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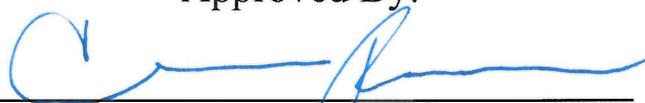
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# Access to the Internet: Does It Help Prevent Enforced Disappearances?

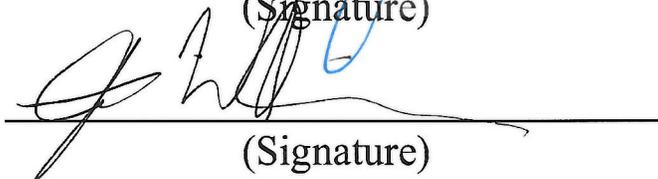
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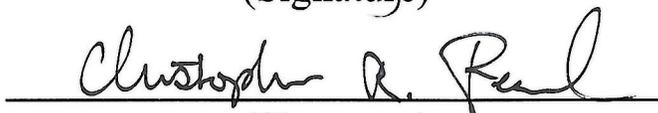
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*Access to the Internet: Does It Help Prevent Enforced Disappearances?*

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**Abstract**

Regimes strategically use the act of enforced disappearance to preserve their power and control. It is increasingly unacceptable in the international system to violate human rights, therefore, regimes will act in an evasive manner to continue to control their populations while attempting to avoid global disapproval. It is my hypothesis that as the access to the internet increases within a country, the use of enforced disappearances by their regime will decrease as a result of citizens' increased knowledge of what human rights norms are and the ability for those same citizens to disseminate information concerning the use of enforced disappearance to the rest of the world. In order to test this hypothesis, I use data from all countries from 1981 to 2011 to investigate any relationships between my dependent variable, forced disappearances, with my independent variable, access to the internet; I control for time, regime type, signature and ratification of relevant international human rights legislation, gross domestic product (GDP), average age of the population, and percent of rural population. Additionally, I perform a critical case study including a select group of Latin American countries in order to qualitatively study the effect that the introduction of the internet has on the use of disappearance by a regime. I conclude that the introduction and application of the internet challenged regimes to better protect the human rights of their citizens by strategically choosing not to partake in the practice of enforced disappearance.

In the modern, developed society we are distracted from the rest of the world by having constant access to technology through devices connected to the internet. Even the most routine parts of our day are changed to incorporate the internet through documenting our walk to work on a social media site, communicating with a group of colleagues over e-mail, consuming our news through media apps, and being entertained by games through our electronic devices. These devices have revolutionized communication methods in many ways, including allowing the exchange of ideas over large geographical distances.

Even though our societies have advanced to such an extent that we rely on the internet and technology for even the slightest of tasks, still many societies today in the twenty-first century have not advanced to protect the human rights of their citizens, one of which is the right not to be disappeared. Enforced disappearances should not be classified simply as a tactic used by Latin American governments in the 1970s but rather understood as a constant type of human rights violation of modern day societies (Berman and Clark 531). Enforced disappearances are strategically used by regimes, and due to their secretive nature they know they will not be held accountable for their actions.

If we are able to communicate to the rest of the world how we are living our day-to-day lives, why can we not use the internet to report these enforced disappearances to the rest of the world advocating for human rights? This research investigates how the internet is being utilized by citizens to influence change in governments' behavior regarding human rights.

It must be noted, however, that just the pure existence of the internet does not guarantee that changes will be made or that the human rights of individuals will be protected. The internet may be used to protect— or to further abuse— the rights of individuals. It is up to the people, not

solely the internet, to make a stance for what is right. According to then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, “The internet is the town square of the twenty-first century. Keeping it open and free gives advocates for liberty and justice a chance to save the world.” (McKenzie River Reflections Staff 3).

Acts of forced disappearances are a “systematic means to eliminate political opposition” used by governments to maintain power and control (Berman and Clark 531). According to the United Nations forced disappearances are defined as,

persons are arrested, detained or abducted against their will or otherwise deprived of their liberty by officials of different branches or levels of Government, or by organized groups or private individuals acting on behalf of, or with the support, direct or indirect, consent or acquiescence of the Government, followed by a refusal to disclose the fate or whereabouts of the persons concerned or a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of their liberty, which places such persons outside the protection of the law. (Human Rights, 2016)

The act of forced disappearance is a violation of a person’s physical integrity rights. Physical integrity rights are categorized as a civil and political right; and are, therefore, defined as a negative right (meaning that the government must avoid acting in a particular way in order for the right to be protected) (Alabama Policy Institute, 2016; Berman and Clark 531). Consistent with international human rights norms regimes are responsible for refraining from a violation of this right.

The targets of forced disappearances come from many different sectors of society. Victims of forced disappearance can include those who have opposing views to the regime, are a respected leader(s) of the local community (who have many public supporters which is viewed as a threat to the standing regime), terrorists, union leaders, or an even unlucky passersby (Berman and Clark 533; Amnesty International, 1981). Individuals that work within some professional fields are also common targets such as lawyers, judges, journalists, and intellectuals. Essentially those who could be a threat to the power of the regime are at high risk of being victims of enforced disappearance (Berman and Clark 533).

Governments strategize these acts of terror despite their efforts to remain anonymous. The anonymity of the organizers is crucial for them to avoid accountability for their actions within the legal scope of both domestic and international law since there is no physical evidence left behind to connect them to these heinous crimes (UN Website; Berman and Clark 531). Having no record of the disappeared person helps them achieve this goal so that when citizens inquire about the location and status of their loved ones, they literally have no documentation of the disappeared individual. Petitioning for any writs of habeas corpus would be ineffective due to lack of proper legal documentation of the detention of the disappeared person (Berman and Clark 534; Amnesty International 1981).

On a larger scale, an act of enforced disappearance affects more than just the disappeared person but also the family, the friends, and the neighbors of the disappeared person. The disappearance of a loved one combined with not knowing the fate of their loved one creates a "chilling effect" throughout the community (Berman and Clark 546). This chilling effect controls the population through the instillation of fear and confusion and by eliminating the person that

was a threat to the power of the regime (Amnesty International; Berman and Clark 537). Often the unknown is more terrifying than the known reality of other human rights violations such as torture, political imprisonment, or extrajudicial killing. The ultimate goal is to allow the regime to maintain control through the creation of fear and insecurity; even those not disappeared begin to censor their public actions in fear that they, too, will be perceived an enemy of the state and suffer the same fate, which effectively limits any opposition to the government.

### **Knowledge Leads to Power Through the Access to the Internet**

Today in the developed world, we have almost unlimited access to information through the internet with the simple click of a button which enables the citizens of a country to become part of a larger global community with vast communication channels at their fingertips. Global communication creates avenues so that even the smallest, most remote areas of the globe can both report their current situations to the world as well as receive information about situations in countries other than their own. As time moves along, avenues of connecting to the internet become much more affordable for the average citizen, allowing them the freedom to have access themselves rather than rely on the media that are subject to strict governmental control or self-censorship.

It is important to note that the exchange of information through technology has not occurred at the same rate all across the world. Rather, the advancement of the internet has been hindered by what scholars term 'the digital divide'. Prior research argues that the digital divide is mainly fueled by the level of economic development and infrastructure of a country, and is most widely observed in the access to the internet and computer ownership, while less likely to

be observed in telephone access (Hawkins and Hawkins 649). Countries that had governmental policies put in place to encourage investment in the internet, as well as had support from non-governmental organizations and a competitive market to control high internet access prices, had higher internet access rates amongst their population (Hawkins and Hawkins 649-650).

Additionally, the research of Hawkins and Hawkins demonstrates that governmental policies that supported internet investment through subsidies and lowering of costs of purchasing internet access and devices could influence a country's access to the internet— has the ability to be influenced by public pressures on the regime. Therefore, citizens have the power to socially shape these policies to increase their access to the internet (Hawkins and Hawkins 659), though clearly this is largely dependent on the regime type in charge where non-democratic regimes will be less likely to succumb to public pressure.

Additionally, with each passing year, the average age of the population will have lived a larger percentage of their life with access to technology. This enables more people to be comfortable with operating the technology, learning about human rights through the internet, and then using it to report human rights violations beginning the political advocacy power that the internet helps provide (Toronto Star 1-2). This valuable exchange of information enables the citizens to be independent from their governments and fosters a better understanding of the world around them.

Traditional forms of communication before the advancement of the internet had the capability to connect one individual to another individual (Active Media Technology 285-321). The internet, however, has created a new and revitalized communication system in which information may be sent from one individual to the world. According to Active Media

Technology, “Mass media [internet access, as a form of mass media], however, enables communication to be sent from one source and be received by a large audience elsewhere; they have a one-to-many orientation” (Active Media Technology 285-321).

With the increase of information availability, dependent on their location relative to the digital divide, citizens have an increased understanding of international human rights, one of which is the right to not be disappeared. Under the United Nation’s Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, the crime of forced disappearance is clearly defined as stated previously. This internationally accepted definition of enforced disappearances is accompanied by an increasingly global expectation that a regime has a great responsibility to protect the rights of their population. Regimes face international pressures to maintain the human rights of their population.

According to Hafner-Burton, the international community “...shining a spotlight on a country’s abuses can bring about better practices, especially when those shining the spotlight respect human rights” (Hafner-Burton, 2008). By communicating the current human rights situation in their country, these citizens are partaking in the “naming and shaming” strategy, which Hafner-Burton describes as “a popular strategy to enforce international human rights norms and laws... nongovernmental organizations, news media, and international organizations publicize countries’ violations and urge reform.” (Hafner-Burton, 2008). The ability to “name and shame” is especially important in regards to enforced disappearance, as it is the hardest human rights violation to document due to its secretive nature. For this process to work, citizens communicate the violation to the rest of the world and the world will hold the leaders

accountable for their actions of enforced disappearances. If disappearance can be documented and prosecuted, regimes can be deterred from using it as a strategy of repression and control.

