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Civic Campaigns and Protest Against Ciudad Juarez Violence

Laura Lizeth Sarinana

University of Texas at El Paso, llsarinana@utep.edu

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CIVIC CAMPAIGNS AND PROTEST AGAINST CIUDAD JUAREZ
VIOLENCE

LAURA LIZETH SARINANA

Department of Communication

APPROVED:

Stacy K. Sowards, Ph.D., Chair

Richard Pineda, Ph.D.

Selfa A. Chew-Smithart, Ph.D.

Benjamin C. Flores, Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

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Dedication

To Josefina Reyes Salazar, Papi Sadi, Ruben Reyes Salazar, Elias Reyes Salazar, Malena Reyes Salazar, Julio Cesar Reyes and to Chuy Alarcon. To those who fought day in and day out for a better tomorrow.

“Prefiero morir de pie, que vivir siempre arrodillado”.

“I rather die on my feet than to always live on my knees.”

Emiliano Zapata

CIVIC CAMPAIGNS AND PROTEST AGAINST
CIUDAD JUAREZ VIOLENCE

by

LAURA LIZETH SARINANA, B.S.

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To my friend Edna Martinez, thank you for never giving up on me. You are my role model and without you I honestly do not think I would stand where I am today. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

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ABSTRACT

Civic Campaigns and Protests Against Ciudad Juárez Violence

By

Laura Sariñana

This thesis examines civic campaigns and protests in relationship to the violence in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. While thousands of people have died in what the Mexican government has called the drug war, thousands more have opted to go out and protest for a better and safer environment in which they and their family can reside. This research aims to explain how social movement activists respond to the current violence in their community. It is based on the observation that while social movements in Ciudad Juárez have undertaken issues regarding the current violence, not much emphasis has been placed on the activists' reasons and beliefs, which have cornered individuals to join such movements. In order to explore what factors have contributed to such a response, or in some instances the lack of, this research used theories of frames, political opportunities, and resource mobilization. Ten semi-structured survey-interviews were conducted with social movement participants. The survey-interviews provided information about the key factors that contributed to or hindered action against the violence that their community faced. The main findings in this research suggest that people will act to defend their human rights, which relates back to the resources and opportunities that their community offers them. Both situations instigated people to act against violence or lack of human rights. In doing so, individuals hope that their acts will eventually lead their community to change and serve as a guide to other communities or countries that might have a similar situation.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“The enactment of confrontation gives a movement its identity, its substance and form. No movement for radical change can be taken seriously without acts of confrontation” (Cathcart, 1978, p. 95).

It is important to define what a social movement is, why it forms and more importantly, how it gives a voice to those who participate. According to Zirakzadeh (2006), a social movement usually comes together because the law that is currently stated in the country’s constitution is not serving citizens as it should, and they feel the need to begin a social movement in order to voice their objections. However, lack of legal protection is not the only cause for a social movement or a protest to form. Cardena (2008) stated that, “Social Movements orientations are not only political or economic. Some seek to influence collective representations (citing Durkheim), about the meaning ascribed to things, events and relations” (p.265). Participants not only challenge decisions made by authorities, but they attempt lasting and significant change within the fabric of their society, that has suffered from the power of the few and the marginalization of many of its citizens, allowing for social movement and protest to form. Social movements are built by active community members from a diverse range of backgrounds; however, members of social movements normally “lack political clout, prestige, enormous wealth, and their interests are not routinely articulated or represented in the political system” (Zirakzadeh, 2006, p. 4).

In order to try to understand why current social moments have come about, I will examine recent social movements in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. From the moment Mexico’s President Felipe Calderón declared war on drug cartels and established military and federal police control in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, there has been an upsurge of deaths and

an increase of human rights violations. If the government is to protect its citizens, then why do citizens feel the need to go out into the streets and protest against those who are said to be there to protect them? I analyze what people who participate in Juárez social movements ask for and how they believe social movements will help them accomplish their community goals. Lastly, I explore the impact that technology has had on social campaigns through social marketing. This project also allows those directly being affected to tell their side of the story and what they see as the Truth about what is happening in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.

1.1 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND MÉXICO

It is important to mention various social movements both in The United States of America and in México in order to try to comprehend the impact that social movements have had on their respective societies and on history itself. The 1960s in the United States are often perceived as a period of cultural, social, and political change. In the 1960s and 1970s, there were countless social movements that tried to change issues related to oppression. The 1960s fostered the Civil Rights Movement as the African-American community sought to end discrimination and end segregation. In this movement, the strongest voice of that time was Martin Luther King, Jr., who advocated nonviolent resistance and tried to change society through challenging laws that justified or allowed for discrimination. Activists sought to narrow the gap between “America’s lofty promise of liberty and justice for all and the actual experience of oppressed or marginalized people” (Hall, 2010, p. 9).

The beginning of the 1980s heralded a civil rights movement by the gay community. This movement was sparked, at least in some part, by the spread of the AIDS epidemic and subsequent social segregation. Port Huron urged the building of a social movement that would re-energize the “freedom and equality for each individual and a government of, by, and for the people” (Hall, 2010, p. 538).

Social movements have taken place for many decades, not only in the United States of America, but also in México and elsewhere. One of México's most famous social movements to date occurred in 1968, which was the Tlatelolco protest. On the evening of October 2, 1968, numerous students, who were protesting in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, were assassinated, detained, shoved, kicked, and beaten. The Tlatelolco protest stemmed from a seemingly insignificant event; two male students got into a fight, which rapidly mushroomed into a police-student confrontation, which led to students preventing police from entering the university campus. In a series of subsequent protests, the "students pressed for the following demands: amnesty, compensation for wounded students and families of students killed, dismissal of the chief and deputy chief of police, abolition of the tactical police corps, freedom for all political prisoners, and the repeal of the two articles of the Mexican constitution that defined the crime of 'social dissolution'" (Young, 1985, p. 72). The Mexican government, on the other hand, feared the embarrassment this might cause México as the 1968 Olympics approached and were scheduled to take place in México.

As in the United States, Mexican social movements have had a huge impact on its society and have shaped what México has become today. The Barzón social movement was born in Jalisco in August 1993. The movement was initially formed by medium and large agricultural entrepreneurs, who had been favored by the protection and promotion policies, but they faced problems due to the falling profitability of sales, which was the result of the liberation of the agricultural market and the cancellation of subsidies to production and consumption. In an attempt to better the situation that they were facing, many got credit to invest in the hope that it would help the current market. However, it was not an ideological or dependent organization of any political parties. "This enabled it to forge coalitions with groups of left and right, without compromising their independence (Williams, 2001) by combining the policy of protest with institutional policy to achieve specific objectives. Many borrowers joined the Barzón movement seeking help to protect their property and to have collective representation and legal aid. Moreover, thousands of injunctions issued between 1995 and 1998 on the basis of the

unconstitutionality of charging compound interest on debts, were dismissed after the Mexico Supreme Court declared the bill unconstitutional” (Cadena, 2008, p. 271).

When development plans began for a second airport to serve Mexico City, those people who planned to invest and as a result gain profits believed the project would be a great investment plan. They did not stop to ask those who would be harmed or in some way be directly affected by this construction. At the beginning of 2001, the Office of Transportation and Communication in Mexico City planned to build an alternative airport for México City in the area of Tizayuca, Hidalgo and Texcoco. While studies were done only on the technical and economical aspect of the building plan, no contact was made with the owners of the properties, who would be displaced once construction began. When the project was announced, people formed the “Frente Unido de comunidades en contra del Aeropuerto-Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra,” also known as FUCA-FPDT, and protested against the opening of the airport. Streets were blocked and the owners of the contested properties marched with sticks and machetes in hand, as Cadena explains:

The most intransigent position against the peasant movement came from Mexico state authorities. The state attorney requested apprehension orders for illegal deprivation of liberty, injury, locks and outrage public buildings. There were 30 property owners injured, 19 missing and three policemen injured. In protest against the repression, property owners blocked the Texcoco Lecheria road again, burned three patrol vehicles. The July 14 announcement that the federal government assumed direct the attention of the conflict marginalized the matter to the authorities of the state of Mexico and reported that without the consent of property owners they would not have an airport. In the last intent to take the project forward they offered the property owners to pay them 50 pesos instead of the initial 7.20 offered at the beginning. On August 1 the decision to cancel the proposed new airport in Texcoco was announced. The airport was not built and the owners of the land were able to keep their property (Cadena, 2008, p. 272).

1.2 STUDY

Understanding past and present social movements is important so that future generations will have a clear understanding about why such movements form and their ability to create change in their community. However, there is an apparent lack of understanding about social movement participants and what motivates them to join such movements knowing that they, at some point, are putting their lives and their loved ones in danger. The importance of this study is to understand civic campaigns and protest in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, and why such movements come about and their importance to those living in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. I interviewed several social movement participants and leaders involved in civil campaigns and protests in order to give a voice to those being affected by the events happening in their city. This study aims to understand the lives of those who often are marginalized by those in power and the resistance they represent by protesting. The everyday lives of these activists will allow the reader to view the insight of the social, cultural, and economic problems as each activist sees them. Their narratives give form to this thesis research by informing the readers about civic campaigns and protests. In an effort to accomplish this task, the following research questions were addressed:

RQ1: What are the communicative narrative characteristics of post-globalization social movements?

RQ2: What themes/types emerge from movement discourse in Ciudad Juárez?

Civic campaigns and protest are conducted on a daily basis in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, and activists continue to face numerous adversities. While difficulties are many and vary from one movement to another, the research questions will help the reader truly understand what activists deal with day in and day out.

Chapter one provides a brief background of what a social movement is and why it forms. I also touch on past social movements in The United States of America and in México in order to

give the reader a better understanding of different social movements. By adding U.S. movements to this research, I believe it will allow us to see that even in a country such as the United States of America, people still seem to have the need to go out and protest. It also includes an overview of the importance that this research has and the research questions that will be answered through this research.

