“WE THE WOMEN OF JUÁREZ ARE STRONG”: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF DIANA, THE HUNTRESS OF BUS DRIVERS

by

MATTHEW A. ROBERTS

W. SIM BUTLER, COMMITTEE CHAIR
JASON EDWARD BLACK
GREG AUSTIN

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Communication Studies in the Graduate School of The University of Alabama

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2016
ABSTRACT

In August 2013, a woman boarded a bus in Juárez, Mexico. As she left the bus, she shot the bus driver in the head, fatally wounding him. The next morning, she boarded another bus, killing a second driver. In the days following the attack, a person, claiming to be responsible for these crimes, sent a note to local media, calling herself Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers. In the city of Juárez, bus drivers often sexually assault women when they take public transportation home from work. Claiming to be a victim of sexual violence herself, Diana hoped to be a voice for other survivors by challenging legal structures and gender expectations in her city. In this thesis, I explore through Burkean methods, narrative analysis, and gender criticism how Diana seeks to break these boundaries by studying the media coverage of these events. Finally, I offer conclusions for future research.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the students at the Alabama Forensic Council who have reminded me why I came to graduate school. Each of you has a story that is worthy of being told. Do not let anyone tell you otherwise.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my parents who have supported me throughout my education and have pushed me to be the best that I could be. Without the drive they instilled in me, I would not have accomplished all that I have over the past six years.

My advisor, Dr. Sim Butler, has been instrumental in not only launching this project, but also being a key support system throughout my time in graduate school. I am thankful for mornings at Rama Jama, silly text messages, and the constant encouragement to pursue my passions, whatever they may be. I am thankful for Dr. Jason Black for being the first person to believe in my writing as a graduate student. Also, I am grateful for Josie Burks for introducing me to Newk’s, laughing at my terrible jokes, and being my accountability partner throughout this process. I also could not have survived graduate school without the support of Jenna Surprenant. We will be Wonder Twins forever.

Finally, I am thankful for Bobby Imbody and the Alabama Forensic Council. Coaching forensics over the past two years has been a life changing experience. Thank you for taking a chance on me, providing an opportunity for me to go to graduate school, and believing in me as a coach.
# CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ........................................................................................................................................... ii

DEDICATION ........................................................................................................................................ iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ...................................................................................................................... iv

1. INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................................ 1

2. LITERATURE REVIEW .................................................................................................................. 4

a. Burke’s Pentad ................................................................................................................................. 4

b. Burke’s Comic and Tragic Frames .................................................................................................. 9

c. Narrative ......................................................................................................................................... 13

d. Diana as a Global Narrative .......................................................................................................... 18

e. Gender in Latino/a Cultures .......................................................................................................... 21

f. The Scene of the Crime ................................................................................................................. 30

3. ANALYSIS .................................................................................................................................... 32

a. Burkean Analysis ......................................................................................................................... 32

b. Narrative ....................................................................................................................................... 41

c. Gender .......................................................................................................................................... 46

4. IMPLICATIONS ............................................................................................................................. 53

5. REFERENCES ................................................................................................................................ 58
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As Juárez, Mexico’s Route 4 bus wound its way through the city’s streets one summer day in 2013, she sat in the back, ready to pounce. Dressed in a disguise, she slowly walked to the front as the bus made its final stop. She reached for her weapon of choice: a handgun. Soon the bus driver felt the cold metal of the gun’s barrel against his head. Immediately, she pulled the trigger, killing the driver instantaneously. She was ready to tell her story to local media, to tell the stories of the women of her city, to speak to a global audience about an issue with which she had too much experience: sexual assault. As the community began to look for its newest criminal, she made sure her message was loud and clear by sharing her story with a local newspaper. She wrote:

You think that because we are women we are weak, and that may be true but only up to a point, because even though we have nobody to defend us and we have to work long hours until late into the night to earn a living for our families we can no longer be silent in the face of these acts that enrage us. We were victims of sexual violence from bus drivers working the maquila night shifts [cheap labor plants] here in Juárez, and although a lot of people know about the things we’ve suffered, nobody defends us nor does anything to protect us. That's why I am an instrument that will take revenge for many women. For we are seen as weak, but in reality we are not. We are brave. And if we don't get respect, we will earn that respect with our own hands. We the women of Juárez are strong. (qtd. in Herrera, 2013)

This note was not anonymous. It was signed, “Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers.”

Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers quickly captivated the city with her story and actions. On August 28, 2013, Diana boarded bus route 4A at 7:45 AM and shot her first victim (Herrera, 2013). Twenty-four hours later, on the same route, she boarded the bus, asked the driver to stop
just a few blocks down, walked to the front as if she was about to exit, and murdered the driver (Herrera, 2013). Her note, sent to La Polaka, a local newspaper and gossip site, quickly circulated around local media, inviting both praise and blame.

Residents of Juárez were shocked by the story of its latest criminal. In a city known for violence as the result of multiple drug cartels, the women of Juárez immediately took to Diana’s story, and rightfully so, as violence against women continues to be ignored by local authorities. Tracey Wilkinson and Cecilia Sanchez (2013) write for the Los Angeles Times:

What is clear is that for the last two decades, hundreds of women, many of them maquiladora workers, have been killed or have gone missing in Ciudad Juárez. Some disappeared after boarding buses, their raped and tortured bodies later found dumped in the desert. Few of the cases are ever resolved, and families have endlessly protested the lack of justice for their daughters, sisters and mothers.

These stories, although experienced by many families, are often silenced. In 2001, a bus driver named Victor Garcia Uribe was arrested for killing innocent women while he was under the influence of marijuana. Just four years later, a local court released him from prison claiming police officers had tortured him into confessing (Herrera, 2013).

These narratives of survival from sexual assault are far too common for many of Juárez’s women and the entire community. Kilpatrick (2013) writes, “Social media reacted immediately. A Facebook page was created, and La Polaka readers wrote comments congratulating the unidentified murderess.” Diana’s fan base immediately grew as citizens recognized her experience with one of city’s most ignored topics. Despite the obvious similarities to the stories of many of Juárez’s women, and the questions over the story’s authenticity, Diana’s story offers us, as rhetorical critics, an opportunity to understand the tactics women must use to break boundaries in patriarchal societies to have their voices heard. Therefore, it is important to ask the research question: How does the construction of the Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers narrative
challenge cultural notions of gender and victimhood? In order to answer this question, I evaluate the production of, and reaction to, the Diana narrative through in Kenneth Burke’s pentad and comic and tragic frames, narrative analysis rooted in Fisher’s narrative paradigm, and a criticism of gender roles in Latin American Cultures. Although Burke and Fisher’s work are not directly connected, McClure (2009) argues that in order to successfully engage in narrative criticism, a critic must also have an understanding of Burke’s concept of identification. Because narrative analysis and Burke’s methods go hand-in-hand, these methods are appropriate for this thesis.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Burke’s Pentad

Although Kenneth Burke began his career with a focus on literary criticism, rhetorical critics often employ his work. In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke (1950) introduces the concepts of consubstantiality and identification, processes where two unique individuals seek to find some commonality that will connect them. Consubstantiality recognizes that individuals have unique viewpoints that are shared by some in the audience and are not shared by others. However, seeing rhetoric as persuasion, Burke writes, “If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity” (1950, p. 22). Identification, then, asks the rhetor to find some common value or idea that can connect them with the audience. Through engaging in these rhetorical processes, a rhetor can seek to bring a group of people together, persuading them they have similar values. This focus on rhetoric as persuasion makes Burke’s work ideal for rhetorical critics.

Burke (1945), in *A Grammar of Motives*, argues that life is ultimately a drama unfolding before our eyes. Heroes and villains use their individual motives to create a larger storyline that encompasses our everyday experiences. This idea of dramatism, specifically motives, sparked his explanation of a five-element system called the pentad. Burke writes, “any complete statement about motives will offer *some kind* of answers to these five questions: what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose)”
(1945, p. x). Timothy Borchers (2011) writes although it may seem tempting to focus on simply one element of the pentad, it is important to consider every element of this system as it relates to the other terms.

Burke clarifies the purpose of the dramatistic pentad to explain how audiences react or perceive a discourse with which they are presented. In Sophistic thought, teachings relied on helping speakers produce texts that would persuade audiences. However, Burke writes, “My job was not to help a writer decide what he might say to produce a text. It was to help a critic perceive what was going on in a text already written” (1978, p. 332). The pentad, therefore, is not a tool designed to teach a rhetor how to persuade an audience. Instead, it is a tool intended for critics to understand an audience placed within a larger societal drama receives how preexisting discourse.

