

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

THE EFFECTS OF DRUG CARTEL INTIMIDATION ON THE MEXICAN PRESS

FLORENCE MOOSER
Spring 2012

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for baccalaureate degrees
in International Politics and Spanish
with honors in Political Science

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Steve Manuel
Senior Lecturer of Communications
Thesis Supervisor

Michael Berkman
Professor and Director of Undergraduate Studies
Honors Adviser

* Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College.

ABSTRACT

In recent years, Mexican drug cartels have not only waged a fierce battle against the state, but also against the press. In their pursuit for power and control, cartels have threatened, attacked, and murdered journalists, ultimately jeopardizing democracy. The intent of this thesis is to determine the effects of drug cartel intimidation on the Ciudad Juárez (Mexico) press. I analyze the case of Armando Rodríguez Carreón, a prominent Ciudad Juárez reporter murdered on November 13, 2008. I hypothesize that his murder caused self-censorship, resulting in shorter articles, and a decline in mentions of drug trafficking and government criticism. I perform a content analysis of newspaper coverage over four years (two years prior to his death, and two years following his death) to detect change. Contrary to my expectations, though, my findings suggest that the assassination of Armando Rodríguez did not result in self-censorship.

Contents

LIST OF FIGURES	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
1. Introduction	1
2. History	2
3. Literature Review	5
3.1 Institutional Corruption.....	5
3.2 Culture of Impunity.....	7
3.3 Cartels and the <i>plata o plomo</i> policy.....	8
3.4 The Press.....	9
3.5 Research Question	13
4. Methods	14
5. Results	17
6. Discussion.....	21
Limitations.....	24
7. Conclusion: Policy Recommendation	25
Bibliography	29
APPENDIX A.....	34
APPENDIX B.....	35
APPENDIX C.....	36
APPENDIX D.....	37

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.....	Article Length
Figure 2.....	Mentions of Drug Trafficking
Figure 3.....	Criticism of the Government

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to extend a very sincere thank you to my thesis supervisor, Professor Steve Manuel for all of his help. I would also like to extend a thank you to Professor Berkman for his invaluable guidance and feedback. Also, I thank research librarian Molly Molloy, for her help with the INPRO database. I also thank the Schreyer Honors College and the Department of Political Science. Finally, I am especially grateful for my family's support.

1. Introduction

The Mexican drug cartels, infamous for their gruesome beheadings and other acts of unspeakable cruelty, have garnered increasing attention in recent years. Killings have climbed at an alarming rate; 24'000 have already been killed as a result of drug related violence in Mexico since 2006 (Burnett & Peñaloza, 2010). The drug cartels are not only battling each other for turf, but are also engaged in a deadly struggle against the state. In their pursuit for power and control, though, drug cartels have increasingly targeted the press.

Indeed, in January 2008, veteran crime reporter Armando Rodríguez Carreón of Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, received a call from an anonymous cartel member. The message was chilling: “don’t get mixed up with the wrong people” (Grayson, 2010, p. 99). Eleven months later, Rodríguez was shot to death in front of his two daughters.

This brash act of intimidation was, according to Rodriguez’s colleagues, a warning to the entire press corps of the city (“Attacks on the Press”, 2010). His murder convinced Rodriguez’s colleagues to alter their reporting on the city’s biggest stories (Lauría & Staffer, 2010). The death of Armando Rodríguez was condemned internationally, and many pointed to the journalist’s death as the extinction of press freedom in Ciudad Juárez.

The murder of Armando Rodríguez is especially worrisome, as it could signify the end of investigative reporting in Ciudad Juárez and ultimately, northern Mexico. Moreover, silencing the press can have important repercussions for Mexico’s fragile democracy. In this thesis, then, I seek to answer the question, what are the effects of drug cartel intimidation on the Mexican press? I hypothesize that the murder of Armando Rodríguez resulted in press self-censorship, and altered coverage of murders along three dimensions: article length, mentions of drug trafficking, and government criticism.

2. History

While drug related violence has soared recently, drug trafficking in Mexico is not a new phenomenon, and a brief history imposes itself.

Mexico, in fact, has always been a fertile land for drugs. Marijuana grows naturally in the states of Oaxaca, Guerrero, Michoacán, Sinaloa, Durango, and Chihuahua. Both marijuana plant and the opium poppy formed part of the local flora in the late 1800s (“Mexico”, 2009). As marijuana became an important source of profits for local farmers, the Mexican government outlawed the growing of marijuana in 1920. In 1923, it prohibited the production of opium. But the plants had become an important source of profit for the region, and continued to be harvested. While Mexico was a natural supply source for drugs, important historical events contributed to rising demand, such as the San Francisco earthquake.

The San Francisco earthquake of 1906 uprooted many Chinese immigrants, who relocated to Ciudad Juárez. In fact, as an avid consumer of opium, the Chinese community contributed to the growth of the opium trade. The Chinese Sam Hing was known as the first drug lord of the region (Grayson, 2010, p. 23).

In addition to the arrival of the Chinese in Mexico, another historical event contributed to the development of the drug industry in Mexico: World War II. The United States relied on morphine for its troops. At the time, though, Japan occupied the poppy growing regions of Asia, while Turkey was aligned with the Axis powers. As a result, Washington turned to Mexico, which became an important source of morphine for both legal and illegal markets (p.24). Once the Allies won, Washington resumed trading with the Middle East and Asia, but Mexico continued to be a source of narcotics (Grayson, 2010, p.25).

Twenty years later, the 1960s and 1970s saw a surge in drug consumption among the hippies of the 1960s. In addition, heroin addiction among U.S. soldiers returning from Vietnam

spiked; both factors combined to create skyrocketing production and profits in Mexico.

As demand rose, the possibilities for profits increased considerably. In fact, the cartels expanded, and pursued their illegal activities under the conniving eyes of authorities, through pacts that could last days, weeks, or months (Grayson, 2010). The cartels were able to gain territory through the allocation of *plazas* by the authorities (i.e., “areas and corridors where the gangs held sway to produce, store, or ship narcotics”) (Grayson, 2010, p.29).

Indeed, drug traffickers lived in an almost symbiotic relationship with Mexican authorities until the 1980s. They consorted with state governors, and held public figures in high regard. Furthermore, they avoided targeting innocent people. More importantly, the cartels upheld a sort of “gentleman’s agreement” with other cartels, and respected each other’s turfs. Yet these agreements were modified in the 1980s for two reasons. First, the dismantlement of Colombian drug routes funneled the drug trade into Mexico, which led to higher profits in Mexico. Second, new cartels sprung up, such as *Los Zetas*, and *La Familia*. Differing from their older counterparts, the new cartels were more violent. They “assassinated enemies in crowded cities, subjected adversaries to unspeakable cruelty, fought hammer and tons against rival bands, and participated in deadly intramural showdowns when a power vacuum presented itself” (Grayson, 2010, p.31). In the 1990s, new power arrangements with the Colombian drug cartels cropped up, in which the Colombians gave half of their shipments to the Gulf Cartel. The Gulf cartel profited immensely, and it became a turning point, as the power, wealth, and prestige of the Mexican drug cartels increased.

Today, drug related violence has become one of Mexico’s greatest problems. Solely since 2006, infighting among the cartels, as well as fighting between government forces and the cartels have killed thousands of people. The violence is particularly acute in Ciudad Juárez. Shootouts

take place in broad daylight; “executed bodies with a message sometimes appear hanging from a bridge, or disseminated across different parts of the city as ripped remains” (Martin, 2012, p. 78). Cartels have changed in “bestiality of the killings and their locations, with the murders often bearing the mark of *Mafia*-style executions” (Grayson, 2010, p.97).