With more advanced forms of technology in the hands of citizens, evidence can be gathered about the human rights violations that are happening within the country— especially important for violations that by their very nature leave no evidence behind, such as disappearance. The internet has the ability to act as a method of collecting and preserving a greater amount of evidence to increase the success of prosecution of enforced disappearance. This rationale is supported by previous journalism that highlighted illusive actions to keep accountable the largest, most powerful countries in the world (Vallely 1999). By keeping these powerful actors accountable, it sends messages to other leaders that they, too, can be held accountable for violations of their power.

Regimes recognize the potential power of this new weapon that if used correctly may empower citizens to report, and thus potentially change, the acts of their governments. Regimes result to extremes in attempts to control these channels of technology through confiscation of devices, censorship of what internet sites are visited, created, or shared, and repression of access to the internet (McKenzie River Reflections Staff 1-3). With the continued growth of the internet regimes are unable to realistically control all devices and access points to the internet within their country. Regime type is a significant control within this research as it will account for the different priorities of the protection of human rights that different regimes utilize. Prior research shows that regimes that are more democratic tend to have a higher respect for human rights of their citizens (Bueno De Mesquita, Downs and Smith 2005).

As the international spotlight is shown onto violators of human rights through the enforcement of international human rights treaties, like the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), government leaders that commit these violations of human rights are held *personally* responsible for them, which acts as a deterrent to others. Regimes are rational actors that pursue their goals while minimizing costs and maximizing benefits. This analysis of regimes' decision-making behaviors show that they are rational and will act in strategic ways to maintain power and control (Payne and Abouharb 2015). Prior research has shown that regimes strategically plan and execute different types of human rights violations to control their populations (Payne and Abouharb 2015). Regimes execute these methods in such a way to “maximize benefits” of enforced disappearances (the imminent threat to the regime is no longer significant) and by “minimizing costs” (such as avoiding economic sanctions or being tried in an international court for human rights violations) since it is often difficult to prosecute these evasive crimes.

This research strives to understand how the advancement of the internet (particularly the access to it) affects how the citizens of regimes— especially those regimes that are more likely to commit enforced disappearances as a human rights violation— are able to keep their government accountable for their actions by communicating those violations on a global stage. With new types of technology, specifically the internet, citizens are now better able to document events happening within their countries and then disseminate this information to the rest of the world. This relationship between the access of the internet and the level of enforced disappearances has yet to be studied or investigated. It is the intention of this project to positively contribute to the

current literature that documents enforced disappearances through the investigation of a new relationship with the variable of the access to the internet.

Traditionally the internet has enabled citizens to report human rights violations, specifically enforced disappearance, through websites and supplying newspapers and sources with first hand stories and evidence of these violations. However, with the continual developments and innovations in internet technology new methods of reporting human rights violations also grows and develops. This technology has become more user friendly further encouraging individuals to become advocates for themselves and for their neighbors in the struggle to protect their own human rights when their governments choose not to complete this task. ‘APP’ technology for cell phones has been created for individuals to send messages, images, videos, which can be used for reports of human rights violations [including evidence for enforced disappearance] to an outside human rights protection group (I Protect Staff 2017).<sup>1</sup>

These increases in internet access and utilization for human rights advocacy could theoretically lead to higher pressure on the regime, a rational actor, and will: 1.) act to protect their power and control thus raising the level of enforced disappearances in order to maintain control, or 2.) utilize their newfound capability to communicate human rights violations to the rest of the international system by using the communication system that the internet provides.

There are a number of specific examples of citizens pushing for governmental change. The most obvious would be in Mexico and Guatemala where citizens are using social media and

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<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that the evolution of the internet has been influenced by the time lag that occurs with its diffusion across societies. In the beginning of internet access, the internet was an expensive privilege only available to the governmental and societal elite within societies. Therefore, this research must control for this time lag that exists from when the internet becomes available but is only utilized by the elite and when it is available to the average public citizen.

websites to criticize the government for committing human rights violations that they claim were committed by drug cartels. The Mexican example includes a story of how a drug cartel, the Zetas, disappeared a woman who utilized social media as a tool to report on the activities of the drug cartel (Goodspeed 1-3). In Guatemala there are individuals capturing video evidence regarding enforced disappearances and distributing these videos to the rest of the world through an organization called 'Witness' (Hornaday 1-4). Both of these examples demonstrate how citizens are using technology and access to the internet to counter the evasive nature of enforced disappearances by reporting these to domestic and international audiences. This increases the likelihood the regime will face pressure to change their behavior or fear prosecution for their actions. If the potential costs are great enough, regimes will respond rationally by decreasing the use of enforced disappearance.<sup>2</sup>

Employing a rational actor framework and drawing on the previous spotlight literature I hypothesize the following:

***H1: As access to the internet increases, the use of enforced disappearances by regimes will decrease.***

My hypothesis focuses on the impact that the access to the internet has in regards to the level of disappearances with a country. I selected this specific human rights violation to focus on due to how the violators strategically select this evasive violation so that they, the violators, are

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<sup>2</sup> I also recognize that an argument could also be made that the regime will steadily increase human rights violations as they will work harder to further suppress their populations so that they can maintain control. This situation could theoretically be created by also further restricting the access their citizens have to information and the internet. Without access to the internet, which enables citizens to learn about international human rights norms and to report the human rights situations within their country to the world, the human rights situation might not improve due to lack of motivation for the regime to change. If I find no support for my hypothesis, then this option will be explored further.

not held accountable for their actions. As the evidence of the violations increase, the regimes, acting in a rational manner, will realize that the costs of violating the human rights of their people are greater than the benefits, as a result of: (1) increased awareness of international human rights norms, (2) the naming and shaming from the international community, and (3) an increased ability to be held accountable in domestic, regional, and/or international courts.

### **Research Design, Quantitative Cross-National Analysis**

In order to test my hypothesis, I utilize a quantitative method of analysis, an ordered logit regression, since my dependent variable (enforced disappearances) is an ordinal variable that takes on only three values. I will investigate disappearances in all countries in the international system between the years of 1981 and 2011 in a cross-national analysis. This time period has been selected due to the availability of data from the Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Project, as it stops coding human rights violations in countries after 2011. Making sure to use a larger time span has also been proven to be critical to the study of human rights practices over time from previous studies (Payne and Abouharb; Hafner–Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hathaway 2002; Cingranelli and Richards 1999; Fariss 2014). It is most beneficial to start this analysis in an ongoing Cold War global environment, 1981, since the global human rights standards have vastly changed since then (Cmiel 2004). Similarly, the introduction of the internet occurs in 1991, therefore, having this research begin several years before the introduction of the internet enables this research to account for the effects of the specific introduction to the internet. Having several years before and after the introduction to the internet allows comparisons to be drawn between these two time frames in respect to the level of human enforced disappearance. In

my quantitative analysis, my dependent variable is the level of enforced disappearance in a given year in a given country, and my independent variable is the population's access to the internet.

## **Variables**

### **Dependent Variable: Enforced Disappearances**

The level of enforced disappearances is coming from the CIRI dataset which is a reliable source of information for scholars to study the human rights violations and protections across the world (Cingranelli, Clay and Richards 2014). The data coding system of the CIRI database includes having at least two separate trained coders coding each part of the data. The coders only consider the U.S. Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and Amnesty International's Annual Country Report (Cingranelli and Richards 2010). If a discrepancy occurs between these two sources, the Amnesty International information has more influence over the coding procedure. This is in an attempt to remove any potential bias that the United States may have with their allies (Cingranelli, Richards, and Clay 2014). In order to use this database, it is imperative to understand the definitions that the site uses to operationalize their data. The CIRI database defines disappearances as,

“Disappearances are cases in which people have been disappeared, political motivation appears likely, and the victims have not been found. However, while there is typically no way of knowing where victims are, it is typically known by whom they were taken and under what circumstances” (Cingranelli and Richards, 2010).

The data is operationalized on a 0-2 scale. The scoring system used by the CIRI database regarding enforced disappearances is as follows:

“A score of 0 indicates that disappearances have occurred frequently in a given year (there are 50 or more enforced disappearances); a score of 1 indicates that disappearances occasionally occurred (there are 1 to 49 disappearances); and a score of 2 indicates that disappearances did not occur in a given year (there are 0 disappearances)” (Cingranelli and Richards, 2010).

I re-coded this data on enforced disappearances so that it would make more sense when analyzing the data. My recoding process was as follows:

A score of 0 indicates that disappearances did not occur in a given year (there are 0 disappearances); a score of 1 indicates that disappearances occasionally occurred (there are 1 to 49 disappearances); and a score of 2 indicates that disappearances have occurred frequently in a given year (there are 50 or more enforced disappearances).

Due to the strategic use of evasive enforced disappearances it is extremely hard to gain viable, concrete evidence to support data completely (Walling and Waltz 2014). Therefore, it is most probable to consider that there are many more cases of forced disappearances that occur in a given year that are not reported or discovered. The underreporting factor of these violations is extremely important when analyzing the data between the independent and dependent variable because it can be assumed that the impact is much larger than has been reported due to the nature of this human rights violation to be grossly underreported.