Many of these terms in this pentad have been used to discuss much broader settings. For instance, in a typical setting, scene might refer to a specific physical location. Burke contends, “…we may examine the term Scene simply as a blanket term for the concept of background or setting in general, a name for any situation in which acts or agents are placed” (1945, p. xi). Burke continues, “the scene is a fit ‘container’ for the act” (1945, p. 3). Burke (1978) also writes it is important to consider the overall “circumference” of a scene when criticizing texts with the pentad (p. 333). Although the scene may feel small and limited, the acts taking place within the scene may extend the discussion of its elements to a much broader context.

At its core, dramatism invites critics to understand how audiences will perceive messages and discourse. The element of scene is a pivotal tool in this discussion. For example, in 1983, a suicide bomber set off an explosive in Beirut, Lebanon, that killed hundreds of Marines. David S. Birdsell (1987) explores the speeches performed by President Ronald Reagan after these
attacks. In his rhetoric, Reagan began by focusing on a very specific scene and then expanded the discussion to a larger setting. Initially, Reagan focused on the military camp that was attacked. As Birdsell (1987) writes, “Much of the description centers on things: the troop encampment, the trucks on the highway, and the road itself” (p. 268). Reagan painted a picture of troops who had no idea a bomb could be hidden in a car or truck, because every vehicle looks the same. Simply put, the suicide bomber invaded the normal happenings of the camp scene to create the attack.

However, after focusing on the more specific elements of the scene, Reagan enlarged the discussion to explore the political happenings in Beirut. Birdsell (1987) writes that after explaining the tragic events that took place, Reagan’s rhetoric justified why there was an American presence in Lebanon in the first place to his constituents. By expanding the scene from a specific conflict to one that focused on the political unrest in Lebanon that forced Americans to get involved, Reagan explained the much broader context of American involvement and the attack on the military base.

This expansion of the scene from specific to metaphysical is also seen in Mari Boor Tonn, Valerie A. Endress, and John N. Diamond’s (2010) article regarding the death of Karen Wood. In 1998, a hunter shot Wood under the assumption that she was a deer, not a human. They define scene as the physical or temporal location where an act takes place (Tonn, Endress, and Diamond 2010). After analyzing the local media’s perspective of these events, Tonn, Endress, and Diamond (2010) create two conflicting perspectives of scene. A specific, physical location of Wood’s backyard placed the responsibility on the hunter for shooting her while she was on her private property. However, when the media described the scene as the woods, the larger, more temporal location, the blame was placed on Wood because a hunter would be expected to shoot
at moving objects. Ultimately, Tonn, Endress, and Diamond highlight these competing perspectives of scene, showcasing how variations of scene create a variation of the entire drama.

These conflicting ideas of scene have also been applied to cases of sexual assault, specifically the 2006 case involving the Duke University Lacrosse team. Anna Kimberly Turnage (2009), in studying the events that occurred in Durham, North Carolina, asserts that the varying socioeconomic and class statuses in the city affected not only the citizens’ viewpoint of the scene, but also how the media framed the case. Durham, a predominately minority, lower-income city was portrayed against the largely white, affluent student body. The citizens, wanting to dwell in a peaceful town, viewed the Duke students as invaders, disturbing the town order. This scene caused the town of Durham to convict the Lacrosse players “…in the court of public opinion before a legal trial could take place” (Turnage 2009, p.147). Instead of viewing the University itself as the scene of the sexual assault, Durham’s citizens placed the events in the larger setting of the entire town. Students, however, continued to view the specific scene of the University. These conflicting perspectives allow us as critics to understand how audience members view of the scene affects their opinions of the entire drama.

Often, when analyzing a text or artifact through a Burkean lens, multiple elements of the pentad are explored. In other words, two or three elements of the pentad may be competing for equal attention, or what Burke would call ratios. He writes “Using ‘scene’ in the sense of setting, or background, and ‘act’ in the sense of action, one could say that ‘the scene contains the act.’ And using ‘agents in the sense of actors, or actors, one could say that ‘the scene contains the agents’” (Burke, 1945 p. 3). When describing the scene-act ratio, Burke furthers, “…the scene-act ratio either calls for acts in keeping with scenes or scenes in keeping with acts -- and similarly with the scene-agent ratio” (p. 9). Although multiple ratios exist, singling out certain elements of
the pentad allow the critic to explain how the drama influences the audiences. Pinpointing the pentadic elements at play isolates the most important aspects of the overarching drama. Also, when analyzing a text with the idea of ratios in mind, each element must seem correctly reasonable to be considered with another.

Rutten, Roets, Stoeart and Roose (2012) analyze the narratives of disability found in the 1960 movie *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* through a pentadic criticism. This movie, set in Oregon, shows the stories of how doctors, caretakers, and patients interact at a mental hospital. Rutten, Roets, Stoeart, and Roose argue the scene of the hospital frame the other four elements of the pentad. For example, one of the central storylines in the movie is a struggle between two employees at the hospital. As each one attempts to gain more power, a scene-agent ratio is created. Without the scene of the hospital as the work place, the agents would not have a reason to act in the drama. Furthermore, the scene provides agency for the agents, or creates a scene-agency ratio. The different demarcations of status and power found in the workplace gives each character working in the hospital a different agency. In other words, if the actions in the movie took place in any other scene, the actors and agents would not have a reason to act. For critics, this analysis allows us to understand how a scene can help motivate agents to act.

Pentadic analysis offers critics a vital tool to understand how actions that take place in a specific scenes influence an audience. While examining a single piece of discourse is often important for critics, the pentad allows us to place the discourse in a larger picture, understanding the variety of factors that influence how the rhetoric is perceived and used by an audience. Essentially, rhetoric does not exist in a vacuum. In this project, the pentadic elements, especially the element of scene, allow us to frame Diana’s rhetoric and the discourse surrounding
her actions through a societal drama with a variety of actors and actions. A pentadic analysis gives us, as critics, a more complete understanding of how rhetoric can influence a community.

*Burke’s Comic and Tragic Frames*

The actions that take place in a pentadic analysis, however, often include a wrongdoing. This motivated Burke to turn his work to understand how societies can purge themselves of guilt and wrongdoing. As Burke (1978) writes in his 1939 essay “The Rhetoric of Hitler’s Battle,” Hitler desired to sustain the Aryan race, but to do so, he employed the rhetoric of sacrifice. First, individuals had to sacrifice themselves “to the group, hence, militarism, army discipline, and one big company union” (Burke 1978, p. 246). To convince individuals to sacrifice themselves to a larger cause, Hitler persuaded the community that Aryan race was superior to all other racial and ethnic groups. Therefore, the Jewish community must be ostracized and sacrificed for introducing the unclean democratic ideals into the Aryan society. Combining the pentadic elements of dramatism with the discussion of purging guilt allows critics to understand how audiences may view their options of cleansing their society.

This focus on purging a group of its guilt led to two distinct theories: the comic and tragic frames. In *Attitudes Toward History*, Burke (1984) writes these frames of redemption are grounded in Christian thought, where “the Church quickly put forward beneficent fictions of penance and indulgence whereby the mounting pugnacity could be ‘saved’ as far as possible” (p. 23). First, rhetoric using the tragic frame creates a scapegoat on which all of the society’s guilt is placed. The scapegoat then becomes the representative for the society’s problem. Then, at the end of the drama, the scapegoat is banished from the society (Borchers 2011). Often, Burke would use the example of Jesus Christ to describe a scapegoat. He was viewed as being “too
good for this world,” and therefore, was a perfect representative of the community’s guilt (Burke qtd. in Borchers 156).

Next, Burke discusses the comic frame. While the tragic frame forces the guilty to leave a community, the comic frame acknowledges the wrongdoing but welcomes the guilty back into the fold. Burke (1984) writes the comic frame depends on the “internal organization,” or, in other words, “Comedy deals with man in society…” (p. 42). Comedy then focuses on the actor placed into a larger group, not just the actor themselves. As Borchers explains it, “The result of comic redemption is that the social order learns from the mistakes of its members” (158). The comic frame is then a communal process of redemption, placing the focus on a community growing from a member’s mistake rather than a community banishing a member. When the comic frame is used effectively, individual members within a community recognize they could have easily committed the same action. The comic frame, instead, invites them to recognize that they, too, must take responsibility for rectifying the situation. Then the purification process becomes a collective effort for members of the group. These frames allow rhetorical critics to understand how societies can purge themselves of guilt after wrongdoing takes place.