While past Mexican administrations were mired by corruption and sluggishness, President Felipe Calderón has declared a war against the cartels since he came into office on December 1, 2006. He deployed the Mexican army, and there are today 45,000 Mexican troops engaged in war against the cartels (Kellner and Pipitone, 2010, p. 31).

3. Literature Review

In the midst of the drug wars, the drug cartels have progressively stifled freedom of expression in Mexico, especially in Ciudad Juárez. There is no single theory to explain cartel control over the media. Instead, the drug cartels' intimidation of the press is a complex issue, often linked to pervasive impunity and corruption. Indeed, in order to understand how the cartels have been able to extend their control to the media, it is vital to outline the drug cartels' intimidation strategy, and the systemic flaws that, combined, have laid the foundations for drug cartel intimidation of the press.

3.1 Institutional Corruption

Mexico presents pervasive corruption in law enforcement, the judiciary, and the political system. Corruption in the political system is a major factor in the tenacity of drug trafficking (McDonald, 2005; Chabat, 2002; Shelley, 2001; Grayson, 2010). Indeed, drug trafficking could not happen “without deep interconnections between the drug traffickers and networks of well-placed politicians, civil servants, and security forces of various kinds” (McDonald, 2005, p.115). In fact, many political campaigns have been financed by drug traffickers (Chabat, 2002, p. 139).

Shelley (2001) argues that corruption within the Mexican political system is a remnant of the Spanish legal system and tradition. She bases her work on Billington (1970), who has explained that the Iberian Peninsula had remained outside the Enlightenment, thus lacking the Enlightened principle of the rule of law (p.214). She writes, “the former Spanish colonies...have suffered from this historical legacy by having less respect for the rule of law and consequently higher levels of corruption” (p. 214). In addition, she claims that the 71-year-old one-party rule of the PRI has contributed to corruption, as “in any country or city where one political group has enjoyed a dominant political role, corruption has tended to increase over time” (p. 215). In fact,

corruption has become firmly entrenched in the political system.

While political corruption is especially acute at the local level, it occurs even at the top levels of government; a revealing example is the case of Gen. Jesus Gutierrez-Rebollo. In 1997, Gutierrez-Rebollo, the head of the National Institute for the Combat of Drugs (drug czar), was arrested for collaboration with the Juárez Cartel (Chabat, 2002, p. 138). Moreover, that same year the *New York Times* suggested the involvement of governors Manlio Fabio Beltrones and Jorge Carrillo Olea in drug trafficking (p. 139). Thus there is ample evidence that today corruption is rampant at the municipal, state, and federal levels of government.

Corruption in the political system goes hand in hand with corruption within the police. In fact, the police have acquired a solid reputation for human rights abuses, corruption, and impunity (Grayson, 2010, p.144). Like Shelley, Davis (2006) explains that police corruption is a legacy of one-party rule. Indeed, she writes that “a singular focus on economic conditions or drug money can go only so far in accounting for police corruption and public insecurity, primarily because the historical origins and institutional underpinnings of these problems are much deeper” (p. 62). She explains that during the one-party rule, the police were given a great amount of power, which contributed to corruption within the institution. To address the problem, the last PRI president, Ernesto Zedillo, began an anti-corruption campaign in 2000. By May of that year, 3,060 law enforcement officers were suspended for corruption (Chabat, 2002, p. 140).

There is also evidence of corruption within the military, which severely hinders efforts to fight drug trafficking. The severity of the issue was displayed when by mid-year 1997, it was confirmed that among the Mexican military, 34 officers (including 10 generals) were investigated for having ties to drug dealers. In 2000, the high-ranking military officers Gen. Arturo Acosta Chaparro and Gen. Francisco Quiros Hermosillo were arrested after being accused

of collaborating with the Juárez Cartel (Chabat, 2002, p.140). In fact, O'Day (2001) argued that the Mexican army contributes to drug trafficking. In his study, he found that the army has collaborated in *arreglos*, or deals, with the drug traffickers which have augmented the flow of drugs into the United States. In fact, he states that “the case-based data collected by the author over a 3-year period unequivocally point to the army as the primary transporter of marijuana shipments to the border” (p. 234). His findings are especially troubling, as they illustrate the breadth of corruption within the country.

3.2 Culture of Impunity

Corruption has bred a ubiquitous culture of impunity. Indeed, much of the literature points to impunity as an enduring problem in Mexico (Quezada and Rangel, 2006; Grayson, 2010; Lauría and O'Connor, 2010; Rosen, 2010).

Mexico has a long history of impunity. The 71-year authoritarian rule of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party-PRI) was fraught with human rights abuses that were left unaddressed. Following the rule of the PRI, a new Office of the Special Prosecutor for Historical Social and Political Movements (FEMOSPP in Spanish) was formed under President Vicente Fox to investigate past repression. Quezada and Rangel (2006) found, though, that the FEMOSPP “failed to bring any of the main human rights violators to justice” (p. 60). They argued that as “[Fox’s] government, heralded as the transition to democracy, has failed to erase Mexico’s reputation for impunity and cover-up” (p. 57). The impunity which characterized the 71-year authoritarian rule is still present today.

Indeed, the problem has evidently not been reduced. According to Lauría and O'Connor (2010), impunity in the country is still a major cause of insecurity. Nowhere is this most evident than in the fact that “the criminal justice system has failed to successfully prosecute more than 90 percent of press-related crimes over the last decade” (Lauría and O'Connor, 2010, p.3).

Impunity is widely acknowledged among Mexicans. Rosen (2010) points to the increase in the hiring of private security guards as a major indication of impunity. Indeed, there has been a spike in hiring of private security guards (p.25). There are 125,000 private guards registered with the government, although it is estimated that the actual number of private guards comes close to a whopping 900,000.

3.3 Cartels and the *plata o plomo* policy

Corruption and impunity have created the ideal conditions for the cartels' rise to power. Much of the literature points to the fact that drug traffickers have been able to besiege the country due to their *plata o plomo* policy. In English, *plata o plomo* translates literally as *silver or lead* and figuratively as "the bribe or the bullet." More specifically, the drug cartels have been able to increase their power by subjecting Mexican political leaders, law enforcement members, and media workers with a choice: the bribe or the bullet. In what she calls a "Faustian bargain," O'Neil (2009) explains that authorities are given the choice to fight drugs and receive *plomo*, or bullets, or bend to traffickers' will and receive *plata*, or money (p.73). In fact, Mexico's top drug kingpin, "El Chapo Guzmán," has claimed that he has spent \$5 million a month on bribes to police (Grayson, 2010, p. 58).

The *plata o plomo* strategy has its roots in Colombia. Pioneered by cocaine drug lord Pablo Escobar, his maneuver is detailed in Mark Bowden's work "Killing Pablo" (2001). Using the *plata o plomo* strategy, the infamous drug lord was able to seize control of his community's police and politicians. Once he controlled the local authorities, Escobar extended his control to state and even presidential candidates. Pablo Escobar was able to rise from being a poor street criminal to becoming the head of the Medellín Cartel. The most wanted man in the world and a *Forbe's List* Billionaire, Pablo Escobar controlled Colombia from bottom to top. His policy "became so notoriously effective that it would ultimately threaten to undermine Colombia's

democracy” (p. 5). Given the success of this strategy, it is of no surprise that the *plata o plomo* was subsequently adopted by the cartels.