### **Independent Variable: Internet Access**

The level of internet access within a country originates from data that records the number of internet users per one hundred people. This data will come from the World Data Bank dataset, and will also include all countries in the international system between the years 1981 to 2011 (the cause for the selection of these years is discussed above). The World Data Bank dataset is a

reliable source that contains information about the development situations within countries all over the globe (User, 2016). This resource allows me to choose different indicators, or different variables, to see how they interact with the independent variable. By using this data set, I will be able to further analyze different variables and show how they affect one another. The internet access (internet users per one hundred people) is a developed dataset within the World Data Bank, and can be used to see the levels of internet access from within a country. The data collected from this dataset can then be compared with the data collected for the dependent variable to test the standing hypothesis in this study.

**Control Variables:**

Control variables are crucial to my analysis since there are many other factors that affect a regime's decision to utilize enforced disappearance. Control variables come from previous human rights research.

*Time:*

Advancement in internet technology happens faster with each passing year, and the cost of such technology becomes more affordable, thus more accessible for the common person. Controlling for time is essential to control for higher reporting of enforced disappearances due to the increased access to said technology. More specifically, the time frame of this research experiences an incredibly large technological jump with the creation of the internet in 1991 and then the process of introducing and applying the internet to the individual citizens beginning around the late-1990s. Additionally, this variable controls for the how the internet was adopted

across the world at different times and at different rates depending upon level economic development and infrastructure. In other words, if the argument I am making is correct, there will be a general decrease in all human rights violations, including disappearance, as a mere function of the ability to shed light on them. Therefore, it is important to control for the trend of time in order to counteract this increase in reporting ability and drawing erroneous conclusions.

*Regime Type:*

This variable is crucial to control for because regime type is one of the most important determinants of human rights violations. Different types of governments, or regimes, have different priorities in regards to the protection of human rights and face different institutional constraints on their ability to utilize human rights violations in order to maintain control. Prior research shows that regimes that are more democratic tend to have a higher respect for human rights of their citizens while non-democracies have lower levels of respect for these rights (Bueno De Mesquita, Downs and Smith 2005). The data to determine the scale and coding of this control variable comes from the Polity IV Project (Marshall 2016). The data is on a scale from -10 (fully authoritative) to +10 (full democracy) (Marshall 2016).

*Signature and Ratification of Relevant International Human Rights Legislation:*

This variable controls for how formal international constraints (international treaties) affect a regime's willingness to violate human rights. Two international treaties are especially relevant for the topic at hand: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.

Signing, and even more powerfully, ratifying, these treaties signals an agreement to comply with international human rights norms and affects the relationship a regime has with other actors in the international community. Controlling for these international treaties will serve as an indication of the country's integration into the international community. Data for this control variable take on a value of 0, 1, or 2, with 0 signifying 'no action' on the legislation, 1 signifying 'signature' on the legislation, and 2 signifying 'full ratification' of the legislation.

Signature and full ratification of international treaties are fundamentally different. Signature of a treaty signifies an executive's agreement that the ideals placed within the document are important and his/her country should adhere to the treaty. Ratification makes a treaty legally binding; and, thus, signifies that the country is agreeing to follow the treaty entirely with real ramifications (economic or international court proceedings) should they fail to uphold treaty terms.

*Gross Domestic Product (GDP):*

As GDP per capita increases so does the state capacity of the regime. With a higher state capacity, the regime is then able to better protect, or better conceal violations of the human rights of its citizens (Englehart 2009). Data was also obtained from the World Bank Database (User 2016).

*Average Age of the Population:*

This control variable is included in this study with the theory that younger populations, especially millennials, are more likely to utilize technology [internet] and be more comfortable to

proactively use the internet as a tool to report human rights abuses. Data was also obtained from the World Bank Database (User 2016). In order to better utilize this data, there are two different variables to account for the average age of the population; population ages zero to fourteen years of age and population ages fifteen to sixty four years of age. This separation of age categories enables my research to investigate the theory that younger generations are more likely to utilize the internet and is entirely dependent to how the World Bank dataset is organized.

#### *Urban versus Rural Locations:*

The distinction between urban and rural populations as a variable is to control for the infrastructure differences that exist between the two different types of communities. I include a measure of the rural population. This data was also obtained from the World Bank Database, and coded by percent of population residing in rural areas. (User 2016).

#### **Quantitative Findings & Analysis**

The initial goal of my research is to see if access to the internet affects the level of forced disappearances within a country. My final analysis of the data does strongly demonstrate that internet access is a significant factor in the level of disappearances committed by a regime.

Using an ordered logit regression for my first analysis, I look at the relationship between my dependent variable, forced disappearances, and my independent variable, internet access while controlling for time, regime type, gross domestic product (GDP), commitment to the international human rights regime through relevant international treaties, population age and percent living in rural areas.

**Model I****(INSERT TABLE #1 HERE) (INSERT TABLE #2 HERE)**

In Model I, the model that includes all variables (including GDP) as shown in Column #1 of Table #2, shows that the independent variable (internet access) is insignificant. This insignificant result is most likely explained by the strong relationship between internet access and GDP, as shown in the bivariate correlations (see Table #1 for correlations between all variables). The high correlation that exists between the independent variable (internet access) and the GDP of a country illustrates that these two variables, when placed within the same regression analysis, cannot both be found to be significant because they are measuring and controlling for the same things within the analysis.

The finding regarding this correlation between GDP and internet access is expected. Generally, countries that have a higher GDP are more likely and able to develop the infrastructure and invest in the operating systems and internet services necessary for individual citizens to have access to the internet. Additionally, a higher GDP is related to higher personal purchasing power. Therefore, as GDP increases within a country so does individual access to the internet. It is also logical to conclude that countries with higher levels of GDP would also have had a larger span of time in which that their citizens have had access to the internet and the countries would also have a more advanced infrastructure system that would result in greater access to the internet. According to Englehart, countries that have a higher GDP have a higher state capacity, thus further protect the human rights of their citizens (2009).

## **Model II**

In Model II, the model that excludes GDP (see Column #2 of Table #2), the independent variable, internet access, becomes significant within the regression analysis. As shown, there is a negative relationship between internet users (per one hundred people) and enforced disappearances. This suggests that an inverse relationship does exist between these two variables, meaning that as internet access increases the level of enforced disappearances within a regime will decrease. This supports my hypothesis that as the internet access increases, the level of enforced disappearances will decrease. As previously discussed, I argue this statistically significant relationship exists because having access to the internet empowers citizens to document a normally covert human rights violation— disappearance— and communicate that information to domestic and international audiences who can then hold the regime accountable for these violations. As a result, regimes will act strategically and decrease their use of disappearance to avoid this chain of events.

## **Control Variables**

Overall, control variables behave as expected, suggesting the accuracy of the model overall. These variables are also positive, indicating a general upward trend of disappearance over the time period under study. Controlling for time means that in addition to the general increase in disappearance due to easier reporting, the internet independently suppresses the use of this human rights violation for the reasons previously discussed.

Likewise, regime type was significant and negative in both Models I and II. This analysis is logical, as it is expected that different classifications of regimes will have significantly

different priorities in discussing the protection of the human rights of their citizens (Bueno De Mesquita, Downs and Smith 2005). Specifically, the more democratic a regime, the less likely they are to use forced disappearance against their citizens. This finding is consistent with previous research.

Interestingly, I find that signature and ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is significant in Model I but insignificant in Model II (see Table #2) and that signature and ratification of the International Convention on Enforced Disappearance is insignificant in both Model I & II. These findings suggests that UN member states are committing these human rights violations even though they are part of the international pressure system from signature and ratification of legislation. Both the change in significance and the lack of significance is a bit concerning but, unfortunately, not unexpected. Previous human rights literature has established that international human rights legislation are, at best, inconsistently effective at curbing states' human rights abuses.

## **Qualitative Analysis of the Introductory Effects of the Internet on Latin American Countries**

Although the results of my quantitative results support my hypothesis it is important to consider the various mechanisms by which the introduction of the internet might affect the reporting of human rights violations, enforced disappearances in particular; and, therefore, alter the behavior of regimes. Thus, I utilize case studies of six Latin American countries to examine the direct effects the introduction of the internet has had on the level of enforced disappearances within a country. The Latin American region of the globe has been selected as it has experienced the highest levels of enforced disappearances throughout its recent history.

Countries were chosen utilizing a “Method of Difference,” ensuring that all countries selected were as similar as possible to show that the relationships being investigated within the study are constant throughout similar controlled settings. This selection process safeguardds the analysis by avoiding affects affects from unforeseen factors, thus better supporting the aim or argument of the case study (Etzioni and DuBow 205-210).

The first stage of the selection criteria concerned the level of enforced disappearances of the country throughout the research time frame (1981-2011). There were two countries selected for each of the three categories representing the different values of enforced disappearances. The first primary category, shown as a value of 0, represents the lowest level of enforced disappearance; the second primary category, shown as a value of 1, is representative of the moderate level of enforced disappearances; the third primary category, shown as a value of 2, is representative of the highest level of enforced disappearance. The second stage of the selection criteria included the country’s internet access, gross domestic product (GDP), and regime type.

The goal of selecting pairs of cases that were similar was so when there is an observed relationship that occurs in more than one country and under different circumstances that the relationship must be more than random which better supports the case study. The selection criteria has made the results of this case study much stronger as any results from the study are evident of a causal relationship that can stand.

(SEE TABLE 11)

The United State Department Reports, Amnesty International annual country reports, individual citizen reports through the United Nation office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, newspaper articles, and internet presence of human rights protection groups from each country are used to provide information into the political, cultural, and technological atmosphere within each country at the given time to analyze how the introduction of the internet led to variations of enforced disappearances and how its evolution supported the protection of human rights.

### **Countries with Low Level of Enforced Disappearances**

Bolivia and Costa Rica were selected to represent the first category, as they both experience low to no disappearances throughout the time period under examination. There is no visible impact of the introduction of the internet within Bolivia and Costa Rica simply because there were no violations of enforced disappearances occurring before the introduction. However, understanding how these citizens are using the internet within their respective countries can be generally applied to how the internet can be used by other human rights activists to achieve their

goals and, in the case of Bolivia, it is clear the internet is being used to better allow human rights activists to hold their government accountable.