Chapter two will review the literature that guided this research. This will later afford me the opportunity to focus on the theories that allowed for this research to unfold.

Chapter three discusses the methodological and theoretical approach used to successfully conduct research on social movements. It is here that I intend to explain the qualitative research methods that were used and the process that I took to gather information in order to have a clear understanding of social movements and how it interrelates with the communication world.

Chapter four gives an extensive presentation of data gathered by the all the interview-surveys conducted during the research.

The conclusion will provide my final thoughts regarding the research. I also provide my suggestions and thoughts regarding social movements and their participants.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

More often than not, social movements in communication are studied from a basic level, which is to analyze rhetorical motives for instigating social movements. The voices behind the social movement are not given an opportunity to speak about the reasons behind why they decided to join such movements. Most of the information presented to the public is formed by the media or by those in power rather than by the activists themselves. New technologies, such as the Internet, give those in social movements the opportunity to communicate easier and faster with those in different nations, countries, states, cities or towns, thus opening interaction and communication between social movement participants at a faster pace. Such technology also offers a globalization of information, as it plays a large role in people's daily lives this truly affects, either positively or negatively, the style of life a person can have in their community. The reasons for why people join a social movement vary from person to person, but they are there to create change whether it is because of a personal reason or because their human rights are not being respected or guaranteed.

2.1 INTERNET/GLOBALIZATION

The explosion and advancement of the Internet and social media allow members of a collective cause to exponentially raise awareness in a swift manner and do so on a global scale that otherwise would not be possible. McDonald states (2006) that in the process, these "movements open new ways of thinking about globalization, allowing us to move away from ideologies of the borderless world of simultaneity and to begin to understand globalization in terms of multiple worlds, where civilizations are being interpenetrated in new ways" (p. 1). O'Brien and Smith mention "there is a strong contemporary trend for civil society organization to build stronger and more formal transnational networks for international advocacy, propelled by need and opportunity in the globalizing world. The growth of the Internet and information technologies is revolutionizing civil society advocacy and is facilitating the formation of networks and coalitions" (cited in Clark, 2003, p.109).

The phenomena of the Internet have allowed those hundreds of miles away and even those next door to stay connected and informed about what is going on around them. Social movement activists use the web to communicate with other activists in several complementary ways.

These methods range from the relatively unorganized and individualistic use of electronic mail networks to systems professionally organized specifically for activism. The most informal method involves the personal use of electronic mail. Activists will send items of relevance to friends, colleagues, and fellow activists, who in turn may be spurred into action by the message. Each person who receives the message has the option to forward it to her or his acquaintances. The result is an effective information network powered by electronic mail forwarding. Using this method, activists can relay messages to thousands of like-minded computer users in a very short time (Myers, 2010, p. 3).

These organizational forms have lowered the costs of advocacy, enabling the entry of new participants and increasing the potential for greater effectiveness, which offers competition, as well as opportunities, to more conventional 'bricks and mortar' civil society organizations and new challenges to policy makers (Clark, 2003, p. 109).

The immediacy of information provided by the Internet allows for social movements to post valuable information for their specific cause thus allowing Web readers to become educated on social concerns they may have otherwise been uninformed about. The web also, allows for anybody to participate no matter where they live. Web pages offer advances over previous modes of electronic communication because they allow individuals to easily distribute formatted text and graphics. Myers (2010) states that "With the advent and popularization of the World Wide Web, individual activists and activist organizations have created thousands of home pages that provide information on activist concerns and activities" (p. 3). Furthermore, the ease of navigating the web via point-and-click hypertext links encourages use among those activists who may be less technically knowledgeable. The web is more limited, however, with regard to interactivity. Activist web pages usually consist of static documents, which can only be updated

by the author; the technical knowledge necessary to maintain even a low degree of interactivity is beyond most activist users. As many scholars have observed (e.g., McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1988), it is essential for movements to exploit communication resources in order to achieve their goals. Communication must be able to “generate sympathy among bystanders” and maintain “legitimacy and efficacy” among movement participants (McAdam et. al., 1988, p. 129). In recent social movements, the use of Twitter, Facebook and other new media technologies have been used in order to reach a bigger audience in a smaller amount of time and give a voice to those who otherwise would be unheard. Khagram states that “today’s protest movements fits the definition of a transnational social movement, as of actors with common purposes and solidarities linked across country boundaries that have the capacity to generate coordinated and sustained social mobilization in more than one country to publicly influence social change” (cited in Clark, 2003, p.112).

2.2 WHY DO PEOPLE PROTEST?

Going out to protest is not an easy thing to do, especially in harsh weather and violent conditions, but most social activists find they need to do so in order to cry out for help and at the same time seek change. Griffin (1952) contends that persons are “moved by an impious dream of a mythic new order – inspired with a new purpose... they are moved to act: moved ... to rise up and cry NO to the existing order and prophesy the coming of the new. And thus movements begin” (p. 10).

México and the United States of America, along with other countries, have experienced numerous social movements. If the laws in place do not protect and guarantee people’s rights, then people may feel the need to take to the streets. By protesting and campaigning, people can make their voices heard. If the fight for human rights functions the way we hope for, that is by eliminating major forms of institutionalized oppression in the world, what is not needed is more tinkering with philosophical foundations, or more exercise in norm creation without effective implementing institutions, but rather the application of the human imagination to the problem of

gathering and sustaining the resources necessary to properly implement human rights (Morton, 2007). But until that time, protest and campaigns will continue to arise in order to achieve their ultimate goal. Clark (2003) states, “new movements attract much attention from the public, policy-makers and academics alike” (p. 111).

2.3 HUMAN RIGHTS

What are human rights? How do they come about and who is responsible in guaranteeing them? According to Morton, “in order to properly understand what human rights are, how they function in moral and political discourse, as well as they are to be justified, it is important to understand that human rights have come about as normative responses to historical oppression” (2007, p. 286). Historically, oppression was fought directly as a response to the direct violation of human rights. In order for human rights to exist, the voice of the citizens must survive and become the caretaker of social freedom. Morton (2007) further explains, “it is the essential purpose and function of this special category of moral norms to prevent and to eliminate those practices and social conditions that lead to, foster, support or directly cause severe, systematic oppression, or, stated positively, promote social conditions that allow for human beings to live with their dignity, well-being, freedom, and their possibility of human flourishing intact” (p. 286). Behind laws and regulations there exist thousands of stories, those that have been told and thousands that will never be. For those who have already suffered and for new generations to come, human rights need to be guaranteed. Meyers (2010) states that:

Tens of thousands have been killed by traffickers or by security forces, including many innocent civilians, most of whose deaths will never be investigated. There have been numerous human rights violations including forced disappearances, torture, and arbitrary detentions that have been committed by the Mexican government’s security forces, mainly the Mexican military. The failure to hold soldiers, federal police, and local authorities responsible for the violations they commit leads to more abuse, weakens citizen trust, and undermines the population’s willingness to collaborate in the struggles against any type of crime. For those who

denounce human rights violations committed by the military, federal police and local authorities run the risk of being threatened, attacked, and even killed (p. 1).

In Ciudad Juárez, citizens have for decades protested against the government's impunity to protect its citizens. Human rights' main principle claims "human rights laws are moral entitlements that ground moral, political, and legal claims...which must be morally and legally prior to society and state" (García, 1999, p. 54). In recent years, protests and campaigns against the actions of government officials from all three levels of federal law have been pointed out as the main causes of the atrocities happening in Ciudad Juárez due to their lack of protection for citizens. When the government has failed to do so, citizens have the right to demand its government to perform its proper duty. Ruoss (1968) mentions that:

In other eras when any group of Americans had grievances against a system, they organized to demand that that particular system be changed or they actually changed the system by use of their aggregated numbers and power. The first step in responding to a cry for help is to hear it. Those who have must hear the cries of those who do not have if America is to respond. (p. 22)

The victims are not only those who are facing a death of an innocent family member, but violence also affects the community as a whole. It is up to the community to fight together to create the change they desire to see in their community. The demands are to bring attention to the thousands of deaths that have taken place in México, to create a safe community in which people can live, and to develop a proper working government that serves its people and does not abuse its authority.

The citizens who command the most awareness in Ciudad Juárez are those people who are directly impacted by an event that happened in their lives. Since many of the victims are unable or cannot seek justice for themselves; the responsibility then falls on their family members. Due to the majority of the families' economic struggles, it is almost impossible for them to do so. For this reason, human rights activists, women's groups, religious groups, and others, help to disseminate their stories and seek justice. These groups interact with the families

by offering their support for the situation they are going through. All of these groups provide support in different ways to the family such as counseling, moral support, protesting, seeking justice and so on. Although this might not seem to offer much to many, it means a lot to the families they are helping to cope with the situation they are experiencing. Morton (2007) explains that:

Human right narratives are the result of millions of such: personal stories of atrocity, torture, humiliation, brutality, discrimination, exploitation, repression, deprivation, marginalization, cruelty, betrayal, abandonment, denial, neglect, crime, abuse, and murder. The contemporary canon of human rights law is a socially constructed bulwark against just such forms of historically experienced oppression; it is a system of moral commitments and legal safeguards designed to be deployed in order to avert or to forestall some of the most serious, common, and preventable causes of human oppression that are among the most serious man-made threats to human freedom and well-being (p. 286).

It is often necessary to give specific details about what people go through in their lives in order to understand why people come together to create a social movement. When people come together and commence a social moment, it simply gives those without a voice— the unknown—the power to shine through unity.