Dal Bó, Dal Bó and Di Tella (2006) used a multiple equilibria model to assess the impact of the *plata o plomo* policy on public officials. They found that the possibility of punishment deters high-ability citizens to become public officials, thus lowering the quality of officials. They also found that more violent countries (in which the threats are cheaper) will have more corruption and worse politicians (p. 51). Their findings are especially relevant to Mexico. Indeed, their findings may explain how, using the *plata o plomo* strategy, the drug cartels have been not only been able to corrupt law enforcement, but also weaken the political system.

3.4 The Press

The *plata o plomo* policy, impunity, and corruption intertwine to create devastating conditions for the press today. Though the Mexican media has undergone positive transformations in recent years, the press in Mexico has always been particularly vulnerable to intimidation.

In her work “Newsrooms in Conflict: Journalism and the Democratization of Mexico,” Hughes (2006) argues that Mexico’s media evolved from authoritarian journalism under the PRI to civic journalism post-PRI. She defines authoritarian journalism as a model “characterized by the absence of newsroom autonomy, a representation of only points of view that support the positions of the current regime, and a passive approach to news-gathering” , and civic journalism as “autonomous, assertive, and politically diverse form of journalism that emerged in Mexico to contrast authoritarian journalism” (p.5). As it is freer of government control, she calls the journalism that emerged after 2000 ‘civic’ because of its potential to enhance civic participation and government accountability to citizens (Hughes, 2006, p.5). Thus according to Hughes, the Mexican media has left behind its passive role to embrace a more aggressive style of reporting.

More importantly, Hughes found that the rise of civic journalism brought a change in journalists' sense of professional identity. To gauge how Mexican reporters saw their role as journalists, she analyzed a series of interviews with editors who directed or were role models for reporters in Mexico's three largest newspapers: *El Universal*, *Reforma*, and *La Jornada*. She found that the majority of newsroom leaders "expressed conceptions of journalism that support the institutionalization of a civic role for the press- monitoring government and giving citizens the information they need to debate, deliberate, and act politically" (p. 206). More importantly, she argues that "the conceptualization of the financial and normative superiority of civic journalism appeared well consolidated in 2004" (p. 205). According to Hughes, then, journalists have embraced investigative reporting and assumed their role as watchdog on government (p. 207). Despite the encouraging changes of Mexico's media, she warns against constant pressures from extra-state violence, and reasserts that the Mexican media remains fragile.

In fact, the Committee to Protect Journalists, a nonprofit organization that works to defend press freedom and journalists' rights, has addressed the threat on the media from extra-state violence in an exhaustive report, called "Silence or Death in Mexico's press" (2010). The report found that since December 2006, twenty-two journalists have been killed in Mexico, at least eight killed for their work. In addition to those killed, seven have gone missing, and dozens have been attacked, kidnapped, or forced into exile. The report points out that "the drug traffickers, violent criminals, and corrupt officials who threaten Mexico's future have killed, terrorized, and co-opted journalists, knowing that controlling the flow of information will further their needs. They have been increasingly successful" (p. 5). The report also shows that while Colombia has become a safer country for the press over the years, Mexico has grown increasingly dangerous. Finally, the report emphasizes that intimidation of journalists has

resulted in self-censorship across Mexico, particularly in Ciudad Juárez.

In fact, self-censorship has taken hold in many cartel-dominated areas. Many newspapers have taken drastic measures to protect themselves against retaliation. In Tijuana, for example, *Frontera* began to review all drug-related stories to assess whether or not they were worth taking the risk to publish (Hughes, 2006, p. 204). Some newspapers have chosen to abandon investigative reporting, and instead publish only official reports. One of Ciudad Juárez's largest newspapers, *Norte de Ciudad Juárez*, has "adopted a strict policy of not publishing information about anything that could be associated with drug cartels" (Lauría & O'Connor, 2010, p.6).

In the case of Mexican journalism, self-censorship manifests itself in three ways. First, as evidenced by the plight of the *Norte de Ciudad Juárez*, journalists avoid mentioning drug cartels in their articles. In fact, "naming names – cartel leaders, for example-is off limits" while reporting on murders (Lauría, 2010, p. 64). Therefore, any possible ties between drug cartels and killings tend to go unmentioned. Second, "government or police corruption and human rights abuses go unreported" (p. 62). Indeed, the journalists are aware of the ties between drug traffickers and certain authorities. Out of fear of retaliation, they avoid criticizing the government. Third, stories decline in length. In fact, Campbell (2008) argued that they become "short and bare-boned" (p.44). Thus longer stories, typical of investigative reporting, are abandoned.

Yet while most of the literature exposes the climate of fear caused by the drug cartels on Mexican journalism, there is evidence that Ciudad Juárez journalists have not succumbed entirely to the drug cartels. Among the five newspapers of Juárez, *El Diario* has made a reputation for aggressively covering the drug wars. In an interview for the BBC, the newspaper's crime beat reporter who took over Rodriguez's crime beat after his death, Luz Sosa, said that the

murder of *El Diario* reporters had only made her “more determined” not to be coerced. She claimed, “once I’m afraid, it would be better to resign and do something else.” (cited in Lanchin, 2011). In another interview for CNN, she declared that “those who believed we were going to take a step back, they were wrong” (cited in Valencia and Chacon, 2011). In 2011, Sandra Rodríguez Nieto and Rocío Gallegos, two of *El Diario*’s investigative reporters, obtained the 2011 Knight International Journalism Award for their work on the drug wars. The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation’s José Zamora announced that “while others are silenced by threats and attacks, these women have stood up to the most feared and ruthless cartels imaginable” (cited in Moskowitz, 2011).

Indeed, some of these attacks can prove deadly, as evidenced in the case of Armando Rodríguez. As the first journalist killed in Ciudad Juárez in direct reprisal for his work, his death represented a watershed moment for journalism in Juárez (“Journalists Killed in Mexico”).

His murder, in fact, served both a practical and a symbolic function. Indeed, evidence has surfaced that Rodríguez knew of compromising information. As a prominent crime journalist and one of the first reporters to cover the rising violence in the city, he was extremely knowledgeable (Valencia and Chacon, 2011). On October 28, 2011, the reporter had written an article exposing ties between drug traffickers and the nephew of Attorney General of Chihuahua, Patricia González (Ronderos, 2011). While no one has been arrested to today, it is rumored that the cartel *La Línea* may have eliminated Rodríguez to prevent any more leaks of information (Ronderos, 2011).

Yet his death also served as a powerful reminder of the drug cartels’ influence over the city. Murdering one of Juárez’s most prominent reporters was not only a means to silence Rodríguez; it was also a way to muzzle the entire press corps of the city. Indeed, his colleagues

say that Rodriguez's murder was designed to be a warning to all journalists of Juárez – a savage method to intimidate them (“Attacks on the Press” 2010). In this research, I seek to determine whether or not the cartels were successful.

3.5 Research Question

In this thesis, I seek to determine if the murder of Armando Rodríguez caused a change in coverage. More specifically, I ask:

RQ1: Did the murder of Armando Rodríguez cause self-censorship in the Juárez press, resulting in shorter articles, a decline in mentions of drug trafficking and a drop in government criticism?