For a brief example: after receiving many criticisms of his role within human rights violence the Bolivian Government Minister Sacha Llorenti resigned from his position of authority. The acts of violence were shown through images that were posted in online newspapers and through television airings and included approximately 500 police officers beating and bounding civilians with tape (Paredes 1). The charges against Llorenti also included being responsible for crimes of enforced disappearance and genocide, among other violations of human rights (Paredes 1-2). Llorenti stated that, "...I am taking a step aside with my only desire being that the revolutionary process make ever quicker progress" (Paredes 2). The violations in Bolivia were documented by the public, and were widely distributed which resulted in a large amount of domestic and international pressure on the Bolivian Government Minister to eventually resign from his position as a result of his actions. Bolivian citizens used the internet to influence a change in governmental leadership—and were successful! This example from Bolivia acts as further supporting evidence of the impact the internet has on protection of the human rights of individuals and maintaining governmental accountability.

Additionally, Costa Rican citizens are utilizing the internet to promote their country to tourists from around the world, a slightly different method than Bolivia. With tourism being important to their society, it is important that they create a transparent system of what their country has to offer to visitors: safety, history, environmental issues, as well as other accommodations (Buhasz 1). The citizens are evolving their knowledge of the internet as a promotion tool to bring money into their economy. Yes, this is not specifically advocating for

human rights protection, but it does illustrate how the individual citizens can distribute information about their society to the world. If Costa Ricans are using the internet to this extent for economic purposes, it is rational to conclude that it could also be used in human rights advocacy.

Moreover, the qualitative and quantitative research did not show any variation in level of enforced disappearance. Rather, this case study of the low category of enforced disappearances illustrates different methods of internet utilization that could be applied by citizens for human rights mobilization and further change within their society.

### **Medium Level of Enforced Disappearances, Category Two:**

Argentina and Mexico were selected to represent the category of medium level of enforced disappearances. Unlike Bolivia and Costa Rica, in Argentina and Mexico we actually do see a change in the level of enforced disappearance utilized during the time period under consideration in these two countries.

#### *Argentina:*

Argentina, located in southern South America, was found to be consistently committing low to moderate levels of enforced disappearances from 1981 to 2011 (Cingranelli and Richards 2014). Additionally, the internet was introduced in Argentina in 1999 (World Bank data). No variation of the level of enforced disappearances can be seen as a result of the interval structure of the variable (as discussed previously in the description of the variable). Therefore, a qualitative study is necessary to investigate any variations in levels of enforced disappearance.

Following 1999 qualitative and quantitative resources do not show any reports of enforced disappearances occurring in Argentina between 1999 until 2011 (Cingranelli and Richards 2014; U.S. Department of State Argentina 1999-2011).

The alignment of both qualitative and quantitative data showing that enforced disappearances are not occurring demonstrates that the government is actively protecting the human rights of its citizens (in regards to enforced disappearances). In 2006, there is an increase in enforced disappearances, however, there is no evidence within country reports as to why there is an increase within the CIRI data.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the country reports there is continual reference to Argentina's very public and graphic history regarding human rights, specifically enforced disappearances. Both Argentinian citizens and government officials are cognizant of the weight of influence this history holds, and are constantly being reminded not to repeat such offenses through publications of the persecutions of public officials that were instrumental in committing human rights abuses throughout the 1970s. The introduction the internet created a medium in which the continual conversation about prior human rights violations could be distributed throughout the country and the rest of the world.

Taking into account the time frame of when the internet was first introduced in 1999 and was then more widely used by Argentinian citizens by 2011 (where 51 out of 100 people had internet access), an explanation for the higher respect for the human rights (specifically, the right not to be disappeared) can be drawn. Having introduced the internet to the Argentinian citizens at

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<sup>3</sup> After careful analysis of the United States Department and Amnesty International country reports (the reports that the coders of the CIRI database use to create the quantitative data), there is no evidence to support that there would be an increase in enforced disappearances. Therefore, this increase in disappearances should be viewed as a discrepancy in the data.

an earlier time enabled them to channel the internet's powers and the continued dissatisfaction the citizens have with their government from previous human rights violations to further advocate and push for change of their government's respect for human rights within their country.

Several news articles in the early 1980s show that the country's previous human rights violations are a constant presence in the conversations revolving around the political atmosphere of the time. In a campaign speech for a seat in parliament in 1983, Augusto Conte spoke of his dedication to creating and maintaining a commission that would investigate the many enforced disappearances that had occurred in the 1970s (Kinzer 1-2). Conte's candidacy and other public official candidates are publicly dedicated to the protection of human rights, a symbol of the change in perception of human rights by the Argentinian citizens (Kinzer 1-2). Public citizen officials are impacted by the severe human rights violation history in Argentina which impacts how and what they support within their political positions to protect human rights of individuals. Drawing a conclusion from this evidence, the actions of the politically influential people demonstrate that they are utilizing the internet in proactive ways to ensure that future actions of enforced disappearance within Argentina are prevented.

As mentioned above, the creation of the internet helped stabilize and add momentum to the prosecution of Argentinian officials who were responsible for the disappearances and other human rights violations during their Dirty War. The public prosecution of prior government officials shows to both the Argentinian citizens and to the world that the current Argentinian government will not tolerate violations of human rights, and even the most politically powerful people within the government can and will be held accountable for their actions. Through this

system the individual human rights violator is held personally accountable, and faces real consequences from a trial (Anderson 1-3). The continued media coverage via the internet and other technologies would keep the losses from the dirty war close and personal for individuals with the prosecutions teaching citizens that no one within their society has a right to be disappeared. The continued publication of works regarding the previous human rights violations combined with the successful prosecution of human rights violators contribute to the public knowledge of human rights (Argentine Rights Leader 1-2)(Reel 1-3).

Additionally, the internet, through search engines, is helping those with family members who were disappeared during the dirty war tie evidence together to learn about the fates of their families and to continue to pressure government. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo) is a citizen run organization built for the public and private support and advocacy of victims of enforced disappearances and their families (Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo Staff 1-2). As is visible from looking at their website, they provide the tools and resources to both learn about and report acts of enforced disappearances.

These newfound tools and resources available through the internet encourage individuals to pursue a formal court case regarding the enforced disappearance of a loved one during Argentina's Dirty War, as did Estela de Carlotto for her disappeared daughter (Reel 1-3). Carlotto has assisted many other individuals find their disappeared family members which has included the use of the internet (Reel 1-3). The internet enabled the citizens to exchange information through the internet allowing them the opportunity to hold their government and their military accountable for their actions.

Human rights advocacy groups and internet businesses also realize the power of the internet, and are continually working to maintain freedom of expression within the internet. The Argentinian Government has tried placing regulations and restrictions on what information is available on the internet. Some internet providers and search engines have begun monitoring who is attempting to censor information on the internet. According to The Sunday Times in 2008, these search engines and internet providers are actively reporting, “all disputes to [chillingeffects.org](http://chillingeffects.org), a watchdog website run by a Harvard University unit” (Allen-Mills 1-3). These unsuccessful attempts to control the internet demonstrate a regime’s feeble attempt to avoid public knowledge of their human rights violations.

In the year 2000, the expansion of the internet provided several different types of employment, ranging from software programming to maintenance for Argentinian citizens who receive proper training and knowledge for how to complete these jobs (Le Gras 1-2). The upward trend of internet access in this country has increased the amount of education necessary to use the internet while also increasing the availability to other citizens across the country. Argentinian citizens benefited from the utilization of the internet within the economic sector as well by advertising for employment across the country (Paulo 1). A higher percentage of citizens using the internet at higher rates from different sectors of the economy also raises the probability that the individuals will utilize the internet for other goals, such as the advocacy for the protection of human rights.

Overall, the public fear of returning to the use of enforced disappearance by their regime has motivated the Argentinian citizens to utilize the internet to support their efforts in preventing future enforced disappearances. The Argentinians are publicly distributing information about the

prosecution of their prior governmental leaders responsible for committing enforced disappearances, holding their government accountable through maintaining open and free expression through the internet, and developing the proper training and resources available to strengthen their internet security.

*Mexico:*

Mexico, located in northern Central America, was found to be consistently committing moderate levels of enforced disappearances from 1981-2011 (Cingranelli and Richards 2014). Additionally, Mexico was found to be introducing the internet to its citizens in 1998 (Cingranelli and Richards 2014; World Bank Data). No variation of level of enforced disappearance is visible as a result of the interval structure of the dependent variable (as discussed previously in the description of the variable).

First, analysis of the country reports available for Mexico reported enforced disappearances are present in reports from 1981 until 2011 with only the violators of the human rights of citizens changing (U.S. Department of State Mexico 1998-2011). Mexican country reports between the years 1997 until 2001 continued to show serious credible reports of enforced disappearances that were committed by military, security, and federal and state enforcement officers (police) (U.S. Department of State Mexico 1997, 1999, 2000). Between 2002 until 2011 there are no credible reports of politically motivated enforced disappearances (U.S. Department of State Mexico 2002-2010). Instead, throughout these reports from the United States Government, the reported enforced disappearances are being committed by the local police or

military forces under the pretense of national security (U.S. Department of State Mexico 2005, 2007).

