in the forming of the public opinion.

Regarding newspapers there is a great variety, but the reach is limited. An overview made by the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) shows the numbers of prints for all Mexican newspapers and magazines. The largest newspapers like El Universal, El Reforma, La Jornada and Excelsior are all printed in between 100.000 and 200.000 copies (IFE, 2013). These are low numbers considering the country has a population of 124.000.000 inhabitants. Another factor is availability of the newspapers in each region. Out of 304 newspapers edited in Mexico, 34% are located in five cities. And even though the situation probably has improved, large rural regions that had 42% of the population did not have any circulation of newspapers at all in the 1970's.

Regarding Internet around 38% of the population had access in 2013 (INEGI, 2013). Smartphones have a relatively high penetration and their share in the first quarter of 2013 was 25.94%. The distribution of Internet connection by state is illustrated by Figur 8 Connectivity by state in the appendix, this shows a relation between economy and penetration of Internet. It is also fair to assume that the Internet penetration is significantly higher in urban areas compared to the rural.

From the above we can conclude that television is the dominating media, the television duopoly of Televisa and TV Azteca do hence have a very large influence on the public agenda in the country. The journalist Morales supports this:

“Unfortunately the main media in our society is still the television, so until this paradigm changes and we have accessible computers for all and a better broadband, we are not going to generate awareness through Internet. Firstly the people have to use it. If I think that the traditional media have still the power? Unfortunately yes, because the people in social networks are still a minority. I would like that the people using social media would act more like a critical mass, but I can’t see that they are” (Morales, 2013).

As mentioned the newspapers offered a broader coverage, but readership is limited and there is also a divide in the reach both geographically and socially. Access ranges from abundant in some cities to non-existing in some rural areas. It is also fair to assume that people with resources read more newspapers than the poor. Internet penetration is increasing, but just as with the newspapers there is a similar divide in the population regarding its reach. Digital infrastructure is more developed in the cities and penetration rate is higher in the upper social classes. It could probably therefore be assumed that even though the Internet did offer an alternative channel of information, it probably for the most part reached the same part of the population that already had access to newspapers and hence a broader coverage. The population in rural and poor areas to a large degree still only has one channel of information; television.

CONCLUSION

To begin with I discussed the relationship between the social movements and the traditional media and how these, as Candon Mena argues, are adverse to each other. At the same time

the social movements still depend on the mass media to publish their message. This contradictory situation is reflected in the perspectives given by the students and journalists, respectively. The students, for their part, did not seem to trust the mass media. One of the reasons given is that the mass media tend to make up their own stories according to their benefit. The journalists, on the other side, seem to feel that it was difficult to cooperate with the movement, and that the coverage they gave was not appreciated by the movement. As Candon Mena also mentions, various characteristics of the social movements do not fit with the usually routines and preferences of the mass media, which in turn, complicates their relationship.

Further, I looked at the coverage given by the mass media by studying how two newspapers, La Jornada and Excelsior, as well as at how the television companies Televisa, Milenio, Cadenatres and CNN en Español presented the movement. The quantitative study performed on these two newspapers indicates that the Mexican newspapers generally gave the movement a broad coverage. The examples shown from the coverage of the television companies indicate that their coverage was less extensive than was the case of the newspapers. During the first weeks of the movement's existence, Televisa only covered the main events like the protests. The television company did, however, provide a relatively neutral coverage except from the report from the event at the Ibero-American University. The reports from the other television companies looked at, shows that the smaller Mexican companies to some degree failed to give a neutral coverage. But because of their low market share, their impact on the media agenda is limited compared to the impact of Televisa. To conclude, the broad coverage given by the newspapers combined with the decent coverage given by Televisa shows that the movement to a relatively large degree did become a part of the media agenda, and thus, a part of the public agenda.

Next, I looked at how the use of social media contributed to putting the message of the movement on the public agenda. A concrete example of how the movement used the Internet as its own media was the broadcasting of material including the third presidential debate. The social media also contributed to getting attention from the mass media with its trending topics. Further I discussed how the social media filters the content produced by the mass media. The users can hence through these tools distribute and/or change this content.

The past point discussed is how the social media contributed to expanding the movement beyond the borders of Mexico. To conclude we see that the social media had a variety of roles and that they to some degree contributed to putting the message of the movements on the public agenda.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have looked at various aspects of the influence social media have on social movements. I have done this by carrying out a case study of the social movement #YoSoy132 that emerged in May 2012 in Mexico City. I have also evaluated to what degree the movement succeeded in becoming a part of the public agenda, and whether social media helped the movement achieving this.

