

MESOMOBILIZATION MOVEMENTS INFLUENCING POLICY CHANGE IN MEXICO

USING FRAMING STRATEGIES

DANIELA CERVANTES TEJEDA

497211

Master in Public Administration: Management of
Governance Networks

Erasmus University

1st: Dr. R.F.I. Moody

2nd reader: H.B. Broekema

06/08/2019

Word count: 21,751

SUMMARY

Nowadays we can observe in daily life, how citizens' participation in public issues is changing. The government is no longer the only actor who determines and delimits the conditions of participation. Today the citizens have created their own channels and arenas to influence the public agenda. The mesomobilization movements are one example of these innovative manifestations, to pressure governments and politicians to attend to specific problems. We refer to mesomobilization, when a group of citizens attempts to mobilize individuals and other organizations to change a public policy.

This study examines how the mesomobilization movements operate framing strategies to make changes to public policies. The research focuses on a citizen initiative in Mexico, where two groups of citizens combine efforts and design an institutional instrument to reduce, prevent and punish corruption in the public sector. This movement contributed to important changes to anticorruption policy in the country. The initiative is one example of how the meso level organizations can influence the perceptions of stakeholders and consequently impact on public policy modifications. Our findings reveal that the employment of framing strategies is highly connected with the possibility of impacting the public agenda. The study of this specific case in Mexico, opens the opportunity to observe the implications, features, processes and effects of the mesomobilization movements which attempt to participate in public issues.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A special thanks to my supervisor Rebecca Moddy, her experience and guidance were essential to complete my thesis research process.

I am very grateful to the people who were interviewed that shared their time and knowledge to elaborate this study.

This work wouldn't been possible without the loving support of my family, they are the example that encourages me to keep continuing my professional and personal formation.

Finally, Mexico is my main motivation to keep preparing myself to contribute to the development of my country. My master and this thesis project are the result of looking new forms to achieve a more equal and free Mexico.

“No estudio para saber más, sino para ignorar menos”
-Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

Content

CONTENT	2
SUMMARY	4
INTRODUCTION.....	6
PROBLEM STATEMENT	6
RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	8
RESEARCH QUESTION	8
RELEVANCE.....	8
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	11
DEFINING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	11
FOCUSING ON MESOMOBILIZATION.....	13
USING FRAMING STRATEGIES	15
INFLUENCING POLICY CHANGE	17
CONCEPTUAL MODEL	23
CONCEPT DEFINITIONS.....	24
INDICATORS.....	25
METHODOLOGY	29
DATA COLLECTION	31
CASE STUDY: INITIATIVE 3DE3.....	37
MESOMOBILIZATION	37
Context	37
Actors	40
FRAMING	47
Tasks.....	49
Processes	56
AGENDA SETTING PROCESS	60
Systemic agenda (mass media)	60
Institutional agenda (publications of the 3de3)	66
POLICY CHANGE.....	68
First order / secondary aspects	68
Second order / near core aspects	70
Third order / deep core aspects	72
RESULTS	76
CONCLUSIONS	¡ERROR! MARCADOR NO DEFINIDO.
REFERENCES.....	84

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Conceptual Model 24
Figure 2: Citizen Initiative Process..... 39
Figure 3: “10 types of corruption: Nepotism” 50
Figure 4: “10 types of corruption: Illicit enrichment” 50

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Mesomobilization Indicators	25
Table 2: Framing Indicators	26
Table 3: Agenda setting process Indicators.....	27
Table 4: Policy Change Indicators	28
Table 5: Policy change levels and system beliefs of actors.....	74
Table 6: Memeber of IMCO	88
Table 7: Organizations involved	89

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The issue of corruption in Mexico has been one of the main subjects in the public agenda over the last 12 years. Since 2006 the uncovering of big corruption scandals within the government and political sphere have been increasing in a significant way (Casar, 2015). Just to mention a few and important cases: the “White House” of the former president Enrique Peña Nieto, an article was published about one of the properties of the first lady, Angélica Rivera, valued in 7 million dollars, that didn't match with the incomes of the family or the former president (Cabrera, Lizárraga Daniel, & Barragán, 2014). Another huge episode of corruption was the detention of Elba Esther Gordillo, former leader of teacher's union, accused of illicit enrichment and tax evasion (Político, 2018). A third case is the massive defalcation in the states of Coahuila, Chihuahua, Durango by the former governors (Guardiola, 2017), and the links between the organized crime and politicians in Nayarit and Guerrero (Economista, 2017).

According to IMCO (Mexican Institute for Competitiveness) in its research “The anatomy of corruption”, Mexico has dropped by 31 positions between 2008 and 2014 in the Perception of Corruption Index developed by International Transparency. In the same way, based on the results of the study, 47% of the people think that the institutions with most corruption are the police and the elected representatives. Additionally, 61% thinks that the authorities are inefficient in their actions to reduce corruption. This last result makes clear that the authorities are not doing enough or not taking the right decisions to deal with corruption or at least not in the perceptions of the citizens (Casar, 2015).

After several corruption scandals, just a few of them mentioned above, two citizen organizations, Mexican Institute for Competitiveness and Mexican Transparency, proposed the initiative “Tres de Tres” (Three of Three). The initiative focused on

encouraging the citizens to pressure their politicians and civil servants to publish three documents:

- Assets
- Potential conflicts of interest
- Taxes

The initiative started in 2014 and at that time, only a few politicians started publishing their declarations. In 2015 the tool was crucial for the midterm elections. By 2016 the initiative was included in the “Anticorruption Law” and in 2018 the law “3de3” played an important role in the presidential elections (#3de3, 2019).

There are two main motivations that drove this research to focus on a citizen initiative against corruption. First is the social relevance of the issue: in 2017 corruption was positioned as the second most concerning problem for the country (INEGI, 2018). In the same year, the Corruption Rate, registered 25,000 corruption acts per 100,000 habitants. Many other problems in Mexico are connected with the issue of corruption - it not only affects the direct individuals and organizations involved in the acts, it also impacts on other sectors and dimensions. One example is the economic impact, the National Autonomy University of Mexico published a study where it was demonstrated that the corruption can reach a 10% of the GDP, that implies a 21.9 million Mexican pesos every year.

The second motivation is the identification of the potential alternative processes implemented by citizens to influence policies. The initiative 3de3 is one of the many efforts implemented by citizens that attempts to influence the current law, impacting in an important way in the decision-making process. It is observed that in the last years, the role of the citizens in agenda setting has been crucial for political, economic and social decisions. In addition, media and communication technologies have contributed in the diffusion of information around the corruption problem.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research aims to explore the relation between the initiative “3de3” as a mesomobilization movement, and its impact on the corruption policy change in Mexico. Mesomobilization can be understood as the mid-level process (as opposed to macro or micro) where organizations seek to mobilize individuals or more organizations with a specific policy objective.

RESEARCH QUESTION

- **Using the case of the citizen initiative “3de3” in Mexico, what is the influence of mesomobilization on policy change?**
 - How is mesomobilization phenomena described in available literature?
 - How is the agenda setting and policy change defined in literature?
 - How can the case of corruption in Mexico be explained by theories of mesomobilization and policy change?
 - How can the Initiative 3de3 be observed using the mesomobilization theory and policy change models in the literature?

RELEVANCE

The expectation of this research is to contribute to the literature of policy change and mesomobilization movements, providing an international case study. It is important for the research agenda to integrate both fields for three reasons. The first is because both theories are interrelated and based on the role of actors that intend to make changes to current policy, due to the dissatisfaction of governmental programs or strategies to deal with certain issues. Second, the two frameworks establish the importance of the framing processes and the use of information to connect, mobilize, and modify changes to the system beliefs of the target actors. Third, there is evident logical relation between the two concepts, however they have different approaches and different directions to study the processes that influence policy change. Therefore, it is useful to combine the two concepts to gain a clearer perspective.

Sabatier discusses the role of advocacy coalitions, referring to them as different groups that are formed, depending on their positions of what changes should be implemented on the policy. He has established that subsystems are not exclusively integrated by governmental actors, and they are a combination of societal, private, scientific, academic, state and any group of stakeholders interested in changing a public policy. His study is centered on the learning-oriented processes, as a key driver for policy change. However, to analyze the learning processes of the subsystem, as he mentioned, it is necessary to study at least one decade to be able to observe real changes (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). The literature of mobilization, particularly at the meso level, is focused on the processes of group or organizations, with immediate outputs: for example protests and public manifestations (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Bekkers, Beunders, et al., 2011).

On the one hand, the literature about policy change is focused on learning processes, and incremental public policy change, produced by interaction between coalitions. And on the other hand, mesomobilization research is centered on the abrupt changes to public policy as a result of motivating actors to act.

This research aims to connect the processes of policy change and agenda setting as a result of the mesomobilization process. The research will contribute to both topics, analyzing a case study that presents elements of both approaches. The purpose of the study is to use the extended resources given by both fields of research to analyze in an empirical way, how citizen initiatives can influence specific public policies. The research expects that this case helps to understand the crucial influence of mesomobilization processes to policy change, around an issue as important and complex as corruption is, in Mexico.

The social relevance considered by this research is to provide theoretical frameworks of how citizens movements can influence policy change around the issue of corruption by employing specific processes. In Mexico, the public debate around the corruption problem, has been centered on how to prevent and eliminate the high degree of corruption within the public sector. For many years, the discussion about how to deal with these acts, which technical instruments has to be designed and which structural institutions have to be modified, has been led by government actors, politicians, specifically by legislative figures. Over time, this has been changing, and now we can observe a trend, where the debate has been opened to more actors letting more individuals and organizations from different spheres to get involved and propose new ways to solve the corruption issue. The observation of citizen initiatives, like 3de3 can help us to understand which essential drivers, elements and features are needed to influence policy change that attempts to find better solutions. The research aims to help to establish a reference of these conditions that can be implemented by different mesomobilization movements with the objective to change public policies.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the next section, in order to review and explain mesomobilization level processes, first, its necessary recap the definition of social movements related to citizen induced initiatives oriented towards policy change. Then, it will be analyzed the literature about mesomobilization drivers, implications and processes, focusing on framing strategies and organization tasks that leads to policy change. Finally, is discussed the consequences and different levels of policy change as result of mesomobilization movements.

DEFINING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In the theoretical and empirical research, we could identify different types of social movements (SMOs), that can vary depending on their nature, processes and objectives. This study will focus on the definitions of social movements in relation to citizen initiatives provided by governance theories.

There are three main elements we can observe in this type of social movement. First, they emerge from a social discomfort related to a specific action, program, public service provision or decision taken by the government (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016; Odou et al., 2017). The perceived lack of legitimacy or capacity of governmental institutions, by citizens is the main cause as to why social movements engage with public issues. Citizen initiatives open new participation channels, after they perceive the limitations of the governments in solving complex problems. They find new ways of influencing agenda setting from a citizen perspective, creating spaces of empowerment, developing civic and participation skills, and creating compromise, legitimacy and identity among participants (Wagenaar, 2007; Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk 2016; Røiseland & Irene Vabo, 2016). Citizens react to a critical political issue, because they perceive themselves as equal partners with

government. This type of SMO seeks to demand recognition and modify the relationship between citizens and government (Voorberg, Bekkers, et al., 2017).

Second, they have the potential of self-organization and learning development, as a product of informal interactions within networks, formed by individuals or groups from different spheres engaged with public objectives (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Voorberg, et al., 2017). The constant interaction between actors might lead to the development of a learning processes among the network. Sabatier defined the learning dynamic as the processes where behavior and perceptions are altered by the experience (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Citizen initiatives can improve the relation between different actors from different arenas, and they might learn how to deal with and utilize the competences of the others (Voorberg, et al., 2017).

Finally, they aim to influence the government decisions through collective action. (Voorberg, et al., 2017; Goefren, 2013; Odou, et al., 2017). The final goal pursued by citizen initiatives is to have an impact on the agenda setting: they attempt to translate their perceptions into policies (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Goefren argues that the practices of citizen initiatives as the rejection of the involvement of the government, the disapproval of the sole government responsibility and government change through pressure are entrepreneurial innovations that can lead to incremental, participatory or reformative changes, depending on the outcomes and goals pursued by the initiative (Goefren, 2013).

The SMOs as citizen initiatives are centered on transferring power to citizens and involve them in the coproduction of services or public goods. They use the coproduction and learning capacity to achieve influence on a specific problem and attempt to impact or change a specific issue or conflict. The SMOs intend to grow, motivate, mobilize, gain support and pressure the government for changes.

FOCUSING ON MESOMOBILIZATION

Social movements have different levels of mobilization, depending on who mobilizes and who seeks to mobilize. Based on the literature, there exists three different levels of social movements with different scopes and scales, which vary depending on the issue, the resources and constraints of the actors involved and the goals pursued. On the one hand, the macromobilization corresponds to big mass-oriented movements, mobilizing individuals or small groups. In the other, micromobilization, refers to when individuals or small groups are mobilized by individual level or small groups. And finally, in between the levels briefly described above, the mesomobilization level can be identified as the mobilization of individuals or small groups by organizations or networks (Bekkers, Beunders, et. Al., 2011; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). The reason why the focus of this research is on meso-level movement processes is because the initiative corresponds to the elements related to the mesomobilization level concept and functions as a network.

As we established before, the main cause of the emergence of mesomobilization movements is the discomfort with a public policy or program. Most times, the actors who are already engaged in the field of the policy are the ones that are going to look for strategies to change it. However, Carmin and Bast explain in their cross-movement activism study that the motivations for organizations to participate in social movements not only reside if their activities are related to the objective's movement. It is also very common to detect organizations integrating campaigns which are not directly related to their work areas (Carmin & Bast, 2009). They define this action as cross-movement activism that is caused by structural and cognitive factors. The former, consists of the identification of different capabilities of the organizations to increase the efficacy of the movement. The organizations participate in certain campaigns because they identify that their participation will help to achieve the movements' goals and their own objectives.

The former is related to sharing perspectives about the issue and the shared values between organizations and the movement. The organizations are motivated to participate in different social movements because they share similar perceptions about the social cause or issue addressed by it. Thus, the meso-level movements are networks formed by heterogeneous organizations with different activities but with similar purposes and values.

The meso-level actors play a fundamental role in the integration of the process and they are key for the success of the movement. They have to assure a structural and cultural integration among organizations and individuals. The structural integration consists of providing to the network a channel of communication by connecting groups, collecting resources and organizing activities. The structure of the mesomobilization movements have to address an organizational flexibility and an ideological pluralism, with the aim of integrating plural actors and mobilizing preexisting groups. The network must be integrated by experienced actors, with strategic contacts that facilitate greater resources for the movement. In the same way, it's important that mesomobilization movements establish an adequate division of work units that make their tasks and activities efficient. (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). In addition, according to the Barrier Model of Bachrach and Baratz, actors' resources will be constrained by their status, assets, number of members, organization, ideology and interests, and the priority of the interest issue. Those constraints and resources will consequently influence their strategies, capacities and dynamics of their interaction (Moody, 2010). Therefore, it's necessary to analyze in detail the two founder organizations of the movement (IMCO and Mexican Transparency) to track down how the coalition emerged and which were the motivations and drivers that facilitated the formation.

Concerning cultural integration, actors have the important task of developing common frames of meaning. They have to interpret, translate and link messages to the network. This activity is defined as framing. The objective of framing issues is

to bridge actors, connect them and motivate them for actions. The success of the mesomobilization movement is highly dependent on the effective techniques of the integration of micro groups and individuals within and outside these groups, (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Benford & Snow, 2000).

USING FRAMING STRATEGIES

We identified in the literature that framing is an intrinsic process of mesomobilization movements. Because they intend to pressure the government and consequently change policies, one of their primary tasks is to gain support and bring allies to the movement. Therefore, they need to mobilize resources to increase the scope and size of the network. Mesomobilization movements have to use different framing techniques to translate the issue into a definition that connects and motivate actors into action. Framing consists of the creation of a social construction that helps actors to understand specific issues (Odou, H. Roberts, & Roux, 2017). The process of framing develops a cognitive framework to communicate in a way that makes sense to the interest of the mobilization movement (Carmin & Bast, 2009). The message has to guide individuals and groups to decode the problem, support the proposed solution and to mobilize resources (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). Mesomobilization movements have to produce potential frames to change the perception of actors. The frames aim to persuade with adequate language and channel different target groups (Voorberg, et al., 2017).