Further analysis of qualitative news sources, shows the use of the internet in advocating for the protection of human rights, specifically enforced disappearances within Mexican society. Mexican citizens and human rights defenders and groups from the country are advocating for the protection of human rights through the use of international news sources which distribute the stories of human rights violations across the world. This strategic tactic can be seen as international newspapers focus stories on the seriousness of the continued human rights violations occurring within Mexico. Susan Ferriss, writing for the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, has found from direct interviews that individual family members of disappeared persons are intimidated to come forward and place inquiries into the actions of local and federal officials (Ferriss 1-2). However, the children that were directly affected by having their parents disappeared are now entering positions within society to advocate for a change in respect for human rights (Rohter 1-3). These individuals have become founders and leaders of organizations that work to pressure the regime to make institutional changes in legislation and enforcement practices to protect human rights.

Rosario Ibarra is one of these individuals working for change of legislation and amnesty laws to protect the right of citizens to voice their political opinions freely without repercussions (Mexican Senator Calls 1-2). Individual Mexican citizens who have witnessed the impact of enforced disappearances are proactively taking initiative to use the internet to influence governmental change in legislation.

Stories of Mexican journalists being disappeared and threatened during the mid-2000s appear in newspapers across the world as journalists were reporting on the government corruption, drug trafficking operations, and stories discussing the reality of both organized crime and government officials working together in committing human rights violations (Campbell 1-7).<sup>4</sup> These disappearances of individuals working to keep the government accountable for their actions is a sign that through the publication and distribution of these stories the government is further repressing the rights of their citizens instead of having a higher respect for human rights. The publication of this news via the internet threatens the security of the Mexican government as it will not be able to dispute claims that only drug cartels are to blame for enforced disappearances. According to Samuel Gonzalez Ruiz, who was previously employed by the federal attorney general's office and a security adviser to the United Nations, "There are parts of Mexico where you can't distinguish between local police and criminals, and it has become very dangerous for journalists who report on this situation [the disappearances of journalists who publish stories based on the entanglement of local authorities in criminal operations]" (Campbell 3).

The actions of the Mexican government to silence these journalists advocating for the protection human rights further supports the theory from Payne and Abouharb that regimes are strategic actors, and will violate human rights based on a cost and benefit analysis. The reporting of the collaboration between Mexican government officials and drug cartels to commit enforced

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<sup>4</sup> It must be noted that journalists have been partaking in human rights reporting before the introduction of the internet, therefore this doesn't appear to be a change in their behavior. However, the introduction of the internet allows these journalists to broadcast their stories across the world (they are participating in the "Naming and Shaming" process discussed above). Therefore, the regimes guilty of these human rights violations are then pressured from the international community for their actions.

disappearances eliminates the ability of the government to blame the enforced disappearances solely on the drug cartels, and forces the government to accept responsibility for its actions or change its behavior to protect the human rights of their citizens.

However, the government cannot ignore individual citizen reports that state that the security forces put in place by the government are also committing the human rights violations alongside the drug traffickers. In 2009 and 2010, Juárez residents, and human rights groups (Washington Office on Latin America and the Miguel Agustin Pro Juárez Human Rights Center) made 1,450 reports of human rights violations committed by the security and military forces of Mexico to the Chihuahua Human Rights Commission (Washington 1-2). This seriously high number of violations shows how Mexican citizens are mobilizing their resources to fight back against the corruption taking place in the government.

Not only are individuals reporting violations to local, Mexican human rights commissions, but they also are reporting to the International Criminal Court (ICC). Netzai Sandoval, a Mexican human rights lawyer, filed a complaint with the ICC including documentation of approximately 470 human rights violations (including enforced disappearances), and had an attached petition with more than 22,000 individual Mexican citizens signatures supporting the formal complaint that stated there were approximately 10,000 disappeared individuals (Washington Valdez 1-2).

In other scenarios, public reports from the Mexican government containing information about human rights violations committed by and under their institutions of control were posted on the internet instead of at a public event (McKinley 1-2; McKinley 1; McKinley Jr. 2). This strategy illustrates that Mexican citizens were, in fact, using the internet to be actively

advocating for human rights protections within Mexico and that the government was conceding to taking responsibility for these violations after being held accountable for them.

Additionally, a Mexican newspaper, *El Universal*, reported that the internet usage was continually growing by approximately twenty percent annually (Internet Use in Mexico 1). According to *El Universal* in 2005, “Sixty-one percent of internet users employ chat programs, such as Messenger; forty-one percent download music or video; and thirty-seven percent use the internet for on-line banking” (Internet Use in Mexico 1). This qualitative source reporting about the significant increase in internet use and access also corresponds with the internet access data that is being used in this research. The acknowledgment of the increase of access to and use of the internet for Mexican citizens in newspapers illustrates that the internet impacted a large percentage of the population and that this change was monumental enough to warrant newspapers to cover this story within their layouts. Therefore, the increased internet access within the country creates new mechanisms for individuals to spotlight human rights violations which results in holding the government accountable for their actions of enforced disappearances.

In addition to international print sources, there are videos that are being distributed internationally as well as was being completed with the help of a human rights group, “Witness,” under the leadership of Peter Gabriel in Mexico and in other countries across the world (Hornaday 1; Wallace 2). The human rights protection group “Witness” was and is training Mexicans and other citizens of the world on how to properly capture video of real time scenarios of a wide variety of topics including human rights abuses within their countries. As explained in an earlier case study, the goal of these videos is to raise awareness or advocacy of human rights

abuses through videos, documentaries, and streaming video on international web sites so that the victims may use these files in court or to inspire human rights protection change in other areas of the globe.

Overall, these methods were taking advantage of the growing population of internet users to help spread their messages. “Witness” is bridging the communication gap between human rights groups and individual activists across the world by teaching individuals how to properly use video and technology to expose the human rights situations across the globe (Hornaday 1-4; Wallace 2-5). According to Caldwell, the executive director of “Witness,” “The point is not just to educate and inform people about problems, but to present solutions and to encourage governments to implement solutions.” (Hornaday 1-4; Wallace 1-5). The work of this organization illustrates the power and ability of the internet to be an effective tool to both learn about and protect human rights. An example of their work within Mexico is a video called ‘Dual Injustice’ that was created by a campaign called ‘Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos to tell the story of a mother describing the day when she identified the body of her daughter who had been disappeared and to raise awareness of the murders and disappearances that had occurred and, “as a response to public pressure to solve the crimes” (Wallace 1-5). “Witness” has been influential in advocating for human rights protections and dispersing their message to individuals in positions of power and across the world through the power of the videos uploaded to the internet.

Additionally, individuals are going to social media to make posts to report violations of human rights and of activities of drug cartels. A drug cartel, the Zetas, murdered a woman who utilized social media as a tool to report on the activities of the drug cartel (Goodspeed 1-3). Other

murders and disappearances have occurred that are connected to this drug cartel whose motives for murdering these civilians are blatantly obvious —by their social media habits. The drug cartels, combined with military and security squads (that are controlled by the Mexican government) and corrupt public officials, monitor these internet sites to attempt to control what is being posted. This environment has made Mexico a dangerous environment for journalists who are accurately reporting on these situations in Mexico (Goodspeed 1-3; Booth 1-2; AFP 1-3; Booth 1-3). Several journalists or individuals who use the internet were killed, and their corpses publicly displayed to intimidate others from partaking in the same behavior (Goodspeed 1-3; Booth 1-2; AFP 1-3; Booth 1-3).

Overall, Mexican citizens are utilizing the internet to spotlight human rights abuses committed by the government to demand change in the protection of human rights. At this point in the research, it is visible that the Mexican government is acting to further restrict the internet through the disappearance of journalists who are partaking in the utilization of the internet to make governmental leaders accountable for their actions or for their lack of actions (in reference to the drug cartel's actions) to protect the human rights of individuals. The government's strategy to restrict the actions of internet users illustrates that the government is threatened by the power of the internet when it is utilized by citizens to spotlight their human rights violations.

### **High Level of Enforced Disappearances, Category One:**

Colombia and Guatemala were selected to represent the category of highest level of enforced disappearances. Unlike the moderate category and Guatemala, in the Columbian research we do not see any variation in level of enforced disappearance. We do see, however, the level of enforced disappearances in Guatemala decrease during the time frame of this research.

*Colombia:*

Colombia, located in northern South America, was found to be consistently committing high levels of enforced disappearances from 1981-2011 (Cingranelli and Richards 2014). Additionally, the internet was introduced to Colombian citizens in 1998 (World Bank Data). As discussed previously, the interval structure makes it impossible to view variations of the level of enforced disappearance data.

Moreover, the human rights country reports available for Colombia show that there are consistently serious reports of enforced disappearances from 1998 to 2011 (U.S. Department of State Colombia 1998-2011; Amnesty International 1998-2011). There is an apparent increase in reports of enforced disappearances in 2010 and 2011 due to the creation of ‘The Displaced and Disappeared Persons Unit of the Prosecutor General’s Office’ in December of 2010 which provided citizens with a resource to report current and past enforced disappearances (U.S. Department of State Colombia 2011). The ability to see this variation of enforced disappearance has increased in this particular example due to citizens utilizing a reporting system that was not previously put in place.

Analysis of primary newspaper sources illustrates that the introduction of the internet has impacted the way human rights are reported and discussed within Colombian society. Colombian

citizens have the ability to report human rights abuses to the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights. This organization, beginning in 1993, enables individual citizens or groups to submit complaints against their own governments for the violation of human rights. According to the reports available from the Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights that show the final decisions of each case, Colombian citizens began utilizing the reporting system in 1995 (according to the online database of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights jurisprudence). It is unclear about how many partial reports are filed each year since the database only supplies *completed* reports. There are sixteen reports from April 1995 to August 2010 strictly under the umbrella of jurisprudence search regarding human rights violations, with more cases from 1998 until 2010. The small sample size, comparable to other amounts of reports from other countries, is explained by the long, tedious process of international law as well as the fact that this court does not operate full time and has limited staff and resources at its disposal. The introduction of the internet has provided citizens a faster and easier online mechanism to report human rights violations to this regional court. Having this new reporting method would result in a higher number of enforced disappearances because the disappearances simply were not being reported before the implementation of this system. However, since citizens are utilizing this reporting method, this example does strengthen this research because it illustrates individuals utilizing the internet to report human rights abuses committed by the government to the regional and international community.