4. Methods

To test my hypothesis and accurately detect self-censorship in the Ciudad Juárez press, a content analysis was used. According to Bailey (1982), a content analysis offers the advantage to “take a verbal, nonquantitative document and transform it into quantitative data” (cited in Johnson and Reynolds, 2008, p. 282). Thus a content analysis offered the advantage to illustrate potential trends in self-censorship.

The death of Armando Rodríguez on November 13, 2008, was used as the landmark that served as the basis of my content analysis. To accurately predict change over time, I began my content analysis on November 13, 2006, and ended it on November 13, 2010. A week was chosen randomly out of each month, except for November of each year, when I chose to include the week that included the 13th. Including the 13th of each November provided a reliable way to observe change over time.

I chose to analyze the newspaper *El Diario* for two reasons. First, it is one of Mexico’s largest newspapers, and has a daily circulation of around 87,000 (Romero, 2003). It is Ciudad Juárez’s largest newspaper. As the city’s largest newspaper, it is assumed to be less vulnerable to intimidation than smaller newspapers, who do not have the resources to resist cartel intimidation (such as *El Mexicano*). Second, *El Diario* also presented the advantage of having a solid reputation for aggressive reporting, as outlined above in the literature review.

Analyzing the city’s largest newspaper would also give special significance to the findings. If in fact the murder of Armando Rodríguez was to result in self-censorship, as I had predicted, the implications for freedom of expression and democracy in Ciudad Juárez would be enormous.

The crime beat is the most delicate beat in Mexico, as evidenced by the fact that 78% of

journalists killed in Mexico covered the crime beat (“Journalists Killed in Mexico”). In that respect, I decided to focus solely on murder articles. Indeed, I concluded that murder articles were most sensitive to self-censorship.

As most American databases do not carry archives of Ciudad Juárez newspapers (e.g., LexisNexis), a Mexican database was used. The INPRO database was used to find articles dating back to 2006. The database, which covers a wide number of Ciudad Juárez newspapers, is most useful to expose the Ciudad Juárez reality. In order to gather the greatest number of murder articles available, the search terms used were: “matan O asesinan O ejecutan O matado O asesinado O ejecutado O acribillado”, or “kill OR assassinate OR execute OR killed OR assassinated OR executed OR riddled (with bullets)”.

A total of 495 articles were found, and coded. The articles were analyzed in terms of length, mentions of drug trafficking, and government criticism. To measure the length of the articles, the number of words in the body of each article was counted. The titles were omitted. Then in order to obtain meaningful results for each month, I gathered all the articles for the given week of the month, and calculated the week’s average length. The number was then rounded to one decimal point and graphed on Excel.

I also counted the number of words related to drug trafficking for each week. The words related to drug trafficking were (in English): cartel/cartels, organized crime, drugs, drug trafficker/drug trafficking. Together, they were then represented as a percentage of the total number of words for the given week, and graphed on Excel.

Lastly, I counted all the words related to government criticism. As outlined in the literature review, the Mexican government is most criticized for corruption and impunity. Thus both words related to government criticism (i.e., “impunity” and “corruption”) were counted, and

together were represented as a percentage of the total number of words for the given week. The coding template is enclosed in the appendix, as well as the raw data.

5. Results

Before examining the results, I would like to review my hypothesis. I had predicted that the murder of Armando Rodríguez would result in self-censorship, and alter coverage of murders along three dimensions: article length, mentions of drug trafficking, and government criticism. In fact, I had predicted that article length, mentions of drug trafficking, and government criticism would decline.

Figure 1 depicts article length, from November 13, 2006 to November 13, 2010. An arrow is placed above November 2008, to clearly mark the date of Rodríguez's death.

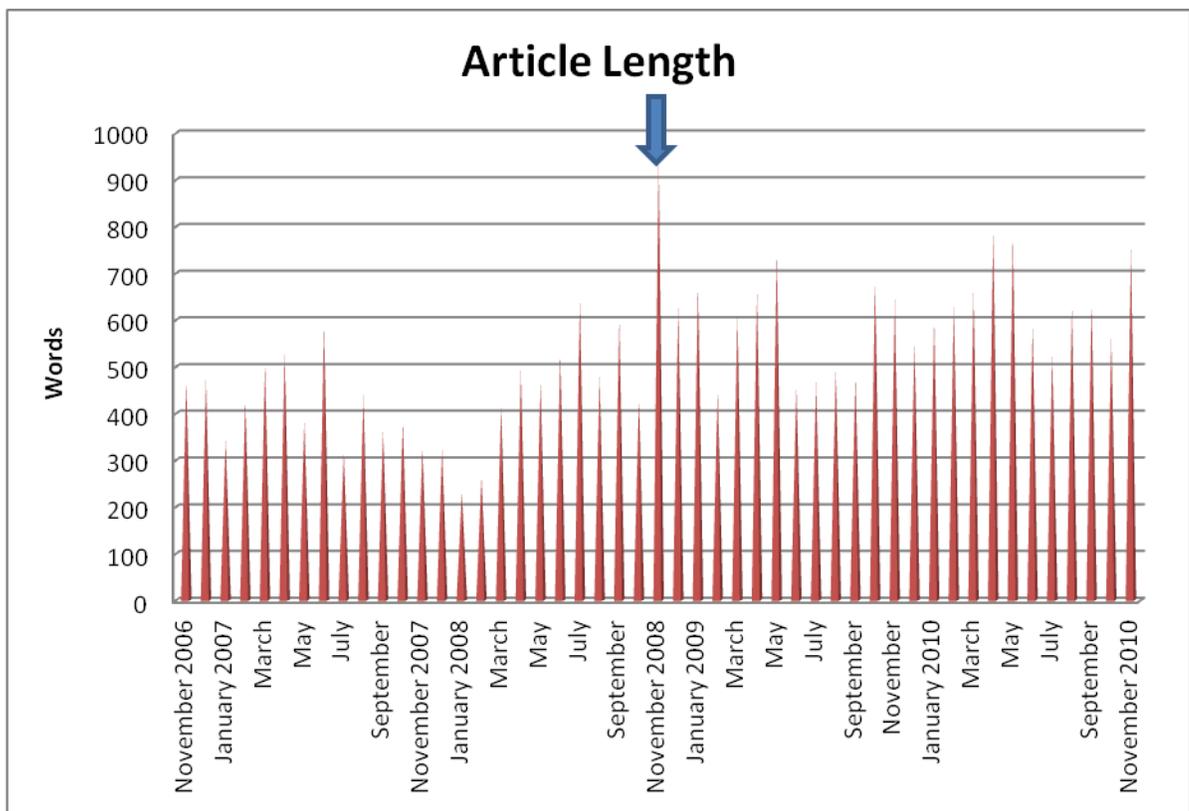


Figure 1: Article length

As Figure 1 indicates, there is no decline in the length of the articles. Instead, there appears to be a trend towards longer articles after November 2008. The articles were longest in November 2008, when they reached 931.1 words. The shortest articles overall appeared in

January 2008, as they only reached 229.9 words. Nevertheless, the shortest articles after November 2008 were still longer than the shortest articles prior to November 2008. Indeed, the shortest articles prior to Rodriguez’s death appeared in January 2008, reaching only 229.9 words. The shortest articles following November 2008 appeared in February 2009, reaching 448.7 words and exceeding the 229.9 words of January 2008. As evidenced by Figure 1, the article length data does not support my hypothesis.

