

#YoSoy132's use of Social Media: Public Screens in a Mexican Youth Movement

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This essay explores the use of artwork and slogans by #YoSoy132, a Mexican youth movement during the 2012 presidential election in Mexico. The movement used art and slogans to communicate a new ideology to get into an alternative public screen. This essay demonstrates how social media and artwork can be used in movements where the protestors have limited access to mainstream media. In addition, it adds to rhetorical knowledge because it builds on the understanding of how modern movements utilize different strategies to gain an audience. Further, it contributes to the understanding of the internet as an alternative public screen, which is becoming increasingly prevalent in modern youth movements. Additionally, the essay questions the assumption of what it means for a movement to be successful. Lastly, this article discusses the constraints of movements using social media to make a rapid change in a political system.

Keywords: social movements, social media, youth movements, alternative public screens, #YoSoy132

“If the ground is shaking, it’s #YoSoy132 that’s marching!”

– Animalpolitico, #YoSoy132 twitter supporters (“Cracks form in,” n.d.).

The past few years have brought an increase in youth-led social movements across the world. #YoSoy132 is an example of a youth movement that arose in Mexico in 2012 (Llana, 2012). The 2012 presidential election created a rhetorical situation, which the youth responded to, resulting in the creation of #YoSoy132. The conditions in Mexico restricted the movement from using the traditional means of gaining the public eye through the media (Llana, 2012; Oikonomakis, 2012), which forced the movement to engage in alternative methods to influence their audience. Other youth movements, including the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street, have also demonstrated the importance of the use of social media to transmit information and gain supporters outside of the traditional media outlets (Greene & Kuswa, 2012; Jones, 2014). Through this analysis, I argue that the #YoSoy132 movement embraced the internet and social media as an alternative public screen in order to gain support from their audience. Further, to get onto this alternative public screen, the movement utilized slogans and artwork to carry an alternative ideology to protesters across the internet. The spread of this ideology helped to create identification across supporters online. To support this argument, I first discuss the rhetorical situation surrounding the creation of the movement. Next, I review past literature exploring the use of social media, public screens, and ideology in social movements. Lastly, through a rhetorical analysis of the movement, I posit that the movement used artwork and slogans to create an alternative ideology, which they disseminated through social media.

In the modern political climate, understanding how youth and leaderless movements operate is imperative (Greene & Kuswa, 2012; Jones, 2014). Through this essay, I explore how one modern youth movement in Mexico, #YoSoy132, used artwork and slogans to carry their message across an alternative public screen. By analyzing #YoSoy132, I add to previous research by showing how #YoSoy132 broke onto the internet as an alternative public screen. Additionally, I also discuss what prevented the movement from being successful in blocking the presidential candidate, Peña Nieto, from winning the election. Through looking at this movement, we can begin to understand what helps leaderless youth movements be more successful in their efforts for change. Since movements seem to be on the rise in many countries across the world, analyzing the contributions and rhetorical strategies of previous movements is essential.

The Mexican 2012 Presidential Election and the Rise of #YoSoy132

#YoSoy132 is a youth movement in Mexico that was created in response to the 2012 presidential election (Llana, 2012). One of the lead candidates in the election was former Mexico State governor Enrique Peña Nieto, the candidate for the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the Green Party (“Meet the candidates,” 2012). The PRI was originally founded in 1929 and operated as the ruling party in Mexico until 2000 (de la Isla, 2012;

Merrill & Miró, 1996). During their power reign, the PRI developed a reputation for violence and corruption, which continued into the 2012 presidential election (“Meet the candidates,” 2012). In the past, the public viewed the PRI as an authoritarian regime known for blocking others from taking power; for example, in 1946 the PRI changed election rules so they could unregister candidates from opposing parties during elections (Hernandez, 2012; Klesner, 2001). Even though Peña Nieto was too young to be a part of the old PRI regime, some people still associated him with the past aggression of the PRI; despite this, he was still a favored candidate early in the 2012 election season in Mexico (“Meet the candidates,” 2012).

#YoSoy132 began on May 11, 2012 when Peña Nieto gave a campaign speech at Iberoamericano University, a private institution in Mexico City (Llana, 2012). A protest was formed at the university by some of the students who felt that the media had been unfairly favoring Peña Nieto over the other candidates and decided to take action against the government (Llana, 2012; Oikonomakis, 2012). During the protest the students told Peña Nieto to get off their campus and reminded him of the events of a protest in 2006 in Atenco, Mexico (Gibler, 2006; Oikonomakis, 2012). In the previous protest in Atenco, Peña Nieto had ordered the police to step in during the demonstration, which resulted in violent searches of citizens’ houses, assaults and beatings of innocent bystanders, and the deaths of two protestors (Gibler, 2006; Oikonomakis, 2012). When Peña Nieto attempted to leave the auditorium after his speech for the 2012 election, the students pinned him against a wall in order to rattle him and tell him he was not welcome on their campus (Garcia, 2012). Peña Nieto’s campaign secretary and the media tried to frame the incident as a radical event staged by the other presidential candidate supporters, not as the action of the students (Garcia, 2012; Llana, 2012). In response to Peña Nieto’s staff and the media, 131 students from the protest recorded themselves stating their names and showing their student identifications, proving that they actually were students and not radicals from the other parties. From this, the #YoSoy132 campaign was created; the 132 stood for anyone that wanted to join the students and stand against Enrique Peña Nieto and the PRI (Garcia, 2012; Hernandez, 2012). In English, “yo soy” means “I am”; therefore, the name translates to “I am 132.” By using “YoSoy132,” the movement was asking viewers to join the 131 students and become 132nd member of the movement. Additionally, The name was also partly borrowed from the movement “We Are All Khaled Said,” which heavily relied on Facebook to share its messages (Cave, 2012).