The frames constructed by mesomobilization movements are called collective action frames or master frames. These frames are going to shape a political message, attract attention and sustain the network by organizing experiences of individuals, simplifying and condensing information and connecting beliefs and values to generate a shared meaning or public definition of the issue. The master or collective frames, help to link the message of the movement with individual interpretations to integrate heterogenous groups. In consequence they orient

actions, articulate participants, and align interests of different actors through different tasks and processes (Odou, & Graham et al., 2017; Benford & Snow, 2000; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992).

About the tasks, we can distinguish in the literature three core activities of framing: one is helping to understand the problem; second, convincing actors about the solution proposed; and the last is to motivate actors to act. Benford and Snow defined them as diagnostic, prognostic and motivational (Benford & Snow, 2000). The diagnostic framing refers to the selection of elements that will help to judge and create an identification of the problem and its attributions - it is about framing the definition of the cause and nature of the issue. The prognostic framing takes place when the frame is oriented to persuaded actors to agree with the plan, strategies or solutions proposed by the movement. And finally, the motivational framing, provides an adequate construction of motives to engage actors for action and participation to the mesomobilization activities (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Voorberg et al., 2017; Odou & H. Roberts, 2017).

The framing processes help us to understand how the frames are produced and developed within mesomobilization movements. Using the literature available, we could identify six different phases and/or processes implemented by SMOs in a meso-level to mobilize resources. First, the **articulation processes**, described by Benford and Snow as the selection of symbols and elements that will be connected, aligned or assembled to each other. Once the frames are “packaged”, **the amplification process** will highlight or emphasizes the core beliefs and cultural values that best resonate with the members of the networks and with the public. Having the most important part of the frame, **the bridging process** will connect the master frame with a particular frame of different group and individuals, consisting of linking the SMOs frames with one or more frames that are structurally disconnected. In the same way the **frame extension process** will improve and enhance the scope of the framing, because it amplifies its field to action, with the

purpose of including issues that are related or important to the SMOs frames and interests. Another process that can be located in the literature is the **transformation process**. Most of the mesomobilization movements implement it for its high potential of impact, since it's about changing an established frame or creating a new one. Starting from the idea that every movement has opponents, it's essential to have a **contested process**, that deals with disputes, counter framings and critiques of the media, direct opponents and bystanders. Finally, the frame **diffusion process** takes place, whereby the symbols, ideas and beliefs have to be spread within and outside the network. There exists two instruments to carry out the diffusion: the first one is the strategic selection, when mesomobilization movements use a borrowed item of a different context and adapt it to their own frame. The second one is the strategic fitting, consisting of the intentional adjustment of an item to the context of the group target (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Odou, H. Roberts, et.al., 2017).

Having described the different processes within the framing technique, its necessary highlight that all frames are dynamic and can change over time. They are not static and they can adjust to new scenarios or contexts and reconstitute with interaction within and outside the network. Therefore, the research in a briefly way will observe the crucial role of the context or political opportunity concept by Gerdhard and Dieter, for the creation of mesomobilization movements. The research will only study the specific catalytic political and social events, new technology conditions, influencing the creation of mesomobilization movements.

INFLUENCING POLICY CHANGE

Most of the research studies about mesomobilization movements focus on their dynamics and immediate outcomes. Little has been analyzed about the transformational and reformative effects of the meso level movement processes on the policies with a long-term approach. Bendford and Snow, mentioned the tactical

disruption and political mediation as an outcome of social movements using framing processes, without going further in the subject. However, the literature gives us sufficient elements, theories and models that can guide the study and link the direct influence of mesomobilization processes on the policy change.

In order to explain policy change as the result of mesomobilization processes, we need first to review and recap the literature about policy making. Generally, the theoretical and empirical research focuses on legislative and traditional public policies cycle, following the steps of agenda setting, formulation, implementation and reformulation. Most of them focus on the processes of lobbying and legislative negotiation within the policy subsystem (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett, & Fritzen, 2010). However, we could identify many contributions related with the policy making and the agenda setting process, outside the traditional approaches, that can be used to observe and study the relation between mesomobilization processes and policy change.

In the literature and in the empirical research we can identify different ways to attract attention to a perceived problem, with the aim of changing the existing situation or policy (Moody, 2010). Parsons reviews and recaps in a clear and precise manner different perspectives to study policy making in a meso level analysis. This means linking the different ways to define problems, with the processes of agenda setting and the formulation of policies. Following the research of Parsons, the degree of the impact on the agenda setting, will depend on how problems are formed, perceived or framed. Problems are social and cognitive constructions, that integrate perceptions of reality and are loaded with a set of values, that involve a desirable standard, a current condition or situation, and the gap between them (Parsons, 1995; Eshuis & Klijn, 2012). Each individual builds these constructions differently, based on their beliefs, experiences, values and knowledge. The type of problems that are the focus of this research are social problems, where they present a strong relation with political dynamics and seek to gain support. Therefore, the

mesomobilization actors will be key to implementing framing tasks and processes in order to define problems that will influence the public opinion. Public opinion can be described as how the public perceive or think about certain problems. Parsons defines it as the “*identifiable body of views held by defined group, and to whose opinion has great significance for the government*” (Parsons, 1995). It seeks to take account of the public opinion, influence the agenda and to make changes to the policy. It is a conformed general opinion about a determined issue, that intends to cause a government reaction and seek to provoke discussion (Parsons, 1995; Moody, 2010).

As we said before the role of the actors in the framing processes of problems, is crucial to shape the public opinion. But not only the actors within the movement have influence, also the media plays a crucial role in the framing process. The media counts with a great discursive power and resources that facilitates the determination of the political agenda (Bekkers, Beunders, Edwards, & Moody, 2011). Because the media has a high level of impact on the agenda, mesomobilization movements will seek to use it to attract attention and support. The media may play an intermediary role between the movement, the public and the government, using framing techniques to label the issue, synthesize the problem and amplify the message (Parsons, 1995). Media participation will depend on the kind of issues, the outlet, the nature of the coverage, and features of the political actors at stake (Bekkers, Beunders, Edwards, & Moody, 2011).

Nevertheless, the composition of public opinion is not enough to introduce items to the agenda setting process. Specially, the problems used by social movements, will depend on the context, the policy system, the political practices and finally on the policy characteristics (Parsons, 1995). Referring to the agenda setting process as the process of getting a subject to attract attention from the government, it is when government recognizes that a problem has the necessary features to invest attention and resources (Moody, 2010; Wu, Ramesh, et. al, 2010). According to this

definition, we could distinguish two different types or phases of agendas. The first one is the **systemic agenda**, definition given by Cobb and Elder's model (Parsons, 1995), that integrates the issues perceived by the public and political community. This agenda will be formed by issues and subjects of the media and the public involved. However, it doesn't involve serious attention from the government. When issues become a subject of policy makers, the agenda will be transformed on the **institutional agenda**, thus the government will actually pay attention of the issue and will have an active and serious role (Parsons, 1995). The evolution of the different types of agenda will be contingent to various factors and variables. Using Cobb and Elder's model, the issues of the systemic agenda can be introduced in the institutional agenda, if the initiator or the interest group, in this case the mesomobilization movement, use a trigger device or policy window, to create an issue that has the necessary dimensions to use an adequate symbol. In case of having an effective use of symbols and messages (framing tasks and processes), the mass media will adopt it and will implement expansion activities to deliver the message to a larger public. The expansion activity will depend on five main characteristics of the issue according to this model. First, the level of specificity, if the message of the issue is too specific, it will be more difficult to connect to and reach a broad public, thus the message may need to be abstract, to increase the possibilities of reaching more individuals. Second, the scope and social significance the issue has to be relevant and important to the public, it can't be peculiar, has to respond to the general interest. Third, the potential of duration over time, issues that have short range will not be as relevant as the enduring subjects. Forth, the degree of complexity, people have to able to understand the issue, it has to integrate less non-technical elements and be explained in a simple manner. Finally, the categorical precedent, if the issue addressed a routine problem will not be important for the public, it needs to have lack of precedent to perceive it as an extraordinary issue that needs attention. Once the media has implemented and achieved the expansion of the messages and symbols, the patterns of access, will determine if the systemic agenda have the potential of introducing issues in the

institutional agenda. This means that the message and symbols created by the mesomobilization actors and expanded by the media, can reach audiences beyond the public target and will have high possibilities to transform in the institutional agenda. (Parsons, 1995; Moody, 2010).

Once defined the different stages and types of the public agenda, it is necessary to study the implications of the policy change and the role of actors within the process. In the available literature we could find two different frameworks that this research considers important to review, in order to understand policy change, as a consequence of mesomobilization movements. Before going further on the implications of policy change, we need to recap the meanings and the different characteristics of the concept. Hall establishes that the policy change involves the modification of the core values of the policy and/or the instruments to achieve them (Voorberg, et.al., 2017). According to Sabatier, the policy change is a product of the policy-oriented learning that implies alterations of thought and behavioral intentions that are related with the accomplishment of policy objectives (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Parsons established that policy change involves compromise of actors during the process, producing the creation of policy networks that will help to provide information and access in the decision making. In summary, policy change is produced by the shift of public policy objectives and the means to achieve them, occurring within policy arenas or subsystems (Parsons, 1995).

This alteration will be cause by the “policy innovators”, defined by Sabatier, as groups of actors as autonomous political elites with the potential of creating a policy subsystem or arena. The research of Sabatier explains how the policy change can be achieved through the formation of subsystems and the interaction between them during time. The groups of actors take positions (advocacy coalitions) and intend to translate their beliefs into the public policy, and the failure or success is going to depend on their resources and constraints. Similarly, the Barrier model of Bachrach and Baratz, explains how in policy making, groups that are seeking to allocate

values into policies will have to break down barriers to achieve an effective policy change. The actors have to overcome community values, procedures and institutions, defeats and modifications, and administrative interpretations to consequently impact policies (Moody, 2010).

The advocacy coalitions seek to gain public support, to pressure change in the policies according to their beliefs (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). If a social movement intends to expand and increase its scope size, they have to determine the meaning of the movement and the key values that have potential to drive the movement to a successful connection with the public opinion. In the same way, Parsons considers that the success of policy change must be determined in an incremental way (Parsons, 1995). Policy change will be reflected in how the values and aims of policies change due political pressure. A model we can use to track down the policy change is the Belief system of policy elites, designed by Sabatier. The model helps to map values and beliefs of actors depending on the level of importance for them – some can be more easily changed than others. It is a hierarchical scheme to visualize the values and interests of actors. This model will be crucial for the design of framing strategies to each target group. The belief system, consists of three levels of values in a public policy: the deep core values, near core, and the secondary aspects. Each level has different characteristics, scopes and level of susceptibility to change (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). In addition, we could find in the research of Voorberg and Bekkers, three levels of policy change. The first order, refers to the incremental modification of the existing objectives of the policy and the instruments to achieve them. Second order, involves a major change of instruments. And third order implies a radical change, or a paradigm shift of the objectives and instruments. The researcher proposes the connection of the different levels of Voorberg and Bekkers with the belief system model of Sabatier. This is because both present similarities about how to measure the impact of policy change, and in the same time they have different aims and components that complement to each other for the purposes of this research.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL

For this research, a conceptual model has been built based on a series of hypotheses, to connect the different theories and concepts given by the literature. This with the aim to answer the research question and provide a guide to the analysis of the citizen initiative 3de3.

Central Hypothesis: Mesomobilization movements influence the agenda setting and consequently the policy change using framing strategies

- *Hypothesis 1: The role of actors involved and the external context are factors that affect directly the emergence and operation of mesomobilization movements.*

Authors have proved that the development of mesomobilization movements is influenced by the experience, skills and attributes of actors involved. For this reason, the research includes an analysis of the meso- level actors and their role inside the group. Also, it has been found in the empirical research that context plays a fundamental role in the creation of these movement. Therefore, the political, economic, and social climate is included in a general and descriptive way.

- *Hypothesis 2: Mesomobilization movements that make use of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames are more likely to influence the agenda setting.*

We believe that the design of master frames to mobilize individuals and organizations is fundamental for mesomobilization groups. In addition, the frames have to be applied using specific processes to attract the media attention and public support.

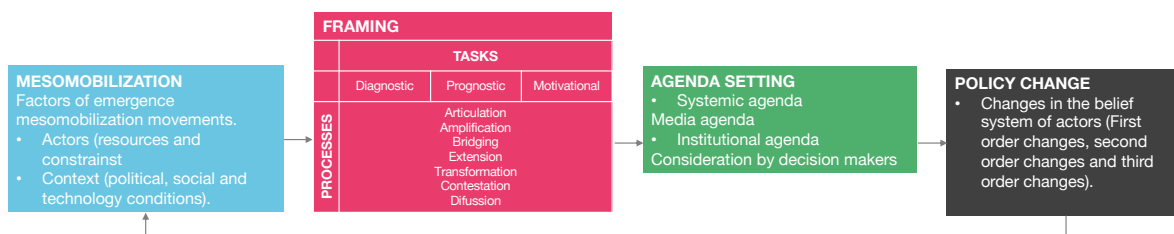
- *Hypothesis 3: The media role has a direct influence on the agenda setting process and consequently on the institutional agenda.*

The expansion and diffusion of the mesomobilization frames is more likely to influence the institutional agenda when they are implemented by the media.

- *Hypothesis 4: The level of policy change will be contingent on the use of framing strategies.*

The degree of the policy change will depend on the efficiency of framing tasks and processes.

Figure 1: Conceptual Model



OPERATIONALIZATION

Concept definitions

For the purposes of this research, it is important to establish the concept definitions that have been borrowed from the theory and adapt them to the empirical case.

- **Mesomobilization movement:** We refer to the mesomobilization movement as the social movement at a meso level, thus an organization's or network's attempt to mobilize individuals or small groups (Bekkers, Beunders, et. Al., 2011; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Moody, 2010).
- **Framing:** We refer to framing as the design process of cognitive and social constructions based on ideologies, experiences, values, interest and beliefs that helps actors to understand specific issues. The process of framing develops a cognitive framework to communicate in a way that makes sense

to the interests of the mobilization movement. (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Voorberg, et al., 2017; Odou & H. Roberts, 2017; Carmin & Bast, 2009).

- **Agenda setting process:** We refer to the agenda setting process as the policy process of getting a subject to attract attention from government - it is when the government recognizes that a problem has the necessary features to invest attention and resources (Parsons, 1995; Moody, 2010).
- **Policy change:** We refer to policy change as the modifications or shifts of the public policy objectives and the means to achieve them, occurring within policy arenas or subsystems (Parsons, 1995; Voorberg, et.al., 2017; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

Indicators

With the objective to identify the relation between the concepts defined above, it is important to develop tools to measure the performance of each variable in the empirical case study. Tables 1, 2, 3 & 4 integrate the operationalization of these indicators which were used as guidance for this research.

For the mesomobilization dimension, the study observed the role of actors through the analysis of their profiles and experiences. This information was obtained mostly through interviews and was completed through research on website and media articles. A second concept analyzed for this dimension was the context: based on the responses of the interviews, three general indicators were established that integrated the observation of the environment in which the case study took place.

Table 1: Mesomobilization Indicators

Dimension	Concept	Indicator	Description	Source
Mesomobilization	Actors	Profile of meso level actors	The description of Professional Experience	Research in website, media Interviews
		Number of actors involved	Number of members	Interviews
		Resources and budget	Description of their positions within different networks	Research in website, media Interviews
	Context	Political environment	General description of the current political situation around corruption issue.	Research in website, media Interviews
		Social trends	General description of the social trends around corruption in Mexico.	Research in website, media Interviews
		Economic context	Brief of the economic impacts of corruption in the country.	Research in website, media, articles. Interviews

For the framing dimension, based on the theoretical concepts given by the literature a combination and adaptation of different indicators to analyze the tasks and processes of the framing strategies were built. The sources of these indicators are the responses of the interviews and the information collected on social media and newspapers articles.

Table 2: Framing Indicators

Dimension	Concept	Indicator	Description	Source
Framing	Tasks	Content of Diagnostic messages	Content of central ideas in the definition problem by the initiative	Interviews Mass media and social media
		Content of Prognostic messages	Content of central ideas in the solutions propose by the initiative	Interviews Mass media and social media
		Content of Motivational messages	Content of central ideas in the encouragement for action	Interviews Mass media and social media
	Processes	Articulation activities	Steps used by the movement to articulate messages	Interviews Mass media and social media

		Amplification activities	Steps used by the movement to amplify messages	Interviews Mass media and social media
		Bridging activities	Steps used by the movement to bridge messages	Interviews Mass media and social media
		Extension activities	Steps used by the movement to extent messages	Interviews Mass media and social media
		Transformation activities	Steps used by the movement to transform messages	Interviews Mass media and social media
		Contestation activities	Steps used by the movement to defend messages	Interviews Mass media and social media
		Diffusion activities	Steps used by the movement to diffuse messages	Interviews Mass media and social media

Using the available literature, the agenda setting process was measured in two phases of the public agenda (systemic and institutional). For the systemic agenda a content analysis of newspapers articles and social media posts on twitter was performed. For the institutional agenda, it was observed the politicians’ declarations during time.