2.4 CIUDAD JUÁREZ AND THE WAR AGAINST DRUG CARTEL

Ciudad Juárez, located in the Mexican state of Chihuahua, has historically experienced high rates of violent crime (Ensalaco, 2006). In 2008, Ciudad Juárez, the largest city in the state of Chihuahua, had a reported homicide rate of 130 for every 100,000 residents. In 2009, the aforementioned rate reached 191 murders per 100,000 residents. In both years, Ciudad Juárez had the highest murder rate in México and one of the highest in the world (Meyer, 2010), and the violence continues with no sign of ending in the near future. This, however, is not the first time Ciudad Juárez has had such a high crime rate related to both violence and death. In the early 1990s, women began mysteriously disappearing in Ciudad Juárez. Some of these young

women's bodies were found in the Chihuahuan desert with bodily signs of torture, rape and strangulation. Local authorities were unresponsive to this sudden outbreak of violence. Rather than taking action to prosecute the perpetrators and stop the violence against women in the region, state authorities and police blamed the victims for their fates. Ciudad Juárez is also known for the impunity of their authorities and for its human rights violations against its citizens (Meyer, 2010).

When President Calderón took office in December 2006, he made combating drug cartels a priority. He called the increased drug violence a threat to the Mexican state and sent thousands of soldiers and federal police to combat cartels in drug trafficking "hot spots." Soldiers and federal law enforcement officials have been tasked with arresting traffickers, establishing checkpoints, burning marijuana and opium fields, and intervening drug shipments along the Mexican coast (Beittel, 2009). Calderón's strategy was based on the use of force by the military in order to disrupt the drug cartels activities. When this went into effect, Calderón hoped to implement institutional reforms, particularly within the police and the judicial systems (Meyer, 2010). Since President Calderón has been in office as México's president, he has not been able to effectively keep the country under control or been able to provide security for the citizens. Many Ciudad Juárez residents do not approve of the military invading their city for the purpose of providing protection. Countless numbers of people have died and hundreds have fled their homes in search of a better place to live, a place where they can feel at ease. According to the government, the presence of the military in the streets would reverse the trend of insecurity in Mexico and, therefore, the military have been entrusted with tasks previously reserved for the police and other civil authorities (Meyer, 2010).

2.5 PROTEST AND SOCIAL AWARENESS

The campaigns and protests in Ciudad Juárez are creating social awareness for those who are not affected by the current situation. These protests have made more people aware of the current situation in Juárez and have also caused more people to join in these protests. Ciudad

Juárez and El Paso-based organizations have joined forces in order to strengthen the impact they have on achieving positive change in Ciudad Juárez. Recent events have garnered international news coverage, which in turn, allows for people outside Ciudad Juárez and México to become aware of the violence that exists in these areas. Muñoz (2011) states that:

In 2003, Amnesty International (AI) and later Human Rights Watch (HRW) explicitly and repeatedly noted a gap between expected and actual behavior by Mexican authorities, condemning not only the disappearances and killings of women as such but also the blatant failure of the federal, state and municipal governments to prevent them and to punish those responsible. (p. 342)

2.6 THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY

The importance of this study is to allow social movement protesters the opportunity to voice their opinions about the reality of what is happening in Ciudad Juárez as they see it. This approach facilitates the genuine contributions and representation of social movements in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Additionally, narratives from the protesters themselves give us an idea about what is happening in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, from their respective points of view. This study intends to recognize the struggle, marginalization, and empowerment of social movements and the difficulties the protesters go through on a daily basis. The narratives that the protesters share helps disseminate the misunderstanding of the negative aspect that social protesters have in general. Protesters are often marginalized by those in power, therefore their narratives are extremely important to present the other side of the story; one which more often than not is not properly covered or taken into consideration.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I outline the methodology that I used to conduct my research. I opted to use qualitative research to gain an in-depth perspective and descriptive data, which can be used to gain a clear understanding of why people join social movements and their main goals and motives for joining such movements. Lindlof & Taylor (2011) state that:

Qualitative researchers use survey-interview method for several reasons: to understand perspectives in a scene, to retrieve personal experiences from the past, to gain expert insight or information, to obtain descriptions of events that are normally unavailable for observation, to foster trust, to understand sensitive relationships, and to create a record of communication that can subsequently be analyzed (p. 3).

Data can be gathered in multiple ways, including survey-interviews and participant observation in order to try to understand the participant's story. It is important for the participant to open up about their life experiences in order to gain a more complex understanding about these experiences, not only as an activist but also as citizens. Walter Fisher (cited in Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) mentioned that qualitative interviews offer an opportunity for people to tell their stories as they see fit and, in so doing, to achieve some coherence in shaping their own understandings. However, with qualitative research, getting involved with people directly can lead the research to unexpected findings. Qualitative research gives participants an open way to express themselves regarding a certain topic. Participants often include within their stories, their opinions, beliefs, and customs, making it harder for the research to keep its original structure and form.

3.1 NARRATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH

The day-to-day narratives of social movement members are extremely important because it allows the researcher to view social movements and its participants from within the movement structure as opposed to an external superficial view. This approach allowed me to obtain insight and knowledge of the internal interactions and mechanisms by which a social movement is born

and how the movement sustains life until its primary goal is accomplished. Lindlof & Taylor (2011) state that:

Through the use of the narrative interview method, the social movement member's side of the story allows the researcher a better understanding of the dynamic relationship between the person's own personal story and the driving force of the social movement. Narrative interview is not only a method of "capturing" stories; it also assumes that people understand who they are partly through their everyday performances of narrative (p. 180).

For this project, I selected the narrative survey-interview method as compared to other options available because it allowed for participants to tell their stories through their respective points of view. The survey-interview method allowed every participant to express their own thoughts and feelings regarding any of the social movements that they are currently active with in Ciudad Juárez. Surveys were in both English and Spanish, which allowed participants to choose the language they preferred. All participants answered the survey in Spanish. The survey was taken by participants starting March 10 - April 5, 2013. The survey was conducted via Facebook. Data gathered from the survey was transcribed and translated.

3.2 SAMPLE METHOD

I used the snowball-sampling method in order to gather data. Snowball sampling, as Biernacki & Waldorf explain, "yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest" (cited in Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 114). Survey-interviews are particularly well suited to understanding the social actor's experience, knowledge and worldviews. Rather, everything that people say in a survey "stories, asides, hesitations, expressions of feeling, and spontaneous associations," is as Paget characterized (cited Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 173). "Whether they realize it or not, they are the authors of the stories they tell" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 173). By putting the interview-survey on Facebook and requesting that those completing the interview-survey to inform others of its existence in order to prompt more participants to respond allows for

improved snowball sampling. The number of people taking the interview-survey grew once those who took the survey suggested that their contacts complete the survey as well.

To answer my research questions, I surveyed social movement participants who have been involved in protests and campaigns in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. In doing so, I hoped to gain insight into why protests form, why people feel the need to protest, and what campaigns do for such protests. Participants were from Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Participants were both men and women; their ages ranged from 20 to 65 years of age; and they were from a Mexican ethnic background. Participants were recruited based on their roles as social activists or their participation in recent campaigns. This study is based on approximately 10 interviews conducted by the researcher in March 2013. Participants took approximately 30-50 minutes to complete the survey. The survey was conducted in Spanish and English; however, all answers were written in Spanish since that was the subjects' native language. I then translated all responses into English.

3.3 SAMPLE SIZE

The sample size was determined based on the amount of data needed in order to have a sufficient number of stories for analysis. The range of participants survey-interviewed ranged from ten participants in order to conduct this study. The researcher usually begins with a few instances that fit the interest of the study. Tuckett mentions that sampling proceeds in serial fashion, that is, one adds new instances “depending on who and what has come before, so that ongoing sampling supports the emerging theorizing” (cited in Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 117). “The end of this process comes into view when new data no longer add much of significance to the concepts that have been developed “(Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 117).

3.4 PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

For the purpose of this research, approval from The Institutional Review Board (IRB) was received, which is required by both the state and the university in order to conduct research with human subjects. Surveys were conducted via Facebook from a Qualtrics link, which was uploaded to the researcher's main page. This allowed for those activists who wished to complete

the survey to do so by clicking on the link available. At the beginning of each survey, every participant was asked if they agreed to participate in the survey by clicking yes or no in the online format. If yes was clicked, the participant was agreeing to take the survey. The contrary was true if the participant clicked on no (see Appendix A). Each participant had the opportunity to answer the survey in their preferred language since the surveys were provided in both in English and Spanish. All participants were notified that partaking in the study was voluntary, and that at any given time during the survey process they would be permitted to withdraw from participating. Participants were also notified that their identity would be kept confidential at all times. In order to protect the participants' identities, each participant was assigned a number and pseudonym. All participants were guaranteed that any future use of research material would protect their identities.

3.5 INTERVIEWS

When it comes to pinpointing the importance and purpose of qualitative research in the academic setting, one can say that an interview is often the most-used method. Lindlof & Taylor (2011) make a note that the main purposes of qualitative interviewing are:

- ☐ Understanding the social actor's experience and perspective through stories, accounts, and explanations
- ☐ Eliciting the language forms used by social actors
- ☐ Gathering information about this or processes that cannot be observed effectively by other means
- ☐ Inquiring about the past
- ☐ Verifying, validating, or commenting on information obtained from other sources
- ☐ Achieving efficiency in data collection (p. 173).

Interviewing thus provides the researcher the ability to get the perspectives of those directly involved in social movements and to raise issues that had not been previously considered. Data collection was based on a semi-structured survey-interview process. All who

participated in this research study were members or were engaged in social movements in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. This was extremely important and valuable in order to get the perspectives of those people directly involved. The survey-interviews were guided by a set of seventeen open-ended questions (see Appendix B). Interview questions were relevant to the specific research topic, which each participant had been involved in social moments and have a good knowledge of what a social moment is. The main objective for the survey-interview questions was to allow participants to tell their stories for further analysis. Having open-ended questions allowed for questions that are relevant to the specific respondent and gives the participant leeway to answer as he/she sees as fitting based on their life experiences. Participants also answered a demographic questionnaire given to them before the interview process began (see Appendix C). I chose to use a semi-structured survey-interview because it allowed me to make sure that the same questions were asked to each participant, thus making it easier for data to be gathered once all ten participants had completed the survey-interview.