Almost a decade after Matthew Shepard was brutally murdered in 1998, Ott and Aoki (2010) began studying the media’s depiction of his murder and death. Using pieces from five major newspapers, including The Advocate, an LGBTQ-focused publication, they argue the use of the tragic frame helped to create a purification cycle after his murder. Initially, they use Burkean definitions of the tragic frame, claiming a scapegoat allows a society to cleanse itself from the moral dilemma it is facing. First, the media’s depiction of murderers Aaron McKinney and Russell Henderson, Shepard’s killers, separated them from the rest of the town, attempting to place the guilt on the murderers, not the community at large. Next, Henderson’s guilty plea and
McKinney’s conviction brought closure to the story, allowing the public to know Shepard’s assailants would be in jail for the rest of their lives. In the implications section, as alternatives to the tragic frame, they argue the media could adopt “frames of rejection” or the comic frame (Ott and Aoki, 2010 p. 281). Ott and Aoki (2010) argue the comic frame is preferable because, “one can identify with the mistaken, [and] become a student of her/himself…” (282). In other words, the comic frame allows the audience to take part in redeeming the society, letting collective action become a key component in cultural change.

Although the comic and tragic frames have been used to explore violent acts, they are also a key tool in understanding how a society may purge itself when competing political views are at play. After the mass shooting in Tucson, Arizona where Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords and eighteen others were injured or killed, Smith and Holihan (2014) began studying and analyzing the rhetoric used by conservatives to justify their gun policy after this attack took place. They argue “conservative responses to the massacre closed off rhetorical alternatives that would allow the nation collectively to take responsibility for, learn from, and work to prevent similar instances of violence in the future” (Smith and Holihan 2014, p. 587). Smith and Holihan (2014) rely heavily on Burke’s notion of the comic frame that allows persons in question to learn from mishaps and situations and still become a valid member of the community. They argue conservatives offered two counters when discussing the events in Tucson: liberals sought to profit from the events that occurred and the shootings were not politically motivated. Furthermore, the TEA Party, an anti-establishment collection of conservative voters, even went so far as to blame liberals for the shootings. This final strategy used Burke’s idea of identification, giving names to the political opposition and the murderer. In their implications, they argue for a hybrid of both the tragic and comic frames: the tragicomic frame. A person is
still held responsible for the crime while the society as a whole recognizes they must take collective action to solve the problem.

Beside the media coverage surrounding tragic events, the comic and tragic frames have been applied to other texts as well. In their analysis of William Gibson’s 1984 award-winning science fiction novel titled *Neuromancer*, Renegar and Dionisopoulous (2011) argue Gibson’s use of the comic frame “serve[s] as a vehicle for self-reflection and social criticism” (p. 324). The book depicts a futuristic culture with stark similarities to the present time and is one of the founding works of the cyberpunk genre. They operate with the working definition that the comic frame allows “people to be observes of themselves while acting” (Burke qtd. in Renegar & Dionisopoulous 2011, p. 325). *Neuromancer* depicts a society that becomes increasingly dependent on information technology. The community became rampant with narcotics, weapons have become more violent, and virtually no form of privacy exists. Furthermore, the desire for perfection continued to place an emphasis on technology, rather than human connection or preserving nature. Renegar and Dionisopoulous (2011) note that although *Neuromancer* provided effective social commentary, it does not provide the audience with a specific solution or agency to tackle the problems it is pin-pointing.

However, the ideas of the comic and tragic frames have also been studied in conjunction with other Burkean concepts. Toker (2002) explores the discourse of nuclear activist Lisa Crawford through the lens of the comic frame and Burke’s notion of identification. Crawford helped promote the needs of communities affected by nuclear damage and helped them receive just compensation. First, Crawford uses identification, or a process the rhetor seeks to share interests with the audience or make the audience believe the values are shared even if they are not. In his book, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Kenneth Burke (1950) writes, “You persuade a man only
insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his” (p. 55). To engage in identification, a rhetor must find a point of commonality with the audience that would then invite them to listen and take part in the discourse.

Exploring the rhetoric of nuclear activism, Toker (2002) argues that Crawford was able to successfully identify with on-site officials and other nuclear proponents because she adopted their vocabulary in her written and oral statements. Second, Crawford enacted the comic frame by asking questions that parodied those of the general public, including framing the questions with grammatical and syntactic errors. This allowed the public to recognize they each had an element of the clown within themselves. Toker (2002) concludes that the use of the comic frame can force technical language to shift to language more understood by a lay audience, especially in more policy-centered issues. Also, the use of the comic frame can serve as an impetus to focus on more community-centered values, as members of the public begin to recognize elements of the clown within themselves. This idea of identification, however, is not unique to discussions of the comic and tragic frames; it has also been applied to narrative analysis.

Narrative

Since the Sophists began exploring language in classical times, the focus on storytelling in rhetoric has remained a key component of criticism. For instance, Clair, et al. (2014), writes that the narratives presented in Homer’s poetry helped Plato gain philosophical truth. However, this focus on storytelling continued as, “Aristotle expounded upon both theory and practice of narrative as he held it to a high esteem and…his work was followed by Longinus’s detailed essay that advised writers how to achieve narrative perfection” (Clair, et al., 2014, p. 2). This focus on the narrative remained a key facet of classical rhetoric.
Centuries later, in the 19th and 20th centuries, rhetorical critics continued to focus on storytelling as a fundamental aspect of human communication and existence. Clair, et al. (2014) writes German philosopher and critic Friedrich Nietzsche (1872/1954) continued on the work of Aristotle and Plato, arguing myth, his term for narrative, helped humans give meaning to their lives. This not only affirmed Aristotle and Plato’s importance on the narrative, but it also reinforced the significance narratives play in everyday existence. Years later, in the 20th century, Hawhee (1999) argues Kenneth Burke again recognized the importance of stories by incorporating a focus on narratives into his literary and rhetorical criticism, describing the narrative as a universal form of logic.

This foundation by philosophers and teachers of communication prompted Walter Fisher to craft his narrative paradigm in 1984. Fisher argues humans are *homo narrans*, storytelling beings that understand life through the basic series of a plotline. He writes, “The idea of human beings as storytellers indicates the generic form of all symbol composition; it holds that symbols are created and communicated ultimately as stories meant to give order to human experience…” (Fisher 1984, p. 6). Symbols, a fundamental aspect of human communication, are often expressed through a narrative form allowing them to become more accessible to all audience members. It is through narratives, through stories that are presented to us through history, the media, and other people that we as humans are able to find value in experience, making narratives the crux of our communication.

Fisher’s desire to promote the narrative paradigm stems from his belief that traditional models of rationality are rooted in forms that isolate the average audience. Fisher (1984) writes that traditional forms of rationality ask one to use complex methods of higher thinking. However, these methods of judgment, usually resting solely in the hands of a society’s elite, do not take
into account the innate ability found in all humans. As an example, Fisher argues that the facts presented by politicians to their constituents allow the audience to create a narrative to form opinions on issues regarding foreign and domestic policy. As rationality continues to be a weapon to attack the nation’s everyday citizens, storytelling prevails, allowing everyday citizens to make judgments for themselves.

These judgments stem from two key concepts found in Fisher’s (1984) work: narrative probability and narrative fidelity. First, narrative probability requires the audience to simply ask if the story makes sense. Fisher describes this quality as, “what constitutes a coherent story” (1984, p. 8). In other words, the audience must ask if they believe the story is plausible. Second, narrative fidelity asks the audience to determine if the narrative with which they are presented mirrors their personal experiences. Fisher claims narrative fidelity involves, “whether the stories they [the audience] experience ring true with the stories they know to be true in their lives” (1984, p. 8). Narrative fidelity then asks the audience can then use their personal narratives or narratives they have heard as a measuring stick to weigh the rhetor’s argument.

Fisher’s work relies on the idea of the public, a general audience unfamiliar with more complex forms of logic. Fisher writes the traditional forms of argument used by experts to discuss moral issues discredit the narrative paradigm. However, framing arguments with his paradigm allows moral arguments to now become public. Fisher writes:

Public moral argument is to be distinguished from reasoned discourse in interpersonal interactions and arguments occurring in specialized communities… The features differentiating public moral argument from such encounters are: (1) It is publicized, made available for consumption and persuasion of the polity at large; and (2) it is aimed at what Aristotle called “untrained thinkers,” or it should be. (1984, p. 12)
Narrative analysis then works hand in hand with the public moral argument, using common forms of logic, like narrative, and identification to persuade an audience where information can be widely consumed, paralleling the ever-growing concept of rhetoric.

This focus on the audience, centering on lived experience, often brings the narrative paradigm to life in personal stories. Michael E. Burns (2015) uses Fisher’s narrative paradigm to explain the choices high school seniors make as they pick a college. He argues although tangible facts like job placement and teacher experience do play some role in the decision making process, prospective university students still struggle to understand the intangible aspects of four-year institutions, including on-campus culture. Although his research did not focus on the rhetoric of college pitches, he was able to infer, after interviewing six focus groups of high school seniors, that personal stories often provided the final element that pushed a student toward a university. According to Burns (2015), hearing current college students discuss their happy, personal stories pushed seniors to be in favor of one school over the other. Burns writes, “Participants explained in their responses that the stories shown by the four selected universities would help them make sense of their final decision because they would be able to see and understand how their lives would be at that university” (2015, p. 111). Narratives have a persuasive factor to help audiences understand the events and decisions with which they are presented, making this perspective crucial for understanding Diana’s story.