In the recent years social media have sometimes been hailed as tools that facilitate the emergence of social movements. This was especially noticeable during the western medias coverage of the Arab spring with phrases like “the Facebook revolution” etc. Some probably even claimed that the Internet created these movements. Manuel Castells, however, calls such statements “ridiculous”. In his speech at the Holberg prize ceremony Castells explained that the movements are by no means produced and developed because of new technologies, but these new technologies shape movement and create forms of mobilization which are extremely different from the traditional forms in history and therefore with different outcomes, processes and actors (Castells, Holbergprisen, 2014).

While working with this thesis I have increased my knowledge about how the social media shape the movements and how they create new forms of mobilization. In the first analysis I have discussed how the social media shape the emotion that is needed for people to join a movement. The students shared information via the networks and this probably increased the latent emotion of discontent. A concrete example from this case is how the video of the 131 students published on YouTube triggered an emotion of solidarity and togetherness among the students.

Another important emotion in the mobilization of movements is the feeling of identity. As various theorists point out, the shaping of a collective identity is crucial in the mobilization phase of a movement. And as Jose Candon Mena explains, Internet seems to be a crucial value in the development of people’s identity as active citizens. Some of the reason for this is that the people look at the “horizontal” Internet as a metaphor of the world they want and as something opposite to the existing systems of power. The student Tevye de Lara also

pointed out that our society currently is characterized by an individual lifestyle and that the shapes of social networks match this way of life.

Further I looked at how the social media were used as organizational tools for the movement. Again, for the ones that believe social media has special capabilities, as the journalist Jenaro Villamil points out, people, not social media, organize the movements. However, as he claims, these tools give the movement an “organicity”. Facebook for example, gives the student a space where they can meet virtually and communicate. Facebook also allows for the creation of groups that could be small or large, open or close. They could also represent comities etc.

Regarding the mobilization phase, I have also discussed the role of the both strong and weak ties that are present in the social networks. Basically the advantage of the strong ties is that they are favorable or even necessary for creating the sufficient trust for people to joint a movement. They are also important when it comes to being able to sustain a movement over a longer period of time. The advantage of the weak ties is that they open communication between groups that normally have limited or no contact with each other. In this case this feature was very evident as the movement unified most of the universities in Mexico. The movement even unified the private universities with the public ones, a rare happening in Mexico’s history.

As for the more specific role of the different social media, mainly Facebook and Twitter, I argue that these two networks complement each other. Whereas Facebook is largely based on closer relationship (strong ties) and provides fixed pages and groups, Twitter is a more open media based on weak ties with the focus always on the last message. The summing up of how the movement used the social media I would like to leave to the student Carlos Brito: “I look at them (social media) more like an extension of human capacity. They don’t generate new human capacities or new necessities, they just extend and magnify them, and this creates new tonalities. There are no new colors coming out of the social media, there is only one palette of colors, what you do with it is up to you” (Brito, 2014).

When starting to work with the thesis I also became interested in the topic of leadership in the contemporary social movements. Especially when reading the book “Tweets and the Streets” by Paolo Gerbaudo. In this book the author discusses the alleged horizontal structure of the contemporary social movements. He claims that contrary to what some may have, the social media don’t automatically allow the movements to become leaderless, more to the contrary. Through social media new forms of leadership are created. When asking the interviewees about this, they did not seem to agree with each other. While some of students claimed the movement, at least in the beginning, had leaders, others claimed that this was “impossible”. “With leaders nobody would join the movement”. In the conclusion of this chapter I have pointed at some possible explanation of why the members seem to have a different view on whether or not the movement had leaders. However, it is clear that the movement had members that were more influential than others and that these occupied a role similar to a leader.

That said, the movement did to a large degree have a horizontal structure. Regarding possible disadvantages this could have for the movement, I have discussed various points as a) Failure to endure past the presidential elections, b) Lack of operational control during the protests, c) Lack of control in the output of message, and d) Less efficient in terms of making decisions

Regarding to what degree the movement succeeded in becoming a part of the public agenda, I investigated this by looking at the coverage in two influential newspapers, as well as the coverage given by Televisa and some other less influential television companies. Based on the reports analysed, I have concluded that the movement managed to become visible on the public agenda through the mass media. I also looked at various aspects of how the social media influences in the movements visibility in the public sphere. Apart from maybe the most obvious feature of providing the movement with a platform for communication independent of the traditional media, they also allows people to re distribute and re interpret the content produced by the mass media.