Table 3: Agenda setting process Indicators

Dimension	Concept	Indicator	Description	Source
Agenda setting process	Systemic agenda	Coverage of the mass media	Number of articles, reports and news about the initiative by month and year	Mass media research (5 most important newspapers).
		Social media impact	Number of RT and likes on social media Content of publications	Social media research (Facebook and twitter)
	Institutional agenda	Politicians support	Number of publications	Interviews

Finally, to operationalize the policy change dimension, two different methodologies were integrated: the system belief system and the levels of policy change. Both concepts’ information was collected through responses from interview. However,

to have a complete view of the shifts in the policy, it was necessary to analyze legal and technical documents provided by the interviewers.

Table 4: Policy Change Indicators

Dimension	Concept	Indicator	Description	Source
Policy change	System belief	Modification in core values perceptions	Description of core values alterations in the perception of the actors	Interviews
		Modification in deep values perceptions	Description of deep values alterations in the perception of the actors	Interviews
		Modification of secondary aspects perception	Description of secondary values alterations in the perception of the actors	Interviews
	Changes in the policy	Content of first order changes	Description of changes of the policy objectives and instruments.	Interviews Documents analysis
		Content of second order changes	Description of major changes of the policy objectives and instruments	Interviews Documents analysis
		Content of third order changes	Description of radical changes of the policy objectives and instruments	Interviews Documents analysis

METHODOLOGY

In order to answer the research question, a case study observation approach will help to compare the theoretical concepts given by the available literature with an international empirical case. This comparison intends to analyze the dynamic of mesomobilization movements and their possible impact on policy change in Mexico. It also seeks to find similar patterns with other observed cases and changes caused by their own features and context. The selected case study is a citizen initiative focused on reducing corruption in Mexico. The criteria used to select the empirical case sought to find fitness between the characteristics and features of the case with the analyzed literature, access to resources to enable data collection and the relevance of the subject. The Initiative “3de3” complies with the above conditions and implications because it integrates the central concepts of the mesomobilization movements and public policy theories. Due to the nature of the issue addressed (corruption), the actors involved (NGOs, academics, citizens and government), the operation and organization (use of framing strategies and structure), and the goal pursued (policy change), we found fitness and relevance of the case with the research purposes.

To conduct the research, a qualitative method has been developed to describe the mesomobilization movement. The reason why this technique has been selected is because the research intends to give a general understanding of the context, implications, resources and constraints that shaped the mesomobilization movement for this case, the Initiative 3de3. The political, social and economic climate that generated repercussions will be described in the emergence and operation of the mesomobilization movement. In the next section, a description of the initiative organization evolution in terms of budget, power relations, technological and technical assets will be presented. Finally, an outline of the antecedents, experience and profile of the meso level actors involved in the organizations will follow.

One of the main objectives of this study is to understand the influence of the framing messages, techniques and channels in the perception of the individuals and organizations that consequently lead to modifications in the public policies. In order to analyze these framing tasks and processes implemented by the mesomobilization movement a qualitative method will also be used. This is because the frames involve the construction of values, ideas and symbols that might be interpreted by a broader and multiple meanings, and for a comprehensive understanding, it is appropriate to opt for an analysis that helps to describe them in an in-depth way. The academic literature consulted for this research proved that the qualitative method its more adequate to observe the framing tasks and processes, because it assures the integration of a deep analysis of content that helps to understand their dynamic, impacts and influence in the perceptions.

In the case of the agenda setting dimension, a time line will be built using the coverage of the media and the implementation of framing strategies during time, to visualize if a direct influence on the agenda setting, and consequently on policy change, exists. Thus, a quantitative method will be employed to study the increase or decrease of the number of news, reports and articles covered by the mass media outlets in Mexico. The degree of public support over time will also be utilised, using the analysis of 'retweets' (RT) and 'likes' in social media. This method was opted because it helps to create a visual image of the level of coverage of the citizen initiative during certain period, which might be related with the use of specific framing strategies. In addition, the rate of declarations published by politicians during the same period of time will also be included. This is with the finality to compare the three trends and to analyze the relation between the media role, public support and politician's involvement within the citizen initiative.

Finally, a qualitative method has been designed to observe the possible policy changes generated by the mesomobilization movement. With the objective to

combine the System Belief Model of Sabatier and the Three order changes of the policies, a comparative table has been created, using the frames given by the literature, and the actual changes of the Mexican anti- corruption policy. Thus, to study which level or degree of policy change was produced by the initiative 3de3. The modifications in both models, implied subjective and abstract elements, that require a descriptive analysis that can be provided by the qualitative method.

DATA COLLECTION

Three main resources have been used to conduct the study. The first resource is a primary information, based on the implementation of direct interviews to the people involved in the initiative. The interviews intended to contribute in the identification of framing techniques implemented by the mesomobilization movement and the possible impact on the perception of citizens and politicians. The aim of the interviews was to find which frames designed and operated by the meso level actors lead to influence the agenda setting process and finally shifts in the public policy. The interviews also helped to understand and study the different perceptions around the mesomobilization movement, framing strategies and policy change. The interviews were implemented in a remote way, which is why is important to mention that the responses of the participants could be affected by the dynamic of doing the interview via Skype. In addition, all the interviews were led in Spanish, and the translation is available to consult. A possible limitations of the research might result from the difference between languages.

For this resource, three subgroups of people were established, each one with five different persons, selected according to the access and contact with the researcher:

- **Mesomobilization actors**

First, the organizations that started the mesomobilization group, Transparencia Mexicana (Mexican Transparency) and IMCO (Mexican Institute for Competitiveness, to attempt to contextualize the emergence of the meso level group, to help to understand the dynamic and goals pursued of the group and identify framing tasks processes that lead to mobilize more organizations and individuals. The two actors that were interviewed for this subgroup were selected by the organizations involved, and because of the role they played in the design and implementation of the initiative. The first person interviewed, currently is the Chief Coordinator of the Initiative 3de3 and works in IMCO. The second person also works at IMCO and was involved in the collection of signatures process of the 3de3.

- **Government and politicians**

With the purpose to identify a correlation between the use of framing and changes in the public policy, the study believes that is important to interview politicians and civil servants that published their declarations in the 3de3 webpage or in the government platform, and try find the motivations to do it, and study their perceptions about the framing processes and tasks implemented by the mesomobilization movement. They were asked about the shifts in the policy and if their perceptions were altered after the mesomobilization strategies. Six different politicians and civil employees, from different government levels and agencies and political parties were interviewed. The selection of the persons of this subgroup don't follow any preference, they were selected, because the researcher has access and contact to them, making easier the data collection. For this specific subgroup it's important to point out that their responses could be biased, because of the nature of their positions.

- **Citizens that participate in the initiative**

When the citizen initiative 3de3 started, it was based on the involvement of citizens to pressure their politicians to publish their documents. In addition, the movement has designed a law project to change the anticorruption law, and intended to mobilize citizens to pressure the government to change the policy. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the perceptions of the citizens around the initiative and the modifications of the public policy. In addition, the interviews for this subgroup try to identify the drivers that can make possible the involvement of citizens in a social movement as the 3de3. Six persons were interviewed for this group, following a random selection, just depending their disposition and availability to contribute with the research.

The second source of information is the analysis of Mexican mass media, with data from the date of the launch of the citizen initiative, till its insertion in the policy being analyzed. The study will focus on how the media covered the information about the initiative and the level of coverage. This with the aim to ascertain whether the media's role played an important part in the agenda setting process of the policy. Because of constraint sin time and resources, the mass media analysis only studied the two most important national newspapers according to the most read ranking, collecting the available reports, news, articles that contains the word "3de3" in the headlines and content, using the search engine in each newspaper website. The newspapers websites of the Universal and Excelsior are the most read newspapers in the country and the search engine in their webpages facilitates the collection of reports and articles about the initiative. Data collection consisted of searching the term "Initiative 3de3" to get all the publications that included those words, separately or combined and analyzed their content one by one. After collecting all the available reports, articles and news, they were organized by date with the aim to graphic the increase or decrease of the media coverage during time. It was analyzed 150 individual publications in total, from September 2015 (the first finding on the websites engine) to April 2019 (the last finding). The analysis of each

publication consisted on decoding the content depending the use of different tasks of frames (diagnostic, prognostic and motivational), in some cases the absence of them (informative), or the publications that assume the 3de3 as an obligation for the politicians and candidates without being approved yet by the Congress or Senate (publications).

Moreover, the use of social media played a fundamental factor for the operation of the Initiative 3de3. Therefore, the research also analyzes the social media accounts and websites as Twitter, YouTube, www.3de3.com, of the initiative. With the aim to identify the framing strategies implemented by the movement on social media, 717 tweets from the citizen initiative 3de3 were analyzed, from the creation of the account (March, 2016) till the last tweet published at the start time of this research (November, 2018). The tweets analyzed only include the original publications of the account: this means that the retweets and likes are not part of this analysis operationalization. The tweets were studied individually and were decoded following the criteria of framing tasks and processes. They were also filtered by the date and by amount of RT, with the purpose of creating a timeline that sought to find a relation between the use of specific framing strategies of the 3de3 and the social engagement on Twitter which can be taken to mean public support for the objectives of this research. However, is important to mention that due lack of time, this study didn't include all the social accounts. The Facebook page of the 3de3 and the selection of Twitter, YouTube and the official webpage as social media resources, is based on the great importance for the framing strategies and the facility to analyze and decode the information found in the accounts.

Additionally, with the purpose to build a broader context of the mesomobilization actors' role within the 3de3, it was also observed the websites of the two organizations involved IMCO an TM and of the organizations involved, with the objective to identify if the framing tasks and processes that helped to gain public support.

Finally, the third source of data collection, is the study of legal and operational documents of the initiative and the policy. With the aim to identify the changes and procedures it is necessary to observe the anticorruption law and specifically the documents that include the strategies developed by the mesomobilization movement. This source also provides evidence of the findings that will be obtained by the interviews, to reinforce and complete the information.

The strategy developed for this study is based on models already used by the literature research of mesomobilization movements, framing techniques, agenda setting processes and policy change, adapted for purposes of this analysis. In all the theoretical and empirical models studied to build this framework, involved the observation of the context and specific features of the meso level movements that shapes the dynamic of the framing, agenda setting and policy change processes, this research can be repeatable in different scenarios

First, to observe the social movements integrated by organizations that intends to mobilize individuals and other organizations with the aim to influence the public agenda, several case study articles were consulted that focused on how these types of meso level movements are formed and how they operate in different situations. These models have been employed in different contexts as the Netherlands, Germany and United States, and has been modified to satisfy different approaches and objectives in each case. The available research helped to build a combined of criteria to observe and define the different external factors that configures and impact on the mesomobilization movements.

Second, all of the empirical cases consulted presented a common feature within the mesomobilization organizations, and it was the activity of framing as a crucial process for this type of social movement. For that reason, the research is conducted to analyze the framing strategies implemented for this specific case. To contribute

to the comparison between different meso level movements contexts, a series of processes and tasks found in the literature were integrated and adapted to the Mexican case.

Third, to establish a replicable framework to study the agenda setting process, the research is focused on the role of the media, as a crucial key to achieve influence in the public agenda. Because it was identified in most of the cases the use of media analysis within the framing strategies implemented by the meso level actors, and the possibility to replicate it with the citizen initiative 3de3, this study includes an approach to observe how the mass media and social media behave around the movement.

Finally, the policy change method strategy was consolidated by two main sources. The first one refers to the model of the three orders of policy change, that specify the indicators needed to establish the levels of modifications. This model has also been used to study different cases in different countries. Additionally, in order to understand the implications of the policy change using the framing strategies that attempts to influence perceptions, this approach was complemented with the inclusion of the belief system of policy elites, that provides an scale of the weight beliefs of actors.

The combination of the models and their adaptation for this case study integrates the core elements, indicators and measurements that must be considered to understand the concepts, their relation and their influence between each other.

CASE STUDY: INITIATIVE 3de3

MESOMOBILIZATION

Context

Mesomobilization movements are contingent to the climate where they develop. The political, economic and social environment played a crucial role for the formation of the 3de3 initiative. In order to explain the strikes from the context, that influenced the creation of the social movement, a clear and brief description with general data that helps to understand the implications and effects of the corruption in Mexico follows.

From 2008 to 2014, Mexico has dropped 31 positions in the World Ranking of the Perception of Corruption Index (Casar, 2015). This is reflected in the increase of the media attention on the subject in the last decades and on the increase of citizens perception about corruption in the public sector (Arroyo, 2017). In a poll elaborated by the National Institute of Statistic and Geography about citizen perceptions about corruption in Mexico, 91% of the people thinks that political parties are corrupt or very corrupt; 83 % thinks the same way about the legislative power; 90% about police; 80% about judicial instances and 87% public servants. The high levels represent the severity and the frequency of corruption. Finally, the same study registered more than 4 million small acts of corruption (INEGI, 2018).

But the corruption not only affects the public sector, also the private and the investment sector in the country. The 44% of the companies in Mexico admit to having paid briberies, most of the cases to speed up processes, obtain licenses and permits or to avoid authority abuse. The economic consequence is a 5% loss of investment, which is 5% of the annual incomes of companies (Casar, 2015). In addition, the lack of accountability mechanisms has caused the impunity of the corruption's actions and only the 2% of these crimes are punished (INEGI, 2018).

Corruption in Mexico is difficult to define, due the lack or/and gap between the legal regulation and the real practices within government. This gap has made it difficult to track what is and what isn't corruption. Second, there are many interconnections, with other problems in the country - it also appears as a cause and consequence of other issues such as inequality, poverty, weak transparency and accountability system, cultural environments among civil servants and politicians, citizens apathy, etc. It's also is a nonlinear issue in that, a small decision can create unproportionable and unpredictable effects (Peters & Pierre, 2016). In addition, there is no clear and unique solution to the issue. This has been shown by the failure of the many isolated efforts proposed by different actors from different spheres, with multiple approaches to reduce corruption within the public sector in the last years, rather than an integrated approach (Arroyo, 2017).

As a result of the context described above, a group of organizations developed the Initiative 3de3 in 2015. But before the creation of this citizen initiative, the two groups involved had already designed different projects against corruption. First, Mexican Transparency launched the initiative "*Legislador transparente*" (transparent legislator) in January of 2015, and IMCO supported it as an ally. The initiative consisted on making the legislators of the two Chambers to publish three declarations (assets, conflict of interest and tax). However, this campaign didn't have success and only five members of the Congress and Senate published their documents (Chávez, 2019; Montes, 2019).

Nevertheless, a few months after, during the midterm elections in Mexico, the two organizations, IMCO and Mexican Transparency, identified an opportunity to reset the initiative and transformed it into "*Candidato transparente*" (transparent candidate). It consisted on the same idea of publishing the three documents, but applied to the candidates who were running for public positions. This campaign started to gain strength, because the actors recognized that the publication of the 3de3 could be used as politically profitable tool (Chávez, 2019; Montes, 2019).

Over time, the platform started to gain support and an important position in public debate. Citizens, the media, and the political class started to judge and critique the declarations published, and also to pressure the politicians that didn't upload their information by that time. Thus, the number of the declarations of the candidates and politicians started to increase, consequently making the initiative a social requirement during elections, even though it wasn't considered by the law or any legal regulation (Chávez, 2019; Montes, 2019).

After the elections of 2015, the meso level actors could detected that the initiative



Figure 2: Citizen Initiative Process

had a big potential to make changes in the institutional structure of the Mexican system. Therefore, they designed a law initiative that included the publication of the declarations for politicians, candidates and all public servants in high levels. It consisted of changing the current General Law of Administrative Responsibilities policy by including what they have been demanding with the Initiative 3de3 and inserting them into the National Anticorruption System. In addition, they also included in the bill the classification of corruption and propose a way to punish them through accountability mechanisms. The Law 3de3 followed the same system used

by the initial Initiative. With the help of the platform, the movement invited the citizens to get informed about the initiative, sign

the petition, getting more signatures with friends or relatives and take them to official delivery points. The Initiative collected 634,143 signatures of the 600,000 needed to change the Anti- Corruption National System. (3de3, 2019). Nevertheless, the desired changes by the Initiative hadn't been approved in the Congress and the terms are still a topic of debate. The initiative group have been very closely following the legislative process to ensure that the policy will integrate the demanding elements that they have designed. For example, they have a blog and a news space on their website, where they publish the updates and diffuse the information about the process. In the image they explained the process to make a policy change by a citizen initiative, mark the steps already taken and, most importantly they show if they agree with the conditions and processes implemented by the Senate and Congress (3de3, 2019).