It is apparent that as time moves on, more and more international news sources are paying attention to human rights violations and reporting those to the international community. For example, the Colombian paramilitary group United Self-Defense Forces has created a

website that enables Colombian citizens to submit their complaints about the group's violation practices to promote a positive self-image (Storyville 1). It is unclear if this organization takes these complaints seriously or if they use these reports to gather surveillance of citizens criticizing the government and act to further repress their citizens' human rights. The importance of this article shows researchers that both citizens and human rights violators are using the internet to their advantage.

Additionally, international news sources have reported the reaction of the Colombian government to the increased use of the internet to broadcast human rights violations. Janice Gallagher, who was working for a nongovernmental organization (Fellowship of Reconciliation) in Colombia to lobby for the protection of human rights, in front of government officials, experienced a robbing of her field office (Scrimenti 1-2). Essentially the theft, suspected to be tied to government officials, was focused on obtaining her 'computers with sensitive human rights information,' and left all other valuables behind (Scrimenti 2). This theft demonstrates that a government office was threatened by the practices of this organization of using the internet to report human rights abuses. The invasion of a private office and stealing of private possessions associated with human rights protection and advocacy strongly illustrates how these strategic actors desperately try and control the internet to protect their own position.

Another resource shows that in 2010 the Colombian government was using illegal surveillance methods, phone tapings, and threats to target individual citizens and human rights protection groups within Colombia to gather information of their actions and knowledge of human rights abuses (Haylett 1-3). This example illustrates the continued desperate efforts of the Colombian government to violate their citizens' technological privacy in order to gain

information on which individuals are collecting evidence of human rights violations. This source further strengthens the conclusion that governments are threatened by the ability of the internet, and other advanced technologies, to empower the citizens to spotlight governments' horrendous actions of human rights violations.

In the most recent year of our research, 2011, it has been observed that individuals were utilizing technology to develop revolutions through the venue that the internet provides. According to the McKenzie River Reflections staff writers, the internet and the innovative, communicative technology being created and used by citizens in 2011, are necessary for change to occur within the protection of human rights. These new technologies are used in a widespread manner that a single leader or government cannot have absolute control over the flow of information and ideas, thus making it more difficult for governments to resist the demands of their populations for rights and liberties (McKenzie River Reflections Staff 1-3). The article also found that, "...in the age of Twitter and Facebook, ordinary citizens are able to mobilize for freedom in greater numbers than at any time in history..." making sense that "...Colombia, Indonesia, and Guinea- where conditions for freedom have actually improved in the past year..." in response to these increases of the utilization of the power of the internet (McKenzie River Reflections Staff 2). Additionally, the Staff found that, "[they] have [taken] steps to improve protections for human rights in their fragile democracies." (McKenzie River Reflections Staff 3).

Overall, enforced disappearances continue to occur within Colombia. However, the internet has been influential, as seen in the examples above, to spotlight the Colombian government's actions of human rights violations to the rest of the world. Through these sources, it is possible to see that the regime is still frantically trying to contain the impact that the internet

can have to keep them accountable for their actions—which to the regime’s dislike is placing them even deeper into the international spotlight for human rights violations. Eventually the costs of committing enforced disappearances will outweigh the benefits of the violations, thus changing the behavior of the regime.

*Guatemala:*

Guatemala, located in northern Central America, was found to be consistently committing high levels of enforced disappearances from 1981-2011 (Cingranelli and Richards 2014). The internet was introduced to Guatemala in the year 2000 (World Bank Database). Based on the analysis of the CIRI dataset, the level of forced disappearances stayed at a constant high level from 1981 until 1996, made improvements and secured a moderate level of disappearances from 1997 until 2002, and then stayed at the lowest level— meaning they were responsible for no disappearances— from 2003 until 2011 when the dataset ends (Cingranelli and Richards 2014).

Moreover, as the access to the internet increased within, the level of enforced disappearances decreased to the lowest category based on the CIRI database by the year 2003 (Cingranelli and Richards 2014). This three year time lag in change of enforced disappearance can be explained by the time necessary for citizens to obtain, utilize, and then apply the internet to their efforts to keep their governments accountable for human rights violations and then the government knowingly and strategically responding to the citizens' actions.

The country reports available for Guatemala show that enforced disappearances are constantly present from 1981 until 2003 (U.S. Department of State Guatemala 1981-2003; Amnesty International 1981-2003; Cingranelli and Richards 2014). Following 2003 there is no

mention of the use of forced disappearances within the country reports (U.S. Department of State Guatemala 1981-2003; Amnesty International 1981-2003).

To support this qualitative finding this research turns to newspaper articles to provide a qualitative data source to explain the human rights practices in Guatemala. Beginning around 1998 newspapers around the world started realizing the potential power and influence the internet could have in keeping governments accountable if utilized correctly. The Vancouver Sun from British Columbia found that, “The internet now renders it impossible for governments and the corporate media to be gatekeepers of information. Anyone with access to the Net [internet] can broadcast to the world.” (Mulgrew 1). This article provides names of various human rights groups, some of which are in Guatemala (Mayan organizations), that were utilizing the innovative technology of the internet in keeping the government accountable for their actions of human rights abuses (Mulgrew 1-3). The increased accessibility of the internet to the Guatemalan citizens has given them “an excellent unfiltered megaphone” in which they are able to tell their stories, country situations, and human rights campaigns to the rest of the world (Mulgrew 2).

In addition to international print sources there were videos showing human rights abuses that were being distributed internationally. As previously mentioned in the section on Mexico, ‘Witness,’ a human rights group created in 1992, is training citizens how to use video cameras to capture video of real time scenarios of human rights abuses within their countries since its creation in 1992 (Witness Staff; Hornaday 1-4). The goal of these videos is to raise awareness or advocacy of human rights abuses through videos, documentaries, and streaming video on international websites so that the victims may use these files in court or to inspire other human

rights protection efforts. Overall, "Witness" is bridging the communication gap between human rights groups and individual activists across the world by taking advantage of the growing population of internet users to help spread their messages. According to Caldwell, the executive director of Witness, "The point is not just to educate and inform people about problems, but to present solutions and to encourage governments to implement solutions" (Hornaday 2-4). The work of this organization illustrates the power and ability of the internet to be an effective tool to both learn about and protect human rights with a specific emphasis placed on average citizens using the spotlighting of human rights abuses to exert pressure on violating regimes to alter their behavior as a result of a negative international reputation and threat of being held legally accountable for their violations.

Specifically regarding enforced disappearances, this spotlighting technique can be used to illustrate evidence that regimes are the responsible actors behind enforced disappearances through personal, first-hand accounts of those affected by these abuses, and video surveillance of the crime itself. The organization "Witness" encourages individual citizens who have the access to view these crimes to document them and then project them to the rest of the world, thus dissolving the evasive nature of enforced disappearances that makes them attractive to rational regimes.

Another defender of human rights, eQualit.ie, is helping individual activists learn how to utilize the internet while also maximizing security and privacy of their information. This organization works to train individual citizen activists on, "tech-savvy tips on sending secure email and other safe computing practices" so that they have the resources and practices that will ensure stability of their personal safety as they advocate for the protection of human rights

(Rights Fight Goes Digital 1; Canadian Press 1-2; Vitaliev; Corroborator Staff). Additionally, the manager of eQualit.ie, Dimitri Vitaliev, has created and published a book that “uses simple language and illustrations to demystify subjects like password protection, encryption and backing up data” so that internet privacy and security are better understood by individuals using the internet to advocate for the protection of human rights in their countries (Rights Fight Goes Digital 1; Canadian Press 1-2; Vitaliev; Corroborator Staff).

Moreover, internet privacy and security was continually being strengthened for human rights defenders and advocates. In the late 1990s and early 2000s computer experts trained Guatemalan human rights lawyers on how to utilize encryption within their files on human rights abuses so that the Guatemalan government would not be able to decrypt the information (O’Brien 1-3). This organization, CryptoRights, is available for any individual to use and access, and is not monopolized. The main goal of the organization is to make the information more readily available so that any individual can take advantage of this protection strategy in their activism against human rights violations.

Guatemalan citizens have experienced many developments in training of using and securing information regarding human rights violations over the internet during the early 2000s. This early expansion of their understanding and knowledge of the internet enabled human rights advocates within Guatemala to be more comfortable with the internet as a tool to protect human rights—further advancing its ability to pressure the government to respect human rights. The physical presence of organizations dedicated to this particular development of privacy and security training demonstrates that this training was specifically needed for these individuals.

The government was restricting privacy and security of the internet to repress the citizens from broadcasting their inhumane treatments to the world.

Quantitatively the internet was introduced to a wider citizen audience in early 2000, and then qualitatively the Guatemalan citizens experienced higher levels of internet training between 2000 and 2002. This time lapse between introduction and application of privacy training is explained with the theory that individual citizens were investing and learning how to properly use the internet to highlight human rights violations, and the regimes counteractively reacted to attempt to control the power of the internet which then resulted in the necessity of higher levels of internet training. These developments happening simultaneously enabled the Guatemalan society to make their human rights situation known worldwide— shining the spotlight on the actions of their government, thus causing instrumental change in the protection of the human rights of the individual. It was no longer as beneficial to the rational Guatemalan regime, and they knowingly and strategically changed their behavior regarding the protection of human rights of their citizens so that they would not suffer personal consequences. This change is visible in the quantitative CIRI dataset of the level of forced disappearances that changes to the lowest level of violations from 2003 until 2011 illustrating the regime's strategic shift in human rights protection policies (CIRI Dataset).