After the creation of the movement, thousands of students began to protest Peña Nieto and his political party across Mexico as well through online sources including social media networks and YouTube channels (Cave, 2012; de la Isla, 2012). From here, the movement began to formulate its demands as the students fought to keep the PRI candidate from being elected as the next Mexican president in the July 1 election. One of the main structural components of the movement was that it sought to be leaderless; in a protest in Mexico City 74 students stood up to give their mandates for the protest, but remained nameless, only identifying themselves by the school that they attended. The demands the movement made were various, including a third nation-wide debate by the presidential candidates (de la Isla, 2012). Up to this point, two debates had been aired but by only one of the television networks; the other major networks broadcasted other events, including a soccer game, and ignored the debates. The students felt that this led to poor coverage and caused many viewers to focus on the soccer games instead of watching the presidential debates. Other issues that the movement stood for included “democratization of the country, transparency of the media, and free and fair elections” (Oikonomakis, 2012).

Along with being a leaderless movement, the #YoSoy132 movement had several other elements to their protests that caught the eye of the media and people in Mexico (Oikonomakis, 2012). The movement sought to be a peaceful movement and not interrupt those around them; at one protest of a PRI campaign in Mexico City, the protestors did not disrupt the PRI event but instead protested nearby the campaign. The movement also employed different art, posters, music, slogans, and other creative strategies (Oikonomakis, 2012; “Students invigorate Mexico’s,” 2012). The first official protest of the movement took place outside of Mexico’s top television network, Televisa, when students chanted several slogans including: “Turn off the television, turn on your mind” and “Televisa turns you into an idiot” (“Students invigorate Mexico’s,” 2012). Around the time of this first protest it had been leaked that Peña Nieto had bought off Televisa in order to receive positive coverage from the television station where Mexican citizens got 90 percent of their election information, which further angered students and caused them to protest outside of the television network (Cave, 2012; “Students invigorate Mexico’s,” 2012).

To accompany the slogans, students often carried posters with slogans or pictures of Peña Nieto, fists, and other symbols that questioned the legitimacy of the PRI (Cave, 2012; Hernandez, 2012; Oikonomakis, 2012). The

students also painted their faces, covered their mouths with tape and the word “Televisa,” poured red paint over themselves to signify blood, wrote #YoSoy132 and other slogans across their chests, and staged crime scenes in the middle of streets (Hernandez, 2012; Oikonomakis, 2012). These protests grew from approximately 10,000 students for a protest in Mexico City in the beginning of the movement, to more than 90,000 students gathering at events just two weeks later (“Students invigorate Mexico’s,” 2012). Protests were strongest around the capital, with significantly fewer students attending protests in cities farther from Mexico City. The movement declared they did not support one candidate over the other, but rather they solely worked against the PRI (Hernandez, 2012).

By the end of May, a little less than a month after #YoSoy132 had begun, Peña Nieto had already dropped 2.3 percent in the polls (Llana, 2012). Throughout the rest of the election, Peña Nieto continued to fight the negative light that was being cast on him by the movement (Hernandez, 2012; Oikonomakis, 2012). Despite the early success of the movement in dropping Peña Nieto’s favorability in the polls, Peña Nieto still won the presidential election on July 1, 2012 (“Mexico election runner-up,” 2012). Even though the movement did not succeed in preventing the PRI from gaining power again, the movement still planned to continue even after the election (Tuckman, 2012). Students had voiced their frustration with the system and wanted to keep fighting for their voices to be heard, especially with the newly elected president and the PRI resuming some of its lost power in Mexico. Along with understanding the rhetorical situation behind the protests, the type of movement that #YoSoy132 represents needs to be explored as well.

Social movements seek to alter the current power status and change the structure of the establishment (Cathcart, 1978). #YoSoy132 represents a type of modern movement that is often driven by younger generations and utilizes technologies as well as other creative strategies to convey messages. Related to this movement are the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street movements. These modern protests represent movements that are not bound by a specific place or time because they are able to transcend traditional protest limitations through technologies (Greene & Kuswa, 2012). This rhetorical strategy allows these movements to not only connect with people in their immediate area, but also people across the nation and even the world. Occupy Wall Street also utilized social media to reach an audience that it could not have reached otherwise, demonstrating the importance of technology to modern social movements (Jones, 2014). In order to understand the rhetorical strategies used by #YoSoy132, I next discuss the use of artwork, slogans, and students in other past social movements.