The paradigm, however, is not a method of criticism. Rather, it is simply a way of viewing the world. Kevin McClure (2009) asserts critics have often pointed out the narrative paradigm does not take into account the possibility of accepting new narratives, and it also fails to provide a clear measuring stick for critics to understand the criteria of narrative fidelity and probability. Instead, McClure argues that linking Burke’s concept of identification with elements
of the narrative paradigm allow critics to then engage in narrative analysis. McClure writes, “Probability and fidelity, then, should be understood as two processes of identification present in narrative rationality that are constituted or composed by specific ‘logics’ of identification” (2009, p. 195). Narratives, then, should be seen as a way for a rhetor to identify with an audience, asking them if the story identifies with ones they have heard or experienced in their lives.

Burke (1950) argues to persuade an audience, a rhetor must find some point of commonality, whether that is through gesture, language, or values. This process of finding a commonality allows the rhetor to find a connection with his or her audience. McClure (2009) argues, “In using identification, Fisher sought to supplement the ‘rational-world paradigm’ because it provides a theoretical conception by which narratives are constituted…identification is the process that the narrative paradigm ought to describe regardless of a given narrative’s rationality” (p. 297). The narrative paradigm and narrative analysis should focus on how the story initiates identification for audience members, not simply the logical structure of the story.

To engage in narrative analysis, bridging Fisher’s work with Burke’s concept of identification, McClure (2009) proposes narrative identification. He writes:

An emphasis should be placed upon critical analysis, which, in this sense, means more than the criteria that one could employ before assenting to a particular narrative, the principles of coherence and fidelity; rather it means assessing critically how a narrative may rhetorically achieve adherence, socially and individually. (p. 201)

Ultimately, narratives are a tool to create a social order that must be evaluated for their persuasive appeals. McClure then places the narrative not as simply a way of thinking but rather as a way to critically understand how narratives may persuade an audience to a new way of thinking or a specific action. He further contends, as individual narratives become more consistent with widely accepted cultural narratives and values, then the specific story’s potential
to persuade an audience increases. Therefore, when analyzing narratives through this lens, understanding how the narrative fits within in the specific culture to identify with the audience is key for critics.

*Diana as a Global Narrative*

This focus on specific narratives fitting into a larger, cultural narrative is especially key for understanding Diana, the Huntress Bus of Drivers. Long before she made her mark on Juárez, Diana, also known as the Greek goddess Artemis, was a famous Greco-Roman goddess, known for her sportsmanship and also for being the goddess of chastity. Tobias Fincher-Hansen and Birte Poulsen (2009) provide a background on this goddess. The daughter of Leto and Zeus, Diana was “the twin sister of Apollo,” but she also balanced traditionally feminine roles of childbearing with traditionally masculine traits like a love of hunting and outdoorsmanship (Fincher-Hansen & Poulsen, 2009, p. 11). Diana was known for her incredible hunting skills, and she would use her power to attack any man, god or mortal, that would assault her. Although her hunting skills may seem like retaliation initially, they actually serve to create a challenge to patriarchal culture that tells women, then and today, that they should be submissive to men. However, when Diana’s chastity is challenged, something that sets her apart from the other gods and goddesses, she fights back, sending a larger, societal message that speaks to sexual violence across a number of cultures.

Worship of Diana also forced her followers to negotiate a variety of gender expectations, as well. As with any goddess, worshippers offered Diana a variety of sacrifices. Whether in the Greek or Roman tradition, one offering remained consistent: textiles. Fincher-Hansen and Poulsen (2009) write, “Offerings of textiles to Artemis [Diana] are well known in classical Greek and Roman cult” (p. 31). Textiles, a feminine offering, were used to please this goddess of sexual
purity. However, training socially upstanding men was also seen as an act of worship to Diana. At one of her temples, Fincher-Hansen and Poulsen (2009) also assert young boys were sequestered at an early age, undergoing rigorous whippings and physical beatings, making them not only warriors, but introducing them to the unwanted violence women may face on a daily basis. Not only did Diana personally have to balance gender expectations, but her worshippers faced this balance, as well.

The story of Diana is not unique to just Greek or Roman culture. Rather, it has spread across the globe. Fincher-Hansen and Poulsen (2009) write as trade routes extended European exploration outside of the continent, the narrative of Diana was adopted by non-Western cultures. For instance, groups in both India and Iran share stories of a goddess of the hunt who is forced to balance both feminine and masculine identities that appeared as Greek and Roman thought spread. Although these stories are not identical to the one presented in Greek and Roman culture, this symbolic narrative of the goddess allowed this story to spread globally, not just within European societies. In Mexico, the application of the Diana myth resounds with much of the original elements.

Since the Fourth Century BC, myths have stood as a way to teach an audience morals and virtues. This idea is strongly true for the Greco-Roman character of Diana. Although the stories of Diana are centuries old, they first became popular in Spanish-speaking cultures in the 1600s. Marlene G. Collins (2005) discusses Pedro Calderon de la Barca’s work *Fienza contra fienza*, a play written to be performed before Spanish aristocrats in the 17th century. Collins writes in traditional mythology involving Diana, the goddess of chastity, her character of a virtuous virgin is challenged by an angry god, like Venus, looking for a passionate lover, even if that means rape or sexual assault. In other narratives, the gods enact vengeance on a mortal. However, when
Calderon introduces this story into Hispanic culture, the story changes. Collins contends, “Instead of the conventional mythological drama in which the gods exact vengeance on a mortal, it is a human being, Anfion, caught up in a belligerent maelstrom of human passion, who successfully avenges himself on a goddess, unaided by any other divinity” (2005, p. 277). This instance in Spanish-speaking culture served to open the door to showcase a Diana, pristine and pure, tainted by a mortal man.

Centuries after stories of Diana were introduced to audiences in Europe, a Mexican audience met this goddess. This time, however, Diana was visually represented as a statue in Mexico City, the country’s capital. Claire F. Fox (2001) asserts in 1944 a bronze statue of Diana was placed in El Paseo de la Reforma, a large public square. Diana is depicted nude, pulling back on a bow and arrow, and in the midst of the hunt. The location of El Paseo de la Reforma plays an important role. Fox (2001) writes, “by the 1940s, there was already a well-established tradition of El Paseo de la Reforma as an outdoor museum of great men and great deeds on the part of the city’s elite” (p. 5). Therefore, Diana is set apart in Mexican culture as a story for Mexico’s upper caste by being erected in this physical place.

Although the location of this statue may isolate the general Mexican public, the physical representation of Diana establishes her as a common citizen. The statue’s creators sought to envision a nationalist symbol to unite the Mexican people (Fox 2001). As one of the sculptors explains, “I resisted the classic beauty of the Greeks and decided to focus my attention on the Creole beauty of our women” (Fox 2001, p. 3). The physical attributes of Mexican women were ignored for more European qualities. However, even though Diana is depicted as a strong, Hispanic woman, the artists still chose to craft a statue of a nude woman, sexualizing the representation of a goddess so eager to fight against the patriarchy. This physical depiction of
Diana, although uncommon to Mexican culture, is embodied in a woman who would look more familiar to a Mexican audience while still ringing true to many of the elements found in the original story of this goddess.

Although the capital of Mexico has a statue of Diana as one of its landmarks, Juárez, the scene of a new Diana, is still familiar with the story. Yuri Herrera (2013), writer for This American Life, explains:

Whoever chose Diana's name, chose well. Diana the Hunter is the goddess of women and childbirth who, like many other Roman gods, acts out of basic human feelings: like rage and revenge. There is, on one of Mexico City's most famous streets, a statue of Diana the Hunter. And there's a replica of it outside a restaurant in Juárez. She's muscular, strong, holding a bow with her arm stretched back, about to shoot.

The story of Diana, which had already been introduced into Spanish-speaking culture, made its way into Juárez, where a new and embodied Diana would gain her fame. This narrative of a feminist goddess who actively acts out in anger against an oppressive patriarchy found its way into a city that soon eagerly worshiped what the rest of the world would call a criminal.

**Gender in Latino/a Cultures**

In Latin American cultures, the term *machismo* refers to an ideology of gender roles that manifests itself in the behavior of many men within these cultures. The root word, “macho,” translates to male. As this term moved north to the United States and to other English-speaking countries, it garnered a negative connotation as it was used to refer to unwelcomed masculine behaviors. Furthermore, on an international scene, “the extreme form [of machismo] is manifested as hate and extreme physical and psychological violence against women, and it has been reported in a number of Latin American countries to differing degrees” (Englander, Yanez, & Barney 2012, p. 68). Regardless of where this term is used, one thing is certain: the term
originated in Mexico and still remains prevalent within the nation (Englander, Yanez, & Barney 2012).