I had also predicted that to protect themselves against retaliation, reporters would cease mentioning drug trafficking in their articles. Figure 2 represents mentions of drug trafficking over the same four-year period:

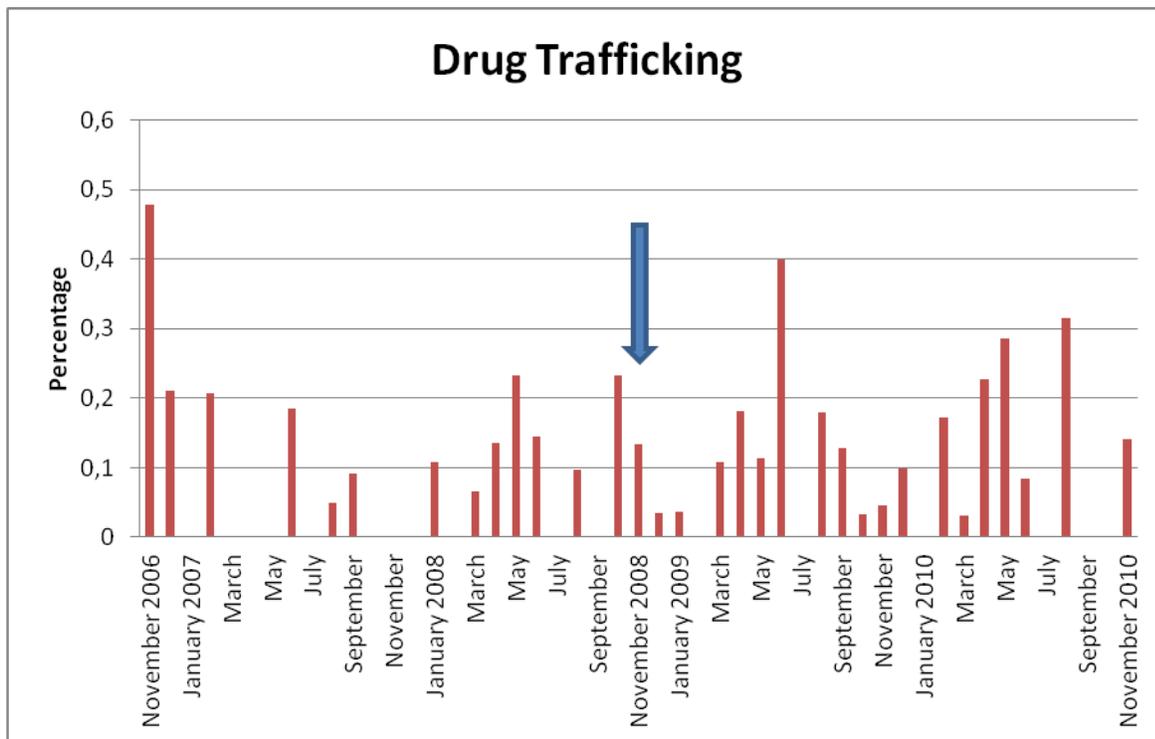


Figure 2: Mentions of Drug Trafficking

As indicated above, mentions of drug trafficking did not decline. In total, there were only 13 months that referenced drug trafficking prior to November 2008, compared to 18 months after November 13, 2008. Conversely, there were a total of 11 months prior to November 2008 that

did not mention drug trafficking, while only 6 months after November 2008 were devoid of drug-related references. The month that saw most mentions of drug trafficking was November 2006 (0.48%), followed by June 2009 (0.40 %). To conclude, there was no decline in mentions of drug trafficking. While the frequency of drug references increased after November 2008, no obvious trend emerges from the graph.

The last component of self-censorship is government criticism, which is reflected in figure 3:

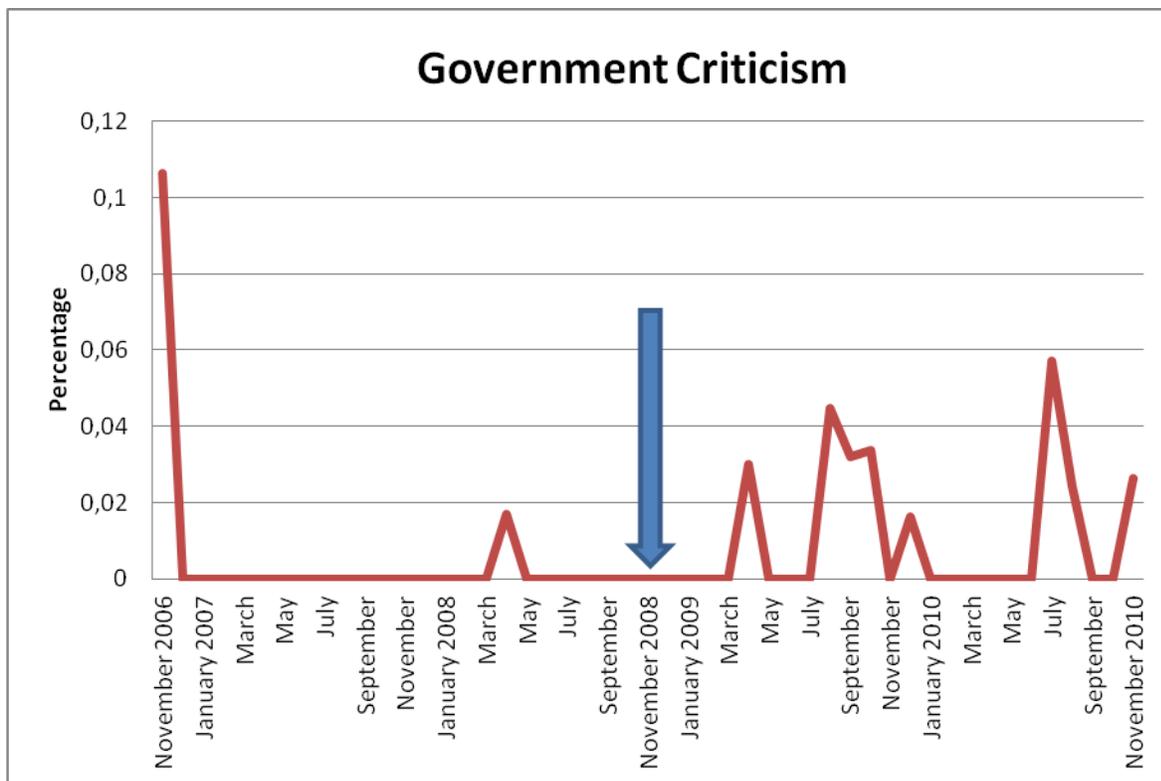


Figure 3: Criticism of the Government

As the figure 3 indicates, there was no decline in government criticism. Only two months prior to November 2008 contained any mentions of impunity or corruption: November 2006 and April 2008. In April 2008, 0.02% of the articles for that week contained words related to government criticism. After November 2008, government criticism climbed in April 2009, and

dropped again in May. It rose again in August, reaching 0.04%. It dropped steadily until November 2009. Government criticism experienced a small surge again in December 2009. It finally peaked in July 2010. Impunity or corruption were mentioned in 0.06% of all the articles for that month. Besides July 2010, there were also peaks of activity during the months preceding or following Rodriguez's death anniversary. While the graph indicates that there was no government criticism during November 2009, there was much activity around October and December 2009. In 2010, criticism increased again in November 2010 as it was present in 0.03% of that month's articles. To summarize, the graph suggests a general upward trend after November 2008.