By being visible in the social media, the movement also probably put pressure on the mass media to give them coverage. To get the attention of the mass media, the protests in the streets, were however, probably more important. Eventually, one of the most important

goals for a movement is to get its message out to the population. Summing up this part I leave to the student Sandra Patargo: “I think the movement succeeded in becoming a part of the public agenda; there are surveys that showed the impact, the people knew about the movement. The movement had an impact on the election polls, Peña Nieto was leading these clearly, but during the campaign the margin was reduced. The coverage of the election after the 11th of May was very focused around the student movement” (Patargo, 2015).

GENERALIZATION

As mentioned in the methodology chapter a case study allows more for an analytic generalization than for a statistical generalization. Regarding whether the findings in this thesis could be generalized or not, I would argue that most of them could. Regarding the first research question, how the movement use the social media, the same networks are more or less the same ones all over the world. The movements probably hence, use them in a similar fashion. However, as noted, in the first analysis chapter, some movements tend use one tool more than others. To what degree the social media becomes a part of the movements identity, this also probably varies depending on cultural factors etc.

I would also argue that the part regarding leadership and structure also can have general value. As Castells mentions, the movement's focus towards a horizontal structure is something that applies to most contemporary social movements.

When it comes to the last chapter, this topic is more difficult to generalize because the mass media industry is very different from country to country. Moreover, the situation in Mexico with two dominating and private television companies is not that common globally. The second part of how the social media contributes to the public sphere, does however, probably have findings of more general value.

LIMITATIONS OF THE THESIS

Looking back at the thesis I see that I possibly have too many topics, or topics that are not that closely related. As a result some of the themes have not been discussed to the depth they deserve. The organizational structure of movement, for example, is a topic that does not come in under Media Science. It could therefore probably have been dropped. This would have allowed me to work more on the last topic of the public sphere.