Within Mexican culture, machismo has both positive and negative connotations. Qualities to be admired in men generally spawn from family roles. Men are expected to be protective, responsible fathers that provide for their families. These positive characteristics are often linked to patriarchal behaviors, as well. Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012) write that men are often asked to defend the women in their communities while also giving generously to them. Peña (1991) expands this claim offering men are asked to have respect “that idealizes women” (p. 37). These gendered ideas of machismo ask men to be providers and protectors of women to ensure a strong quality of life for families and communities.

Most well known, however, are the negative characteristics associated with machismo. Stevens (1973) argues these undesirable qualities often stem from the trait of aggressiveness. This aggression often manifests itself as physical force. Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012) assert:

Negative behavior is performed through the male body and through a man’s ability to use his physicality for dominance. Sexual episodes, alcohol consumption, dare-devil behavior, fights and domestic abuse are typically attributed activities. Domestic abuse is such a common characteristic of machismo that when people refute the characterization of a particular man as being macho, they will often point out that he does not beat his wife and, therefore, he isn’t a macho.

Although men are expected to be protectors, this physical aggression also asks men to degrade and abuse women. This abuse does not stop at physical aggression, though. Peña (1991) argues vulgar, misogynistic language often finds its way into Latin American cultures as a result of machismo to ensure men physically and rhetorically are able to control women.

Although there are general characteristics of machismo, traits vary depending on the region and the male’s social class. Vigoya (2003) contends machismo varies from location to
location within Latin American culture, but its use often fluctuates with social constraints, as well. Vigoya writes gender expectations for men vary, “…by the place they occupy within class…and generational categories” (2003, p. 50). In this analysis, therefore, it is important to consider how machismo is used in more working-class situations, as the city of Juárez is entrenched in poverty (Herrera, 2013). Furthermore, the physical location of the crime, a bus, signals a focus on a lower income audience. On a larger scale, the city of Juárez, a town on the border, will have a unique understanding of gender roles as compared to other Latin American countries.

Peña (1991) observes these working class uses of machismo in his ethnographic study of Mexican men working on farms near the Mexican-American border. Because many of the citizens of Juárez fall within a similar economic class of low income and Juárez is also located near the border, his work on machismo and its manifestations is pivotal to this analysis. He argues that despite the physical location, stories from Mexican folklore about women help shape male gender roles. These stories cross borders with Mexican migrants and inform how men interact with women and their understanding of machismo.

Peña (1991) explores these two narratives that shape machismo on the border. First, he argues women, “may be reduced to a state of absolute sexual passivity, an unwitting object for the sadistic amusement of the macho” (Peña 1991, p. 33). Men respond by sexually exploiting women, treating them as objects for male enjoyment. Second, he asserts that a woman “may be portrayed as a heartless wench who betrays her lover without the slightest sense of remorse” (Peña 1991, p. 33). Sex, then, becomes a way to manipulate and control women, punishing the woman for betraying her partner. As migrants move throughout the country, these stories come with them, informing gender roles in immigrant communities.
As Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012) observe, machismo often takes form both physically and rhetorically among Mexican men. Peña (1991) observes the sexual jabs taken at women in his study. For instance, he writes women were often told to “open [their] legs” (Peña, 1991, p. 35). He writes the cultural expectation of machismo often causes women to be sexually exploited. In one story told in the fields, a man discussed his friend who married a woman that was so feisty and promiscuous that the friend could not even control the women with physical force. In others stories, Peña (1991) asserts women were reduced to colloquial terms for their genitalia, or mere sexual objects meant for the pleasure of men. These narratives reinforce the two gender roles found in the stories of women being used for the sexual pleasure of men or as a woman who betrays men with no regret.

These cycles of sexual exploitation remain in tact largely due to the economic dependence within Mexican culture, as women often depend financially on men. Orozco, Nievar, and Middlemiss (2012) write, “economic dependence is largely the result of cultural traditions, particularly in rural areas, prohibiting women from entering the labor force” (p. 761). They elaborate that when women do have the resources to break free from this cycle of partner violence, societal barriers often stand in their way, as well. As cities and states become more developed within Mexico, more governmental and non-profit support exists for physically and emotionally abused women (Orozco, Nievar, & Middlemiss, 2012). However, for areas without this financial capability, these resources rarely exist, leaving women to find a solution on their own terms.

This pejorative rhetoric, specifically the language of using physical force to control women sexually, manifests itself physically in the negative characteristics mentioned by Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012). They contend, “Domestic abuse is such a common
characteristic of machismo that when people refute the characterization of a particular man as being macho, they will often point out that he does not beat his wife and, therefore, he isn’t a macho” (Englander, Yanez, & Barney, 2013, p. 68).

By far one of the most common manifestations is violence against women or intimate partner violence, where men sexually and physically abuse women to exert their dominance. Torres, Solberg, and Carlstrom (2002) argue this abuse comes from an ideology within patriarchal cultures, like Mexico, that women are largely inferior to men. Furthermore, this idea of physical abuse is not unique to just Mexican women. Pop Bol (2000) writes the men who often engage in partner abuse and violence against women were often attacked as children and view this violence as normal. Therefore, when Latin American children view domestic violence at home, this behavior becomes normalized continues throughout the culture.

Machismo does create clear expectations for men. However, the idea of sexual exploitation and conquest caused women to be handed gender roles of their own. Specifically, women are held the standard of marianismo. This term, although it has been used throughout the region, refers specifically to the gender roles placed on women within Mexican culture. Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012) contend, “The term derives from the Virgin Mary, the woman in Catholic theology who was both a virgin and the mother of the savior Jesus, and she serves as a model of femininity. Through allusions to Mary (Maria in Spanish), marianismo presents behaviors and characteristics for women that are very different from machismo” (p. 69). These expectations, stemming from the story of the Virgin Mary, celebrate maternalism and motherhood. Peña (1991) argues the ideal Mexican woman is a self-sacrificing mother with endless love for her children and family. This sacrifice is not only a physical one, as she carries children, but one of time and devotion to the family unit. However, this sacrifice often asks
women to be submissive and passive to their partner’s wishes and places the male partner’s desires at the forefront of the family’s values (Stevens, 1972/1998). Therefore, women who are subjected to their partner’s wishes, while also raising and supporting a family, are the ideal woman in Mexican culture.

Many of these expectations within the idea of marianismo stem from the Spanish word respeto, which translates to respect in English. In the United States, our concept of respect can include synonyms like tolerance and compassion. This word has a much deeper meaning in Latin American cultures. For instance, in Mexico, this word signifies an “emotional dependence and dutifulness” that is not understood in the English connotation (Carranza, 2013). Falicov (1998) also highlights the relationship between mother and child, arguing the embodiment of this word is best found in the parental relationship. This respect for the values of the parents creates a social contract for many Latino children, asking them to carry out the family’s values outside of the home. Therefore, gender roles observed in the home are reinforced through interactions in the community.

Besides the emphasis on respecting the family, marianismo also plays a key role in developing sexual activities and expectations of many Latin American women. Carranza (2013) writes, “marianismo is often exemplified by females...being generally constrained in exploring their sexuality before or outside marriage” (p. 313). In other words, just as the Virgin Mary was expected to remain sexually pure before she married Joseph, Latin American women are to suppress their sexual desires until marriage (Gil & Vasquez, 1996). If women do learn about sex, however, they are expected to learn at the hands of a man (Hirsh et al., 2002). This silence about sex extends to the interactions between Latinas and their mothers. O’Sullivan et al. (1999) argues that marianismo asks women to remain silent about sexual activity or their sex lives, creating a
cycle where Latin American women are constantly shamed. Therefore, when women do speak out about sexual activity or sexual assault, they are often ostracized with no clear mechanism available to welcome them back into society.

This contrast between the hypermasculinity of machismo and the hyperfemininity of marianismo also manifests itself in the emotions men and women are allowed to display in Mexican culture. Sequeira (2009) argues men are allowed to have much more emotional depth than women, with the ability to openly express positive and negative feelings. On the other hand, just as the Virgin Mary is depicted as quite and docile, women are expected to feel “sympathy, sadness, guilt, fear, jealousy, and less anger” (Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdez, 2010 p. 330). This limited emotional range is even depicted in popular media throughout Mexico. Villegas, Lemanski, and Valdez (2010) contend Mexican media often reinforces ideals of marianismo by depicting women with calm or neutral emotions. Marianismo, a cultural leash, limits women to calm homemakers needing a man to validate their existence.