3.6 IRB LIMITATIONS

Under the circumstances that Ciudad Juárez is currently living through it was impossible to conduct in person interviews. Currently no research is allowed to be conducted across the border with our neighbor city. Ciudad Juárez is considered to be extremely dangerous not only for the participant but for researchers themselves. In order for the IRB department to grant me permission to conduct research; IRB consent form had to be modified 4 times in order to assure the university that participants did not run any risk while participating in this research project. I did mention other interview methods such as face-to-face and Skype formats; however, the IRB department representative believed that could also put the participants at risk, so it was decided that the best and safest way to conduct data collection was through survey-interviews in which participants were completely anonymous to me and in this project.

CHAPTER 4: DATA AND ANALYSIS

Qualitative data was gathered through the quotes provided by the participants and later analyzed, to gain data. Qualtrics were used to interview participants. Qualtrics is a program that enables researchers to create interview-surveys that can be linked from a webpage of the researcher's choosing, which provided a method for targeting a group of participants. Data analysis was split into a two-way process: "data analysis and interpretation" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 242). I opted to present direct quotes from participants to exhibit an in-depth view of the participants' life experiences. I reviewed all the information gathered through survey-interviews and analyzed data obtained in each of the interviews. I then separated the data into categories to focus on the "similarities and differences of the participants' narratives and then to reconstitute them into categories, patterns, themes, concepts, and propositions" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 243). This process made the data on a particular subject more visible and allowed me to analyze it further as I gathered information and grouped it together.

4.1 THEORETICAL STRATEGY

The primary motivation for researching social movement participants' narratives was to allow for those who are involved in such movements to tell their distinctive contributions within their society, as they are perceived from their own point of view. The past and the present can come alive in people's narratives. This also allows for people to gain perspective about what happened and why it happened during the time period. Lindlof and Taylor (citing Bruner, 1987) mention that life stories must mesh, so to speak, within a community of life stories; tellers and listeners must share some 'deep structure about the nature of a life, for the rules of life-telling are altogether arbitrary, tellers and listeners will surely be alienated by a failure to grasp what the others are saying or what he [or she] thinks the others are hearing" (2011, p. 181). Lindlof and Taylor (citing Corey, 1996) mention that the personal narrative "creates a dynamic interplay between self and others" (2011, p.181). The stories are often told in relation to cultural discourse of race, class, gender, sexuality, and other politicized identities.

Social movements continue to face numerous challenges to which they have to face day after day. While social movements are phenomena all over the world such as Egypt, Europe, the Middle East and many other places, this study only focuses on the current social movements occurring in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. The narratives provide social movement members the opportunity to share their stories as they answer the research questions. Information gathered from the survey-interview was grouped into four categories: 1) social movements and protest, 2) human rights, 3) obstacles and message, and 4) government and technology. These categories were determined based on the common topics between the responses that each participant provided.

4.2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PROTEST

Opportunities given to those placed in higher power in society are by no means given to those who lack power, influence or money. Staples (2004) points out that an approach usually is taken when there is a perception of power disparities between dominant groups and their constituency members. Those who lack power are placed in situations where they are made to feel unimportant and unable to control basic decisions about their own lives. When people feel that their lives are being affected by the decisions of those in power, they tend to come together and create social protest or movements in order for their voices to be heard. “The process of organizing enables members of less powerful groups to transform themselves from objects of oppression to subjects able to act in unison to challenge dominant elites” (Freire, 1973, p. 3).

The participants discussed an array of examples of what they consider a social movement to be and how they are shaped by the society in which they live. Although every participant has their own answers for what they believe a social movement is, all of the responses are representative of the response provided by activist 1:

A social movement is a group of people in society that comes together when they have a specific problem once they organize to try to solve those issues, which many of the times they have to deal with those in higher power (Activist 1)

Un movimiento social es un grupo de personas en la sociedad que se reúne cuando tienen un problema específico una vez que se organizan para tratar de resolver las cuestiones que muchas de las veces tienen que lidiar con una mayor potencia. (Activista 1)

Activist 1 mentions that a social movement is formed when people in a society see problems within their society or there is a driving need for something to change. The activist also points out that often people find themselves trying to change something within their society or community because someone, who has power, invokes their right to make an impactful decision without consideration for the people who encompass that society.

Joining a social movement to show discontent with disconformities is not easy, especially in a country where great danger exists for both to the participants and their loved ones. Behind every social movement participant, an individual story exists. Each of these stories provides the fuel to create change within their society. Several participants revealed the different ways that the current violence has and is still affecting their everyday life. They also specifically emphasize the displacement and psychological effects that they have endured within the last couple of years, as Activist 4 observed:

Very much my family was mutilated, killed and displaced since the governance of Felipe Calderón militarized our lower valley of Juárez. (Activist 4)

Muchísimo mi familia fue mutilada, asesinada y desplazada iniciando con el gobierno de Felipe Calderón que nos militarizo nuestro valle de Juárez. (Activista 4)

Activist 4 mentions that her/his family was up-rooted from the lower valley of Ciudad Juárez. During these types of displacements, most people are not permitted to gather their belongings to take with them to their new location. They find themselves in a new place with little or nothing under their names. The struggles and frustrations toward the situation they live under pushes them to react by protesting against the situation they have been placed in and toward what they believe are their rights. There are those who decide to keep quiet or leave their state or country in order to look for protection, which is not provided in their current country.

Whereas Activist 4 endured a physical displacement and essentially became a refugee in

a foreign city, state or country, Activist 5 underwent a mental change. Although both faced different modifications in living circumstances, the change was necessary due to infractions upon their former lives. Activist 5 points out that the current violence in Ciudad Juárez has not only affected her/him psychologically and physiologically, but it has also violated her/his human rights. Both activists, however, mentioned that they suffered psychological damage, which can gradually deteriorate the psyche of that individual to the point that it is almost impossible for an individual to return back to her/his original state of being.

It has affected the time that we are able to go out, in a psychological and physiological stress, as well as the violation of human rights. (Activist 5)

La ha afectado al limitar las horas de salida de paseo, en el estrés psicológico y fisiológico, al igual que la violación de los derechos humanos. (Activista 5)

Activist 7, like Activist 5, expressed that she/he has experienced psychological damage. Activist 7 experience provides an example of how the current violence in Ciudad Juárez does not only affect people physically, but rather it affects people in a variety of ways:

Since 2009, the damages have been psychological; I have not experienced physical violence directly, only through people who are close to me. (Activist 7)

Desde el 2009, los daños han sido psicológicas, no he sufrido violencia física de manera directa, sólo a través de personas cercanas. (Activista 7)

Behind every person's story, there is a strong motive as to why they decided to join a movement. Whether it was a relative, friend, loved one or simply because they wanted to join a moment—we can observe that every participant's story about why they bonded with a social movement can vary from one to the other. In various cases, they joined a movement because they believed that something required change in their society. The following participant provided a glimpse of the various situations that set him/her in motion to join a social movement:

The protests against the militarization, Friday, October 29, 2010, when federal police shot a fellow activist in the back. (Activist 3)

Las protestas en contra de la militarización, viernes, 29 de octubre 2010, cuando la policía federal le disparó por la espalda a un compañero. (Activista 3)

Activist 3 directly contributed to the social movement because of the personal injustice he/she witnessed. Activist 4 reveals through his/her narrative to what extent a person must go to in order to ask the appointed authorities to help them through the situation that they were facing. He/she also mentions that he/she didn't receive the results that he/she wished for. They are however fortunate in that their loved ones didn't go on to be just another number on a long list of forgotten people. They gave their loved ones a voice and enabled their stories to continue.

Yes, when my brothers were kidnapped, tortured and murdered, we had to act on it with an affidavit, a hunger strike and we had an encampment outside the PGJ, which we obtained good results, but not the ones that we wanted, we wanted them alive, but they returned them nonetheless, we didn't go on to be part of yet another statistic that they never find out where their kidnapped family members are, at least we know that they now rest in peace. (Activist 4)

Si, cuando secuestraron a mis hermanos y no los torturaron y asesinaron y tuvimos que actuar en denuncias y huelga de hambre y plantón a las afueras de PGR, la cual obtuvimos buenos resultados no como queríamos que nos los devolvieran vivos, pero nos los devolvieron y así no pasamos a la estadística de que nunca en la vida los volveríamos a encontrar así como le pasa a mucha gente que jamás supieron donde quedaron sus familiares secuestrados y al menos nosotros sabemos que ya descansan en paz. (Activista 4)

The following narrative provides a different insight into why he/she decided to join a social movement. Activist 9 mentions that the people that he/she knew were murdered and as a collective group, his/her organization started a forum against the militarization and violence. Based on this, he/she was arrested and beaten for no reason. Meyer (2010) states, "human rights violations including forced disappearances, torture and arbitrary detention have been committed by the Mexican government's security forces" (p. 1).