6. Discussion

Contrary to my expectations, my findings suggest that the murder of Armando Rodríguez Carreón did not result in self-censorship in Ciudad Juárez's largest newspaper, *El Diario*. Articles were expected to become shorter after the reporter's death. Instead, they became longer after the November 2008 murder. In fact, the articles were longest the week of November 13, 2008; the month of Armando Rodríguez's killing. The years following his deaths saw peaks around November 2009 and November 2010, as many of his colleagues issued lengthy opinion pieces to pay homage to their late colleague.

While articles became longer, references to drug trafficking became more frequent. References to drug trafficking peaked in June 2009, six months after Rodríguez's murder, and coincided with multiple assaults on local reporters by the military. One of the articles for that week addressed the reaction from Reporters Without Borders. While the organization emphasized the importance of the military in fighting against the cartels, it still condemned the attack against freedom of expression (Figuroa, 2009). It is worth noting that while references to drug trafficking became more frequent following November 2008, the numbers are overall surprisingly low. Indeed, according to Roberto Rodríguez, consul general for the Mexican Embassy in El Paso, 80 percent of killings in Juárez are cartel related (cited in Manning, 2011). In light of those dreary statistics, it is still surprising, then, that such a low percentage of murders were linked to the cartels.

In addition, increases in the length of articles and mentions of drug trafficking corresponded with rising government criticism following the journalist's death. Criticism of the government is especially pronounced the months around November 2009 and November 2010, as Rodríguez's colleagues remembered their colleague's death and pressed the authorities for justice.

Overall, my findings are surprising, considering that Lauría and O'Connor (2010) had declared that the murder of this prominent reporter “terrified much of the local press corps into self-censorship” (p.6). For many, the death of Armando Rodríguez symbolized the death of investigative journalism in Juárez.

Yet one possible explanation is that instead of resulting in self-censorship, the murder of Armando Rodríguez intensified sentiments of injustice and anger. In fact, his murder prompted his colleagues to question Felipe Calderón’s administration, and condemn the government’s inaction on the matter. An editorial titled “Caso Choco: 2 años carentes de justicia,” or “The ‘Choco’ Case: Two Years Without Justice” that appeared on November 13, 2010, seems to confirm this theory. I have translated the most relevant segment below:

It is with pain and anger that we observe the second anniversary of our colleague and friend’s death, José Armando Rodríguez Carreón, also known as “El Choco.” We, the journalists of El Diario, wish to express our rejection of the impunity that continues to cloud this crime.

Two years later, our anger is even greater, as we observe the ease with which President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa is lying when he publicly announces that arrests have been made in regards to Armando’s death. In reality, though, no one has been brought before the Judiciary or the State to answer for this crime.

The editorial reflects the anger and disenchantment felt by Armando’s colleagues.

Moreover, the editorial is emblematic of the broader disenchantment and anger felt by the Mexican populace in the throes of the drug war. An article published the day after his death on November 14, 2008, illustrates this point. The article, titled “Indignation,” is a collection of

citizens' condolences following the reporter's death. Many of the readers expressed their sympathy for the reporter's family. Most readers expressed disgust and anger, directed at the authorities' apathy and inaction regarding the violence besieging the city. I have translated one reader's response below: *"This is just more evidence that our city is in a situation of emergency (even though the authorities do not recognize it). We are alone. No one in the government (municipal, state, or federal) is in the least interested to stop this slaughter – due to either incompetence or corruption"* (2008).

In fact, my findings reflect an argument by Kellner and Pipitone (2010), who claimed that the patience of the Mexican people is eroding. As one of the world's most dangerous cities with a murder rate of 165 deaths per 100,000 residents (or almost four times higher than in Baghdad), the people of Ciudad Juárez are indignant (Kellner and Pipitone, 2010, p.37). Indeed, when gunmen stormed a high school party and killed fifteen people in 2010, "angry crowds spilled out onto the streets and lashed out at the president" (p. 37). As the cartels are taking over larger swatches of land, drug violence is affecting all segments of society as the drug cartels seek to expand their profits through extortions and kidnappings. Following the murders of two sons of entrepreneurs in a crowded restaurant in Juárez in November 2009, entrepreneur Federico Ziga Martínez declared, "the business community is extremely shocked by the growth of impunity, and to the indifference or incapacity of the authorities of the three levels of government (cited in Simental, 2009). The citizens feel powerless at the hands of a system that lets criminals walk away unscathed.

Limitations

In my research, I decided to limit my content analysis to four years. Indeed, four years presented the potential to illustrate broad trends, while remaining very specific to the case of Armando Rodríguez. Yet recent reports indicate that press freedom has decreased since 2010. Indeed, in its Freedom of the Press Index, Freedom House has declared Mexico to be “Not Free” in 2011 due to “the escalating drug wars, which have taken a heavy toll on journalists. Violence and intimidation by cartels has steadily increased in a climate of impunity” (2011). Freedom House’s findings may suggest that despite the courage and determination exhibited by a handful of journalists, the Mexican press overall remains muzzled. In this respect, future research should begin the content analysis five or ten years before Rodríguez’s death, and end it today. Indeed, covering a greater span of time could allow to observe any long-term effects of Rodríguez’s death, and illustrate broader trends over time.

7. Conclusion: Policy Recommendation

Nature of the situation

Freedom of expression is a fundamental part of democracy. Dahl (2005) writes, “citizens have a right to express themselves without danger of severe punishment on political matters broadly defined, including criticism of officials, the government, the regime, the socioeconomic order, and the prevailing ideology” (p. 189). Without freedom of expression, citizens lose their capacity to promote change and lose their “capacity to influence *the agenda* of government decisions,” at the risk of becoming “perfect subjects for an authoritarian ruler” (p. 196).

As evidenced in my research, the drug cartels’ attempts to control the press threaten to erode democracy in Mexico. Their efforts are also symptomatic of a larger problem. The cartels are straining the capacities of the Mexican state, overwhelming the police and justice system. They “challenge the legitimacy of the state,” especially in territories where “the culture of democracy is challenged by corruption and reinforced by the inability of political systems to function well enough” (Manwaring, 2007, p.10). In some areas, they have started replacing the state, acting as “surrogate or alternate governments” (p. 10). Ultimately, “the problems of stability, security, and effective sovereign governance in Mexico also take us back to, and beyond, the threat of state failure” (p. 33). The possibility of state failure has been advanced by a handful of scholars, including Grayson.

Grayson (2010) explores this possibility in his work “Mexico: Narco-Violence a Failed State?” He argues that “ a soaring murder rate, a jump in sadistic executions, increased kidnappings, prison escapes, the venality of local, state, and federal police, a failure of policy makers to enforce safety codes, and disenchantment with institutions” are factors that uphold the “weak” and “failed state” argument (p. 4). The “disenchantment,” in fact, is reflected in my findings. Grayson’s fear of a failed state though, is not universally supported.

Indeed, other scholars like O'Neil (2009) argue that while violence levels are high, the Mexican state will not fail. She claims that the high levels of violence are indicative of the increasing democratization of the country: "by disrupting established payoff systems between drug traffickers and government officials, democratization unwittingly exacerbated drug-related violence" (p 64). Alternatively, violence may indicate the efficacy of Calderon's anti-cartel strategies. There is evidence that the high levels of violence are a result of government crackdown of the cartels. Often organized crime members, as has happened in Colombia and Italy, begin to kill each other as government repression mounts and worries that members will cooperate with law enforcers (Abadinsky, 2000).

While scholars disagree on Mexico's possibility of becoming a failed state, it is evident nonetheless that the drug cartels pose a grave threat to the institutions of state.