Artwork, Slogans, and Students in Past Movements

The #YoSoy132 campaign not only reflected a modern “youth” movement, but it also employed specific types of rhetorical strategies including the use of artwork and slogans. One of the main elements that the #YoSoy132 movement used was slogans, as even the name of the movement served as a slogan. Past movements have utilized these tactics in order to alter the current system as well as gain the attention of the public and encourage members of the movement (Romano, 2013). Romano (2013) examined the use of slogans in Madrid’s ‘Puerta del Sol’ protests in 2011, which were part of a number of protests that happened throughout Spain in response to the national economic crisis that caused serious financial problems for the people (“Thousand of protestors,” 2014). The slogans represented metaphors that the protestors employed in order to carry their messages to the government, current protestors, and the public watching the protests (Romano, 2013). Romano concluded that the metaphors were culturally, topically, and situationally triggered and worked to communicate these three ideals within the protests. Another strategy that social movements have adopted is the use of artwork (Deluca & Demo, 2000). Deluca and Demo analyzed how photographs were used in the early environmental movement in the United States to save Yosemite; these photos helped early environmentalists convince the U.S. Congress vote to preserve Yosemite and protect it against industrialization. Movements, therefore, have utilized photographs as artwork to communicate with the greater establishment (Deluca & Demo, 2000).

Much like these movements, #YoSoy132 used art forms including photographs, paintings, and music to carry the message of their protests to the Mexican government, members of the protests, and people outside of the movement (Red, 2013). In a critical analysis of the movement, Red (2013) looked at how music played an important role in the #YoSoy132 campaign. Specifically, she discussed how *Músicos con YoSoy132* (or Musicians with I am 132), which represented a number of Mexican artists that banded together, carried the messages of #YoSoy132 protestors to the public. Based on her analysis, Red (2013) determined that this expression of music forced several

artists and publishers to coordinate to create music for the movement, allowing a diverse group of individuals to collaborate who would not have otherwise. In addition, she concluded that the music itself did not work to overthrow the establishment, but rather it depended on the actions of the listeners and users (Red, 2013). Additionally, an ethnography of #YoSoy132 found that by appropriating social media, the movement was able to revise the fabricated story told by the media about the protests and regain their agency, as well as create a collective identification and internal cohesion amongst the members (Treré, 2015).

In the past, movements have employed artwork and slogans to represent their own ideology that challenges the mainstream power system and works to establish a new view of power within the system. Therefore, the use of ideology through slogans and artwork can be utilized as a framework to view and analyze movements. For this essay, ideology is defined as the system of beliefs held by a group of people (McGee, 1980), which is often practiced and implemented through words (McGee, 1980; Porter, 2010). Porter (2010) argues clichés “stabilize, even freeze-frame, a world that has the potential to run away from via thoughts that fly all over the place” (p. 234). In essence, the larger dominant system uses clichés to keep people from deterring from the main ideology of the system. Slogans, however, can challenge the dominant ideology and even the clichés that function to control societies. Within social movements, protestors employ slogans displayed on posters and banners to communicate their ideology to a larger audience (Begum, 2015). For example, in a protest in Pakistan, a mob formed to speak against electricity outages. Through a discourse analysis, one researcher concluded that they used placards and slogans to communicate their ideology (Begum, 2015). Similar to the Pakistan protest, the current essay demonstrates how #YoSoy132 also used posters and slogans to represent their ideology.

Additionally, artwork has also been examined as a way to communicate ideology to a larger audience (Rodner & Preece, 2016; Palczewski, 2005). Governments and other authorities can use artwork to both frame and disperse their ideology to citizens, especially through museums and other displays of artwork (Rodner & Preece, 2016). Palczewski (2005) also demonstrated that other means of art, such as postcards, disseminate an ideological view. For instance, during the women’s suffrage movement, postcards were utilized to reinforce the traditional ideals of the place of men and women in society. These postcards displayed images of women and men that violated the norms of the roles of gender in society, creating the <woman> and <man> ideographs (Palczewski, 2005). Therefore, past studies have demonstrated the ways that both slogans and art can be used to communicate an ideology to a larger audience. In the current study, I explore how the Mexican youth movement #YoSoy132 used slogans and artwork to both challenge the dominant ideology of the PRI as well as communicate their own ideology.

Along with opposing the current ideology, movements face the challenge of being noticed by individuals outside of the protests, as well as being recognized by the establishment. In order to be noticed, the movement needs to find a way to get onto the public screen, which is a modern form of the public sphere. Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox (1974) defined the public sphere as “a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be found” (p. 49). Within in this realm, the citizens form a public body, are free to express their opinions, and can deliberate about general issues openly. Radio, television, magazines, and newspapers represent the media that the citizens in the public sphere use to communicate their ideas. Deluca and Peeples (2002) argued that the public sphere no longer represented today’s society and technological advances; instead, they proposed the *public screen*, which took the modern use of media more seriously. This alternative new public sphere looks at the use of television, newspapers, magazines, and other media outlets to represent the organization of social issues; the speed and ease of communication through these screens has transformed the media into the main source of information for citizens.