In 2010, I became involved in the protests against the violence after the murder of activist Josefina Reyes Salazar from Guadalupe DB, because she was a fellow companion of the

Movimiento Regeneración Nacional (Morena) and a member of The murders of young Salvárcar Villas. Since then, along with others from our university networks organization, we integrate a civic front against militarization and violence, and support the organization of a forum. At the beginning of this forum, October 29, 2010, federal police shot and attacked a young participant of the march, so we shielded the federal police so that they would not be able to flee the crime scene, and we were also able to note their vehicle patrol number. On November 11 of that same year, federal police arrested me violently, illegally, after finding pictures on my cell phone from a protest that had happened the previous month. Reason for detention, "routine" traffic stop (inside my car there were written notes alluding to October 2 and against militarization), I was arrested, beaten, electrocuted, psychologically tortured and robbed of my belongings (phone and driver's license). So I drove him to raise the pitch of my protests, to publicize my case in the Federal District, with Representatives, Senators, the CNDH and other informational meetings in the Federal District. In February 2011, another two relatives of activist Josefina Reyes Salazar were kidnapped, so we proceeded to support their family in the area of communication, and support to protect their human rights, for almost a month and in conjunction with our sister organization in the Federal District. Besides that, we conducted protests in Ciudad Juarez and in Mexico's Senate, until sadly they were found dead. (Activist 9)

En el año 2010, me involucré en las protestas contra la violencia a raíz del asesinato de la activista Josefina Reyes Salazar de Guadalupe DB, debido a que era compañera del Movimiento Regeneración Nacional (Morena) y del asesinato de jóvenes de Villas de Salvárcar. A partir de entonces junto con otros compañeros de nuestra organización Redes Universitarias, nos integramos a un frente ciudadano en contra de la militarización y la violencia, y apoyamos en la organización de un foro. Al inicio de ese foro, el 29 de octubre de 2010, la policía federal atacó a balazos a un joven participante de la marcha, por lo que enfrentamos a policías federales para no dejarlos huir de la escena del crimen, y además logramos anotar sus números de patrullas. El 11 de noviembre, de ese mismo año, policías federales me detuvieron con violencia, de manera ilegal, después de encontrar en mi teléfono celular fotografías de las

protestas del mes pasado. Motivo de una detención "de rutina" de tránsito (mi vehículo tenía escritas leyendas alusivas al 2 de octubre y contra la militarización), fui detenido, golpeado, electrocutado con taser, torturado psicológicamente y robado de mis pertenencias (celular y licencia de conducir). Eso me orilló a aumentar el tono de mis protestas, dar a conocer mi caso en el Distrito Federal, con Diputados, Senadores, en la CNDH y otros encuentros informativos en el Distrito Federal. En febrero de 2011, otros dos hermanos de la activista Josefina Reyes fueron secuestrados, por lo que procedimos a apoyar a sus familiares en el área de comunicación, y apoyo acompañamiento para proteger sus Derechos Humanos, durante casi un mes y posteriormente en conjunto con nuestra organización hermana en el Distrito Federal. Además de que en esa ocasión realizamos protestas en Ciudad Juárez y en el Distrito Federal en la Cámara de Senadores, hasta que los encontramos lamentablemente sin vida.(Activista 9)

Activist 8, like Activist 9, have strong motives to join social movements in their community. Activist 8's testimony allows us to see that violence is present in their everyday life, and it is almost impossible to turn around and not do anything when their personal life is affected so much as well as their loved ones' lives.

Violence is in all processes, but not by blows but for denouncing how harsh reality is, severe and experiential. Robberies, assaults, insults, murders and near all kinds of risks that take place in everyday places.(Activist 8)

La violencia está en todos los procesos, pero no por golpes sino que la realidad que se denuncia es dura, grave y vivencial. Robos, asaltos, insultos, asesinatos y casi todo tipo de riesgos que son cotidianos en estos lugares. (Activista 8)

Although every participant had a different reason for why they joined a social movement, they all came together to let their voices be heard as one. The reason why they joined might be different, but all of them are asking for something to be changed by those in power. They elicit change and expect a response from the authorities, which govern their country. Simpson (2007) mentions that "victims have been unable to communicate or to bear witness to full horror of their experience, and their suffering has escaped easy definition" (p. 330).

4.4 HUMAN RIGHTS, OBSTACLES AND MESSAGE

Activists might be fearful for their lives and those of their loved ones, but they tend not to stay quiet. They go on to condemn the abuses that they go through and the atrocities that they face on a daily basis. The emotions involved in social activism are central factors in the recruitment to, motivation for, and sustainability of social movements (Jasper, 1997; Goodwin et. al., 2004; Flam & King, 2005; Goodwin & Jasper, 2006). In recent years, scholars of social movements, with the goal of coming closer to understanding the subjective experience of social actors, have highlighted this significance (Jasper, 1997). Zirakzadeh (2006) states that the “decision to participate is made, usually, only after a person who is exploited or oppressed, has found the stated aims of the movement relevant to his or her immediate situation, and has calculated the cost: benefit ratio associated with participation” (p. 11). Such is the case for many of the activists who join social movements in Ciudad Juárez, and then there are those who join social movements because they know of someone who is or was affected by the current violence that their country is experiencing.

We currently face a big problem; people are scared to come out to join the movements because there are people being killed. But then there are those that never give up and fight for their cause, even when they know that their life is at stake. For example, Marisela Escobedo was in front of government office asking for justice and did not give up on her rights as a citizen; those types of examples are the ones that allow the movement in Juarez to go on. Even when there is a very strong oppression, we need to make our voice be heard. We had a very strong persecution on November 1, 2011, where some of the people in a movement were arrested, tortured, beaten, and even there was a case where they wanted to put drugs on us. But even with all this happening to us we called another movement on November 26, 2011 to let everyone know that protesting is our right and that repression is a crime. Everyone has an option to come out and join the social movements to change the reality that we are living in Ciudad Juárez. We will go on until there are more people that get over their fear to come out and try to change things because things will not change by themselves. (Activist 2)

Activist 2 mentions that a fear does exist, but even this fear is not as powerful as the need to push forward in order to obtain change in their society. Even when people are brave and decide to deprecate the atrocities they have to experience, not much is done from the authority's side in order to solve the citizen's problems. These statements help us see the need that activists have to go out and risk their lives to some point to try and make a difference in their society. Moghadam (2009) contends that:

World organizations are viewed as primary instruments of shared modernity, disseminating standards and practices, and international conventions and treaties often provide declarations of common causes and blueprints for change. Social movements and civil society organizations including human rights and women's rights associations, environmental protection groups, and so on—are as active agents in the deepening of the cultural and normative features of world society (p. 3).

As Moghadam (2009) highlights, people must be the change they wish to see in their community. Change will not just happen from one day to the other, it has to be produced and shaped by members of the society. Winston (2007) states that in order to properly “understand what human rights are, how they function in moral and political discourse, and how they are to be justified, it is important to understand that human rights have arisen as normative responses to historical experiences of oppression” (p. 286).

4.5 GOVERNMENT

Activist 1 believes that the militarization of Juárez was unnecessary and was brought upon forcefully by President Felipe Calderón. Hundreds of citizens died unfairly and without merit. Human rights were violated and the landscape of their daily lives changed forever.

Right now we are more focused on stopping the strategy that Felipe Calderón has developed. It's a war strategy that has killed hundreds of innocent people, where we can see that the state instead of fighting the crime that currently exists they are in it as well. We can also see that this is just a custom to militarize the country and step over all human rights. That's what we

had to live with for the last couple of years. (Activist 1)

En este momento estamos más enfocado en la detención de la estrategia que Felipe Calderón se ha desarrollado. Es una estrategia de guerra que ha matado a cientos de personas inocentes en el que podemos ver que el estado en vez de luchar contra la delincuencia que existen en la actualidad se encuentra en ella también. También podemos ver que esto es solo una costumbre para militarizar el país y pasar por encima de todos los derechos humanos. Eso es lo que hemos tenido que vivir durante el último par de años. (Activista 1)

Activist 1 points out that the current war that Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, is going through is not something that anyone asked for. Therefore, the importance for people to come together and join forces is crucial to protect their human rights. The war can easily overshadow the deaths of innocent people that have died after and before the so-called war on drugs that was launched by Felipe Calderón.

The laws and the government system in place should serve to protect its citizens. Moghadam (2009) notes “the state also remains the body primarily responsible for guaranteeing the rights of citizens and human rights more broadly” (p. 25). However, activist 2 mentions that while the lack of protection towards people’s human rights is important, she/he also emphasizes the deficiency of authorities to do their job according to the law. Maghadam (2009) also contends that “there are states with the means and the capacity to provide civil, political, and social rights of citizenship, but which choose not to; instead, they repress any attempts at independent organizing or protest” (p. 25). Activist 2 argues that the government has overstepped its boundaries without the opinion or request of the citizens:

In general, all human rights are being stepped on. We are living in times that Mexican authorities skipped the chain of governmental authorities. This allows for citizens to be affected by such decisions; authorities are able to enter their homes without an order of search or retain them and so on. One on the main arguments that authorities give when asked why they believe that such protest exist; is that those that are not for this war are against it and are in favor of the criminals and violence, that is not true it’s not right for people to be killed out on the street. We

believe that if there is a criminal, then he should be detained and be judged in the court of law, not killed. But this is not what we are seeing; we are seeing authorities killing our people instead of protecting us. We see many killed and thrown outside the city limits. We also are seeing that if at the time a person does not have an identification card with them they are arrested, beaten and left in the outskirts of the city. This systematic reverse of human rights in general tends to be because of the illegal things that the government is doing. (Activist 2)

En general, todos los derechos humanos están siendo pisoteados. Estamos viviendo en tiempos en que las autoridades mexicanas se saltan la cadena de autoridades gubernamentales. Esto permite que los ciudadanos se vean afectados por esa decisión; autoridades son capaces de entrar en su casa sin una orden de búsqueda o retenerlos y así sucesivamente. En el argumento principal que las autoridades dan cuando se les pregunta porque creen que las protesta existen, es que aquellos que no están a favor de esta guerra están en contra de ella y están a favor de los caminales y la violencia, esto no es cierto no está bien que maten a la gente en la calle. Creemos que si hay un criminal, entonces debe ser detenido y juzgado en el tribunal de justicia, no matarlo. Pero esto no es lo que estamos viendo, estamos viendo autoridades matando a nuestra gente en vez de protegernos. Vemos muchos muertos y arrojados fuera de los límites de la ciudad. También estamos viendo que si en el momento que una persona no tiene una tarjeta de identificación con ellos son detenidos, golpeados y abandonados en las afueras de la ciudad. Esta reserva sistemática de los derechos humanos en general tiende a ser por las cosas ilegales que el gobierno está haciendo. (Activista 2)

Citizens themselves need to look back through history and learn from it in order not to repeat the same mistakes that have been done. Stewart (1991) mentions that social movements must alter the ways audiences perceive the past, the present, and the future to convince them that an intolerable situation exists and that it warrants urgent action. Therefore, one must look at history to learn from it and not commit the same mistakes that have been committed in the past. Moghadam (2009) claims that:

Inasmuch as it connects people across borders around a common agenda and collective

identity; mobilizes large numbers of supporters and activist, whether as individuals or as members of networks, groups, and organizations; and engage in sustained oppositional politics with states or other power-holders (p. 5).