Course of Action:

It has become clear that Mexico does not have the resources to fight the cartels on its own. While the problem is complex and no single solution exists, it is apparent that to halt the cartels, Mexico needs help. In fact, the United States has both an obligation and a stake in assisting Mexico. The United States has consistently regarded Mexico's drug trafficking problem as exclusively Mexican. Yet the United States is the biggest consumer of drugs in the world (Shelley, 2001, p.218). Therein lies the crux of the matter. The United States has had a role both in the development of the drug industry in Mexico, and in fueling drug trafficking. There are a number of steps that the United States should take, both domestically and abroad:

1. Above all, the United States should strive to reduce demand. It must expand its drug-prevention and education programs. It also needs to expand its drug-treatment programs. There are practical incentives, as it has been shown that "a dollar spent on reducing

demand in the United States is vastly more effective than a dollar spent on eradication and interdiction abroad” (O’Neil, 2009, p. 71). Indeed, as indicated in my research, efforts to combat drug trafficking in Mexico are hindered by weak police forces and a corrupt military, which compromises their efficacy.

2. The United States should enact stricter gun controls, since 90 percent of guns seized in Mexico have been traced to come from the United States (p.70). The availability of guns smuggled across the border has contributed greatly to violence in Mexico, and it is the United States’ responsibility to tighten gun regulations.
3. Lastly, the United States should increase its aid to Mexico. While on June 26, 2008, the U.S. Congress approved a US\$400 million aid package known as the Merida Initiative to fight drug trafficking in Mexico, it is not enough. In fact, former drug czar McCaffrey called the Merida Initiative “a drop in the bucket” (2009). The United States must provide more aid to Mexico to strengthen its law enforcement, and provide training to the justice system. It must implement policies that contribute to economic development, and develop anti-poverty programs in the poorest communities.

It is in the United States’ best interests to partner with Mexico in the combat against drug traffickers. The United States cannot underestimate Mexico’s contributions to our economy. Since the implementation of NAFTA, Mexico is the United States’ third largest trading partner. and the United States’ second largest foreign supplier of petroleum (“Fact Sheet”, 2010). A weak or failing state could potentially endanger trade, having powerful repercussions for our economy. In addition, the safety of the U.S. Mexico border is of paramount importance. The U.S.-Mexico border sees almost a billion dollars worth of goods legally crossing the border each day, and one

million legitimate travelers. It is “one of the most economically important borders in the world” (“Fact Sheet”, 2010). Thus it is crucial that the US-Mexico border remains safe and secure. The United States has developed strong economic ties with Mexico, and a weak or failing state could severely jeopardize those ties.

In addition, cooperating with Mexico is matter of national security. The United States cannot afford to have an unstable neighbor. McCaffrey warned, “before the next eight years are past – the violent, warring collection of criminal drug cartels could overwhelm the institutions of the state and establish de facto control over broad regions of northern Mexico” (2009). Having a narco state as a neighbor, in fact, could provide considerable threat to U.S. national security.

Overall, my research has shown that the drug cartels’ attacks on the press are endangering democracy, and are illustrative of their broader efforts to weaken the Mexican state. In that respect, I conclude that assistance from the United States constitutes a mutually beneficial and pressing obligation.

Bibliography

- Abadinsky, H. (2000). *Organized crime* (6th ed.). Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning
- Attacks on the Press 2009: Mexico – Committee to Protect Journalists. (2010). *Press Freedom Online- Committee to Protect Journalists*. Retrieved March 18, 2012, from <http://cpj.org/2010/02/attacks-on-the-press-2009-mexico.php>
- Bowden, M. (2001). *Killing Pablo: The hunt for the world's greatest outlaw*(pb. ed.) New York: Penguin
- Burnett, J., & Peñalosa, M. (2010, May 18). Mexico's Drug War: A Rigged Fight? NPR. *NPR: National Public Radio: News & Analysis, World, US, Music & Arts: NPR*. Retrieved March 5, 2012, from <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=126890838>.
- Caso Choco: 2 años carentes de justicia [The 'Choco' Case: Two Years Without Justice]. (2010, November 13). *El Diario*, p.1. Retrieved January 3, 2012, from the INPRO database.
- Chabat, J. (2002). Mexico's war on drugs: No margin for maneuver. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 582(00027162), 134-148. Retrieved March 1, 2012, from the ProQuest database.
- Dahl, R. A. (2005). What political institutions does large-scale democracy require? *Political Science Quarterly*, 120(2), 187-0_8. Retrieved March 1, 2012, from the ProQuest database.
- Dal Bo et al. "Plata o plomo?": Bribe and punishment in a theory of political influence. (2006). *The American Political Science Review*, 100(1), 41-53. Retrieved March 8, 2012, from the ProQuest database.
- Davis, D.E. (2006). *Undermining the Rule of Law: Democratization and the Dark Side of*

- Police Reform in Mexico. *Latin American Politics & Society* 48(1), 55-86.
- Fact Sheet (2010). *US Embassy*. Retrieved March 1, 2012, from http://www.usembassy-mexico.gov/eng/pdf/Trade_and_Investment_May.pdf.
- Figuroa, M. (2009, June 10). Piden Reporteros Sin Fronteras investigar agresiones vs. medios. *El Diario*, p.3 Retrieved March 1, 2012, from the INPRO database.
- Grayson, G. W. (2010). *Mexico: Narco-Violence and a Failed State?*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.
- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-latin-america-13350630>.
- Hughes, S. (2006). *Newsrooms in Conflict: Journalism and the Democratization of Mexico*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Indignación [Indignation]. (2008, November 14). *El Diario*, p. 10. Retrieved March 4, 2012, from the INPRO database.
- Johnson, J.B., & Reynolds, H.T. (2008), *Political Science Research Methods* (6 ed.). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Journalists Killed in Mexico- Committee to Protect Journalists. (n.d.). *Press Freedom Online- Committee to Protect Journalists*. Retrieved February 2, 2012, from <http://cpj.org/killed/americas/mexico>.
- Kellner, T., & Pipitone, F. (2010), Inside Mexico's Drug War. *World Policy Journal*, 27 (1), 29. Retrieved March 1, 2012, from the ProQuest database.
- Lanchin, M. (2011, May 27). BBC News- Mexican reporter Luz Sosa's dangerous job in Juarez. *BBC- Homepage*. Retrieved March 5, 2012, from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-13350630>.
- Lauría, C., & O'Connor, M. (2010, September 8). Silence or Death in Mexico's Press –

- Reports- Committee to Protect Journalists. *Press Freedom Online- Committee to Protect Journalists*. Retrieved March 5, 2012, from <http://cpj.org/reports/2010/09/silence-or-death-in-mexicos-press.php>.
- Lauria, C., & Stauffer, C. (2010). The war on media. *Americas Quarterly*, 4(2), 62-67. Retrieved March 1, 2012, from the ProQuest database.
- Manwaring, Max G. (2007, December). A Contemporary Challenge to State Sovereignty: Gangs and Other Illicit Transnational Criminal Organizations in Central America, El Salvador, Mexico, Jamaica, and Brazil. 1 – 59. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, December 2007.
- Martin, C. (2012). Categorization of narcomessages in Mexico: An appraisal of the attempts to influence public perception and policy actions. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 35(1), 76. Retrieved February 28, 2012, from the ProQuest database.
- McCaffrey, B. (2009, January). Narco-Violence in Mexico: A Growing Threat to U.S. Security. *Home/ The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*. Retrieved March 12, 2012, from http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2009/0103/comm/mccaffery_mexico.html.
- McDonald, J. H. (2005). The Narcoeconomy and Small-town, Rural Mexico. *Human Organization*, 64(2), 115-125. Retrieved from March 1, 2012, from the ProQuest database.
- Mexico. (2009). In P. Korsmeyer & H. R. Kranzler (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Drugs, Alcohol & Addictive Behavior* (3rd ed., Vol. 3, pp. 34-39). Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA. Retrieved February 27, 2012, from <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2699700287&v=2.1&u=psucic&it>

=r&p=GVRL&sw=w.