In the website of the Ley 3de3 and their social media, we can consult updates about the legislative process, media news, information about what it consisted the law, who is involved, and how to participate. They offer information in a friendly, easy, concise and fast way to citizens and organizations about the corruption situation, propose the 3de3 bill as the solution, and motivate them to participate and get involved in the process of policy change. The website continually uploads and updates the three declarations of public servants and politicians as well (3de3, 2019).

Actors

The movement its defined on their website as "*Citizen initiative law 3 de 3, to transform the social discomfort by corruption, it's a constructive effort to build more honest governments*" (3de3, 2019). In 2014 two organizations (IMCO and TM) put together efforts to designed a digital platform called "Iniciativa 3de3" (Initiative 3de3). The Initiative "3de3" responds to a specific type of social movement due to several reasons, the nature of the issue addressed (corruption), the actors involved (NGOs, academics, citizens and government), the operation and organization (use

of framing strategies and structure), and the goal pursued (policy change). In the case of the Initiative 3de3, an elite group defined the problem definition, designed a solution, bind allies, and gained public support through framing strategies.

- **Meso level actors**

The elite group was integrated by the collaboration of two citizen organizations that have had an important role in the public debate in Mexico. Both organizations have focused their work to study the corruption in Mexico and proposing technical, efficient and innovative solutions to reduce it. In order to contextualize the emergence of the mesomobilization movement, the next part will describe in a general way, each organization, their main activities, trajectories and goals.

IMCO

The Mexican Institute for Competitiveness is a research center, that proposes solutions to deal with the most important challenges in Mexico. In their vision, they are described as a nonprofit organization with no political preference organization, that aims to enrich the public debate with technical evidence and analysis for a prosperous, inclusive and fair country. As their name indicates, IMCO's principal work is the design and update of the Competitiveness Index that collect different indicators from different dimensions to measure the drivers of competitiveness in the country, states and municipalities. They have also contributed to many research publications about policy design and implementation, and government evaluations. In addition, they constantly publish articles around finances and economy; environment; education; security; politics and government; urban infrastructure; telecom and TIC's (Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad, 2019)

The organization has grown exponentially since its creation in 2003. We can identify many reasons for this in the level of influence that they have achieved

on the public agenda. They have implemented an effective communication campaign obtaining in 2018, 1,586 persons attended to their events, 10,654 mentions on the press, 95K followers on twitter, 121,000 followers in fb, 52 views on their videos on YouTube, 1.64M visit in their website. They have been mentioned by The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Economist, El País. They have collaborated with the World Bank, BID Google, and other recognize international organizations (Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad, 2019).

In addition, the integration of the Directive Board has been a fundamental key in the expansion and growth of the organization. The former General Director of IMCO, Juan E. Pardinás, was key for the implementation of the Initiative 3de3. And the reasons why are because as a product of his professional trajectory, he invested to the initiative technical resources and, most importantly, he was essential for the network creation that supported the citizen initiative (Chávez, 2019). He is was reporter of CNN in different countries in Asia and he currently collaborates weekly with the Mexican Newspaper *El Reforma* in the opinion article segment.

Another important actor from IMCO that played an important role was the President, Valentín Díez Morodo, who has been positioned as one of the 300 most important leaders in Mexico. He is the President of the Mexican Business Council for Foreign Trade, Investment and Technology, he is a member of the World Council of AB InBev, that has estimated one billions of dollars of revenue. He is owner of a Mexican soccer team and a member of the Mexican Bank Banamex, Zara Mexico. He had invested in many national and international companies as well. Moreover, of the 22 members of the Directive IMCO's Board, 17 come from the private sector and 21 have directive positions in their home organizations and companies (Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad, 2019).

The description of the Center reflects the power and influence of the organization within the country. It is important to mention that IMCO counts with important advantages in terms of networks, expertise and technical assets that impacts on the emergence and performance of the mesomobilization movement actions. The budget and resources limitation assigned for the Initiative 3de3 could be managed, thanks to the network collaboration that have IMCO with different actors that not only mobilize financial resources, they also invested technical and administrative means to the movement. One example mentioned in one of the interviews was the relation with the owner of the biggest Cinema chain in Mexico that offered the transmission of the video spot of the 3de3 in his Cinemas, helping the diffusion and promotion of the movement.

Transparencia Mexicana

Mexican Transparency is the National Office in Mexico of the International Transparency, an anticorruption global network that has presence in more than 90 countries around the world. The organization promotes public policies and private efforts against corruption and improves the legality and accountability systems. The network has led to “the development of initiatives and tools aimed at linking the power of data to citizens’ actions to address corruption and impunity” (Transparency International, 2019).

Their efforts started in 1995 with the design of the Corruption Perceptions Index, the elaboration of the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention and the UN Convention against Corruption. The organization has also created anti-corruption legal advice Center. Their main activities are the elaboration of the Index by country and corruption topic; research, publications, news around corruptions and mechanisms to eliminate it, and the design of programs, projects activities around 6 dimensions (Investigative journalism, Integrity

pacts, Open governance, Climate change, Business integrity and Land) (Transparency International, 2019).

The trajectory and professional experience of the General Directive of the Mexican Chapter, Eduardo Bohórquez, is centered on the academic and research sector. He has taught in the most important universities and research centers in Mexico. He also gives consulting services to the private firms, One World, Demet and Grupo Desc. He is also the Executive Directive of “Fundación Este País”, a center focused on the qualitative research, strategic communication, and institutional development to enforce democracy (Transparency International, 2019; Secretaría de la Función Pública, 2019).

We can observe that the specialization of Mexican Transparency and the professional experience of its members, may represent an advantage to the successful design, implementation of their activities and may increase the legitimacy of the anti-corruption strategies. In addition, the international network which they belong also plays an important role to improve the scope and scale of the organization’s efforts.

The result of the collaboration of the two organizations described above was the creation of a website that collects information of the politicians, candidates and public servants that have published their three declarations during the elections in 2015. The initial purpose of the platform was to encourage the citizens to pressure their candidates to publish threes basic documents, the assets, the tax and finally the interests of conflicts declarations. The platform and the social media of the movement pointed out who had published the documents and who hadn’t. The citizens can consult the formats with the information whenever they want in a very friendly way, thanks to the website is linked with twitter and Facebook, facilitating

the sharing and use of information on the platform to demand to politicians that didn't upload the information (#3de3, 2019).

- **Network actors**

The main purpose of the movement was to motivate people and organizations to participate in diverse actions, in order to reduce the corruption and impunity in the country. For that reason, the messages and the channels used by the movement had to be designed and adjusted to connect with people enough, to get their attention and involvement. This framing strategy aimed to gain the most possible citizens support, in order to positioned the initiative into the public debate.

We can identify two catalyst elements within the framing strategy that drove the growth of the public support for the initiative. One is the involvement of strategic actors and organizations around the country creating a network that encourage citizens to get involved and participate. The second is the influence on the mass media outlets, diffusing information, inviting individuals to join the movement and pressuring the political class to publish their declarations and approve the regulations demanded by the initiative. Both elements generated a big impact on the development and evolution of the initiative.

Starting with the creation of the network, the organization's objective consisted of mobilizing important groups from diverse spheres and the largest possible number of citizens. The movement built a network integrated by 64 organizations that vary depending on their activities and their territory scope. For example, COPARMEX (Confederation of the Mexican Republic) the most important private business organization posted a video on their website, explaining the law, and inviting other organizations and citizens to get involved. Some interviewees directly relate the 3de3 initiative with this business group or with some members of it and believe that is an advantage for the movement being supported by this "elite groups", because

they count with defined structures that allows to promote actions around the subject.

“...It was supported by a series of elite groups that worked with their structures in a national level to promote and push the subject... “
(Martínez de Castro, 2019).

The importance of having these type of groups, according to one interviewee is that increases the legitimacy and can improve the technical content of the initiative.

“...I believe that all the initiatives that come from the private sector or the society have more credibility, than the ones propose by the government...” (De la Mora, 2019).

Another example is ITESO, a private University in Guadalajara that helped to gather 2,722 signatures that represents 2.26 % of the total required to change a policy (Noticias Iteso, 2016).

The network strategy also involved the activation of ambassadors or representatives of the initiatives that included famous actors, comedians, politicians, reporters, political analysts, religious groups, academic and research groups, universities, business organizations and private companies, that helped not only to support the initiative, also to diffuse information and promote activism. One example of the above is that most of the citizen respondents interviewed, identified the initiative related with public figures. Several responses mentioned Pedro Kumamoto, the first independent deputy in the local congress of Jalisco as one of the designers of this initiative. Although he wasn't an official member of the initiative, he played a fundamental role in the diffusion of information and mobilization of resources. For the respondents, it was easy to relate Kumamoto with the citizen initiative due the level of legitimacy that had gained for being an independent politician that doesn't belong to any political party (Venegas, 2019; Valdovinos,

2019; Quezada, 2019; Carrillo, 2019; Díaz, 2019; Morales, 2019; Cabrera V. , 2019). As a result, the 3de3 created a network integrated by different actors and organizations that not only brought a bigger scope, defined structures, power and resources to the movement, but also increased the level of legitimacy of the cause, as well. The network was used to extend their impact and increase the trust among the society, because they owned particular resources, like power communication. For example, COPARMEX and their capacity to make statements or press conferences that were covered by national outlets (Ley 3 de 3: Iniciativa Ciudadana que espera ser cumplida, 2018). The movement was also supported by actors who are recognized for their technical trajectories, such as Mauricio Merino, a very important academic in Mexico. In conclusion, with the examples mentioned before, the mesomobilization built a network with the participation of actors that improved and increased the social approbation to defend the initiative cause. In summary, the network integration made coherent sense and found fitness with the goals perused.

FRAMING

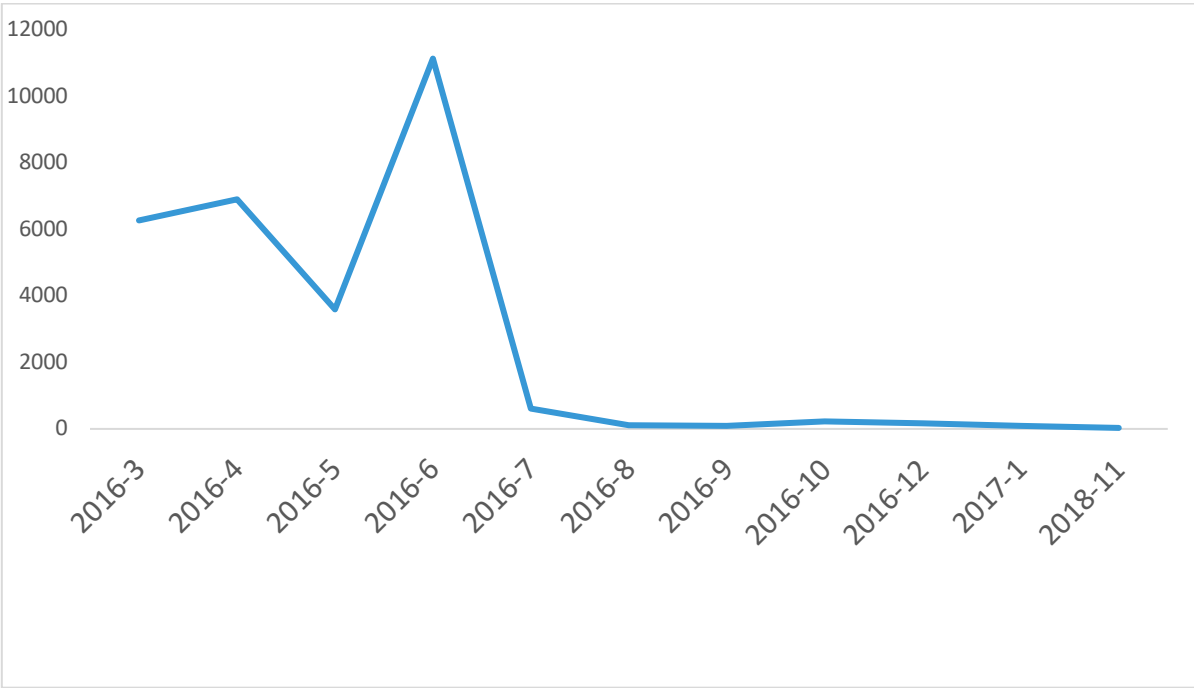
But how did the initiative accomplish the involvement of these important actors and organizations? How the initiative convinced them to participate in the 3de3 actions? How did they collect more than 600,000 signatures to change the anticorruption policy?

As we established before, the framing processes implemented by mesomobilization movements are fundamental to mobilize resources. In the case of the Initiative 3de3, it is observed that the use of strategic frames drove to influence the citizens and societal organizations perceptions. The frames observed by this mesomobilization movement are transformed, adapted and adjusted during different phases of the initiative. However, we can identify the “master frames” that oriented and shaped

the initiative, and consequently all their messages and actions were focused on the translation of this cognitive constructions.

The main objectives of framing strategies implemented by the mesomobilization movements are diffuse information, gain support and motivate to act. Is important to determine whether the frames were effective and accomplish the established aims. Besides the number of citizens signatures collected to introduce the 3de3 law in the legislative process, another possible way to quantify the success of the framing strategy is by observing the engagement on social media. Tn this case, Twitter, specifically through the number of RT obtained by each publication. In the next graphic, we can observe the evolution of the social engagement on twitter during time. An important finding, is the detection of a peak during the period of collecting signatures, and a decrease in the next months.

Figure 2: Timeline of social engagement with the 3de3 on Twitter



In the figure, we can track the public support, obtained by the mesomobilization movement in different periods. This research seeks to prove a direct relation

between the framing strategies implemented by the 3de3 on social media during time and the performance of social engagement on twitter. Therefore, it is necessary to study which tasks and processes were employed by the movement and find the link between the framing strategies with the public support of the citizen initiative.

Tasks

The foundation of the 3de3 is based around reducing corruption, hence the importance of contextualizing and defining the subject. For that reason, the first frames observed within the strategy are used to determine how the movement defined the corruption issue. For purposes of this research, they are denominated **diagnostic frames**. Most of the messages in their videos, tweets and posts mention the word corruption as one of the main issues of the Mexican government. The lack of accountability institutions and the impunity are ideas related with the corruption. They use examples of different corruption scandals to explained the causes and the effects of the corruption problem. In addition, the law initiative itself propose the definition of corruption types and the way to punish them. The initiative designed ten different graphics diffused on social media where through cartoons, and in a friendly and clear way, the different types of corruption that can be detected within government were explained. In the next image they explained the nepotism within the public organizations. The message of which problem the Initiative tried to solve was clear and generic allowing the citizens, organizations and politicians to relate and connect the ideas.

Figure 3: “10 types of corruption: Nepotism”

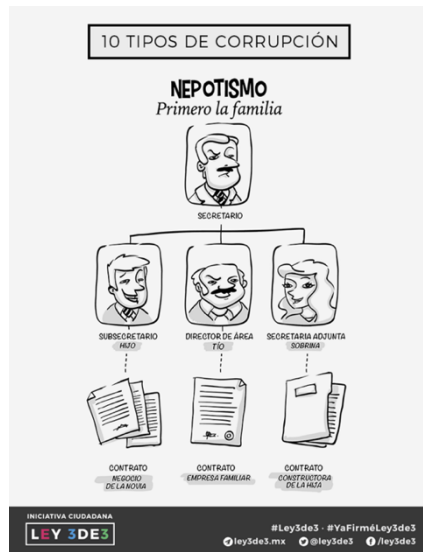


Figure 4: “10 types of corruption: Illicit enrichment”



“...The initiative touched different problems, one is to prove what the public servant owns before working within the public sector and keep updating this information because all the situations that we have with corruption or illicit enrichment...” (Quezada, 2019; Martínez de Castro, 2019)

Another frame used is the indignation, that is, the idea is that what all the Mexican citizens have in common to each other is the resentment with our political class. The outrage generated by many corruption situations in our country is a feeling that unifies the society and has the potential to motivate action. It is about using ideas, perceptions, values and experiences that most people can relate to, making the connection of the frames with the individuals and organizations possible. Most of the people in Mexico relate to the corruption with the politicians and their lack of willing to solve it. That's why the indignation is a frame that played a crucial element in the definition of the problem, because all the people can understand it and be emphatic about it.