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APPENDIX

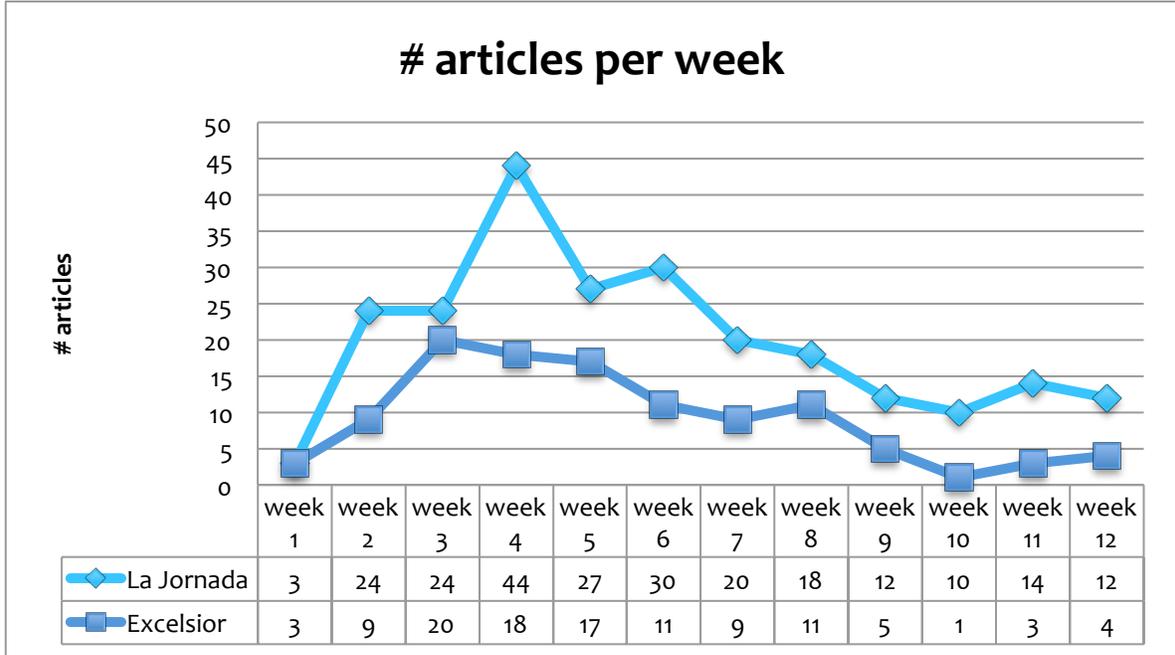
Timeline

Date	Event	Location
11/05/2012	The visit of the candidate EPN at the Ibero-American University	Ibero-American University
14/05/2012	The video “More than 131 students” published by the students from the Ibero-American University on YouTube	
18/05/2012	The first protest against Televisa	Televisa San Angel Televisa Chapultepec
19/05/2012	First protests anti-EPN (not organized by the movement)	
23/05/2012	Second protest 20,000 people	Estela de Luz Mexico DF.
28/05/2012	March from Televisa Chapultepec to secretariat of interior (SEGOB) demanding the national broadcast of the second presidential debate	Televisa Chapultepec
29/05/2012	Televisa and TV Azteca accepted to broadcast the second presidential debate by its main channels	
30/05/2012	The first assembly between universities	Ciudad Universitaria (Universitarian City)
31/05/2012	Manifestation at the IFE demanding a third presidential debate	IFE offices
10/06/2012	Second protest anti-EPN	Mexico DF.
11/06/2012	The second assembly	Ibero-American University
16/06/2012	Concert with celebrities supporting the movement	Zocalo (the main square in Mexico, City)
19/06/2012	The third presidential debate organized by the movement #YoSoy132	

Timeline

Date	Event	Location
22/06/2012	III assembly Festival #132	Claustro de Sor Juana
23/06/2012	Festival #132	Zocalo
30/06/2012	#YoSoy132 International Demonstration	Tlatelolco, Televisa, Zocalo
01/07/2012	Presidential Elections in Mexico	
02/07/2012	March against the electoral results	Estela de Luz to Monumento a la revolution
26/07/2012	Protest against Televisa	Televisa Chapultepec
05/08/2012	IV international Virtual Assembly	

FIGUR 2 TIMELINE OF MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS



FIGUR 3 ARTICLES FROM LA JORNADA AND EXCELSIOR

#FueraPeñaNieto

11 MAYO
20,000

La visita del candidato priista a la Universidad Iberoamericana y el abucheo por parte de los estudiantes se posicionan entre los temas más populares. A pesar de que los Ectivistas intentan revertir la notoriedad de los comentarios en contra de Peña Nieto, no lo logran.

La Ibero sigue haciendo eco de los hechos que están a punto de marcar de forma imprevista el curso de la campaña.

#EPNLaIBERoNoTEquiere

11 MAYO
30,337

"Asesino", "Atenco no se olvida", y "la Ibero no te quiere" son algunas de las consignas con las que es recibido Enrique Peña Nieto por alumnos de la "UIA" (que también se convierte en tendencia).

Las menciones aseguran que al ver a estudiantes con máscaras de Carlos Salinas, supuesto arquitecto de su candidatura desde hace seis años, Peña Nieto se descoloca por primera vez y muestra cara de preocupación ante los hechos.

#LaUIAoesdePorros

11 MAYO
9,424

Después de las muestras de repudio de los estudiantes de la Ibero hacia el aspirante del tricolor, comienzan a circular rumores en medios de comunicación y redes sociales acerca de que los manifestantes no son alumnos de la UIA, sino porros violentos.

Los alumnos de la universidad se movilizan en Twitter para desmentir los rumores.

#MeEscondoenElBañoComoEPN

11 MAYO
47,000



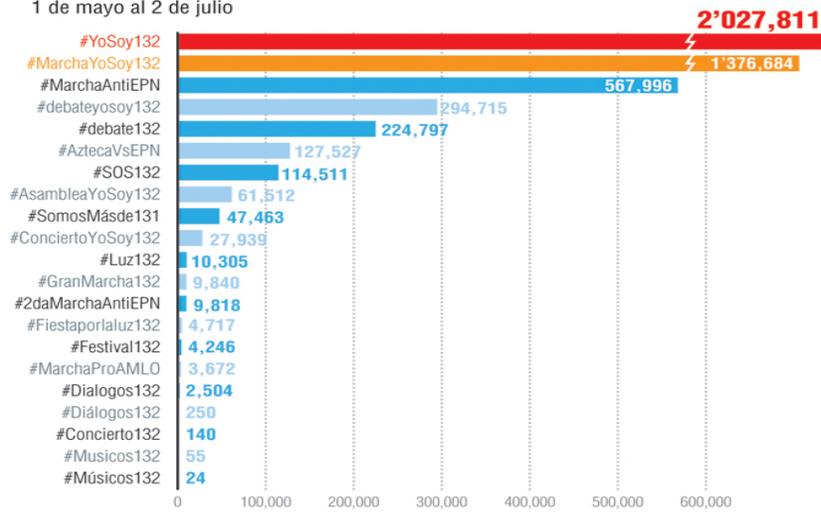
La visita del candidato del tricolor a la UIA le da un golpe severo a su campaña, pues los estudiantes muestran públicamente supuestos actos de represión y corrupción para enjuiciarlo. Según las menciones en Twitter, al no soportar la presión de los jóvenes de la Ibero que le gritan "asesino", se refugia en el baño. Las imágenes o 'memes' que se crean al respecto incrementan el impacto de esta tendencia.