However, at the turn of the 20th century, many Mexican citizens began migrating north to the United States. With this change in location came a challenge to navigate the cultural expectations of American culture while embodying traditional Mexican ideals. Out of this cultural tension came the Chicano viewpoint. As Peña (1991) argues, chicano was used to refer to the Mexican American citizens working in farmlands and other low paying jobs within the United States. Peña furthers that gender dynamics changed as immigration north changed the American social and political landscape. Chicanas, or Mexican American women, were some of the first to break the stereotypes of marianismo, being labeled wild, loud, abrasive, and rule-breaking for not being submissive to the men in their lives.
Immigrants soon found work on farms in areas like New Mexico and California, and this change in labor led to a change in gender roles. Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012) argue that under marianismo, women were told their ideal job was to be a mother. However, in the United States, Deutsch (1994) writes women began working for wages and contributing to a family’s income, whether that work was found through making products at home or working in the fields. Farm labor further tore down these barriers created by marianismo as “in the beet fields women worked alongside the men” (Deutsch, 1994 p. 5). No longer were women subjected to just raising children to create a strong family. Instead, they were allowed to be financial contributors and work alongside men to improve the lives of their families. This financial opportunity allowed migrant women to abandon the oppressive ideas of marianismo and forge their own role in new community.

Along with this newfound economic liberty, chicanas also become more politically active compared to native Mexican women. Deutsch (1994) writes that as Mexicans migrated to the United States in the early 20th century, they were forced to create their own legal system to maintain order within chicano communities. Women played a crucial role, serving as judges and administrators in this court system. Deutsch continues that when strikes took place over labor issues in the American West of the 1930s, chicanas also developed political opinions on the issues surrounding them, providing grassroots support to a strike that would improve their livelihoods. This marks a shift from a docile, meek woman mirroring the Virgin Mary to one that is politically active, engaged economically, and part of the community.

In the 1960s and 1970s as Mexican immigrants moved throughout the American west, strikes about labor issues turned to protests to ensure chicano students received a quality education. Cooney (1975) explains as activism moved from labor fields to college campuses,
chicanas played a key part in the grassroots movement, providing the internal operations to bolster support for the issues for which they fought. However, Roth (2007) contends as this movement gained popularity, public leadership roles were still reserved exclusively for men. In fact, at one chicano organized conference, women were hidden as a speaker took the podium to begin a presentation. Although women were allowed to take part and enter the political arena, they were limited to just walking through the door, not the full privileges a male would receive. Therefore, if women wanted to have a specific role, they were limited to actions behind the scenes, with no opportunity for leadership.

By the end of the 1960s, chicana women emerged to create their own organizations to engage in activism. Roth (2007) asserts these organizations were led by women, for women, and were crucial to the emergence of chicana feminism. Roth writes, “Chicana feminists had to contend with the depiction of feminism as a suspect Anglo ‘infection’ of the Chicano body politic, while they themselves envisioned feminism as part of the Chicano movement, adamant about the need to work together with men to achieve liberation” (2007, p. 716-717). This created two challenges for chicanas: justifying why they should be politically involved while asserting that they were remaining true to their cultural identity.

A key component of the overall goal of the chicano movement was ensuring representation of the chicano narrative in public education. Roth (2007) furthers a crucial part of this goal was the inclusion of role models from within the chicano community. While organizations led by men championed male leaders of the past, women had a similar goal. Roth (2007) asserts:

Student activists could then posit their struggle as the next step in a process of resistance. The logic of uncovering heroes in order to locate current resistance was exactly the logic that Chicana feminists followed in their search for female role models in Chicano/Mexicano history; however, they shifted the emphasis to that of rediscovering
the Chicana feminist past. They thus accepted the value placed by the nationalist student movement on recovering a heroic Chicano history, but they sought a redefinition of this history that highlighted women’s participation as a means of sanctioning their own feminist organizing as nationalist. (p. 719)

Chicana feminism, therefore, sought to create a community of female heroes that stood alongside male heroes as part of their community’s ongoing fight for equality.

Decades later in the 21st century, this mark of political activism defining the chicana experience has shifted. Instead of physical protests of strikes, social media and the internet have become a prominent tool for chicanas to express their opinions. Sanchez and Ek (2013) point out, “Youth, including young Chicanas/Latinas, are engaged in online practices and spaces such as social networking sites, blogs, personal webpages, fanfiction communities, and so forth” (p. 184). This rise in activism on social media has then enabled more physical protests, as well. Revilla (2007) argues social media now enables chicanas to create marches, sit-ins, and other protests to express their concerns over a variety of issues.

The Scene of the Crime

Juárez, Mexico is known as one of the world’s most dangerous city. Its physical location, nestled on the American border near El Paso, Texas, has made it a likely spot for violence related to the growing drug problems between the two countries, as well as a gathering point of economies and ideals. Valencia (2015) writes, “Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, was once known as the murder capital of the world. Back in 2010, at the height of cartel violence, the city averaged 8.5 killings per day.” With this increase in crime, the city has had trouble increasing its infrastructure to effectively fight crime, as over one-third of the citizens live below the poverty line and city funds are often used for public services rather than police forces (Valencia 2015). With the continuous threat of violence and a police force that often fails to respond effectively to crime, Baverstock (2015) writes citizens have become vigilantes to fight these threats and to push local
police to begin investigating unsolved crimes; however, these efforts have had little effect on the city’s authorities.

This violence is not just felt by the citizens in Juárez; the country’s allies and neighbors have begun to recognize it, as well. In a 2015 report published by the United States Department of State Bureau of Diplomatic Security, Americans were warned to guard themselves against burglary, carjacking, and assault, to only travel on major highways, and to avoid visiting the city at night. The report also recognizes that the response from local authorities varies, stating “Levels of professionalism vary greatly among police agencies in Mexico” (U.S. Department of State, 2015). Despite these warnings, gender-related crimes, including sexual assault and femicide, are missing from the report, leaving these victims and survivors without a voice both at home and abroad.

Seven years before Diana’s crimes, in 2006, the U.S. federal government began recognizing the ongoing femicides happening in the city of Juárez. In a resolution passed that year by the U.S. House of Representatives, lawmakers acknowledged hundreds of the city’s women had been abducted, murdered, or sexually assaulted since 1993. However, local authorities, forensic experts, and the Mexican federal government failed to address these crimes due to their focus on the city’s larger drug problem, silencing the stories of the victims of their families and leaving the survivors unprotected and living in fear. The city’s women needed a voice, and Diana was their answer.
CHAPTER 3
ANALYSIS

Burkean Analysis

In *A Grammar of Motives*, Burke (1945) begins the discussion of pentadic analysis, introducing the concept of ratios. Ratios are key in rhetorical analysis that utilizes the pentad because it allows critics to understand how different elements of this system interact and how they influence a rhetor’s audience. In the case of Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers, the scene-act-purpose ratio is by far the most important. The scene and act work hand in hand. Burke (1945) writes, “...the scene is a fit ‘container’ for the act” (p. 3). In other words, the scene and act are dependent on one other; if the act was committed in a different scene, the drama would not make sense to the audience. The purpose, however, describes the rhetor’s motive or desire. Although Burke discusses the scene-act ratio at length, it is imperative to add purpose to this ratio to discuss the events that occurred in Juárez. Without understanding her motive for acting, these murders resemble any other crime happening in the city. Rather, her purpose, in connection with the scene and act, allows us to understand how the most pivotal elements of her story influenced her community. Therefore, the scene-act-purpose ratio is key for this analysis. I argue Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers, places herself in the scene of a crime-ridden city plagued with sexual assault. Her act of murder of two men who have allegedly sexually assaulted women has a clear purpose of revenge, targeting a city that never brings the stories of women to justice.

As city that depends on public transportation to function, the local government was forced to take action to protect the community. In the days following her attacks, local
authorities put undercover police officers on Juárez’s buses to track Diana down (Voorhees, 2013). As Josh Voorhees (2013) writes for Slate, “authorities are nonetheless taking precautions, sending undercover cops to ride the buses in hopes of catching the killer, or at least preventing additional murders.” Furthermore, police employed special officers to track down the origin of Diana’s email to the local media (Wilkinson and Sanchez, 2013). Chief for the prosecution Arturo Sandoval told the Los Angeles Times, “We have undercover police, dressed in civilian clothes, riding the buses in hopes of preventing another such murder and also to try to find this woman” (Wilkinson and Sanchez, 2013). The scene, therefore, begins with a description of a city dealing with its violent past and present.

These observations were not just recounted by international media, however. Staff writers for El Diario, a local newspaper, tell the city’s efforts used to track Diana down. The article, entitled “Revelan retrato hablado de ‘Diana la Cazadora,’” explains:

Five days after the most recent attack by a woman who is suspected of killing two public transport operators on Route 4, state authorities announced their sketch and asked citizens to help identify or locate her. Through a statement, spokesman for the Attorney General's Office (FGE) released the sketch was developed based on interviews with at least 20 witnesses to the killings.