Some societies and social movements, however, do not have access to the traditional public screens through news networks or other media outlets. For example, Occupy Wall Street had a difficult time getting onto the public screen during their protests in Zuccotti Park because the media often either ignored the movement altogether or misrepresented the movement as unorganized (Deluca, Lawson, & Sun, 2012). To overcome their lack of access to the dominant public screen and carry their message to the public, Occupy Wall Street supporters turned to alternative public screens through the internet. Instead of waiting for traditional outlets to pick up their story, the movement started to spread the story through online blogs as well as other social media websites including Twitter and Facebook. This alternative screen allowed the movement to combat the misrepresentations as well as communicate what the movement was doing and the ideals of the movement to supporters not at the occupation in New York (Deluca et al., 2012). Through this article, I investigate how slogans and artwork can be used to create identification

through the alternative public screen, letting movements communicate their ideology with a larger audience in a shorter time.

Additionally, social media outlets, including sites such as Twitter and Facebook, have allowed movements to function across platforms quickly (Frangonikolopoulos & Chapsos, 2012). Twitter and other social media websites let movements remain leaderless since they are not controlled by one network (Frangonikolopoulos & Chapsos, 2012). Traditionally certain networks or groups of people run news outlets; therefore, they can be biased toward certain candidates. Social media outlets, however, are not controlled by a particular network and disseminate messages across the world. Thus, this allows movements to remain leaderless because multiple activists can spread the message of the movement (Frangonikolopoulos & Chapsos, 2012). In this article, I look at how #YoSoy132 used Twitter, Facebook, and other social media sites to spread their messages without a leader.

With the rise of social movements throughout the world, as well as the increased activism of youth within the past decade, it is important to explore the rhetorical strategies of modern social movements (Greene & Kuswa, 2012; Jones, 2014). Understanding the use of slogans, artwork, and public screens in the #YoSoy132 campaign offers a new perspective on modern youth movements, by revealing the importance of social media in movements that do not have access to traditional public screens. Further, through an analysis of #YoSoy132, I discuss the importance of the use of slogans and artwork in social movements, especially when used with social media. Also, the current study demonstrates the importance of using social media to build a support base for a movement. In addition, understanding #YoSoy132 is imperative because of the unique dynamics between the Mexican government and the youth. Because the movement was able to create a large following across the world in a short time frame, examining the rhetorical strategies used in this movement to gain followers quickly can enlighten scholarship on how social media can be used to reach people in a small period of time. Additionally, exploring the rhetorical strategies used by this movement can help to understand how movements formed by marginalized groups or underrepresented youth in societies can peacefully protest their regimes. With the changing politics in the world today, the number of protests by marginalized and underrepresented groups is becoming increasingly common and needed. Therefore, exploring how recent movements use rhetorical strategies is paramount for understanding the current politic climate across the world.

Further, since #YoSoy132 formed its name partly from the movement “We Are All Khaled Said” (Cave, 2012), it seems that youth movements are starting to develop their methods based on previous movements. Therefore, exploring the current trends of modern youth movements can enlighten not only our current understanding of the movement, but it can also show us how other youth movements may form and the rhetorical strategies these movements could use as well. Overall, this study adds to our current body of research by exploring how one leaderless youth movement was able to gain access to an alternative public screen through artwork and slogans. A rhetorical analysis of this movement can help provide an understanding of the use of artwork, slogans, and social media in a modern social movement created by a younger generation of citizens.

Method

In order to explore the strategies used by this movement, I performed a rhetorical analysis of the slogans and artwork used by the movement. Specifically, I looked at the slogans and artwork used by #YoSoy132 to communicate their ideology to a larger audience. I examined how these artifacts were shared through social media, including Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and art sites such as Deviant Art. Through these websites, I was able to view and analyze the most popular slogans and pieces of artwork used by the movement. Generally, I looked for pictures and slogans that were shared across multiple platforms. To analyze these slogans, I used McGee’s (1980) understanding of ideology as well as Porter’s (2010) description of slogans. When analyzing the slogans, I both compared what the current ideology of the PRI party was as well as what the ideology the slogan or art piece represented for #YoSoy132 was. Therefore, I was able to compare and contrast the ideology of the main political party to that of the #YoSoy132 movement. Further, looking at the ideology of these slogans and art pieces allowed me to consider, based on Deluca and Peeples’s (2000) definition of a public screen, how the movement used these slogans and pieces of art to break on to the public screen. The next section discusses the findings of my rhetorical analysis.

The Slogans and Artwork of #YoSoy132 as Ideology

This analysis will review three ideals represented by several slogans and artwork that were created by the movement in the first few months of #YoSoy132's conception. These specific artifacts were chosen because of the time period in which they were created and the frequency with which they were shared by the movement supporters. All of these pieces communicated important messages about the Mexican youth movement. To begin, the analysis will examine how these artifacts influenced the ideology #YoSoy132 displayed to their audience.

Much like other youth movements at the time, #YoSoy132 was faced with an oppressive ideology from the establishment, which was enforced by the PRI (Llana, 2012). In the past, the ideology of the PRI was situated around control of the population and party officials having the main source of power in the country. Despite the fact that the Mexican government was now considered a democracy, Peña Nieto demonstrated the PRI's desire to regain power similar to the past regime when he was governor of the state of Mexico ("Meet the candidates," 2012). Within this ideology, freedom was limited and granted to the citizens by the government. The PRI controlled the news outlets and information that was dispersed to the citizens so that they could monitor what the citizens understood about politics and the government. The following sections will break down three main slogans as well as how they were represented through artwork, posters, and other methods during the protests to push back against the PRI's power and communicate a more peaceful ideology.