32 **illuminati** lab
140 TRENDING TOPICS QUE HICIERON HISTORIA 33

FIGUR 4 SAMPLE FROM ILLUMINATI LAB, TRENDING TOPICS

Gráfica 4. Tweets por hashtag

1 de mayo al 2 de julio



FIGUR 5 TWEETS PER HASHTAG



FIGUR 6 POSTER FOR PROTESTS 23 OF MAY

En un año se sumaron a la informalidad 763 mil personas: INEGI

INFORMACIÓN: FINANZAS

MEXICO, DF, SÁBADO 12 DE MAYO DE 2012



El Sol de México

DOBLAR \$13.68

CENTENARIO \$25,912.00

ORGANIZACIÓN EDITORIAL MEXICANA AÑO XLVII No. 16,811 <http://www.elsoldemexico.com.mx> MARIO VÁZQUEZ RANA, PRESIDENTE Y DIRECTOR GENERAL

PRECIO: \$10.00

Vengo a decirles lo que pienso, si no les parece no pasa nada; esta es nuestra pluralidad

CRÓNICA DE MIGUEL REYES RAZO

Enrique Peña Nieto se encerró ayer con varios cientos de jóvenes estudiantes de la Universidad Iberoamericana en los rumbos de Santa Fe. Ahí saludó inquietudes y diferencias.

VEA: 3A

ENCUESTA MITOFSKY

48%



Peña Nieto

Éxito de Peña en la Ibero, pese a intento orquestado de boicot



■ Ante universitarios destacó los valores de la democracia, la libertad y pluralidad

■ Jamás rechazaré la oportunidad de oír a la sociedad, mucho menos a los jóvenes

■ Increpa un grupo de alumnos de esa casa de estudios al candidato priista

POR CARLOS LARA

► ENRIQUE PEÑA Nieto, candidato presidencial de la coalición Compromiso por México, convocó a superar ansiosos y dar paso a la unidad para concretar las reformas estructurales que requiere el país, durante su participación en el Encuentro buen ciudadano Ibero.

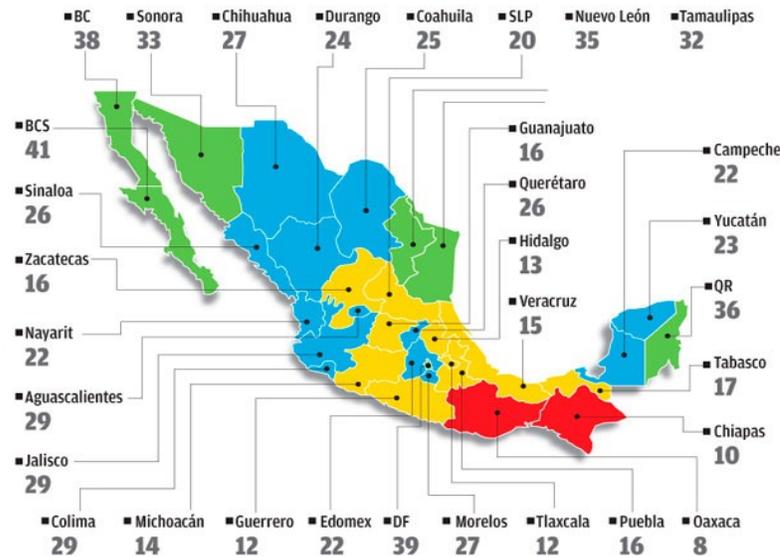
INFORMACIÓN: 4A

FIGUR 7 SAMPLE FROM EL SOL DE MEXICO

CONECTIVIDAD POR ESTADO

Porcentaje de la población que cuenta con el servicio de banda ancha fija y móvil

■ 0-10% ■ 11-20% ■ 21-30% ■ 31-40%



Fuente: INEGI | Gráfico: Alfredo San Juan

FIGUR 8 CONNECTIVITY BY STATE