In the case of diagnostic frames, they don't have a strong presence on the messages diffused on twitter. However, we can find them employed on essential messages as the video explanation of the initiative, the video with the statements of actors in their YouTube channel or the graphics on the website mentioned before.

A second set of frames observed, named **prognostic frames**, consisted on how the movement proposed the 3de3 as the solution of the problem. This does not mean that it is the only one solution to reduce or eliminate the corruption in Mexico. The Initiative attempts to impose the idea of this cause as one step to reduce the corruption within the public sector. Starting with the name of the initiative 3de3, the message was clear and concise: to publish three basic documents. The name consolidated the initiative, you can find in the social media the hashtag #3de3 as one of the slogans of the movement. All the people interviewed for the research, could identify the initiative naming the three documents. Even one of them pointed out, that the clarity and the strong definition of the solution was one of the right decisions of the movement.

“I believe that the strength of the initiative is that their message was clear, the idea was using a tool to fight against corruption...” (Martínez de Castro, 2019; Fernández, Personal Interview, 2019)

This clear definition of the solution also integrated another frame, the institutional and technical aspects of the initiative. The objective of the initiative was to change the current anticorruption policy, which implies the modifications of the legal institutions through technical tools as the publication of the three formats. This particular frame is implied in the explanation of the initiative objectives (Law 3de3) and could be perceived on how the diffusion of information was implemented about. They mentioned in several press declarations that the initiative is a product of technical experts that seek the change in the current policy. They even explained the legislative processes, implications, and updated the discussion situation within the Congress.

Another positioned frame by the initiative solution is the idea of citizen. The name itself is the citizen initiative 3de3, that reflects the attempts to disassociate the proposal from the government and politicians. Most of the citizens interviewed describe the movement as a citizen induced by citizens or organizations outside the government. On Twitter we observed that the word “citizen” is included in most of the publications. The emphasis on this frame shows the intention of the initiative to connect with citizens, because it tried to established that it has been created by people that have the same concerns and interests. This frame positioned the movement as a different, new and with more legitimacy solution different than the government efforts to reduce corruption.

As we can observed in the next figure, the framing strategy implemented by the initiative on twitter is dominated mostly by prognostic tasks; that is to say, they centered their messages to explain the solution proposed by the 3de3. The movement focused their efforts on established the 3de3 as the plan that can help

to reduce the corruption in Mexico. In addition, the analysis of their website and videos on YouTube also showed that the most important frame for the movement was the explanation of the mission and aims of the 3de3.

On the other hand, the majority of the people interviewed remained skeptical about the initiative scopes. In spite of the meso-level actors establishing that the corruption is a complex issue in the country and the initiative 3de3 proposal was only a tool to reduce the corruption and combat just one part of it, among the citizens and politicians interviewed, in general it wasn't perceived that the publications of three documents would be the only and the best solution. They think that the initiative has its limitations and should be integrated to a bigger solution and not only considerate institutional instruments. It also needs to be loaded with values and cultural practices.

“...I believe that the initiative can help to combat in a superficial way the issue, because the corrupt politicians will always find a way to do get away, but I think is an obstacle that the politicians didn't count...” (Venegas, 2019).

“The initiative helps, the problem is that there is always room to manipulate the information. In Mexico we have this practice of making reports of everything and this is not enough, is a problem of values and ethic that hasn't rooted within the society. I mean, combat the corruption with these ideas of who doesn't cheat doesn't progress and a series of thoughts that are rooted in the Mexican culture is not enough. It has to be completed with civic values that is a subject that we usually ignore and aren't present in the public agenda...” (Martínez de Castro, 2019).

“...The initiative only solves a superficial layer of the issue, is like the 80/20. The 20 is the people who take most of the public budgets and those are the ones with less impact of the 3de3...” (González, 2019).

However, we can identify that in the same time they recognize that these types of mechanisms are necessary to deal with the problem, they mentioned several time that it was a step forward against the corruption and impunity in Mexico:

“...I believe that making public the assets, salary and possible interest conflict of a government employee, if it doesn't help, it definitely inhibits the illicit enrichment or any situation where the politician uses their position to get a benefit...

...I believe that is very accurate to have this type of tools, to make public the assets and salary of any civil servant...

...Is very valuable because now the citizens have information that can be used as a decisive element that influence their votes...” (García, Personal Interview, 2019).

“...The 3de3 method is not the only way to eliminate the corruption, but is a big bet, a big initiative that contributes...” (Fernández, Personal Interview, 2019).

Finally, we can detect a third set integrated by **motivational frames**. Therefore, the messages and channels used by the movements intended to convinced individuals and organizations to take actions. It is about the motivation of citizens to get involved in the movement through different activities. The purpose of this type of frames is to incite individuals and organizations to use the indignation and anger with the political class and start acting either using social media, getting informed, following the process, collecting signatures or spreading the message.

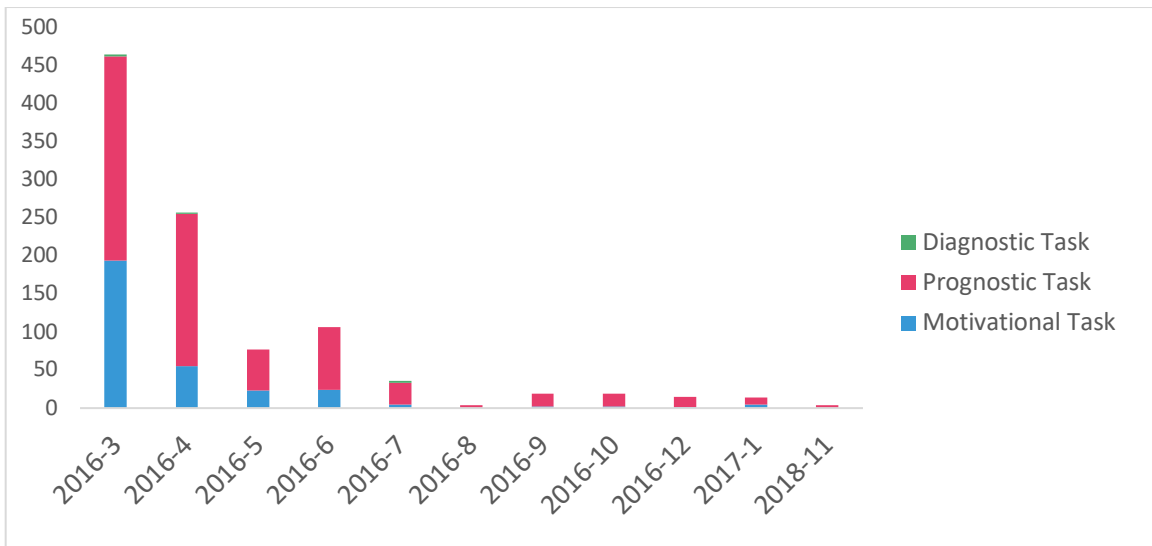
On Twitter the movement centered their publications on inviting people to act in different ways, depending on the phases of the process. One example was the campaign “#ChallengeAdiósCorruptos” (Challenge goodbye corrupts), it consisted on nominating friends to challenge them to collect 10 signatures for the petition. Another example is the track of the legislative process where they ask support of the citizens to pressure the former president Enrique Peña Nieto to use his presidential veto to avoid the approval of the law that didn't match with the conditions demanded by the initiative:

“Pide al Presidente @EPN #VetoPresidencial a arts. 29 y 32 de la versión aprobada de #Ley3de3” (ley3de3, 2016)

The responses of the interviewed people pointed out that the participation in the 3de3 varied depending on the subgroups where they belong. For example, most of the citizens affirmed that their involvement was passive by just consulting the platform and sharing information through social media. In the case of the politicians, they explained that their way to interact with the 3de3 was publishing their documents according to the parameters established by the movement. Only three responders affirmed that they participated by signing and collecting signatures for the cause.

According to the social media analysis, it was observed that the employment of motivational tasks was influenced by the legislative process of the initiative. The phase of collecting signatures, before June 2016, matches with the period which had an increase of motivational messages spread on twitter. Similarly, the general use of framing strategies has an important peak during the processes of collecting signatures for the initiative, gaining support and positioning the initiative in the public agenda as well.

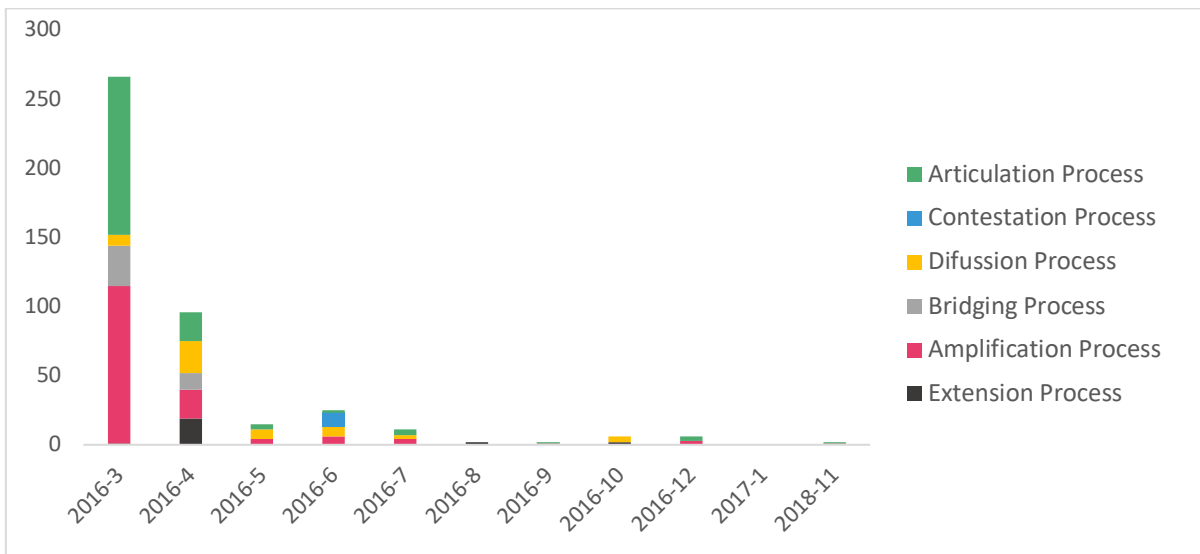
Figure 5: Use of framing tasks on twitter account



Processes

Following the same method to observe the framing tasks, the processes implemented by the mesomobilization movement of the Initiative 3de3 registered similar trends. The use of framing processes on Twitter are focused on March and April 2016, the same period of collecting signatures for the Initiative and gradually they were decreasing the next months.

Figure 6: Use of framing processes on twitter account



The dominant processes implemented by the 3de3 are the articulation and amplification actions. This means that the movement unifies the different frames to build a general understanding of their cause. They connect the corrupt government and the indignation towards politicians with the idea of acting on behalf the cause. Additionally, they constantly emphasized in all their posts the core values of the movement. We refer to these as the master frames. We can observe the use of the “#3de3” in all their tweets and the words “citizen” and “corruption” are also present in the majority of their messages. Two examples are the next tweets posted on May and March of 2016, that obtained 446 and 242 RT respectively:

*“In total 634,143 **citizens, we signed the #Law3de3 against the corruption**”*
(ley3de3, 2016).

*“Official number of signatures delivered in the Senate: ¡309,476! ¡The **Mexicans made a step from the complaint to the action! #Law 3de3**”*
(ley3de3, 2016).

On the other hand, the bridging and diffusion strategies were executed in a complementary way. Both processes were enforced by the use of spokesmen or defenders of the Initiative. Strategic actors diffuse information about the benefits of the 3de3 on their social media accounts, improving the scope and scale of the connection with different sectors of society. One example is the video statement published by COPARMEX, where the leader of this private business organization, explained the 3de3, defend it and invited the citizens to participate. Another action that helped us to study the diffusion and bridging processes is the transmission of the 3de3 spot inside a stadium in Monterrey during a soccer match. (Ley3de, s.f.). Both examples proved how the movement attempted to connect with all possible organizations and individuals from different spheres using their network. The

consolidation of this strong network allowed allies to spread the master frames of the Initiative, and in the same time helped to connect with different groups.

It was also identified that many independent actions from different organizations, individuals or groups of people, became involved in the 3de3. The people started to adopt the values of the initiative and created their own way to participate. One example was a group of punk musicians, who organized a public concert to collect signatures without any official request of the mesomobilization actors. One of the people interviewed mentioned the importance of the friendly and easy design of the 3de3 as the key to allow individuals and groups to understand and relate with the means and aims of the initiative. It consisted of creating frames that the organizations and the citizens in general could identify and connect with.

“It was an Initiative for everyone” (Montes, 2019).

Another process displayed on the communication strategy is the extension of the frames. The initiative included in their messages their position about social causes related with corruption but these were not part of the 3de3. For example, the campaign *“Cabildo abierto”* (Open town meeting), an initiative to promote the involvement of citizens in the local decisions (ley3de3, 2016), or *“Sin voto no hay dinero”* (Without vote no money), an effort to change the electoral law, forbidding the access to financial budget to political parties that didn’t obtain a minimum number of votes during elections (ley3de3, 2017). Both movements shared similar values with the 3de3, as the motivation of the citizen participation or setting limits to politicians, but weren’t part of the 3de3 movement. This cross-movement activism helped not only to reinforce the



Figure 7: Senate vote about the maximum publicity of the declaration formats.

relations with different actors or organizations, it also gave consistency, cognitive alignment and an element of differentiation to the initiative objectives as well.

On the other hand, as with many other mesomobilization movements, the 3de3 was attacked and criticized by different actors mostly politicians. From a former president (Vicente Fox), to political parties' leaders (Emilio Gamboa, PRI) made negative statements of the initiative (Montes, 2019). In order to deal with these types of disputes, the movement had to design a contestation process to avoid frame damages. However, the management of the contestation messages had to be done in a carefully way and couldn't be a direct response to the declarations against the 3de3. One of the actors interviewed that belongs to the mesomobilization group, explained that the operation of the contestation process, couldn't counterattack with a negative message against the opponent. On the contrary, they had to reinforced the master frames by explaining the justification, benefits and features of the 3de3 (Montes, 2019). One example was the publication of the results of voting in the Senate, to decide if the formats proposed by the movement were included in the bill. In the image published it was visualized how many senators vote against, in favor, didn't vote or abstained by political party. This message pointed out the politicians who were opposed to the initiative, obtaining 997 RT (ley3de3, 2016).

Finally, the transformation process was included in the motivation and explanation of the 3de3. The initiative proposed a new way to deal with corruption, using innovative and technical tools. The 3de3 consisted of a digital platform that gathers information of the government actors and politicians to demand transparency and eliminate corruption and impunity. In addition, the initiative required the participation and involvement of citizens and non-governmental organizations, transforming the understanding of the traditional way to change public policies in the country (#3de3, 2019).

We can conclude that the connection of the initiative 3de3 messages with the public support, was possible thanks to the framing strategies. The tasks and processes explained above, which integrated these strategies, were a fundamental driver to position the master frames, designed by the mesomobilization movement, by engaging the citizens with the initiative, on social media especially on twitter.

AGENDA SETTING PROCESS

Systemic agenda (mass media)

As we mentioned before, the construction of a strong network was one catalyst element that improved the results of the framing strategy. In addition, we can identify a second element within the framing strategy, referring to the Mexican mass media's role within the process. We can observe in other countries and contexts that the mass media plays a crucial factor for social movements' strategies and the Initiative 3de3, wasn't the exception of this influence.

The final purpose of the movement was to change public policy, and in order to do so, it had to set the subject into the public agenda. The involvement of the media implied an important opportunity and the possibility of getting the attention of the decision makers. However, introducing an issue to the public debate, is not an easy task. It is one that required particular features to get the attention of the media. The 3de3 integrated these important characteristics that enabled the involvement of the media on the expansion activity of the issue. As we have mentioned before, the message used by the movement was an abstract subject, to facilitate connections and create a greater social significance. It also implied a long-term process because it attempted to change a public policy. It was an extraordinary issue because there wasn't a similar precedent of this technical tool designed by citizens. For these reasons it was possible to attract the attention of the media on the issue and let it to expand and produce bigger impact in the public opinion.