The use of the slogan "Televisa" as a representation of ideology.

To combat the PRI's dominant ideology, #YoSoy132 sought to create an alternative ideology by using slogans and artwork. One of the main slogans used in the movement included the word "Televisa," which is the name of the main television news source in the country. For the PRI, the slogan "Televisa" called upon the ideology of the government having control over the citizens; Peña Nieto utilized the television network as a way to control what the public learned about the presidential race. #YoSoy132 sought to realign the word "Televisa" so that it would represent the oppression of the PRI and illustrate a new ideology that granted freedom to the citizens of Mexico. The protestors utilized slogans and artwork to redefine the connotative meaning of the television network name for the people in Mexico.

The word "Televisa" was displayed as a slogan in strategic ways by the youth movement. It was both used as a one-word slogan and as the primary term in longer phrases. For example, protesters would often tape their mouths and write over the tape with the word "Televisa" (Oikonomakis, 2012). This gesture signified that the Mexican citizens were being silenced by Televisa and were not allowed to voice their opinions openly through news channels. Further, it demonstrated that the PRI were oppressing the youth by removing their voices and shutting them out of the public screen. This was further demonstrated in artwork created by the #YoSoy132 supporters. For example, one poster displayed the evolution of television in Mexico according to the youth protestors. The poster had three TV sets displayed, one from the 1970s, one from the 1980s, and one from 2010; each TV displayed a picture of excrement, but the excrement as well as the television changed as the years progressed. This was meant to represent the lies that had been told by the media since the 1970s, even though the TV sets had changed and the clarity of the images increased, the media still produced the same lies that it did in the past. This image too shows the oppression by the PRI, as well as highlights the dishonesty of the government. The slogan "Televisa" not only worked to reveal the oppression of the PRI, but also called upon a greater ideology that the movement sought to communicate. The ideology represented by this term was transparency and honesty from the government; the youth movement believed that the government should not hide information from the citizens or control their access to television networks. Rather, the citizens should be allowed to have a voice in the public realm. Further, what comes from the news media should not be corrupted by the establishment, but instead should reflect the truth about politics and what the government is doing.

Another striking slogan surrounding televisa was: "Turn off the television, turn on your mind" ("Students invigorate Mexico's," 2012). The slogan was mostly either displayed on signs or chanted by students during protests. The idea of turning off the television and turning on your mind represented an interesting change in the ideology of the youth movement. The slogan challenged the authority of the PRI and promoted equality, similar to the other slogans, but also rejected authority completely. It went beyond just saying that Mexico should promote equality, to actually telling the audience to take back power over their own lives. Rather than being controlled by

the government, the slogan told people to turn off the television and think for themselves. In other words, it encouraged people to liberate themselves from the authority of the PRI and to make decisions for themselves. Thus, making an ideological turn from just promoting equality, to actually telling their viewers to denounce authority and free themselves from the PRI.

The use of the slogan “#YoSoy132” as a representation of ideology.

Further, another slogan represented by the movement was “#YoSoy132.” As part of the overarching ideology of control and power, the youth in Mexico had often been overlooked by the PRI. Power was reserved for the PRI officials and was not meant for the youth of Mexico. Instead, the youth were meant to listen to the older and wiser PRI officials and do what the officials instructed the youth to do, therefore, reinforcing the ideology of control over the Mexican youth. Peña Nieto staff’s overall attitude towards the youth reflects this ideology. The campaign often overlooked college-aged students (18-23 years of age) (Garcia, 2012; Llana, 2012). When Peña Nieto did finally address the students on the college campus, he did not take their thoughts and opinions seriously, which resulted in the first official protest of #YoSoy132. Although the students stood their ground against the candidate, his staff members tried to frame the protest as being from supporters of the other presidential candidates. This showed how the government treated the youth; instead of believing they were taking a stand, the media tried to portray the incident as not involving the university students at all.

Contrary to the PRI’s view of youth, through the “#YoSoy132” slogan, the protestors were utilizing an alternative ideology to represent themselves and other youth in the nation. Instead of following the ideology that the youth were to be controlled by the higher officials, the movement created an ideology where the protestors had equality and freedom. For instance, the freedom to express their opinions and not fear something similar to the protest in 2006 where citizens were abused and murdered for standing against the government (Gibler, 2006). Along with this, their ideology represented equality in the news; instead of being misrepresented and falsely framed, the movement desired to have the same amount and accurate news coverage from Televisa and other networks. “#YoSoy132” also allowed movement supporters to identify with the movement. The use of “YoSoy,” or “I am” in English, made the members themselves realize that they personally could have this freedom if they worked with the movement; therefore, the ideology also created stronger connections between the movement and the members.

This slogan was presented and framed in several ways by #YoSoy132. First, the phrase “#YoSoy132” was used as a hash tag by the movement members. Whenever they posted about the protests or movement on a social media website they identified the status or update through this hash tag. Along with this, students displayed the slogan by writing it across their chests and mouths during protests. Additionally, it was represented in the art pieces created by the students. For example, one poster displayed the slogan “#YoSoy132” in black and white, underneath the photograph the words “Por progression no regression” (in English—“for progression, not regression”) were displayed. This poster represented the slogan’s ideology because it showed that the students wanted to move into a future where their opinions mattered and they were considered an important part of society, not move back into a world where the youth were manipulated by the government.