Mexico. (2011). *Freedom House*. Retrieved March 1, 2012, from

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2011/mexico>.

Moskowitz, I. (2011, June 21). Reporters Investigating Drug Lords in Mexico and Pol Pot

Atrocities in Cambodia to Receive Prestigious Journalism Award. *ICFJ- International*

Center for Journalists. Advancing Quality Journalism Worldwide. Retrieved March 6,

2012, from [http://www.icfj.org/news/reporters-investigating-drug-lords-mexico-and-pol-](http://www.icfj.org/news/reporters-investigating-drug-lords-mexico-and-pol-pot-atrocities-cambodia-receive-prestigious-j)

[pot-atrocities-cambodia-receive-prestigious-j](http://www.icfj.org/news/reporters-investigating-drug-lords-mexico-and-pol-pot-atrocities-cambodia-receive-prestigious-j).

O' Day, P. (2001). The mexican army as cartel. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal*

Justice, 17(3), 278-295. Retrieved February 27, 2012, from the ProQuest database.

O'Neil, S. (2009). The Real War in Mexico. *Foreign Affairs*, 88(4), 63-0_7. Retrieved

February 28, 2012, from the ProQuest database.

Quezada, S., Rangel, J., & Pallais, M. (2006). Neither Truth nor Justice: Mexico's De Facto

Amnesty. *Latin American Perspectives*, 33, 56-68. Retrieved March 5, 2012, from the

JSTOR Database.

Rafsky, S. (2011, September 30). Mexico murder may be social media watershed –Blog-

Committee to Protect Journalists. *Press Freedom Online – Committee to Protect*

Journalists. Retrieved March 4, 2012, from [http://cpj.org/blog/2011/09/mexican-](http://cpj.org/blog/2011/09/mexican-murder-may-mark-grim-watershed-for-social.php)

[murder-may-mark-grim-watershed-for-social.php](http://cpj.org/blog/2011/09/mexican-murder-may-mark-grim-watershed-for-social.php).

Romero, S. (2003, May 27). Shaking Up Journalism in El Paso –New York Times. *The New*

York Times- Breaking News, World News and Multimedia. Retrieved March 5, 2012,

from [http://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/27/business/shaking-up-journalism-in-el-](http://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/27/business/shaking-up-journalism-in-el-paso.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm)

[paso.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm](http://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/27/business/shaking-up-journalism-in-el-paso.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm).

- Ronderos, M. (2011, June 22). The Cutting Edge News. *The Cutting Edge News –Page One*. Retrieved February 1, 2012, from <http://www.thecuttingedgenews.com/index.php?article=52261>.
- Rosen, F. (2010). Mexico's 2010: The Spreading Crisis Rise in Violence, Decline of Politics. *Against The Current*, 25(4). 25-27.
- Shelley, L. (2001). Corruption and Organized Crime in Mexico in the Post-PRI Transition. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 17(3), 213-231. Retrieved March 2, 2012, from the ProQuest database.
- Simental, G. (2009, November 10). Exigen a la Policía que ya despierte [They Urge the Police to Wake Up]. *El Diario*, p.2 Retrieved March 2, 2012, from the INPRO database.
- Valencia, N., Chacon, A., & CNN. (2011, November 15). Mexican journalists report on drug cartels despite the risks – CNN.com. Retrieved March 22, 2012, from <http://www.cnn.com/2011/11/15/world/americas/mexico-journalist/index.html>.

APPENDIX A

Publication: El Diario

Title of feature:

Date published: / /

Story based in: Juarez

Length of article (without title): words

Content codes:

1. **Cártel/cárteles:**
2. **Sinaloa (cartel)**
3. **Juárez (cartel)**
4. **Crimen organizado:**
5. **Drogas:**
6. **Narcotráfico/ narcotraficante/narcotraficantes:**
7. **Impunidad:**
8. **Corrupción:**

APPENDIX B

Article Length

Months	Length
November 2006	469,5
December	474,2
January 2007	343
February	427,4
March	506,7
April	530,3
May	384
June	592
July	316
August	438,1
September	363,8
October	381,7
November 2007	326
December	323,2
January 2008	229,9
February	264
March	417,1
April	491
May	470,1
June	531,2
July	643
August	480,8
September	602,8
October	429,4
November 2008	939,1
December	630,4
January 2009	674
February	448,7
March	613
April	662,8
May	749,1
June	458,9
July	465,7
August	496,1
September	479,8
October	681,6
November	645,6
December	553,1
January 2010	600,2
February	634,3
March	660,6
April	794
May	785,1
June	588,2
July	524,9
August	633,3
September	636,6
October	561,7
November 2010	756,9

APPENDIX C

Mentions of Drug Trafficking

Months	Percentage
November 2006	0,479233227
December	0,210881485
January 2007	0
February	0,20795425
March	0
April	0
May	0
June	0,185810811
July	0
August	0,048907727
September	0,091617041
October	0
November	0
December	0
January 2008	0,108754758
February	0
March	0,066604502
April	0,135777325
May	0,232958574
June	0,143948621
July	0
August	0,097943193
September	0
October	0,232858991
November 2008	0,133106165
December	0,035251608
January 2009	0,037087403
February 09	0
March	0,108754758
April	0,181050091
May	0,114416476
June	0,399491556
July	0
August	0,179171333
September	0,128246233
October	0,033856224
November	0,046468401
December	0,098619329
January 2010	0
February	0,171993694
March	0,030275507
April	0,226700252
May	0,285906492
June	0,085009918
July	0
August	0,315802259
September	0
October	0
November 2010	0,1409195

APPENDIX D

Government Criticism

Months	Percentage
November 2006	0,106496273
December	0
January 2007	0
February	0
March	0
April	0
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	0
September	0
October	0
November	0
December	0
January 2008	0
February	0
March	0
April	0,016972166
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	0
September	0
October	0
November 2008	0
December	0
January 2009	0
February	0
March	0
April	0,030175015
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	0,044792833
September	0,032061558
October	0,033856224
November	0
December	0,016436555
January 2010	0
February	0
March	0
April	0
May	0
June	0
July	0,057153744
August	0,024322024
September	0
October	0
November 2010	0,026422406

ACADEMIC VITA of FLORENCE MOOSER

Florence Mooser
600 E. Pollock Rd
State College, PA 16801
Fam5047@psu.edu

Education:

Bachelor of Arts Degrees in International Politics & Spanish, Penn State University,
Spring 2010
Thesis Title: *The Effects of Drug Cartel Intimidation on the Mexican Press*
Thesis Supervisor: Steve Manuel

Related Experience:

Writing Intern, University Office of Global Programs, Penn State University
Spring 2011

Campaign Coordinator, Amnesty International Penn State, Penn State University
Fall 2011

Awards and Honors:

Dean's List, Fall 2008-Fall 2011
Schreyer Academic Excellence Scholarship, Fall 2008-Fall 2011