In order to expand the message, the media implemented activities as labeling the issue. Using the media content analysis, it was observed that most of the publications mentioned the general motivations that caused the emergence of the initiative, the main considerations of the 3de3, and the objectives. Consequently, initiative was branded as a citizen effort and integrated technical and innovative methods to reduce corruption within the government. In addition, the newspapers followed the legislative process of the 3de3 and criticized politicians who were obstructing the debate within the Congress and Senate, or those who didn't published their documents.

Another key activity elaborated by the media is how the journalists synthesized the subject. The media attempts to get the audiences' attention by keeping them interested with a topic which they can relate, and in order to do it, they need to explain complex issues in a simple way that all individuals can understand without any special technical skills. By doing this action the Mexican mass media was able to reach bigger audiences and in consequence more individuals and organizations were being informed about the initiative.

We can reaffirm above, with the knowledge of the initiative, some of the interviewed citizens hadn't all the detailed information about the 3de3 or the process, however they knew the general and basic idea of what was about.

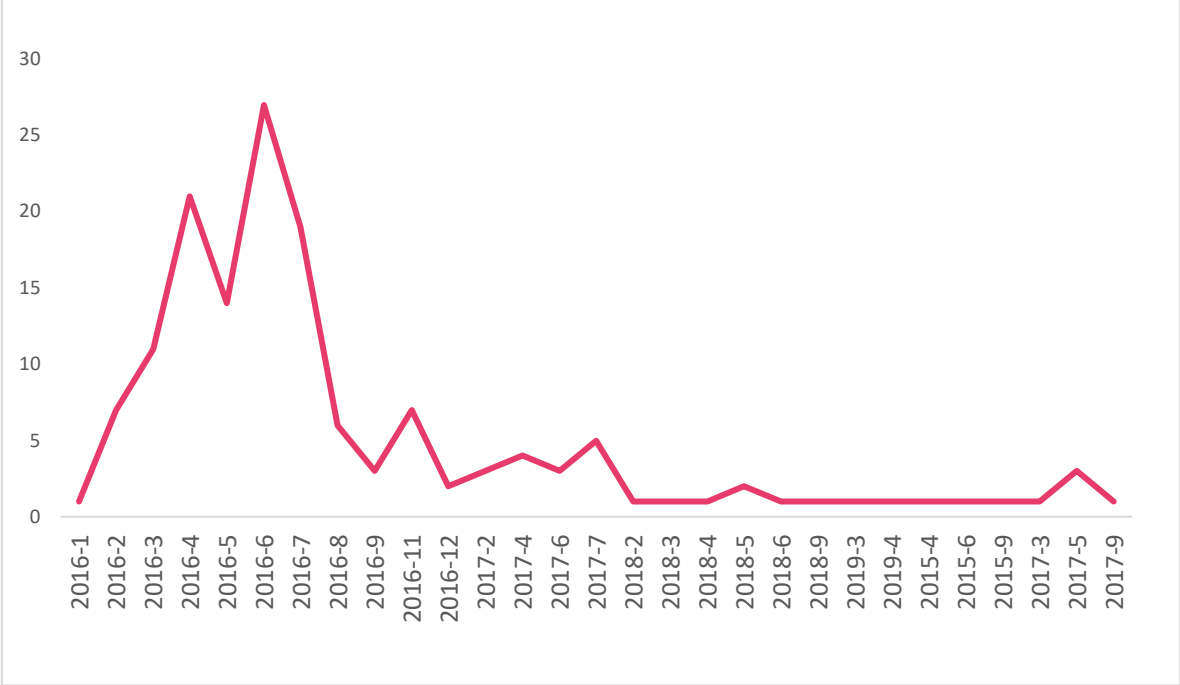
"...I know the initiative, is about making more transparent the assets and money of civil servants through three documents. They had to make them public in a website and anyone can consult the information..." (Valdovinos, 2019)

These media activities are represented in the expansion of the movement's message during time. In the next figure, the amount of publications per month about either diffusing information, mentioning or defending the initiative, that can be

translated in the expansion evolution of the 3de3 implemented by the press can be observed. The existence of an increase during the launch of the initiative, and the collection signatures period is clear.

The most important finding obtained from the media analysis is the coincidence between the periods where an increase of the media coverage of the issue and the period when the meso-level actors employed more framing strategies on Twitter. Additionally, both periods also match with the same time when the initiative twitter account generated more RT.

Figure 8: Timeline of the Initiative 3de3 coverage by the mass media.



On the other hand, in the case of the 3de3, the media not only expanded the features of the issue, it also played a crucial role by improving the framing strategies within their content. Most of the publications about the initiative were opinion articles, and established positive positions around the 3de3 movement. The journalists constantly used the name “3de3” or #3de3 to referred to the initiative, making possible an easy identification of the movement and the three declarations

that where the core of the message. The articles use the same language, symbols and messages of the movement as the reproach of the corruption and impunity, the indignation with the governments and politicians, the importance of the citizen participation, call to action and demand for accountability.

The content analysis of the articles allowed the identification of the different framing tasks implemented by the journalists in their articles. For example, for the diagnostic frames, the publications mentioned the general causes or implications of the corruption in Mexico, emphasizing the need to design new and effective solutions. These frames are mostly used in the beginning of the initiative operation and decreased over time.

“One of the main problems in Mexico is the weak rule of law system that is manifested on many practices as the corruption. Is frustrating to see that in other countries, the corruption acts like illicit enrichment or bribery have severe consequences, while here in Mexico is not the case. That’s why I like a lot this citizen initiative, because it forces to the officials to make publish their assets, tax and conflict interests’ declarations...” (Zuckerman, 2016).

For the prognostic frames, the political analysts referred to the initiative as the alternative to solve the corruption issue, they also highlighted their attributes like its emergence from society, or described it as an innovative tool with technical and specialized features. The prognostic frames are the most used by the media and keep constant during the process of the movement.

“...Is a law that can transform our country, is a law that can overcome the history of corruption and impunity that undermine our democracy, our economy and security. Is an initiative that emerges from the

society. A prestigious and recognized plural group has elaborated a complete law. Is a specialized, serious and valuable work with great quality (see it here: www.ley3de3.com).” (Gómez, 2016).

In the case of the motivational frames expanded by the media through opinion articles, it was found that the journalists directly make invitations to citizens participate and to get involve with the 3de3. They provided the central information and even provided the link to sign the petition and visit the initiative webpage.

“...Click here www.ley3de3.mx, print the format and get involved. I invite you, or don't complaint that no one does something about it. Starting from yourself...” (D'Artigues, 2016).

“...This is a respectful invitation to our kind readers, to get informed, sign and diffuse this effort (www.ley3de3.mx), that seeks to find an opportunity for the voice of the citizens to be heard and contribute to eliminate the corruption in our future. I hope that all of us listen and act...” (López, 2018).

Additionally, they shared their personal concerns and perceptions about the initiative benefits and implications not only expanding the 3de3 message but also supporting and defending it.

“...About a million of people we sign the citizen initiative Law 3de3, an applause and thanks to all of them. All of us demand a genuine change in the behavior and operation of the public service...” (Cárdenas, 2016).

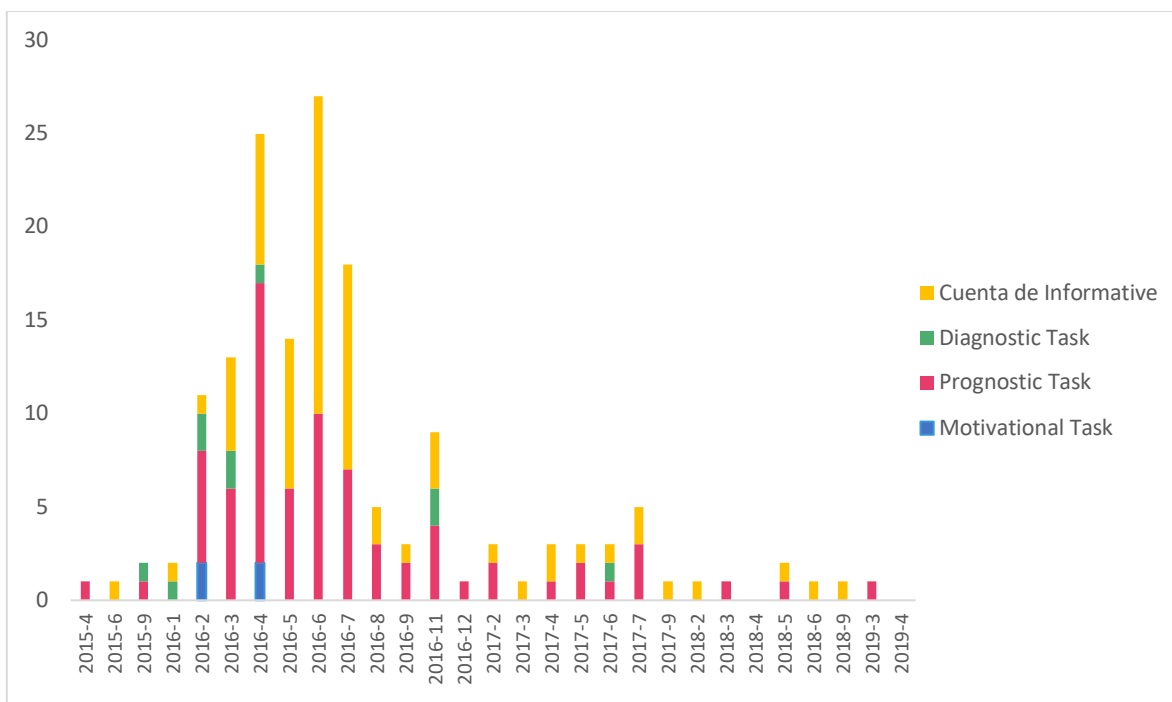
This can be observed also during the legislative process, the reporters followed the debate within the Senate and Congress, making critiques when the agreements or

discussions didn't comply the terms established by the 3de3 petition. Moreover, during the midterm elections, the press kept track of the politicians and candidates that published their declarations on the platform. By doing this, the media positioned the initiative as an essential requirement for candidates, even when it wasn't established by law at that time. They framed the publication of the three declarations as a social demand that would be taken in account in deciding the vote.

"...The candidate for deputy in the Local Congress in Quintana Roo, Graciela Saldaña, for the PAN-PRD coalition, today she became the first participant in this electoral process to participate with this citizen platform and publishing her tax, assets and conflict of interest declarations..." (Varillas, 2016).

In conclusion the media expansion activity can be divided into different phases that are represented in the next figure. In the beginning, reporters and political analysts contextualized about the corruption issue, its causes and consequences to justify the indignation with the corrupt political class. They then focused their articles around the explanation of the 3de3 initiative and its importance for the problem resolution. During this phase, they invited readers to learn more about the subject and sign the initiative, especially during April of 2016, an important increase of the framing tasks can be observed, simultaneously to the signature collection period. A third phase is the tracing of the legislative process, and the role of the 3de3 during the electoral period. After that, a decline on the opinion articles and consequently a decrease of the frame's employment was detected.

Figure 9: Use of framing tasks on twitter



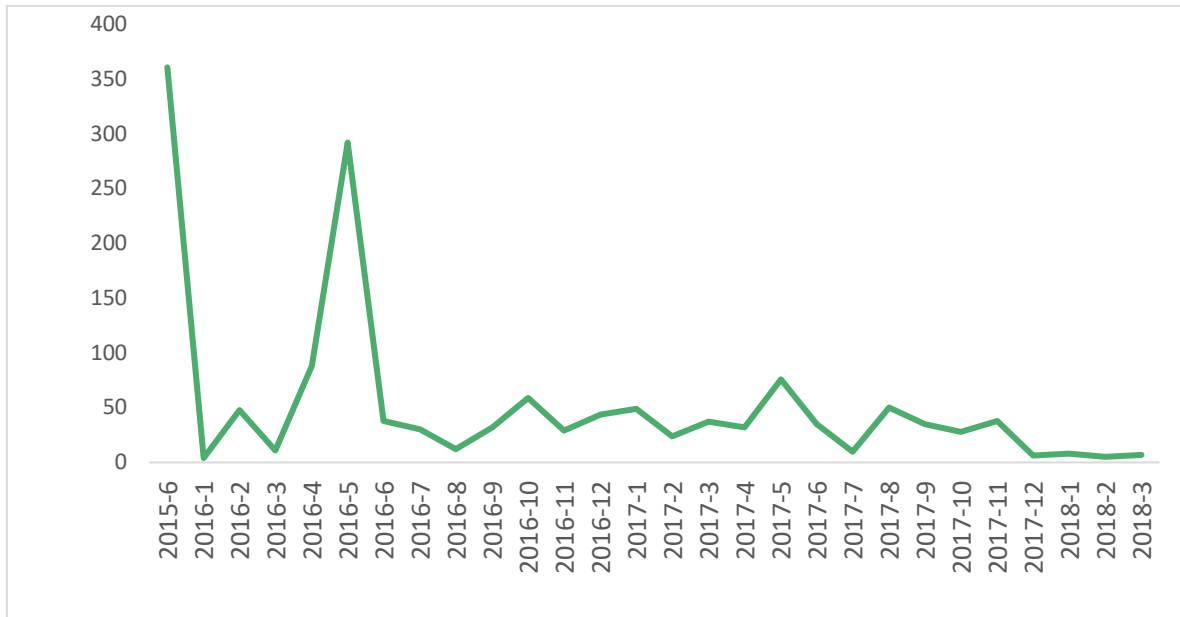
Institutional agenda (publications of the 3de3)

Assuming that the purpose of the movement is to change the current situation in Mexico around corruption, the strategic plan of the citizen initiative needed to be addressed to get the attention of the policy makers. As we established before, it is not enough just to influence the public opinion to insert an issue in the public agenda, it also needs to expand enough to pressure the politicians to take it into account. Thus, the agenda setting process is not completed if the issues don't grow enough to access to the decision-making arena. In the case of the 3de3, the strategy to do it consisted of getting the attention of the media to get the minimum number of signatures for the petition.

However, before the legislative process took place, the political class had already started to pay attention to the citizen initiative and this was translated in the amount of declarations published using the 3de3 platform. In the next figure the conduct of the politicians and public servants around the citizen initiative during time can be

observed. The mesomobilization message expanded sufficiently to influence the institutional agenda by accomplishing the voluntary declarations of 300 candidates, in 2015 (Chávez, 2019).

Figure 10: 3de3 declarations timeline



The coverage of the media was a fundamental driver to create a snowball effect to pressure the politicians to publish their three declarations and to also to pressure the legislators to debate about the policy modification. Because of the exponential growth of the 3de3 message, during the midterm’s elections, the politicians and their political platforms were forced to talk about the 3de3. Most of them use the publication of the three documents as political flag.

“The governor Francisco García Cabeza de Vaca, complied the citizen initiative of IMCO, by publishing the three formats of each declaration in the website www.tresdetres.mx . Even though this declaration is not mandatory, the Governor announced the last October 1st when he assumed his mandate, that he would act with responsibility and transparency demanded by the citizens and he and the rest of the state secretaries would present their declaration 3de3...” (Aguilar, 2016)

One of the most important findings detected within the declaration's timeline analysis is that the number of publications increased on April and May 2016 one more time, matching with the peaks of framing strategies, media coverage and social engagement on Twitter periods. During this phase, the initiative already had gained power and resources that made possible its positioning in the public opinion, making it more difficult to be ignored by the political class. In conclusion, we can suggest the framing actions employed by the movement, the social support and the role of the mass media were drivers to pressure politicians to start making public their declaration on the initiative platform, and can be translated in the increase of the amount of the voluntary publications during this months.

POLICY CHANGE

Now that it has been explained how the mesomobilization movement employed framing strategies, and introduced the 3de3 into the public agenda, we can study the modifications produced of the system beliefs of the actors, during the process, that made possible the policy change. The combination of both models, attempts to understand how the shifts or modifications on the perceptions of actors can influence directly the policy change levels.

First order / secondary aspects

Starting from the first order changes, therefore, we refer to the elements of the policies that were adapted to current times. For the secondary aspects, we consider the modifications of the instrumental decisions, thus the means to achieve the goals of the policies.

The first alteration observed addresses the meso- level actors who were dissatisfied with how the politicians used their positions to get personal benefits and decided to collaborate together and design a technical tool to prevent acts of corruption and eliminate the impunity in the country. The creation of the platform is the first attempt

to change the anticorruption policy in Mexico by using the new available technologies. The meso- level actors provided a new instrument to achieve the main goal, eliminate the corruption in the public sector, by publishing the three declarations on a public online platform.