Essentially, the local authorities developed a rendering of what witnesses believed Diana to look like and charged each citizen to help in the search for her. As one bus driver explained to El Diario, after the city shut the specific bus routes down on which these murders occurred, many citizens were trapped with no way to get to and from work. The article explains, “Due to the location, tours have been delayed, which impacts the daily lives of hundreds of citizens who live mainly in housing units…” (Revelan retrato hablado de ‘Diana la Cazadora’, 2013). This scene of the crime was not just the scene of two murders. Instead, the scene expands to a city struggling to function after Diana committed her crimes.
However, Diana’s actions were not the only illegal activity to occur within the city of Juárez; her actions should be placed within the larger context of Juárez’s history of crime. Gender related crimes and sexual assault happen regularly, putting the lives of countless women in danger each day. As the alleged victim of sexual assault herself, this scene of violence against women is one that prompted Diana to act. Wilkinson and Sanchez write many of the city’s women “repeatedly fall prey to the bus drivers on whom they must rely to get home in the dark.” Furthermore, in the late 1990s, a string of murders of local women pushed the issue of violence against women into the forefront, and since then, close to one thousand other innocent women were murdered, just within Juárez’s border (Walker, 2013).

As this violence continues to increase, one section of the community is continually discussed: bus drivers. Kate Kilpatrick (2013) writes, “bus drivers aren't well liked here. They're viewed as, at best, low class, aggressive and irresponsible, at worst as predators and rapists because of the number of assaults experienced by women and girls on late-night routes.” Wilkinson and Sanchez (2013) further, “Some [women] disappeared after boarding buses, their raped and tortured bodies later found dumped in the desert. Few of the cases are ever resolved, and families have endlessly protested the lack of justice for their daughters, sisters and mothers.” Oscar Maynez, a local criminologist, told This American Life, “First they denied the problem. Then they played it down, and finally, they blamed the victims' lifestyle and their families” (qtd. in Herrera, 2013). Therefore, although Juárez often has violence ranging from murder to drug cartels, the scene of a city plagued with sexual assault and gender related crimes is the ideal container in which to place Diana.

Burke (1945) argues that when discussing ratios, a scene cannot just be considered on its own. Rather, a scene contains an action committed by the rhetor. In Diana’s case, the murders
she commits, her acts, are placed into a scene of a city dealing with sexual assault. Yuri Herrera (2013) recounts the narrative of Diana’s actions in *This American Life*:

The first murder happened at 7:45 am, on August 28th, on bus route 4A. That morning, a woman hailed bus 718, climbed the steps, pulled a gun and shot the driver. The driver jumped out of the bus trying to escape but died on the sidewalk. The killer, witnesses said, was a middle-aged woman with dyed blonde hair -- or maybe it was a wig -- wearing a cap, plaid shirt and jeans. Nobody saw how she escaped. Or at least nobody would say.

The second murder happened twenty-four hours later, on the same route. A woman boarded the bus downtown and a few blocks later requested a stop. She walked towards the exit and motioned as if she were looking for the bus fare, but instead drew her gun, spat words into the driver's ear and shot him twice in the head -- then fled the scene.

Here the act of murder is not just a murder. It involves a disguise to keep her identity hidden along with the killings. It involves the intimidating every bus driver in Juárez, letting them know they could soon be the next victim. Diana posed as a normal patron, only to attack the bus drivers to make a statement about sexual assault.

Herrera (2013) is not the only source to corroborate these events. Multiple sources mention not only the murders, but also the disguises. Kilpatrick (2013) asserts, “A woman wearing a blond wig boarded a downtown bus on Aug. 28, pulled out a .38-caliber handgun and killed the driver at point-blank range.” Furthermore, Tuckman (2013) writes:

That was until a middle-aged woman with dyed blonde hair, or possibly a wig, killed two drivers on consecutive days at about 8am. On both occasions she spent about 15 minutes sitting on the bus before moving to the front, taking out a revolver, shooting the driver and then getting off.

Reporters did not publicly witness these events. Rather, citizens from Juárez who witnessed the crimes helped give the local and international media outlets and authorities information regarding the case. Wilkinson and Sanchez (2013) confirm:

Witnesses told Ciudad Juárez’s *El Diario* newspaper that, in both cases, a woman dressed in black with blond hair, dyed or possibly a wig, stopped the bus and started to board, pulled out a pistol and shot the driver dead.
Two bullets to the head, in both cases.

Regardless of which newspaper reported the crimes, the act is clearly the same in all accounts. A woman put on a disguise, potentially including a blonde wig, boarded a bus, and shot a bus driver. This act was repeated twice on two consecutive mornings. In Diana’s story, the act of murder is placed into a scene of a culture of sexual assault and gender related crimes.

The problem of sexual assault and gender related crime is not just noticed by local women. Instead, the international media has recognized the issue and the need for action. Maynez, the same criminologist interviewed in the days following the murder, notes nearly three months after these murders, “They just wait for the case to get cold and people to forget and something else comes along” (qtd. in Kilpatrick, 2013). His sentiment is echoed by countless local women. Sandra, a young mother, told The Guardian that it is not surprising that Diana wanted to take revenge, because countless women have continued to suffer “with the police doing nothing” (qtd. in Tuckman, 2013). Other women, too, have noticed the police’s lack of attention to violence against women. Erika, a local, when asked about this perpetual issues states, “We have seen so much in Juárez…” (qtd. in Tuckman, 2013). This problem is not just a recent development, with a local named Laura telling This American Life:

I remember when I was in high school I would hear a lot about it. My friends would say to me if you're going on the route, and no one's there, take a pen with you with the point facing outward, because you never know. That's been happening for years, years. And it's the same for the ladies working in the maquilas. (qtd. in Herrera, 2013)

Essentially, the violence against women has been swept under the run for so long that it has become all too common for a woman to become sexually assaulted and never receive justice.

This overwhelming need for support and activism in Juárez has led many citizens to take notice of Diana’s cause and even begin supporting her mission. One young woman, Maria, explains, “Sometimes I am the last one to get off and it feels like there is nothing you can do
when the drivers get creepy…If the killer really was a victim I hope she doesn't get caught” (qtd. in Tuckman, 2013). Furthermore, when Laura, a third local, was asked how she would respond if she were ever introduced to Diana, she responded, “I would congratulate her” (qtd. in Herrera, 2013). Even social media fan pages were launched to support and encourage Diana (Kilpatrick, 2013). Although these are only a few members of the community, they represent a larger collection of citizens that recognize that the status quo of sexual assault cases not being brought to justice leaves women silence in the community.

Diana’s purpose, therefore, is lending her voice to the larger cause, and she echoes the ideals many women expressed to the media. Diana, herself, details the feelings of local women and advocates. In her note to local media, she writes:

You think that because we are women we are weak, and that may be true but only up to a point, because even though we have nobody to defend us and we have to work long hours until late into the night to earn a living for our families, we can no longer be silent in the face of these acts that enrage us….although a lot of people know about the things we’ve suffered, nobody defends us nor does anything to protect us. (qtd. in Herrera, 2013)

Using her specific voice as a victim of sexual assault, Diana begins relating to her audience by sharing her story. Diana tells the same story of a local government and police force that does next to nothing to protect the city’s women. Imelda Marrufo, a leader of a network of women’s organizations explains, “We are talking about a victim, someone who was raped and has probably lived with such a lack of justice that she has no hope that whoever did that to her will ever pay for the crime” (qtd. in Wilkinson and Sanchez, 2013). Clearly, the women of Juárez needed an outlet for the city to finally recognize the systemic abuse they face on a daily basis, even if extreme measures were needed. Diana, a rape victim herself, opens this door, providing a symbol with which the local women can identify and also reminding the local authorities of this injustice.
Burke’s ratios are a vital tool in understanding how different elements of a drama interact. In addition, Burke addresses themes of redemption and victimhood through the comic and tragic frames. These frames allow us as critics to examine how communities deal with guilt following tragic events. Diana’s crimes of murder create this guilt that must be remedied. Borchers (2011) writes that when groups use the tragic frame, they banish the guilty from the community and place all of the guilt solely on that one person. Conversely, when the comic frame is used, the blame on the individual is reduced in favor of societal action to remove the guilt. A clear example of these frames is Ott and Aoki’s (2010) article regarding the death of Matthew Shepard. When Shepard was murdered, the tragic frame was used initially to place all of the guilt on Shepard’s two killers. However, as the discussion of hate crimes legislation grew more popular, focus shifted from the individual killers to what the community as a whole can do to ensure senseless acts of violence never occur again, giving us a clear example of the comic frame. Ultimately, as Renegar and Dionisopoulous (2011) assert, the comic frame asks individual members of society to critique their own actions, but also critique the actions of the entire community.