This negative change from a high category of enforced disappearance to the lowest category of enforced disappearance within the data after the introduction and application of the internet, keeping the regime accountable through spotlighting its actions of enforced disappearances, further supports prior research that regimes are rational actors who utilize a cost and benefit analysis when strategically determining how to protect or violate the human rights of

their citizens (Payne and Abouharb, 2015).

### **Analysis of Comparative Case Study:**

This critical case study of six Latin American countries has shown that the introduction of the internet does impact human rights violations generally and the use of enforced disappearances specifically. Bolivia and Costa Rica, representing the lowest category of enforced disappearances, had no visible variation in level of enforced disappearances. However, these regimes were already protecting the human rights of their citizens (most relevant, not committing enforced disappearances) before the introduction of the internet. Moreover, the government was already respecting the human rights of their citizens so no introduction or application of the internet could possibly lower an already low to nonexistent human rights violation. However, findings were evident from both Bolivia and Costa Rica that the internet can and is used in such a way that it could be easily applied for human rights advocacy. For example, individuals in Costa Rica utilized the power of the internet to promote their country economically to the rest of the world. These civilians learned how to use this form of technology to initiate change within their society, and could be easily applied to human rights advocacy if needed. The results in Bolivia were similar. Bolivian news sources revealed citizens' use of the internet to influence a public official's resignation from political office. This ability to hold public officials accountable for their actions to the extent that they must resign from their position illustrates the strength and power that the internet has when it is applied correctly and efficiently by the citizens of the state.

Countries within the moderate category of enforced disappearances had a slightly different outcome than the lower category. It is possible to view variations of the enforced disappearance data after the introduction and application of the internet. Argentina's deep history regarding enforced disappearances significantly influenced how both citizens and governmental officials responded with the internet to human rights prosecutions of guilty officials and future human rights violations. This continual public reminder, via the internet, of the consequences of committing human rights violations was influential in maintaining the human rights conversation throughout the country. With the help of the internet, citizens were able to influence the political environment within their country. This example, and others mentioned above, further supports this research that the introduction of the internet had a negative effect on the level of enforced disappearances, as citizens were able to hold their leaders publicly accountable for their actions of human rights violations, thus influencing change.

Within Mexico we are able to see the government reacting after it feels threatened by how the citizens are using the power of the internet to spotlight their violations and dissolve the illusion that the drug cartels are solely responsible for human rights violations. After feeling threatened, the government may commit a higher level of human rights violations, however, this results in more internet response and coverage, thus creating the exact opposite effect than what the regime intended.

The high category of enforced disappearances with the countries Colombia and Guatemala are also different from the low and moderate categories. For Colombia no variation (either quantitative or qualitative) is visible. However, similarly to the case study on Mexico, it is possible to see the regime frantically trying to stop the citizens from using the internet as a tool

for human rights protection. Their actions are evidence that the internet is holding leaders publicly accountable for their human rights violations, and as they are rational actors who do not want to face personal consequences are acting to silence the tool (internet) and the people who utilize it.

The Guatemalan case study has proved most interesting out of all the selected countries in this study. This research highlights specific, successful instances of individual citizens using the internet to report their government's abuses to the international community—resulting in a change in the regime's behavior. We are also able to see that the Guatemalan government had tried to control the power of the internet through violation of the citizens' internet security and privacy. However, the citizens were able to react to these attempts through further training of security to prevent the government's success in using these methods. We are able to see a visible, quantitative change to the level of enforced disappearances after the introduction of the internet which is supported by qualitative resources as shown in the case study.

Comparing across the three different categories of enforced disappearances, it is possible to see that citizens in all countries are using and channeling the power of the internet to better their own situation within the country through raising awareness for their particular issue whether it's to increase tourism (as in Costa Rica) or to keep governmental leaders accountable for their strategic use of enforced disappearances (as in Guatemala).

**Conclusion:**

In conclusion, my hypothesis is supported by my final quantitative analysis; I find a significant and negative relationship between access to the internet and the level of enforced disappearances utilized by a regime. The strong relationship between these variables is obvious,

and has the possibility to impact the results of this study as discussed above with the differences (including GDP or not including GDP) of Models I and II.

It should be noted that there is missing data for both internet access and enforced disappearances including and before 1991 (instead of all countries beginning at 1981). Finding the missing data would be impossible due to the lack of research, investigations, or underreporting of enforced disappearances during these years. Rather, research efforts may be better used by only focusing on data after 1991. This time frame would still allow for the research to show a progression over a large span of time while also accounting for the change in technology. With the internet really only becoming accessible to public citizens after 1990, this change in year specification would focus more on the increase in access to the internet and have a smaller time period within the data from before the internet existed.

Additional research should also include the new developments within “app” technology that has created an innovative method to self-report acts of enforced disappearance (ECRF, 2016). My future research could also include if the gender of the regime leader impacts whether enforced disappearances are utilized, and if cultural factors (i.e. religion) affect internet diffusion within a country.

Overall, my research did contribute to the study of enforced disappearances by regimes. The data analysis further supports that regime type and GDP are influential to the level of enforced disappearances within a country. My results are encouraging to future studies as they show that there is more to learn and control for between the access to the internet and the level of enforced disappearances within a country.

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**APPENDIX**

**Table 1:**  
**Bivariate**  
**Correlation**

| Variable                  |                     | Forced Disap. | Internet Access | Time (Yrs) | GDP (/capita \$US) | Regime Type | Sign./ Rat. ICCPR | Sign./ Rat. ED | % Pop. 0-14 yrs | % Pop 15-64 yrs | % Rural Pop |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <b>Forced Disap.</b>      | Pearson Correlation | 1             | -.149**         | -.056**    | -.187**            | -.168**     | -0.005            | -0.056         | .197**          | -.161**         | .161**      |
| <b>Internet Access</b>    | Pearson Correlation | -.149**       | 1               | .523**     | .719**             | .323**      | .190**            | .097**         | -.543**         | .483**          | -.399**     |
| <b>Time (Yrs)</b>         | Pearson Correlation | -.056**       | .523**          | 1          | .238**             | .247**      | .316**            | .121**         | -.276**         | .311**          | -.140**     |
| <b>GDP (/capita \$US)</b> | Pearson Correlation | -.187**       | .719**          | .238**     | 1                  | .337**      | .149**            | .089*          | -.610**         | .529**          | -.546**     |
| <b>Regime Type</b>        | Pearson Correlation | -.168**       | .323**          | .247**     | .337**             | 1           | .393**            | .221**         | -.515**         | .417**          | -.313**     |
| <b>Sign./Rat. ICCPR</b>   | Pearson Correlation | -0.005        | .190**          | .316**     | .149**             | .393**      | 1                 | .204**         | -.224**         | .144**          | -.202**     |
| <b>Sign./Rat. ED</b>      | Pearson Correlation | -0.056        | .097**          | .121**     | .089*              | .221**      | .204**            | 1              | -0.021          | -.084*          | -.112**     |
| <b>% Pop 0-14 yrs</b>     | Pearson Correlation | .197**        | -.543**         | -.276**    | -.610**            | -.515**     | -.224**           | -0.021         | 1               | -.951**         | .675**      |
| <b>% Pop 15-64 yrs</b>    | Pearson Correlation | -.161**       | .483**          | .311**     | .529**             | .417**      | .144**            | -.084*         | -.951**         | 1               | -.668**     |
| <b>% Rural Pop</b>        | Pearson Correlation | .161**        | -.399**         | -.140**    | -.546**            | -.313**     | -.202**           | -.112**        | .675**          | -.668**         | 1           |

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

| Variable              | Model I<br>B<br>(SE)       | Model II<br>B<br>(SE) |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Internet Access       | -.297<br>(.010)            | -.001**<br>(.026)     |
| Time (Years)          | .017*<br>(.177)            | .003**<br>(.214)      |
| GDP (/Capita<br>\$US) | -.086*<br>(.00002)         | ————                  |
| Regime Type           | -.000***<br>(.073)         | -.000***<br>(.083)    |
| Sign./Rat.<br>ICCPR   | .093*<br>(.306)            | .220<br>(.202)        |
| Sign./Rat. ED         | .377<br>(.109)             | .428<br>(.099)        |
| % Pop 0-14 yrs        | .050*<br>(.073)            | -.033*<br>(.032)      |
| % Pop 15-64<br>yrs    | .001***<br>(.156)          | .024*<br>(.110)       |
| % Rural Pop           | .016**<br>(.015)           | .003**<br>(.015)      |
|                       | N = 3618                   | N = 3733              |
|                       | (P ≤ .05*, .01**, .001***) |                       |

**Table 3: Descriptive  
Statistics**

| Variable                  | N    | Minimum | Maximum   | Mean    | Std. Dev. |
|---------------------------|------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| Enforced<br>Disappearance | 4235 | 0       | 2         | 0.35    | 0.65      |
| Internet Access           | 3975 | 0       | 93.49     | 9.62    | 19.17     |
| Time (Years)              | 4472 | 1981    | 2011      | 1996.5  | 8.834     |
| GDP (/Capita \$US)        | 4255 | 64.81   | 113239.56 | 7025.24 | 12348.54  |
| Regime Type               | 4298 | -10     | 10        | 2.06    | 7.248     |
| Sign./Rat. ICCPR          | 4458 | 0       | 2         | 1.47    | .85       |
| Sign./Rat ED              | 753  | 0       | 2         | .53     | .66       |
| % Pop 0-14 yrs            | 4469 | 13      | 52        | 33.74   | 10.77     |
| % Pop 15-64 yrs           | 4469 | 45.70   | 85.44     | 59.69   | 7.02      |
| % Rural Pop               | 4468 | 0       | 95.49     | 48.29   | 23.99     |
| Valid N (listwise)        | 721  |         |           |         |           |