"...The solution has to come from us. This is why a diverse group of citizens and civil society organizations have developed a legislative proposal named Ley 3de3. The document defines 10 types of conducts that should be deemed acts of corruption and establishes firm punishments for these. These range from removal from public office to compensatory and punitive damages, and permanent restriction from holding any public sector position. Among other things, Ley 3de3 also demands that all members of Congress and Government officials, including the President himself, make three declarations public..." (#3de3, 2019).

In the case of the citizens, having this new tool improved not only the level of participation in a public issue as the corruption, it also gave them new ways to get involved by using technological and friendly tools. They used these instruments to demand to their politicians to publish their declarations, diffuse and share information about the 3de3. The citizens have modified the way in which they participate in public issues. One example is the response of a citizen interviewed, that mentioned the changes on how the young people participate in public problems.

"...I believe that the youth is much more participative, and now with the facilities of twitter and social media, the citizen participation is more active. However, most of them do it only at the moment, is an immediacy participation, that when it happens a new thing they forgot about the last one..." (Cabrera V. , 2019)

For the politicians, the first order change is reflected in the way they used the 3de3 as political strategy, especially during the elections. We have mentioned before that the candidates and governments included their 3de3 in their political platforms to gain legitimacy among the voters. This means that politicians recognized the level of legitimacy and power of the citizen initiative, and used it to gain the trust of the citizens or in certain cases to attack opponents.

“...The 3de3 give us legitimacy in the current panorama, where no one trust in politicians, is a great plus to start to gain the lost trust in politics and politicians...” (Fernández, Personal Interview, 2019).

“The candidate for Governor in Puebla, Enrique Cárdenas Sánchez from the coalition PAN/PRD/MC, presented his declaration 3de3 to the Anticorruption State System and challenged his opponents to do the same and make their assets transparent...” (Ávila, 2019).

Second order / near core aspects

The next order of change considered major shifts of the ways to achieve the policy goals. This means the modifications occurred within the policy arena beliefs.

The creation of the bill “Ley 3de3” is the first sign of change within the policy. The meso- level actors detected a policy window in the law and developed an institutional strategy to change the situation about the issue corruption in Mexico. By collecting more than 600,000 signatures the movement could introduced their law proposal into the legislative process. Both chambers (Senate and Congress), had to debate the conditions and implications of the bill in order to respond to the citizens interests. The Commissions in both chambers included the discussion about which elements should be integrated into the declarations formats, which government positions should comply with the norm, the classification of corruption

acts and their respective sanctions, consequently changing the terms of the past policy to introduce new ones. The citizen initiative not only attempted to change the General Law of Administrative Responsibilities (Law3de3), it also proposed six more adjustments to different laws related with the issue, in order to combat the corruption.

“The purpose of this law is to delimit the obligations and behavior of the public servants and the administrative sanctions, of all who are involved in corruption acts. Is fundamental the incorporation of political parties, unions, and transition teams as subjects of sanctions in this law. It is also necessary the clear definition clearly of the acts of corruption and the process through which the corruption networks will be investigated and dismantled...” (Los siete pilares del Sistema Nacional Anticorrupción, 2016).

The seven pillars of the National Anticorruption System

1. Law of Administrative Responsibilities (Law3de3).
2. General Law of the National Anticorruption System.
3. Organic Law of the Federal Court of Administrative Justice.
4. Organic Law of the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic.
5. Adjustments to the Organic Law of the Federal Public Administration.
6. Amendments to the Criminal Code.
7. Adjustments to the Law on Fiscalization and Accountability of the Federation.

(Los siete pilares del Sistema Nacional Anticorrupción, 2016)

At the same time, the 3de3 initiative was already in the public’s eye. The citizens started to use the 3de3 declarations as criteria to decide their vote during the

electoral periods. Therefore, the way how they decided to vote for their officials was influenced by the declarations 3de3.

“...I have considered during elections, the 3de3 declarations, I consulted the website to verify if the candidate that interested me had published his three documents, or in the case that hadn't published, analyze why...” (Carrillo, 2019).

In the case of the politicians, besides to start publishing their declarations, they also changed the strategies to do it. One example is the political party *Movimiento Ciudadado* in Jalisco, that set as their main goal making all the members of the party in the Local Congress to publish their 3 of 3, becoming the first legislative group that did it in the country (De la Mora, 2019; Fernández, 2019). To accomplish this, they worked closely with the mesomobilization movements to ensure to comply with all the requirements demanded by the initiative. Another example is the former presidential candidate that altered the 3de3 declaration by adding four more declarations and named it 7de7 (González, 2019). There were many cases in which political actors altered the 3de3, and adapted to their political interests. This appropriation of the declarations implied a major the shift of the politician's perceptions about the citizen initiative.

Third order / deep core aspects

Finally, a third level change of the public policy that involved paradigm changes in the beliefs of the actors was observed.

For the meso - level actors a change achieved by them was manifested on the official approval of the 3de3, making mandatory by law the publication of the declarations for public servants in high positions in 2018. In addition, they have published 2,137 declarations on their platform by June of 2019, evidencing the positive impact of the citizen initiative on the public policy. Before, the politicians

could decide to do it or not through the government system *Declaranet*, which didn't count with the fields considered by the 3de3 formats. However, the formats designed by the 3de3 that were approved on September of 2018, went back on revision and haven't been approved by the Coordinator Committee of the Anticorruption National System (Chávez, 2019). These examples indicate a radical change to the public anticorruption policy and the core aspects of the politician's and meso level actors' beliefs that were possible because of the negotiation and consultancy process.

Another change identified is the replica of the citizen initiative in other countries like Chile and Guatemala, where they took as an example the Mexican case and adapted to their contexts (Chávez, 2019).

In the case of citizens, the 3de3 implied an increase in the level of trust in the politicians that have complied with the declarations. However, they mentioned during the interviews that the 3de3 is not enough, and there are many other factors that can influence their perception about the political class. The publication of these three declarations is just the minimum requirement to start building a relation of trust with the politicians.

"I could trust more, but I'm very skeptical. However, having the 3de3 platform makes that the trust of that person would be better" (Venegas, 2019)

On the other hand, it was observed that one of the deep core beliefs of the politicians hadn't been changed by the 3de3 message. We referred to the skepticism around the scope and adequacy of the 3de3 formats. First, some politicians, believe that the 3de3 is still fragile and the corrupts would find ways to hide information or avoid the sanctions:

“...I don't think that the initiative is completely effective, because there are many tricks to avoid it or to hide assets...” (González, 2019).

Second, the politicians haven't changed their perceptions about the effectiveness of the tool and the possible conflict between the publication of their assets with the security problems of the country. They also think that the declarations can be in certain cases transgressive with their private information, and believe that the declarations shouldn't include certain personal information:

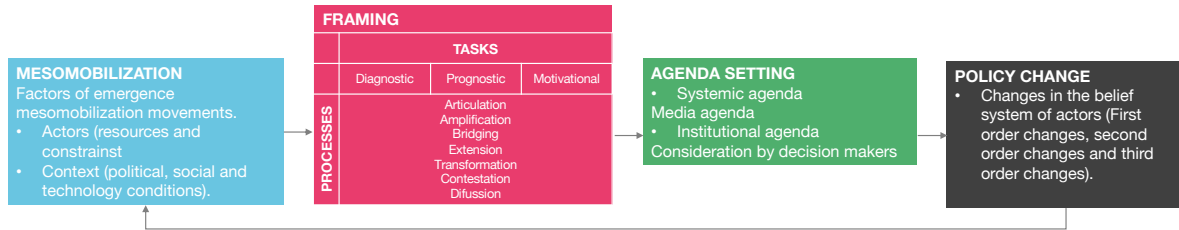
“...However, I believe that the current insecurity situation that we live in the country the information that we make public could be a target for crime groups...” (García, Personal Interview, 2019)

Table 5: Policy change levels and system beliefs of actors

	Meso - level actors	Citizens	Politicians
1st order Secondary aspects	-Platform 3de3	-Demand and signatures	- Legitimacy electoral process
2nd order Near core aspects	-Bill: Law 3de3 Legislative debate	-3de3 as criteria for the vote	- Individual adjustments of the 3de3 declarations
3rd order Deep core aspects	-Mandatory declarations. -2137 publications. -Replica in other countries. -*Formats still in process	-Level of trust	- Security and privacy issues

In conclusion, important changes to the public policy, derivative from shifts on the beliefs of actors involved can be detected. It was incremental change of the means and objectives of the anticorruption policy, through the adaptation to new tools, symbols and ideologies. The trends observed in this analysis show that the citizens have transformed how they interact with public issues like the prevention and punishment of corruption acts within the public sector. Additionally, the citizens now have more instruments to decide their votes or to trust in certain politicians. Another tendency is the role of the politicians: putting aside the motivations that can influence their actions, it was observed that the politics are more aware of the citizens demands. However, at the same time, it is also identified that deep core values didn't suffer changes, such as the perceptions of the citizens about the political class and their ability to find ways to keep engaging in corrupt acts, even with the existence of the 3de3. In addition, the politicians still perceived that the 3de3 declarations could vulnerate their privacy and security rights.

RESULTS



The analysis of the Mexican citizen initiative 3de3, has made important contributions to answer the research question of this study. It was found that the variables established for the conceptual model are highly connected using the practical case observation. It has been found that the formulated central hypothesis, can be explained using the study of the citizen initiative in Mexico and we could identify important reasons to deduce above:

- ***Hypothesis 1: The role of actors involved and the external context are factors that affect directly the emergence and operation of mesomobilization movements.***

First, based on mesomobilization movements literature and the observation of the role of actors in the initiative 3de3 we can support the hypothesis that the involvement of meso level actors affects directly the emergence and operation of the movement. The literature consulted for this research establishes that mesomobilization groups must be integrated by experienced actors with strategic contacts and have to employed an adequate division of work to facilitate greater resources and make their tasks and activities efficient. (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). In addition, the literature sustains that actors' resources will be constrained by their status, assets, number of members, organization, ideology and interests, and the priority of the interest issue (Moody, 2010). In the Mexican case, the group seeks to mobilize different resources from individuals or other organizations, with the aim of changing a public policy. It was observed that the network built by the

group was not only a part of the strategy but also played a fundamental role in the emergence and consolidation of the movement. The inputs transfer by the collaboration of both organizations IMCO and TM conditioned the operation activities, and the most important the goals achievement by the movement. Their experience in research, their power and positions of their leaders and members, the level of legitimacy among academic and private sector, are advantages that facilitated the emergence of the movement and specially the construction of the wide and strong network of the 3de3.

Second, this study supports the hypothesis formulated before that considers the influence of external drivers on the formation and functioning of the mesomobilization movement. In the literature, the environment where these movements take place, is considered as a factor that must be taking in account in the emergence of the meso level groups (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Corruption scandals and the general indignation of the citizens with the political class because of their constant abuses of power, were policy windows or political opportunities that motivated the creation of the 3de3 (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). The need to find new and effective ways to prevent and punish corruption were the main drivers for the collaboration between IMCO and TM.

- ***Hypothesis 2: Mesomobilization movements that make use of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames are more likely to influence the agenda setting.***

Third, based on the results of this study, we can support the second hypothesis that refers to the potential that have mesomobilization movements by using diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames. The theory defines framing as the creation of a social construction that helps actors to understand specific issues, support the proposed solution and to mobilize resources (Gerhards, et al 1992; Odou, H. Roberts, et al 2017;

Carmin, et al 2009). Mesomobilization movements have to produce potential frames to change the perception of actors (Voorberg, et al., 2017). In the empirical case of the citizen initiative 3de3, the central strategy was focused on changing the perception of stakeholders.

According to the social media study and the interviews implemented we can determine that in the case of the citizens and societal organizations, the plan was to create a message that not only they felt related, also which they feel connected enough to desire to get involved through different activities of the movement. For the politicians, the strategy was expanding the message in certain level which the governments and political class couldn't ignore, and pressure them to discuss it. The most important part was making them to publish the three declarations. Both strategies concerned creating change to the perceptions around the corruption issue (causes, effects, solution), and in order to do it, the mesomobilization movement designed a package of master frames that shaped the communication and operation plan. They integrated different symbols and general values to create frames that defined corruption in Mexico, positioned the 3de3 as an effective, innovative and institutional solution, and encouraged citizens and organizations to step from the complaining about the politicians and start acting. In the Mexican case, it was observed that these strategies, employed on social media that followed different process with the objective achieved a bigger and more significant impact. Consequently, this increased attention to the initiative and aided the gaining of public support.

With the aim to confirm above, we measured the public support by decoding the interaction and activity of the initiative 3de3 account on twitter (content of the tweets published by the 3de3 account), and detected an increased on the social engagement (RT) in the same period which the framing strategies were employed.

- ***Hypothesis 3: The media role has a direct influence on the agenda setting process and consequently on the institutional agenda.***

Fourth, the hypothesis related with the direct influence of the media role with the agenda setting process and consequently with the institutional agenda can be supported by the analyzed literature and by the findings obtained by this research. In the literature it has been established that the media plays a crucial role in the framing process and counts with a great discursive power and resources that facilitate the determination of the political agenda (Bekkers, Beunders, Edwards, & Moody, 2011). It plays as intermediary between the movement, the public and the government, using framing techniques to label the issue, synthesize the problem and amplify the message (Parsons, 1995). The press may improve and increase the influence of the mesomobilization movements that seek to insert an issue in the public debate. One of the most significant achievements of the citizen initiative was its impact on the mass media. The involvement of the mass media in the expansion of the message was fundamental to insert the issue on the public agenda. With the analysis of the two most important newspapers during time, we observed the great amount of publications about the initiative that are translated in the expansion of the message to bigger audiences. Besides, the mass media also played a key role in spreading the master frames of the initiative. We observed through the content analysis of each publication that the media made use of framing strategies in their articles. They helped to define the issue, explained the initiative as a possible solution and invited readers to participate.

The insertion of the initiative into the institutional agenda was influenced by the combination of framing strategies by the mesomobilization movement and the expansion activities by the media. These factors helped to pressure the politicians in starting a debate about the initiative and start participating by publishing their declaration on their website. As previously established, the

periods when there were registered peaks on the coverage of the media, implementation of framing tasks and processes, and on the level of social engagement, coincided with the conduct of politicians when publishing their three declarations, demonstrating a direct relation between the variables of our conceptual model.

- ***Hypothesis 4: The level of policy change will be contingent on the use of framing strategies.***

Finally, the last hypothesis that established that the level of policy change is contingent by the framing strategies can be supported with the results obtained by the research. In the literature, it has been established that policy change involves the modification of core values of the policy and/or the instruments to achieve them (Voorberg, et.al., 2017). Policy change can be understood as the result of the policy-oriented learning that implies alterations of thought and behavioral intentions that are related with the accomplishment of policy objectives (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). For the empirical case, policy change was analyzed using two models, the system belief model and the three orders of the policy change. The combination of both models helped us to understand whether the perceptions of the actors were change by the mesomobilization movement and consequently impacting on the policy modification. The citizen initiative integrated different levels of change to public policy, varying according to the aspects observed. With the 3de3 movement observation, it was detected that secondary aspects were easy to influence and are translated in the insertion of new technologies designed by citizens to make more transparent the assets, incomes and possible conflicts of interests of the civil servants. However, there are still core values or beliefs which didn't suffer important modifications, for example: the lack of trust in politicians or the perception of vulnerability that the publication of documents may produce because the insecurity problems in the country.

CONCLUSION

This research contributed to a general definition of mesomobilization movements by combining different theories and methodologies available in the literature. It has examined how this type of movement is referred to a social group unified by a common objective. The meso level movements studied in this research are initiated by citizens using coproduction and learning capacity to advance their interests and concerns on a specific problem. This level of movement attempts to influence stakeholders' perceptions and consequently allocate their beliefs in public policies by changing them. They intend to grow, motivate, mobilize, gain support and pressure the government for changes on a specific issue or conflict. Specifically, the mesomobilization level is considered as an organization or network which tries to mobilize individuals or small groups.

Studying the different theories about mesomobilization movements, the research indicates that the agenda setting process plays a fundamental role in their operations. Because this social group intends to influence public decisions, they have to attract enough attention, in order to achieve changes on the policies. However, this process is different from the traditional public policy circles. To insert an issue into the public debate from a citizen initiative, the movements must grow and expand enough that the policy makers can't ignore this outside pressure. To make this possible, the meso level groups use their resources to gain public support and attract the attention of the media. Once the media takes the issue and expands the movement's message, the possibilities of entering the institutional agenda are higher. This is because the press not only improves the scale of communication by reaching bigger audiences, it also improves the impact by shaping the messages and features of the social cause.