The images and use of fists in the protests as representation of ideology.

A third ideal that demonstrated the ideology of control for the PRI and #YoSoy132 was represented in images and illustrations of fists. This idea was represented mainly in pictures of fists and the slogans that went along with these images, which transmitted the beliefs of control within the PRI party as well as the Mexican youth movement. The PRI held an overall ideology where control rested with the government. For example, before they were voted out of office in 2000 the PRI supported an authoritarian style regime, where the government officials made all executive decisions for the country (Hernandez, 2012; Klesner, 2001). Further, these works of art reminded the public of the government’s use of the military and police to control the people (Gibler, 2006; Oikonomakis, 2012). Although the government at the time was considered a democracy, Peña Nieto and his party supported a police state over the current system (Gibler, 2006; “Meet the candidates,” 2012). This was demonstrated in the 2006 protest in Atenco when Peña Nieto ordered in the police rather than attempting to settle the matter more peacefully (Gibler, 2006).

#YoSoy132 sought to not only remind their supporters of the PRI’s view of a strict regime of control, but also to communicate their own ideology with the fists in these images. The movement desired to take control from

the government and let the people, especially the Mexican youth, have power over the military and other important issues facing the country. By using fists as imagery, the youth movement communicated that the people could take control and break through the bonds of the government. Instead of letting the PRI turn the country back into a violent regime, the protestors wanted to illustrate that the people could keep control and have more power if they supported the movement and the ideology behind the movement. Previous movements also used fists to demonstrate power and bring the protestors together (Cushing, 2015). Movements, including the woman rights movement and the Arab Spring movement, have all used the fist to represent peace and unity among each. Therefore, this ideology draws upon an ideology created amongst movements throughout several nations.

These fists were displayed in several pieces of artwork created by the movement. One specific example comes from a deviant art blog posted in early June of 2012 (Roberto, 2014). This specific piece illustrated a fist that is displayed coming out of an outline of Mexico; in the picture, the fist is significantly larger than the country. Also, the outline of the country displays the Mexican flag. Surrounding the fist and Mexico outline is the name of the organization, #YoSoy132. The idea of the fist was not only represented in the images created by the movement, but also the actions of the protestors. During actual protests, the movement members would often pump their fists, shouting their name and other demands at people passing by, which demonstrated the ideology of control and power within the actual protests. Overall, these displays of fists represented an ideology that the protestors could unite together and have control over their own lives.

#YoSoy132 and the Public Sphere

Occupy Wall Street had to use an alternative public screen to spread the word about the movements since the media and mainstream news outlets ignored these movements (Jones, 2014). #YoSoy132 experienced similar obstacles since the PRI controlled the main news sources, including Televisa, and few other sources existed (Cave, 2012; "Students invigorate Mexico's," 2012). Often during the election, rather than airing the public debates, the news channels would air sports and other popular events happening in the world. The #YoSoy132 members felt this was extremely unfair and hindered the political knowledge of the citizens of Mexico. Therefore, the movement turned to alternative forms of the public screen through the internet. In 2012, when the movement originated, approximately 40.6 million Mexican citizens utilized the internet; therefore, the internet became an important outlet for #YoSoy132 to communicate with supporters ("Mexico Social Media," 2014). For instance, when the media and PRI campaign activists framed the original protest as action from opposing political forces rather than the students, the students reacted by sharing a video through YouTube and other websites (Garcia, 2012; Hernandez, 2012). This video displayed the students openly saying they did not support any opposing parties, but rather were standing in opposition to the PRI without the backing of any political parties. Therefore, the internet became the alternative public screen of the #YoSoy132 campaign.

#YoSoy132 also utilized social media as part of this alternative public screen (Hernandez, 2012). Social media represented an important outlet for internet users, with an estimated 65 percent of people on the internet having social media profiles and networks ("Mexico Social Media," 2014). #YoSoy132 turned to Facebook and Twitter instead of traditional media outlets including television news networks and newspapers. The protestors utilized Facebook and Twitter to organize protests, and share pictures of the movement and artwork created by the students. This use of the internet let supporters know what was happening and reframe incorrect perceptions of the movement formed by the PRI and traditional news networks.

Although the internet represents an alternative screen, it can be difficult to gain attention or stand out from other websites and movements. Therefore, #YoSoy132 needed to find a way to communicate their ideology on the internet that would catch the eye of others in Mexico as well as around the world. Without this, the youth movement could not gain the momentum and following that it needed to alter society and truly change the dominant ideology in Mexico. Therefore, the protestors used slogans and artwork to first gain an audience and then communicate their ideology to the protestors.

People and movements are constantly sharing information and photos on the internet, which can make it hard for movements to be noticed online. Therefore, #YoSoy132 needed a way to gain the attention of the viewers. To accomplish this, the movement turned to art and slogans that would stand out amongst other posts and photos. For example, the video that created the slogan #YoSoy132 was meant to quickly reframe what had happened at the first protest and capture the attention of a wide audience. The protesters also shared images of their protests that

displayed more extreme actions of the protesters, including lying on the ground as if they were dead. Each of these photos was strategically shared in order to either capture the eye of the media or to let supporters know that they were serious.