Activist 2 immediately recognized the repetition of history occurring with the militarization of Ciudad Juárez and understood the importance of citizens joining forces to prevent history from repeating itself:

Ciudad Juárez and its people have always come out when they feel the need to change what is going on. Thousands of military forces were sent to our city at a time to try to stop the drug cartels first and then the organize violence or so they say. We didn't only see an illegal act we saw an unconstitutional one as well, but we also saw that there was a lot of history with rural places such as Chiapas and other American countries with military dictatorship—we had knowledge that when military enters a community there is always more and an increase in human rights violations, force disappearances, rapes, deaths—with that clear knowledge, the organizations saw the need for Juarez to prepare themselves for a oppression that was to come from the military forces with the excuse that they were coming to help and combat the violence that Juarez was going through. At first, people were okay with the military to come in to our city because they truly believed that they were coming in to help the situation, but we have past history that showed otherwise. We cannot combat crime with criminal acts; they can't say they came in to make the law be respected when they themselves are not respecting it. (Activist 2)

Ciudad Juárez y su gente siempre han salido cuando sienten la necesidad de cambiar lo que está pasando. Miles de fuerzas militares fueron enviados a nuestra ciudad a la vez para tratar de detener a los carteles de la droga y luego organizar la violencia o eso dicen. No solo se ve un acto ilegal que vimos un inconstitucional también, pero también vimos que había un montón de historia con lugares rurales como Chiapas y de otros países americanos con la dictadura militar que tuvimos conocimiento de que cuando entran los militares siempre aumenta la violacion de derechos humanos, desaparición forzada, violaciones, muertes con un claro conocimiento de que las organizaciones vieron la necesidad de Juárez para que se preparen

para una opresión que habían de proceder de la fuerzas militares con la excusa de que venían a ayudar y luchar contra la violencia que Juárez estaba pasando. Al principio la gente estaba de acuerdo en que vinieran los militares para venir a nuestra ciudad porque el realmente creía que iban a venir para ayudar a la situación pero tenemos antecedentes que demostraron lo contrario. No podemos luchar contra la delincuencia con actos criminales, ya que ellos no pueden decir que vinieron a hacer que la ley se respetara cuando ellos mismos no la están respetando. (Activista 2)

Being aware of certain issues happening in society, in which the person lives, is not enough, that in and of itself will not help solve or address the problems citizens and those who wish to participate in the social movements are trying to change. Activist 2 declares that crime cannot be fought with more crime and that even the authorities in México themselves do not respect the rules and regulations. In order for citizens to respect those in power, they must at all times respect the law, which is in place to protect everyone from injustices and atrocities such as the ones happening in Ciudad Juárez. Because those in charge cannot respect their own authority, the foundation has been established by the people of Juárez to protest against the militarization of its city and that movement has now appeared in other regions in Mexico.

There are big changes with protest, especially the ones that have been made here in Juarez. There is a national social movement that has started against militarization. Now we see similar movements in Distrito Federal, Oaxaca, Chihuahua, Tijuana, Monterrey and Puebla that in one way or another have taken the demands and unconformities that started here in Ciudad Juarez for militarization. Another thing is that a foundation of a movement is the manifesting to the public in order for them to know that there is another truth; in one way or another the criticism against the military, against the government that has to do with the movements that are being done. People are paying attention to what is going on with our society. (Activist 1)

Hay grandes cambios con protesta especialmente las que se han hecho aquí en Juárez. Hay un movimiento social nacional que se ha iniciado en contra de la militarización. Ahora vemos movimientos similares en el Distrito Federal, Oaxaca, Chihuahua, Tijuana, Monterrey y

Puebla, que de una forma u otra han tomado las demandas y las inconformidades y las inconformidades que se iniciaron aquí en Ciudad Juárez por la militarización. Otra cosa es que las bases de un movimiento es la manifestación de la opinión pública a fin de que sepan que hay otra verdad, de una manera u otra de las críticas en contra de los militares contra el gobiernos que tiene que ver con los movimientos que se están haciendo. La gente está prestando atención a lo que está pasando con nuestra sociedad. (Activista 1)

Lake (1983) mentions that in the missionary approach, white bureaucracy believes that it knows what is better for Indians than the Indians do themselves. In the case of the Mexican government, the same approach is being employed. The people in power usually are those who serve the nation as the decision makers for those who live in the cities that are being affected by their decision making. Moghadam (2009) states that:

We are living in times of insecurity, instability, and risk, but equally in times of opportunity and possibility. Climate change, war, and economic recession loom large, while increased militarization by states and violent contention by non-state actors contribute to a seemingly dangerous world (p. 9).

While some social movements have minimum or no direct effect on their society, activist 1 mentions that there have been similar social movements that have fed from current movements against militarization. Such movements allow for people within a society to become visible and at the same time increase awareness of the problem at hand, not only within their respective community, but in other cities, states and so on. At the same time, it also creates international awareness. Thus the issues or problems that the community is experiencing are no longer seen through a tunnel-vision perspective, but rather under a magnifying glass, where not only a couple of people will be able to see it, but thousands will be informed about what is happening and unify for the cause and/or show their support. This also might help at some point to recruit more support for their cause. The situation needs attention from outside sources, because the local police force and other members of the government are turning their backs against those they originally swore to protect and serve.

It's not only the military, but also the militarized life, police are being militarized, federal police are being militarized. This is all a strategy; military forces are just a part of the problem. The problem is that people are living a life without rights. Not only do the military have to leave, but many other things need to change. (Activist 1)

No es solo el militar, sino militarizar la vida, la policía está siendo militarizada, la policía federal está siendo militarizada. Todo esto es una estrategia, las fuerzas militares son solo una parte del problema. El problema es que la gente vive una vida sin derechos. No solo los militares tienen que irse, pero muchas otras cosas tienen que cambiar. (Activista 1)

Activist 1 and Activist 2 mention that the military has not only been stationed in their community, and they have taken control of all other authorities. Meyer (2010) states that “the presence of the military in the streets would reverse the trend of insecurity in Mexico and therefore the military was entrusted with tasks previously reserved for the police and other civil authorities” (p. 4). Activist 2 briefly mentions that this gives way for human rights not to be respected at all and that the citizens are the ones being affected with such decisions. Because the military takes the authority from the local police force, civil and basic rights are violated continuously.

A militarized life is not only having the military in our streets, but the introduction to the logic of the war in civil life. When they transfer the elements of military to the functions of local authorities; when they start treating the citizens with the end of the shoe, when there is not respect to human rights, when there is no privacy, when the interest is that of the state and not the common citizens, the security of institution and of those in power comes first rather than the security of citizens. When someone gets shot first and then there is an investigation then we are in front of the logic of war. We are against the militarization because this introduction of the logic does not respond to the citizens' interests, but rather to the interests to those who are in favor of the war. This is a war against the Pueblo people and not against the criminals; if we go to the statistics we can see that there are no Narco-empresarios or Narco-políticos that have died—instead people from the pueblo are dying. They (government officials) say they are in a

combat and they die in combat, but people die unarmed. What we believe is that the Pueblo people do not know that there is a war against them. Therefore, there is the need to keep informing them and keep telling them that it's necessary to stop this war. There was a written verse on a sign in a social movement that we had that said, "When people read very little they shoot a lot of firearms." This takes us to say that people need to get informed in order to move forward; they need to read about past experiences and history and learn from others and help implement them in our society. (Activist 2)

Una vida militarizada no es solo tener a los militares en las calles, pero la introducción a la lógica de la guerra en la vida civil. Al transferir los elementos de militar a las funciones de las autoridades locales, cuando empiezan a tratar a los ciudadanos con la punta del zapato, cuando no hay respeto a los derechos humanos, cuando no hay intimidad cuando el interés de la del estado y no los ciudadanos comunes, la seguridad de la institución y de las personas en poder de la seguridad es lo primero en lugar de la seguridad de los ciudadanos. Cuando alguien recibe un disparo y luego hay una investigación, entonces estamos frente a la lógica de la guerra. Nos oponemos a la militarización ya que esta introducción de la lógica no responde a los intereses de los ciudadanos sino a los intereses de los que están a favor de la guerra. Esta es un guerra contra la gente del pueblo y no contra los criminales si vamos a las estadísticas podemos ver que no hay Narcoempresarios o políticos que han muerto en su lugar, la gente del pueblo se está muriendo. Ellos (los funcionarios del gobierno) dicen que están en un combate y que mueren en combate, pero la gente muere sin armas lo que creo es que la gente del pueblo no sabe que hay una guerra contra ellos. Por lo tanto, existe la necesidad de seguir informándoles a ellos y sigo diciendo que es necesario poner fin a esta guerra. Había un verso escrito en una firma que tenía en un movimiento social que teníamos que dice, "Que cuando la gente lee muy poco que dispara una gran cantidad de armas." De fuego esto nos lleva a decir que la gente necesita informarse con el fin de avanzar, sino que necesita leer acerca de las experiencias del pasado y de la historia y aprender de los demás y ayudar a ponerlas en práctica en nuestra sociedad. (Activista 2)

The militarization of Ciudad Juárez has had a profound impact on the city and its citizens. This unnecessary intrusion by the military was never demanded, much less recommended by the people of the city, but President Calderón forcefully applied this mandate without any regard for potential negative effects. Unfortunately, the military has reduced the basic human rights of the citizens of Juárez by instilling fear and opposing protection. Everyday people cannot trust members of the military because of the military's actions and abuse of power.