The Mexican case study helped to understand the potential of mesomobilization movements to participate in public issues, in the context of tackling corruption. The

theoretical models used in this research enable to explain how the citizens have found new ways to get involved in public issues. The mesomobilization movements correspond to one of these new manifestations of citizens participation. In the case study, the discomfort and disagreement by the citizens about the actions employed by the government to eliminate and prevent corruption in Mexico they organized themselves in a social movement with the objective of changing the public policy, named "3de3". They designed an institutional and innovative tool as a solution to reduce the corruption acts in the public sector, consisting of the declaration of three documents. Taking advantages of the current communication technologies and the utilization of symbols and values, the citizens transformed the resources mobilization process to gain public support and attract the media attention. The expansion of their message was possible thanks to the involvement and support of the most important mass media outlets in the country, which helped to insert the issue in the institutional agenda. The politicians and policy makers were forced to debate and discuss the subject, because of the size and significance of the movement by the time. Consequently, the changes to the policy were possible thanks to the mesomobilization movement's influence on the perceptions and beliefs of the actors as a result of the framing strategies it implemented. The citizen initiative "3de3" case study helped us to understand these new transformations, to pressure governments and politicians from outside, to pay attention to certain subjects, focusing on the design of frames around their objectives and, not only shaping their messages, but also influencing the operation of the organization itself.

Finally, the objective of this research was to answer the question of what is the influence of mesomobilization on policy change, by observing the case of the citizen initiative "3de3" in Mexico. Combining the study collection of different models in the theory and the observation of an empirical case, the "3de3" initiative, it has been found that the mesomobilization influences the policy change by using master frames to shape the perceptions and beliefs of actors. This relation between variables not only confirmed theories in the literature, it also improved the methods

and mechanisms to observe this level of social movements in relation with policy change. First, the research confirmed that the elements developed by the theory to study the mesomobilization movements can be employed in different contexts and cases. This is shown through the employment of existing theories on a context, use of the Mexican case, that integrates a different features and contexts than the rest of the empirical cases analyzed before, it was possible to observe it using the available theories. Second, based on the framing tasks and processes defined by the literature it was possible for the research to introduce new ways to study the framing strategies, as the content analysis of tweets and articles by the press. With the purpose of finding which frames enable the connection with individuals and organizations, a decoding process to analyze the messages designed by the initiative 3de3 was designed. Third, the integration of different theories makes it possible for the study to design an instrument to detect the level of change in the policies by the actors involve in the process. A new methodology was proposed to measure the policy change and shifts in the perceptions and beliefs of actors.

Based on the results obtained by the methodology followed for this research, we can say in a general sense that it has contributed to new approaches and tools to observe the mesomobilization movements, framing strategies and policy change. However, the study has its limitations and weaknesses points. For example: the interviewed persons belong to the same state in Mexico and their responses could be influenced by the context of this particular territory. In addition, the politicians and public servants interviewed for this study are still active in political life and their perceptions and statements could respond to their political interests. Another limitation detected is the short period in which the research observed policy change. According to policy change literature, to detect important changes in policies and in the beliefs of actors, a long-term study is at some point necessary. For the future research about mesomobilization and policy change, these tools must be adapted and improved to different situations with the aim to adjust, complement

and apply the accurate processes observation for each case and thus enrich findings.

REFERENCES

- Cárdenas, E. (01 de April de 2016). El deporte de patear el bote. *El Universal*.
- Chávez, I. (13 de June de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Cabrera, R., Lizárraga Daniel, H. I., & Barragán, S. (9 de Noviembre de 2014). La casa blanca de Enrique Peña Nieto (investigación especial). *Aristegui Noticias*.
- Cabrera, V. (29 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Carmin, J., & Bast, E. (2009). Cross-movement activism: a cognitive perspective on the global justice activities of US environmental NGOs. *Environmental Politics*, 351-370.
- Carrillo, D. (21 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Casar, M. A. (2015). *México: Anatomía de la Corrupción*. CDMX, Mexico : El Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad A.C. (IMCO) y el Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE).
- Ley 3 de 3: Iniciativa Ciudadana que espera ser cumplida. (2018). *Confederación Patronal de la República Mexicana*. Obtenido de <https://coparmex.org.mx/ley-3-de-3-iniciativa-ciudadana-que-espera-ser-cumplida/>
- Ley3de. (s.f.). *Ley3de3*. Obtenido de Ley3de3: <http://ley3de3.mx>
- ley3de3. (15 de June de 2016). Obtenido de Twitter Post: <https://t.co/y6o00C6BOy> <https://t.co/Ry7n0K01iy>
- ley3de3. (18 de June de 2016). *Twitter Post*. Obtenido de <https://t.co/iPTIZpvZTv>
- ley3de3. (06 de April de 2016). *Twitter Post*. Obtenido de ley3de3: <https://t.co/UWHcU1Yuhr>
- ley3de3. (18 de March de 2016). *Twitter Post*. Obtenido de <https://t.co/al9hj7Osq3>
- ley3de3. (14 de June de 2016). *Twitter Repost*. Obtenido de <https://twitter.com/pkumamoto/status/742744638490955776>
- ley3de3. (28 de April de 2017). *Repost Twitter*. Obtenido de <https://twitter.com/ley3de3/status/858038494668742657>
- ley3de3. (28 de April de 2017). *Twitter Repost*. Obtenido de <https://twitter.com/ley3de3/status/858038494668742657>
- Los siete pilares del Sistema Nacional Anticorrupción. (2016). Obtenido de Ley 3de3: http://ley3de3.mx/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/2016-Siete_pilares_SNA-Documento.pdf
- López, S. (08 de February de 2018). La ley 3de3: Iniciativa ciudadana contra la corrupción. *El Universal*.
- #3de3, I. (2019). *3de3*. Obtenido de 3de3: <https://www.3de3.mx/>
- Ávila, E. (02 de April de 2019). Candidato panista da a conocer su 3de3.
- Aguilar, R. (12 de December de 2016). *El Universal*.
- Arroyo, S. (14 de December de 2017). Iniciativas ciudadanas contra la corrupción. *El País*.
- Bekkers, V., Beunders, H., Edwards, A., & Moody, R. (15 de July de 2011). New Media, Micromobilization, and Political Agenda Setting: Crossover Effects

- in Political Mobilization and Media Usage. *The Information Society*, págs. 209-219.
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, 611-639.
- D'Artigues, K. (02 de March de 2016). Súmese a #3de3. *El Universal*.
- De la Mora, L. (05 de June de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Díaz, R. (14 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Economista, E. (29 de Marzo de 2017). Imputan cargos de narcotráfico a fiscal de Nayarit. *El Economista*.
- Edelenbos, J., & Van Meerker, I. (2016). *Critical reflections on interactive governance*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Eshuis, J., & Klijn, E.-H. (2012). *Branding in Governance and Public Management* . Routledge.
- Fernández, C. (28 de May de 2019). (T. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Fernández, C. (21 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- García, A. (21 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- García, A. (21 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Gerhards, J., & Rucht, D. (November de 1992). Mesomobilization: Organizing and Framing in Two Protest Campaigns in West Germany. *The University of Chicago Press*, págs. 555-596.
- Goefren, A. (2013). Citizens entrepreneurial role in public service. *Public Management Review*, 404-424.
- González, A. (22 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Guardiola, M. (29 de Noviembre de 2017). Rubén Moreira se va y deja Coahuila con deuda de 38 mmdp. *El Financiero*.
- Gómez, R. (01 de March de 2016). De la queja al activismo cívico: Firma #Ley3de3. *El Universal* .
- INEGI. (2018). *Encuesta Nacional de Calidad e impacto gubernamental (ENCIG)*. Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad. (2019). Obtenido de Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad: <https://imco.org.mx/>
- Martínez de Castro, V. (22 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Montes, P. (13 de June de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Moody, R. (2010). Mapping Power.
- Morales, S. (28 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Noticias Iteso. (2016 de March de 2016). El ITESO entrega firmas de apoyo a la Ley 3de3. *Noticias Iteso*.
- Odou, P., H. Roberts, G., & Roux, D. (2017). Co-producing cyber protest: mesomobilization in the digital age. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 42-64.
- Parsons, W. (1995). Meso Analysis. En *Public Policy, An Introduction To the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis* (págs. 85-110). Edgard Elgar.

- Peters, B. G., & Pierre, J. (2016). Forms of Governance and policy problems coping with complexity. En J. E. Meerker, *Critical reflections on interactive governance* (págs. 51-65). Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Político, A. (8 de Agosto de 2018). De su detención hasta su absolución: seis claves para entender el proceso contra Elba Esther Gordillo. *Animal Político*.
- Quezada, A. (13 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Røiseland, A., & Irene Vabo, S. (2016). Interactive-or counteractive-governance? Lessons learned about citizen participation and political leadership. En J. Edelenbos, & I. v. Meerker, *Critical reflections on interactive governance* (págs. 120-144). Edwar Elgar Publishing.
- Sabatier, P., & Jenkins-Smith, H. C. (1993). Policy Change and Learning An Advocacy Coalition Approach. Westview Press, Inc.
- Secretaría de la Función Pública. (2019). Obtenido de Secretaría de la Función Pública: <https://www.gob.mx/sfp/acciones-y-programas/mtro-eduardo-bohorquez>
- Transparency International. (2019). *Transparency International*. Obtenido de Transparency International: <https://www.transparency.org/country/MEX>
- Valdovinos, M. (21 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Varillas, A. (19 de April de 2016). Candidata a diputada en Q.Roo presenta su #3de3.
- Venegas, H. (15 de May de 2019). Personal Interview. (D. Cervantes, Entrevistador)
- Voorberg, W., Bekkers, W., Timeus, K., Tonurist, P., & Tummers, L. (12 de May de 2017). Changing public service delivery: learning in co- creation. *Policy and Society*, págs. 178-194.
- Wagenaar, H. (2007). Governance, Complexity, and Democratic Participationx. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 17-50.
- Wu, X., Ramesh, M., Howlett, M., & Fritzen, S. A. (2010). The Public Policy Primer. Routledge.
- Zuckerman, L. (11 de April de 2016). ¿Está usted indignado por la corrupción en México? *Excelsior*.

APPENDICES

MEMBERS OF IMCO

Table 6: Member of IMCO

Name	Position	Profit	Nonprofit	Directive positions	International
Roberto Newell García	Vicepresidente del Consejo de Administración del IMCO		x	x	
José Luis Barraza González	Presidente de Grupo Impulso	x		x	
Emilio Carrillo Gamboa	Socio Director Bufete Carrillo Gamboa, S.C.	x		x	
María Amparo Casar Pérez	Presidente Ejecutiva de Mexicanos Contra la Corrupción y la Impunidad		x	x	
Eugenio Clariond Reyes-Retana	Presidente del Consejo de Grupo CUPRUM / Grupo Cleber	x		x	
Luis de la Calle Pardo	Director General de De la Calle Madrazo Mancera, S.C.	x		x	
Antonio del Valle Perochena	Presidente del Consejo de Administración de Grupo Kaluz	x		x	
Felipe Estefan	Investment Principal, Governance and Citizen Engagement de OMIDYAR Network		x	x	x
Claudio X. González Laporte	Presidente del Consejo de Administración de Kimberly-Clark de México	x		x	x
Tomás González Sada	Presidente y Director General Ejecutivo de Grupo Cydsa	x		x	
Gabriela Hernandez Cardoso	Consejera independiente de diversas instituciones y empresas	x			
C.R. Hibbs	Presidenta C.R. Hibbs, LLC	x		x	x
Lic. Luis Manuel Murillo Peñaloza	Director General de Valores Mexicanos Casa de Bolsa, S.A. de C.V.			x	
Armando Paredes Arroyo Loza	Presidente Kimberly Clark	x		x	x
Antonio Purón	Director en Mérito Mck	x		x	
Alejandro Ramírez Magaña	Director General de Cinépolis	x		x	x
Lorenzo Rosenzweig Pasquel	Director General del Fondo Mexicano para la Conservación de la Naturaleza		x	x	x
Carlos Salazar Lomelín	Presidente del Consejo Coordinador Empresarial	x		x	
Jaime Serra Puche	Socio Director de SAI Consultores	x		x	
Daniel Javier Servitje Montull	Presidente y Director General de Grupo BIMBO	x		x	x

Vicente Yáñez Solloa	Presidente ejecutivo de ANTAD	x		x	
Jaime Zabudovsky Kuper	Presidente Ejecutivo del Consejo Mexicano de la Industria de Productos de Consumo	x		x	

3DE3 NETWORK

Table 7: Organizations involved

Actor	Type	Level
Consejo Coordinador Empresarial	Private	National
CEEY	-	-
Centro Mexicano para la Filantropía	Social	National
Centro de Integración Ciudadana	Citizen Participation	National
Ciudadanos por la Transparencia	Citizen Participation	National
Consejo Cívico	Citizen Participation	National
Consejo Cívico de Instituciones de Coahuila	Citizen Participation	Local
Escuela de Gobierno y Transformación Público (Tecnológico de Monterrey)	Academic	Local
Acción ciudadana, Frente por la Pobreza	Social	National
Fundación Ciudadana para el Desarrollo Integral de Michoacán	Citizen Participation	Local
IARAC Yucatán	-	Local
IJPP	-	
Iniciativa Sinaloa (Centro Ciudadano de Investigación)	Citizen Participation	Local
IMCO	Research	National
Impact Hub Oaxaca	Private	Local
Transparencia Mexicana	Citizen Participation	National
Wikipolítica	Citizen Participation	National
CONACO SERVYTUR MEXICO	Private	National
IVAI	-	-
Generación Productiva (GPS)	-	-
Educiac	-	-
Fundación idea	Citizen Participation	National
ITESO	Academic	Local
Tecnológico de Monterrey	Academic	Local
Coparmex	Private	National
Jalisco cómo vamos	Citizen Participation	-

Observatorio Ciudadano de León	Citizen Participation	-
Sonora Ciudadana AC	Citizen Participation	-
Bond Alegre	-	-
Bufete de la Garza SC	Private	-
Recht Legal	Private	-
Fomento Económico de Chiapas AC	Private	-
El Buen Socio	Private	-
Facultad de Ciencis Políticas y Sociales (no idea cuál)	Academic	-
La quinta Luna	Private	-
Zapata III	-	-
Grameen de la frontera	-	
Dulce Maguey	Private	Local
UPAEP Tehuacán	-	-
Observatorio ciudadano Coatzacoalcos	Citizen Participation	Local
Plan Estratégico de Juárez	Citizen Participation	Local
EXATEC Oaxaca	-	-
INI	-	-
X lo derecho	-	-
SERAJ	-	-
Noroeste	-	-
Somos Nosotros	-	-
Imaginaria	-	-
Observatorio Ciudadano del Centro de Veracruz	Citizen Participation	Local
FOMEC (Economic Development Laguna Region, Coahuila)	Private	Local
CIEEA	-	-
Palos Garza	-	-
Universidad Loyola del Pacífico	Academic	Local
INHUS	-	-
Una pinche Paloma	-	-
Café Alondra	Private	-
Más por México	-	-
IGAVIM ?¿¿	-	-
Mishol Hotel & Beach Club	-	-
México Unido contra la Delincuencia	Citizen Participation	National
IMDOSOC	-	-
AEM (USA.MEXICO)	-	-
MXDC	-	-
Iniciativa 3de3	-	-

INTERVIEWS

Name	Sub group	Date
Alberto Quezada Zapopan Municipality	Politicians / Civil servants	13/05/2019
Hafiz Venegas Zapopan Municipality	Politicians / Civil servants	15/05/2019
Asbsalón García Congress	Politicians / Civil servants	21/05/2019
Alejandro González IMSS	Politicians / Civil servants	21/05/2019
Luis de la Mora Guadalajara Municipality	Politicians / Civil servants	05/06/2019
Cristal Fernández Guadalajara Municipality	Politicians / Civil servants	21/05/2019
Rodrigo Díaz	Citizens	14/05/2019
Sara Morales	Citizens	28/05/2019
Mariana Valdovinos	Citizens	21/05/2019
Diana Carrillo	Citizens	21/05/2019
Vanessa Cabrera	Citizens	29/05/2019
Víctor Martínez de Castro	Citizens	22/05/2019
Ingrid Chávez IMCO	Meso level actors	10/06/2019
Pablo Montes IMCO	Meso level actors	10/06/2019