Further, one current popular area of the internet is artwork, with sites like Deviant Art created entirely to share different art pieces; this represented a way for the movement to distribute information to outside supporters (Roberto, 2014). To do this, the movement created vivid pieces that displayed the troubles that the youth faced and the oppression of the government. The art pieces also worked to unite the youth against the PRI, and give them hope. For example, one image displayed the photo of a young man with an "X" over his mouth to signify being silenced. The young man in the photo also had a blindfold covering just one eye, and a flame drawn around his head, meaning that he was ready to fight against the government. The background of this photo was all red, with "#Yo Soy" above the man's head and "132" below his head. Another photo displayed a PRI guard dressed in riot gear with a stick (meant to be a weapon) in one hand and the other hand holding a television that said the word "Televisa" accompanied by the Televisa logo. Further, the image said "TELEVISA NO ME QUITARÁ EL DERECHO A ELEGIR A MI PRESIDENTE," which translates to "Televisa will not take my right to choose my president." Below the television, toward the bottom of the photo, were the words "NO MÁS MANIPULACIÓN," which means "No more manipulation." One last photo from these websites displayed a television with a fist breaking through, surrounded by the shards of glass from the broken screen. Below the television were the words "TODO ES MEJOR ASI, yo soy 132," which translates to "Everything is better this way, I am 132." Behind the image was a light yellow background, while the television had a gray screen with a black and white frame around it.

These images allowed the movement to gain supporters from the alternative screen, however, the movement needed to do more than just attract followers. The students needed to change the perception that the government had created about them as well as form an alternative ideology that other students and Mexican citizens could identify more readily with. Through the slogans "Televisa" and "#YoSoy132," as well as the fists displayed in artwork and protests, the movement was able to communicate these ideologies across alternative screens, resulting in two impacts. First, the slogans helped the movement to restructure how the media had portrayed them; the slogan "#YoSoy132" let the students reframe what the media had said about them, showing that Peña Nieto's staff had misrepresented the movement. It demonstrated that the movement members were not radicals, but students standing up for their rights and values. Additionally, this slogan permitted the movement to expose the inequality of the media and therefore represent the ideology of equality. By pointing out the inequality, it produced the need for equality, and therefore reinforced the alternative ideology. Additionally, the "Televisa" slogan and the images of fists allowed the movement to reframe the PRI and the motives of Peña Nieto, therefore also changing how #YoSoy132 was represented. Instead of representing the Mexican youth as radicals, these ideas contended that the PRI was the radical party trying to take control of the country.

Secondly, the "Televisa," "#YoSoy132," and fists slogans and artwork helped the students to communicate an alternative ideology where students and all Mexican citizens had the freedom to express their opinions and to be heard by others. These slogans and art not only worked to establish the ideology of the movement, but also to create a new identity. Burke (1950) highlighted the importance of identification in persuasion. In order for someone to successfully be persuaded, they need to identify with the subject or cause. Therefore, the movement needed to create identification within the online audience in order to gain full support from them. By sharing the videos and artwork that represented the alternative ideology of the protesters through the public screen, the movement was able to unite members and achieve this identification. People outside of the movement could relate to the oppression created by the PRI through the media outlets; therefore, by using these slogans and images the movement showed the supporters a new ideology that could be obtained by supporting and joining the movement. It allowed the members to center around this new ideology of freedom and equality and created a community among new and old supporters. Further, the images of fists also represented unity among the members. The fists displayed in the art pieces not only represented the ideology of control, but also the ideals of unity. It demonstrated that the movement supporters could band together and unite around this want to take control back from the government. Overall, these slogans and artwork both helped the movement to reclaim its identity and to create identification amongst other members of the protest.

Implications and Conclusions

Understanding how #YoSoy132 utilized slogans and artwork across the internet as an alternative public screen to establish a group identity as well as reframe the portrayal of the youth movement adds to rhetorical research in several ways. First, it further shows how slogans and artwork can be used to represent alternative ideologies in social movements. Second, it extends the knowledge of current youth movements' turn to an alternative public screen. Lastly, this analysis demonstrates how slogans and artwork can be used in conjunction with a public screen to create identification with audience members. This is especially important in movements that seem "unsuccessful" to the outside world because they did not meet their original purpose. In sum, this analysis provides further understanding of how modern youth movements operate through social media and the importance of the internet to create identities for movements.

Overall, #YoSoy132 was able to communicate an alternative ideology through the use of slogans and artwork, which adds to rhetorical theory by demonstrating how these methods can be employed by social movements to gain the attention of the audience. The slogan "Televisa" combated the government control of the media, and represented an ideology of freedom of expression for all citizens. This idea was demonstrated through the protestors writing the word "Televisa" on posters, tape over their mouths, and images that displayed the bias of the main television networks to only share information related to the PRI. The second slogan discussed, "#YoSoy132," was meant to reframe how Peña Nieto's staff had portrayed the youth in Mexico, and therefore represented equality for #YoSoy132. This portion of the #YoSoy132 ideology sought to establish the importance of the youth in society. The young protestors desired to liberate the youth from being ignored and controlled by the government. Lastly, the images and use of fists signified the military control the PRI desired, but also symbolized the idea that the people could unite and take back power from the radical Peña Nieto. Therefore, these slogans demonstrate how social movements can use artwork and slogans rhetorically to both expose the problems with the dominant ideology and demonstrate how the movement's view of power is better for the citizens.