**Table 4:**  
**Bolivia**

| Year | Level of ED<br>0=low<br>1= moderate<br>2=high | Internet Access    |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1981 | 1                                             | ..                 |
| 1982 | 2                                             | ..                 |
| 1983 | 1                                             | ..                 |
| 1984 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1985 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1986 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1987 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1988 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1989 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1990 | 0                                             | 0                  |
| 1991 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1992 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1993 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1994 | 0                                             | ..                 |
| 1995 | 0                                             | 0.0668075682820113 |
| 1996 | 0                                             | 0.196081173945832  |
| 1997 | 0                                             | 0.44783903590236   |
| 1998 | 0                                             | 0.626484062433397  |
| 1999 | 0                                             | 0.981815187281861  |
| 2000 | 0                                             | 1.4427635847914    |
| 2001 | 0                                             | 2.1204625341365    |
| 2002 | 0                                             | 3.11719294696997   |
| 2003 | 0                                             | 3.50859640072336   |
| 2004 | 0                                             | 4.43992460120042   |
| 2005 | 0                                             | 5.22758395663196   |
| 2006 | 0                                             | 6.20067125473576   |
| 2007 | 0                                             | 10.4992443168903   |
| 2008 | 0                                             | 12.5               |
| 2009 | 0                                             | 16.8               |
| 2010 | 0                                             | 22.4               |
| 2011 | 0                                             | 30                 |

**Table 5:**  
**Costa Rica**

| Year | Level of ED<br>0=low<br>1= moderate<br>2=high | Internet Access     |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1981 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1982 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1983 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1984 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1985 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1986 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1987 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1988 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1989 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1990 | 0                                             | 0                   |
| 1991 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1992 | 0                                             | 0.00111332539161221 |
| 1993 | 0                                             | 0.0815097538496     |
| 1994 | 0                                             | 0.279912478734018   |
| 1995 | 0                                             | 0.416829206101345   |
| 1996 | 0                                             | 0.841057040488486   |
| 1997 | 0                                             | 1.64022128772133    |
| 1998 | 0                                             | 2.66637869776731    |
| 1999 | 0                                             | 3.90432325714263    |
| 2000 | 0                                             | 5.80025302331829    |
| 2001 | 0                                             | 9.55948213497093    |
| 2002 | 0                                             | 19.8948511346293    |
| 2003 | 0                                             | 20.3336148143541    |
| 2004 | 0                                             | 20.7923067055542    |
| 2005 | 0                                             | 22.07               |
| 2006 | 0                                             | 25.1                |
| 2007 | 0                                             | 28.4                |
| 2008 | 0                                             | 32.29               |
| 2009 | 0                                             | 34.33               |
| 2010 | 0                                             | 36.5                |
| 2011 | 0                                             | 39.2121959961842    |

**Table 6:**  
**Argentina**

| Year | Level of ED<br>0=low<br>1= moderate<br>2=high | Internet Access     |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1981 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1982 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1983 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1984 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1985 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1986 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1987 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1988 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1989 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1990 | 1                                             | 0                   |
| 1991 | 0                                             | ..                  |
| 1992 | 1                                             | 0.00299287414623027 |
| 1993 | 1                                             | 0.0295270652905125  |
| 1994 | 0                                             | 0.0437059511392524  |
| 1995 | 0                                             | 0.0862770809737151  |
| 1996 | 0                                             | 0.14195470435477    |
| 1997 | 0                                             | 0.280339881830012   |
| 1998 | 0                                             | 0.830766679676473   |
| 1999 | 0                                             | 3.28448195590463    |
| 2000 | 0                                             | 7.0386830862178     |
| 2001 | 0                                             | 9.78080728532407    |
| 2002 | 0                                             | 10.8821243775325    |
| 2003 | 0                                             | 11.9136965509954    |
| 2004 | 0                                             | 16.0366841054923    |
| 2005 | 0                                             | 17.7205833696065    |
| 2006 | 1                                             | 20.9272021035896    |
| 2007 | 0                                             | 25.9466329403819    |
| 2008 | 0                                             | 28.1126234799907    |
| 2009 | 0                                             | 34                  |
| 2010 | 0                                             | 45                  |
| 2011 | 0                                             | 51                  |

**Table 7:**  
**Mexico**

| Year | Level of ED<br>0=low<br>1= moderate<br>2=high | Internet Access     |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1981 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1982 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1983 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1984 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1985 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1986 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1987 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1988 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1989 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1990 | 2                                             | 0                   |
| 1991 | 2                                             | 0.00588069493112912 |
| 1992 | 0                                             | 0.0173078098676624  |
| 1993 | 0                                             | 0.0283050415762566  |
| 1994 | 1                                             | 0.0433391667851826  |
| 1995 | 1                                             | 0.102564189852775   |
| 1996 | 2                                             | 0.20040628032987    |
| 1997 | 1                                             | 0.627311539559522   |
| 1998 | 1                                             | 1.26578327821238    |
| 1999 | 1                                             | 1.85743622125093    |
| 2000 | 1                                             | 5.08138415338066    |
| 2001 | 1                                             | 7.0380231165045     |
| 2002 | 1                                             | 11.9                |
| 2003 | 1                                             | 12.9                |
| 2004 | 1                                             | 14.1                |
| 2005 | 1                                             | 17.21               |
| 2006 | 1                                             | 19.52               |
| 2007 | 1                                             | 20.81               |
| 2008 | 1                                             | 21.71               |
| 2009 | 1                                             | 26.34               |
| 2010 | 1                                             | 31.05               |
| 2011 | 2                                             | 37.1762954125184    |

**Table 8:**  
**Colombia**

| Year | Level of ED<br>0=low<br>1= moderate<br>2=high | Internet Access   |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1981 | 1                                             | ..                |
| 1982 | 1                                             | ..                |
| 1983 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1984 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1985 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1986 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1987 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1988 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1989 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1990 | 2                                             | 0                 |
| 1991 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1992 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1993 | 2                                             | ..                |
| 1994 | 2                                             | 0.107173945315899 |
| 1995 | 2                                             | 0.188046790408001 |
| 1996 | 2                                             | 0.330017772736723 |
| 1997 | 2                                             | 0.550521023153909 |
| 1998 | 2                                             | 1.12622524463277  |
| 1999 | 2                                             | 1.69773079358943  |
| 2000 | 2                                             | 2.207532992624    |
| 2001 | 2                                             | 2.85419997133433  |
| 2002 | 2                                             | 4.6               |
| 2003 | 2                                             | 7.38892371052557  |
| 2004 | 2                                             | 9.1186903029666   |
| 2005 | 2                                             | 11.0072638904585  |
| 2006 | 2                                             | 15.3416745365682  |
| 2007 | 2                                             | 21.8              |
| 2008 | 2                                             | 25.6              |
| 2009 | 2                                             | 30                |
| 2010 | 2                                             | 36.5              |
| 2011 | 2                                             | 40.3509157546318  |

**Table 9:**  
**Guatemala**

| Year | Level of ED<br>0=low<br>1= moderate<br>2=high | Internet Access     |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1981 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1982 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1983 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1984 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1985 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1986 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1987 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1988 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1989 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1990 | 2                                             | 0                   |
| 1991 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1992 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1993 | 1                                             | ..                  |
| 1994 | 2                                             | ..                  |
| 1995 | 2                                             | 0.00299800542698942 |
| 1996 | 2                                             | 0.0195348708188295  |
| 1997 | 1                                             | 0.0954760214836324  |
| 1998 | 0                                             | 0.466590444451661   |
| 1999 | 1                                             | 0.592652945261753   |
| 2000 | 1                                             | 0.712332904508925   |
| 2001 | 1                                             | 1.7382017815873     |
| 2002 | 1                                             | 3.39174627024502    |
| 2003 | 0                                             | 4.54885490848324    |
| 2004 | 0                                             | 5.1                 |
| 2005 | 0                                             | 5.7                 |
| 2006 | 0                                             | 6.5                 |
| 2007 | 0                                             | 7.3                 |
| 2008 | 0                                             | 8.3                 |
| 2009 | 0                                             | 9.3                 |
| 2010 | 0                                             | 10.5                |
| 2011 | 0                                             | 12.3                |

**Table 10:**  
**Case Selection**  
**Considerations**

| Country    | Level in Case Study | Category of Enforced Disappearances | Year of Internet Introduction | Maximum Level of Internet Access (Users per 100 Ppl) | GDP 1981 | GDP 2011 | Regime Type from Polity Score: Avg score btw 1981-2011 |
|------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Argentina  | Moderate            | Moderate to Low                     | 1999                          | 51                                                   | 2756.39  | 13392.91 | 7                                                      |
| Bolivia    | Low                 | Consistently Low                    | 2000                          | 30                                                   | 1031.51  | 2377.7   | 8                                                      |
| Colombia   | High                | Consistently High                   | 1998                          | 40.35                                                | 1282.36  | 7227.77  | 8                                                      |
| Costa Rica | Low                 | Consistently Low                    | 1997                          | 39.21                                                | 1069.14  | 8963.68  | 10                                                     |
| Guatemala  | High                | High to Low                         | 2001                          | 12.3                                                 | 1177.43  | 3166.58  | 4                                                      |
| Mexico     | Moderate            | Moderate Level                      | 1998                          | 37.18                                                | 3524.74  | 9730.27  | 3                                                      |