4.6 TECHNOLOGY, GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

New and improved technology, such as the Internet, has enabled social movements to quickly come to the assistance of those in need. It allows for social movements to organize and mobilize rapidly, unlike in past years or decades. It also allows for those miles away or even those who are located on the other side of the world to be informed at all times. Moghadam (2009) states that “social movements such as the Islamic movement engage in cross-border communication, coordination, solidarity, and direct action” (p. 46). This would have probably not been possible without the help of the Internet. Clark (2002) states that “the Internet provides much more than an exchange of information” (p. 113). Although activist 4 did not mention the importance of new technology such as Twitter, Facebook and Youtube, it is apparent these communication methods are being used to generate knowledge about what is happening in their community:

Actually very much because we communicate well and we are aware of what is happening to our fellow partners and so we can gather information quickly in order to help.
(Activist 4)

Pues en realidad mucho porque así nos comunicamos y estamos al tanto de lo que le pasa a nuestros compañeros y así podemos pasar información y podemos reunirnos rápido para poder ayudar. (Activista 4)

Activist 4 emphasizes the impact the Internet has had on social movements. The activist states that the Internet helps information to travel amongst other activists and non-activists much

faster. This in turn, allows for help to be delivered quickly to those in need. Moghadam (2009) points out “the Internet is a ‘gift’ of globalization and has made possible rapid communication, transfers, and mobilizations” (p. IX). Activist 4 expressed the value of social media in the 21st century stating its importance to enlighten citizens of governmental information citing the recent actions in the Middle East as an example.

Technology has always been an important factor in social movements, especially in this new millennium. We have seen tyrant government's fall in the Middle East due to the participation of people in social networks. It is and will be a tool that can set the course of governments because the population can provide the necessary information to see how things are done in government, besides facilitating the way in which people with similar goals and ideas can gather to advocate for the same cause. (Activist 5)

La tecnología siempre ha sido un factor importante para los movimientos sociales, sobre todo en este nuevo milenio. Hemos visto caer gobiernos tiranos en el medio oriente debido a la participación de la gente dentro de las redes sociales. Es y será una herramienta que puede definir el curso de los gobiernos porque puede proveer a la población de la información necesaria para ver como se hacen las cosas dentro del gobierno, además que facilita la forma en la que la gente con metas e ideas similares puede reunir para abogar por una misma causa. (Activista 5)

Clark (citing Khagram et. al., 2002) states that “movements fit the definition of transnational social movement as a set of actors with common purposes and solidarities linked across country boundaries that have the capacity to generate coordinate and sustained social mobilization in more than one county to publicly influence social change” (p. 113). Once again, activist 9 illustrates the importance that technology has within social movements:

The Internet in social networks, the easy access to communication, video recordings, audio, photographs. (Activist 9)

El Internet en las redes sociales, el fácil acceso a la comunicación, video grabaciones, audio, fotografías. (Activista 9)

Activist 9 displays the importance of different incorporation of assorted media including recording, audio and photographs. Radio is one of the most important media still available to the people, and allows for those who don't have easy access to the Internet to keep informed about what is happening outside their communities. However, for those who do have Internet audio, radio stations use the Internet to reach a bigger audience and have taken advantage of such to keep people informed at all times. In some instances, if a station is not permitted or simply is unable to transmit the information, the information is given to local stations where they can transmit the information. If this is not allowed, there have been "bootleg" radio stations that are created in order to broadcast the information. Video recordings, the same as radio, have left a positive mark on social movements. Especially now as recording devices are cheap and easy to use. Video uploading to the Internet (Facebook, Youtube, Twitter and so on) is easier than in the past year and this allows for information to be distributed in a quicker manner. In the past, this process might have been very expensive and not accessible to average citizens. However, this is available to many and used by thousands of people on a daily basis, opening the window of opportunity for the outside world to witness what is happening to others. All technology is interconnected, allowing people to stay connected with the outside world as well as with their community.

Even though every activist might have a slightly different answer as to what technology has done for social movements. One can agree that it has shaped the way social movements form, communicate and progress. Technology might be accessible to a small group of people who are being affected, but once information is out on the Internet it can travel a far and broad distance and draw others to the movement. A small-scale action might turn in to something enormous, and effectively changes the way people live, liberates lives and most of all, empowers people to create change.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

History consists of countless stories about the struggles of social movement participants within society and their efforts to change some aspect of their culture. This is one reason why history books are filled with accounts of the careers of great leaders, the rise and fall of political movements, and the terrors of revolutions (Evans, 1973). Movements entail critiques of existing social condition, proposals for new values and institutions, and strategies for change (Zirakzadeh, 2006). Nonetheless, social movements have brought with them great hope for the countless citizens of Ciudad Juárez. Over the years, it is clear that those in power have made a bigger effort to protect and create laws that help only a few, usually others like them, who will benefit from great power and richness. Thus, it illustrates the importance of social movements to develop the best course of action to reach desired goals.

With the stories that emerged from the survey-interviews conducted, one can see the importance that citizens have in social movements. The more people get involved, the larger the impact a social movement will have. Moghadam (2009) states, “we are living in times of insecurity, instability, and risk, but equally in times of opportunity and possibility” (p. IX). The activists pointed out that other social movements and protests have come about because of the impact that social movements have had in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. However, this study suggests that further research is needed in order to observe how social movements has or will impact other cities. A specific movement, which itself fails and disappears, within the framework of an enduring general movement, leaves behind the seeds of another specific moment (Evans, 1973). This study also suggests that further research is needed in the marketing of social movements, and how such would trigger others to start social movements in their own society. This project also notes the apparent lack of action taken by the Mexican Government in response to the people’s claims of the atrocities happening in their community.

The purpose of this research was to explore the social movement activists’ side of the story. This led to exploring what factors influenced activists to commence social movements in

Ciudad Juárez. Here, I argued that many, if not all social movements, are only studied from the outside in and not the other way around. Which doesn't allowed for the social movements and its activist to really expose why and what are the reasons behind them joining a social movement in the first place. The narratives allowed for the activist story to be showcase from a different side that usually is never told. The activist also chare the important role that the internet plays in social movements not only in Mexico but across the world and how such new technology helps movements cross borders and help other or new social movements. This help at some point or another serve as a guide to other upcoming social movements around the world but at the same time it allows for people outside the social movement circle to get informed regarding such movements. This can also bring new people to join social movements. I wanted to grant the activists the opportunity for their stories to be told. Through storytelling, there is the ability to create further awareness of the situation that citizens are going through. This provides knowledge to those who are not as informed or are uninterested in the subject. This will also generate greater support from others to work toward a solution.

Data was gathered through ten survey-interviews, which targeted social movement participants. Interviews were semi-structured, making use of open-ended questions and allowing participants to fully express themselves as they wished. It is clear that social movement participants in Ciudad Juárez are concerned about the impact that those in power have within their community. Although social movements face many challenges, there is still hope. With their dedication, unity and support, they will be able to create change. Sometimes the change might be viewed from those outside of the struggle as minimal, but for those within the struggle the most minute change brings about hope for bigger change.

5.1 INTERNET ON A GLOBAL SCALE

Social causes have been heavily influenced by the Internet and social media due to their enormity and popularity. The expansion of information made readily available on the Internet has allowed members of communal causes to post reports, narratives, photos, locations, contact

listings and other vital pieces of information to the masses. Because the Internet is available globally, information spreads at a much faster rate, thus allowing social causes to gain momentum. As momentum mounts, awareness becomes a vital step in growing a social cause through creating strategy, moving resources and exchanging ideas.

This awareness can lead to immediate action by members of the international world as well as members regionally involved in the effort. Once again, through the Internet and social media, updates, ideas and future developments can be exchanged through these channels. Communication now occurs on a local level, but also expands internationally thus allowing members of the same cause to express ideas and create a network much more expansive than its original size without the abilities 21st century communication.

5.2 LIVING UNDER FEAR

Fear creates an opportunity for the unheard voices and victims of a society to come together, rebel and fight for social change. Fear led to several of the activists to create action in time of doubt and instability. They united with members of the community to voice their displeasure of the handling of the violence and disturbance in their city. However, this fear also created anxiety about the possibility of being captured, arrested, tortured and possibly even killed. This fear also existed within community members that did not participate in demonstrations, but ordinary people who feared the loss of life by simply leaving their homes. In contrast, although U. S. Americans, and El Pasoans in particular, often read and hear about violence in Ciudad Juárez, the fear they experience is abstract, unless the violence spills over the border. Fear plays a crucial part in the creations of massive social change, but also creates trepidation amongst citizens because of the fear of the loss of life.

One of the main differences that exist between Mexico's and United States of America

social movements are that Mexico's social movements are often geared more towards political and government problems. With that being said they are generally focused on what Mexican citizens call "La Lucha del Pueblo". People who often are stepped on by the decisions of the Mexican political and government power; those who are not at an economical status as those in power. Therefore, their opinions or needs are not taken into consideration. Social movements form in order to request for citizens human rights to be respected and guaranteed. More often than not those who join or commence a social movement run a huge risk of being murdered tortured and so on. However, fear seems like it's not something that stops activist from going to the streets and request for those in power to do their job. On the other hand, most United States of America social movements are geared towards fighting the corporation power that currently exists in the country. These are social movement's protest that take over small business, do harm to the surrounding areas where corporation operate, and want to induce their business or power where it's not welcomed. However, fear in the United States of America is not as a big issue as it is in Mexico. People might fear being mistreated and so on but to fear for their life is not as apparent as it is in Mexico. A person is to a certain degree more free to express themselves without putting their life or the loved ones in jeopardy.

5.3 ADDITIONAL RESEARCH NEEDED

While conducting this research, several issues arose that could open the door for further research in social movements and its participants. Foremost, this research has allowed me to view the current violence in Ciudad Juarez from an in-depth perspective. This allows me to pinpoint issues and problems that social movements may encounter within their community. Further research needs to be conducted on the day-to-day obstacles that social movement participants face. Such as finding funding sources and the psychological effects that the current violence has left on the people. Here I am, not only talking about social movement participants,

but also those who are not directly involved within the movement. However, they are part of the community where this is taking place. The second area that might be a good place to gather new research information would be how the new laws and governance are a part of the people's community and if this in fact allows for social movements to be created. It would also be interesting to research how many new social movements have been born since the so-called drug war began.