Since the PRI controlled the main public screen in Mexico, the movement had to be creative in defining an alternative public screen. Thus, the youth turned to social media and other internet resources (such as blogs and deviant art) to communicate their ideologies. The artwork and slogans utilized by the movement allowed #YoSoy132 to gain an audience amongst various other movements and people on the internet. The slogans and artwork helped the movement to restructure their framing by the main media sources, including Televisa, and unite youth in Mexico around a common ideology. This let the movement establish a prominent presence on the alternative public screen. This presence secured a following from not only youth and students in Mexico, but also students and people around the world. After seeing these slogans and artwork displayed, supporters held protests in cities outside of Mexico, including San Francisco, Rome, and Barcelona (Hernandez, 2012). From a theoretical standpoint, this adds to our knowledge about how social movements can use rhetorical strategies to gain a following through an alternative public screen. The use of alternative public screen warrants further rhetorical inquiry to see if the use of social media as an alternative public screen has replaced the original media as the main public screen to share information about societies.

People often seek to define movements and protests in terms of success, however, with certain movements it can be difficult to define this success. Based on this analysis, #YoSoy132 shows that a movement's success cannot necessarily be defined by its accomplishments. #YoSoy132's use of artwork and slogans to establish an ideology and following on social media did not work to prevent Peña Nieto from winning the 2012 presidential election, despite the strivings of the movement. Within the short time frame that the movement had, the slogans and art may not have been strong enough to accomplish the change that the movement needed. While words and ideas can work to change ideology, it is often a slow change that takes place over time (McGee, 1980). #YoSoy132 needed a more rapid change than the slogans and artwork represented. One reason that the movement was not as "successful" was that they decided to use these rhetorical strategies as methods of changing the opinions and ideologies of the public, rather than turning to violent measures or overthrowing the government through force.

Further, another argument for the movement not preventing Peña Nieto from becoming president was the medium used as the alternative public screen, i.e. social media. Although social media had been a successful vehicle in past movements for carrying messages to large audiences (Frangonikolopoulos & Chapsos, 2012), it may not have been enough in this instance. The PRI and Peña Nieto had a long history with Mexican residents and promised

to do a lot for the people during election campaigns. The posts the movement shared on Facebook, Twitter, and other sites might not have reached everyone that was planning to vote for Peña Nieto. Additionally, social media might have been as successful because of the type of audiences that seek out information online. For instance, since the movement was created by youth and mostly geared toward youth, the slogans and artwork may not have appealed to older audiences. Further, the people who gleaned their information from traditional mass media outlets may have preferred ideas that are more traditional. This could have led these same people to both consume messages on social media less often, and be less likely to want to change their ideology. Because they prefer traditional ideas, they may have not been open to changing their current ideology to equality over authoritarianism. Thus, the use of social media could have hindered the message of the movement because it only appealed to certain audiences, causing it not to be successful in preventing Peña Nieto from being elected president.

The use of the alternative public screen and an alternative ideology was not a complete loss for the movement, however. After Peña Nieto's win, the identity formation created by the use of slogans and artwork became especially important. Although #YoSoy132 did not succeed in preventing the PRI from taking control again, the movement needed to establish supporters that would carry the movement into the future. With Peña Nieto as president, the oppressive ideology created by the PRI could only get worse. Therefore, the movement needed to establish this strong sense of identity around a common ideology from the beginning. The use of the slogans and artwork to establish an identity among a strong support system proved to be especially important at this moment in time. This identity has allowed the movement to still be going on today, despite the fact that some might deem it 'unsuccessful' because of the election (#YoSoy132, 2017).

Additionally, #YoSoy132 begins to enlighten researchers on how modern youth movements are communicating with each other. #YoSoy132 based some of their strategies from the Arab Spring movement, "We Are all Khaled Said" (Cave, 2012). Specifically, #YoSoy132 used a similar strategy of sharing pictures on Facebook. Therefore, modern youth movements are beginning to mimic each other. Since the political tensions are currently high, more movements similar to the Arab Spring movement and #YoSoy132 may begin to emerge. Exploring how past movements used social media as an alternative screen gives rhetorical scholars a way to explore how current and future movements may also use social media.

In sum, understanding the artwork and slogans used by #YoSoy132 adds to our theoretical understandings of how social movements can use rhetorical strategies to reach a larger audience, specifically through an alternative public screen. Further, it adds to our knowledge of the expanding use of social media as the main outlet for social movements to communicate with their members. Additionally, it pushes back on the idea that social movements have to "win" in order to be successful, but slow change may have a better long-term effect. Research following social movements in the future, such as #YoSoy132, can help to answer this question of what it means for a social movement to be successful. Lastly, with the current political climate of the world, it is important to continue to understand how social movements form and break into the public screen or alternative public screens. It is likely that in the near future, we will continue to see the rise of social youth movements similar to #YoSoy132 in other countries as well. By examining the rhetorically strategies used by this movement, it is possible for researchers to understand these movements better and for members of the protests to know how to make their movement more successful.

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