The third area where further research could be conducted on the lack of support toward social movements in Ciudad Juárez. Multiple social movement participants mentioned that there are numerous people who are scared to join a social movement. However, my interest would be geared towards those who don't join social movements in their community for other reasons, other than just being scared of what the consequence of joining such movements might bring. I believe this type of research would allow for the researcher to see if there exists a great unity between the communities. How would this unity impact their community and how would it affect their daily life? How would this unity trigger other communities to create the same effect?

5.4 LOOKING TOWARDS THE FUTURE

Social movements will always come about in any society where there are issues of inequality, particularly where the majority of the population feels that their needs are not being considered a part of decision-making process of those in power. Upcoming government members should strive to measure up to their citizen's expectations and needs. Not everyone within a community will be happy at all times, but those in power should always consider the common good and the needs of its people. Citizens depend on those who are in government to make the right choices and work for the common goals and needs of the communities they represent. In essence, this is why a community elects an official.

Finally, it is vital that the proper investigations are conducted on the abuse and neglect that Ciudad Juárez citizens have endured during current and past administrations. This includes

the multiple female murders, kidnappings, and abuse of power witnessed by all three levels of government and so on. Only by gathering the proper information will there be an opportunity to pinpoint to what extent such violence has impacted the Ciudad Juárez community. This will foster a sense of justice for those citizens who have been victimized. This will also provide a springboard from which the community of Ciudad Juárez can start to heal and make forward progress toward creating a community of survivors and guardians, who will form the foundation for positive impact for future generations to come.

Currently, prevalent violence, unrestrained corruption, and harsh inequality linger in Mexico and has been unaddressed by the Mexican government. It is up to the citizens of Mexico to take action and fight for their rights and the rights of others to ensure that all citizens are respected, protected and guaranteed a safe community. People should live in an environment where the instant a person is born; she/he is guaranteed equal access to peace, dignity, justice, and human rights. No one should place his or her life at risk in order to obtain any of the above mentioned. Then, as now, a community that collaborates together can create change. There is no room to weep or wait for change on behalf of those in power—it's up to Mexico's citizens to fight for it day in and day out.

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APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Statement Form MA Thesis

Protocol Title: Civic Campaigns and Protest Against Ciudad Juarez Violence

Principal Investigator: Laura Sariñana, MA candidate, Graduate Program in Communication, The University of Texas at El Paso.

UTEP Department: Communication

This research study focuses on the Ciudad Juarez protest and civic campaigns against the current violence. You are being asked for your participation in order to gain an inside understanding of protest and civic campaigns.

There are no known risks associated with this research and there will be no direct benefit or cost to the participants. However, participants have an opportunity to display the importance of civic campaigns and protest in Ciudad Juarez. People surveyed for this thesis project will have the prospect to underline their community's needs. Information obtained will also help pinpoint what areas civic campaigns and protest need to develop more.

If you decide to complete this study, your involvement will last approximately 30 to 60 minutes to complete the survey. There will be no penalties involved if you choose not to take part in this study. You have the right to stop at any given time without fully completing the survey. If there are any new findings during the study that may affect you, you will be informed immediately.

The researcher may decide to stop your participation without your permission, if she believes that being in the study may cause you harm. Your participation in this study is confidential; none of the information will identify you by name. All information gathered throughout the time of research, will be properly destroyed.

If information is revealed about child abuse or neglect, or potentially dangerous future behavior to others, the law requires that this information be reported to the proper authorities.

The University of Texas at El Paso does not offer to pay or cover the cost of medical

treatment for research related illness or injury. You will not give up any of your legal rights by agreeing or disagreeing on taking the survey. If you are injured or have any questions or concerns regarding your participation on this survey, contact *Laura Sariñana*, llsarinana@utep.edu or at (915)747-5733 and the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915)747-8841 or irb.orsp@utep.edu.

I have read and have a full understanding regarding this survey. Click Yes if you wish to continue and take the survey, click No if you wish not to participate and exit.

Yes, I wish to participate on this survey

No, I do not wish to participate on this survey

Declaración de Consentimiento Informado

Título del Protocolo: Campanas Cívicas y protestas contra la violencia de Juárez

Investigador Principal: Laura Sariñana, el candidato MA, Programa de Posgrado en Comunicación de la Universidad de Texas en El Paso.

UTEP Departamento: Comunicación

Este estudio de investigación se centra en las protestas de Ciudad Juárez y campañas cívicas en contra de la violencia actual. Se le pide por su participación con el fin de obtener una comprensión dentro de protesta y campañas cívicas.

No existen riesgos conocidos asociados con esta investigación y no habrá ningún beneficio directo o costo alguno para los participantes. Sin embargo, los participantes tienen la oportunidad de mostrar la importancia de las campañas cívicas y protestas en Ciudad Juárez. Las personas encuestadas para este proyecto de tesis tendrán la posibilidad de subrayar las necesidades de su comunidad. La información obtenida también le ayudará a determinar qué áreas y campañas cívicas de protesta desarrollarse aun más.

Si usted decide completar este estudio, su participación tendrá una duración de aproximadamente 30 a 60 minutos para completar la encuesta. No habrá penalizaciones involucradas si decide no participar en este estudio. Usted tiene el derecho de detenerse en cualquier momento y no completar totalmente la encuesta. Si hay nuevos hallazgos durante el estudio que pueda afectar, usted será informado inmediatamente.

El investigador puede decidir detener su participar sin su permiso, si ella cree que el estar en el estudio puede causarle algún daño. Su participación en este estudio es confidencial, no abra ninguna información que le identifica por su nombre. Toda la información obtenida durante todo el tiempo de investigación, será adecuadamente destruida.

Si la información se revela sobre el abuso infantil o negligencia, o conducta futura potencialmente peligrosa para los demás, la ley exige que esta información se comunique a las autoridades competentes.

La Universidad de Texas en El Paso no ofrece pagar o cubrir el costo del tratamiento

médico para la enfermedad o lesión relacionada con la investigación. Usted no va a renunciar a ninguno de sus derechos legales de acuerdo en la encuesta. Si usted se lesiona o tiene alguna pregunta o inquietud con respecto a su participación en esta encuesta, comuníquese con Laura Sariñana, lsarinana@utep.edu o en (915) 747-5733 y con la Junta de UTEP Revisión Institucional (IRB) al (915) 747 a 8841 o [irb.orsp @ utep.edu](mailto:irb.orsp@utep.edu).

He leído y tengo un conocimiento completo sobre esta encuesta. Haga clic en Sí si desea continuar y completar la encuesta, haga clic en No si no desea participar y salir.

Sí, deseo participar en esta encuesta

No, no deseo participar en esta encuesta

APPENDIX B

Civic Campaigns and Protest Against Ciudad Juarez Violence Research Questions

1. What is a social movement?

Que es un movimiento social?

2. What are the changes that you are looking for as a social activist?

Cuáles son los cambios que usted está buscando como activista social?

3. Which human rights are being stepped on, please elaborate on those rights?

Cuales derechos humanos están siendo pisoteados, indiquen los detalles sobre esos derechos?

4. What are some concerns/obstacles that you face when you decide to become a social activist and go out there to protest?

Cuales son algunas de las preocupaciones/obstáculos que se enfrenta cuando decide convertirse en un activista social y salir a protestar?

5. How is new technology helping social movements?

Como ayuda la nueva tecnología a los movimientos sociales?

6. How does protesting against violence in Juarez help the community cope with what is currently happening?

De qué manera las protestas en contra de la violencia ayudan a la comunidad a lidiar con la situación actual en Juárez?

7. What is the message you want to convey with the protest and campaigns?

Cuál es el mensaje que buscan transmitir con las protestas y campañas

8. Why are such protests being done in Juarez? What is their ultimate goal?

Porque realizan este tipo de protestas?Cuál es su finalidad?

9. What does it indicate about the relationship of the state to the Mexican community?

Que indican estas protestas acerca de la relación que tiene el gobierno con la comunidad?

10. Do you believe that the state has an obligation to protect public safety, such that if it fails to protect the public it fails to govern?

Cree usted que el gobierno tiene la obligación de proteger a su comunidad, si no puede garantizar esa protección, estaría fallando en cumplir su responsabilidad?

11. Why do you feel the need to come out and protest?

Porque sientes la necesidad de salir a protestar?

12. Do you think the protest being done in recent years have made a difference in your community?

Piensa que las protestas hechas en los últimos años han tenido alguna repercusión en tu comunidad?

13. What is the difference between having the military in your society and living a militarized life?

Cuál es la diferencia entre tener a los militares en su sociedad y vivir una vida militarizada?

14. What is the role of the government in the change of social conditions in your life? At a local level, at a state level at a national level, at a bi-national level?

Cuál es el papel del gobierno en cambio de las condiciones sociales en su vida? Al nivel local, nacional y al nivel bi-nacional?

15. How has violence affected your life? Since when?

Como ha afectado la violencia su vida? Desde cuándo?

16. Has there been a point in your life when an encounter with violence prompted you to act against it? In what way?

En algún momento en su vida a tenido un encuentro con la violencia que lo/la llevo a actuar en contra ella? En qué sentido?

APPENDIX C

Demographic Data

Age: _____

Sex: Female____ _Male_____

Edad: _____

Género: Femenino____Masculico____

CURRICULUM VITA

Laura Sariñana was born in El Paso, Texas. She is the daughter of Olga Sariñana and Carmelo Sariñana. Laura graduated from Fabens High School in May 2003 .She entered The University of Texas at El Paso that same summer. She was given a scholarship with the College Assistance Migrant Program. While pursuing a bachelor's degree in Public Relations and Electronic Media she worked in Enrollment Services at The University of Texas at El Paso. In 2007-2008, she worked with Goodwill under their Public Relations department.

Permanent address: 216 West Rio Grande
El Paso, TX 79902

This thesis was typed by Laura L. Sariñana.