Diana’s actions did cost the lives of two bus drivers and placed her city in an economic bind by halting public transportation (Herrera, 2013). Her city, her audience, is forced to react to remedy the situation. Therefore, initially, it seems appropriate to place her story within the context of the tragic frame. However, I argue that the comic frame is the ideal fit for examining the events that occurred in Juárez. Diana’s act of revenge prompts a societal conversation regarding sexual assault and the city’s nonexistent attempts to address this issue.

First, Diana prompts dialogue surrounding the comic frame because it is difficult to place blame on a specific person, namely because it has never been confirmed that the note signed
“Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers” was actually sent by the murderer. Kate Kilpatrick (2013), writer for *Al Jazeera America*, asserts:

But the letter was a fake, perhaps even a deliberate distraction, said Arturo Sandoval, a spokesman for the Chihuahua attorney general’s office. The authorities, he added, are still investigating whether there is any link between the sender and the murderer.

Furthermore, Wilkinson and Sanchez (2013) also express concern over this story’s veracity. They write:

For now, at least, there is no way to verify the veracity of the message, whether it was written by the actual killer or killers of the bus drivers, whether Diana the Huntress really exists, or even whether she is a she.

Clearly, although connecting the murder to the person who sent the note signed “Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers” makes for a more interesting story, there are not enough links for the audience to know if the author of the note and the person who committed the crimes are the same person. In instances of the tragic frame, like Matthew Shepard’s murder, blame could clearly be put on one person. However, in this case, it is impossible to have that certainty, as no arrests have been made in the murder case in Juárez. Therefore, with no legal action taken to punish the criminal, utilizing the tragic frame becomes more difficult, and it shifts the focus from banishing the murderer to what the society as a whole can do to prevent these actions in the future.

Even if the person who sent the note to local media and the person who murdered the two bus drivers are the same, placing blame on a specific person is still difficult because the murderer was wearing a disguise, hiding his or her true identity. Herrera (2013) writes, “The killer, witnesses said, was a middle-aged woman with dyed blonde hair -- or maybe it was a wig -- wearing a cap, plaid shirt and jeans. Nobody saw how she escaped. Or at least nobody would say.” Furthermore, multiple sources reported that after the murder, authorities released a police sketch of Diana based on eyewitness accounts because there were no clear leads on who the
murderer was (Kilpatrick, 2013; Tuckman, 2013). Although the appearance of a woman with blonde hair, whether a wig or natural, was corroborated by multiple sources, assigning a specific identity or a name to the killer was impossible for authorities. Without being able to properly pinpoint who committed these crimes, it becomes more difficult for the community to use the tragic frame, and, instead, invites a collective healing using the comic frame.

Finally, the character of Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers, asks the community to solve a collective problem: sexual assault and gender related crimes. It is no secret in Juárez that women are often placed in danger as they use public transportation. Wilkinson and Sanchez (2013) argue:

What is clear is that for the last two decades, hundreds of women, many of them maquiladora workers, have been killed or have gone missing in Ciudad Juárez. Some disappeared after boarding buses, their raped and tortured bodies later found dumped in the desert. Few of the cases are ever resolved, and families have endlessly protested the lack of justice for their daughters, sisters and mothers.

Tim Walker (2013), writer for The Independent furthers police “are looking into whether the woman might be among the 12 victims of recent alleged sexual assaults by bus drivers that are currently under investigation.” Furthermore, the city’s women continue to express concerns over the local government’s complicity in this crime. Sandra, a local woman, told The Guardian, “With the police doing nothing and a society that doesn't care, it is understandable that she took justice into her own hands" (Tuckman, 2013). Not only are cases of sexual assault rarely brought to justice or resolved, but right before two bus drivers were murdered, a wave of twelve cases, all where bus drivers committed the sexual assault, were brought to light in the city.

Although it was never confirmed the person who sent the note was the person who committed the murders, the character of Diana’s status as a sexual assault survivor gives her a unique voice in discussing this problem. In her note, Diana writes:
We were victims of sexual violence from bus drivers working the maquila night shifts here in Juárez, and although a lot of people know about the things we've suffered, nobody defends us nor does anything to protect us. That's why I am an instrument that will take revenge for many women. (qtd. in Herrera, 2013)

Diana’s use of the word “we” is crucial to understanding her argument. By putting herself in the large group of women that fell prey to the city’s bus drivers, she is giving a voice to a community that is often left silenced. She even confirms that although sexual assault is widely known in the city, cases are rarely brought to justice. Her focus of placing blame on a city that does not defend women not only gives her a clear purpose for committing her crimes, but it also places blame on the entire community, not just the murderer. In order to collectively heal and redeem the city from the acts of violence, the community as a whole must take steps to ensure women are kept safe as a travel to and from work. Therefore, Diana’s unique position as a survivor or sexual assault allows her to place the emphasis on what the community should do together, utilizing the comic frame.

**Narrative**

In 1984, Walter Fisher introduced the concept of the narrative paradigm, asserting that storytelling is key for understanding the world around us. His paradigm has been broken down into two key components: narrative probability, or if the story makes sense, and narrative fidelity, if the narrative mirrors the stories the audience’s personal experiences. Although, by themselves, these terms do not constitute a method of criticism, McClure (2009) writes they work hand in hand with Burke’s concept of identification, where rhetor’s find common words, values, or concepts to identify with their audience. Therefore, narrative criticism seeks to understand how the narrative presented by the rhetor prompts identification with the audience. The narrative of Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers, prompts criticism on a cultural and local level.
First, the name of Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers allows the audience to engage in identification with stories on a cultural level. When the media first picked up the story of the murders, Kilpatrick (2013) asserted “It [the note] was signed "Diana la cazadora de choferes" (Diana, the huntress of bus drivers), borrowing from the name of a famous Mexico City statue of the Roman goddess of hunting.” In Mexico City, a statue of Diana, the Huntress sits in El Paseo de la Reforma. Fox (2001) writes this statue has been present in the country’s capital since 1944, and although it is named after the Greek goddess Diana, it was fashioned to resemble a Latin American woman.

Over one thousand miles away in Juárez, locals are still familiar with the story of Diana, the Huntress. Yuri Herrera (2013) writes:

There is, on one of Mexico City's most famous streets, a statue of Diana the Hunter. And there's a replica of it outside a restaurant in Juárez. She's muscular, strong, holding a bow with her arm stretched back, about to shoot.

While the statue of Diana has been displayed since the 1940s, the citizens of Juárez are still familiar with the significance of this piece of art. This visual depiction of Diana, the Huntress, however, reflects the narrative of the Greek goddess of the same name. Although Diana is known as being a goddess of chastity and childbirth, she also serves as feminist critique of patriarchal cultures. Fincher-Hansen and Poulsen (2009) write the most well-known stories of Diana involve challenges to her virginity. Rather than accepting sex without consent, Diana uses her hunting abilities to ward off her assailants.

This narrative of defending sexual purity is not just unique to Greek culture, however. It has been adopted and revised by Hispanic communities. In the Greek narrative, Diana’s purity was often challenged by a god. Collins (2005) asserts in Spanish-speaking groups, a mortal man, not a god, attempts to attack Diana for her purity before she fights back. Clear connections can
still be observed. A goddess, known for her hunting ability and sexual purity, is challenged by a male figure, whether mortal or god. Fincer-Hansen and Poulsen (2009) write this simple narrative is not unique to European cultures; as trade routes expanded globally, the narrative of a Diana-like goddess was passed from community to community, creating a feminist critique regarding sexuality and consent.

Not only do the statues in Mexico City and Juárez bring a physical representation of Diana, the Huntress in Mexico, but also the events that happened in Juárez bring this global narrative to life. This is best expressed in the note sent to local media. It states:

> We were victims of sexual violence from bus drivers working the maquila night shifts here in Juárez, and although a lot of people know about the things we’ve suffered, nobody defends us nor does anything to protect us. That’s why I am an instrument that will take revenge for many women. For we are seen as weak, but in reality we are not. We are brave. And if we don't get respect, we will earn that respect with our own hands. We the women of Juárez are strong. (qtd. in Herrera, 2013)

This note, signed Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers, reinforces themes from the global narrative of Diana. Diana was a victim of sexual assault from a male bus driver. Although the bus driver succeeded in attacking her, initially, Diana still fought back, being “an instrument that will take revenge for many women” (qtd. in Herrera 2013). Therefore, on a cultural scale, Diana identifies with the global narrative of a goddess of sexual purity that fought against patriarchal norms. Although this narrative originated in Europe, the statues of Diana, both in Mexico City and Juárez, create a point of identification, allowing Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers’ audience to identify with the narrative of the original Diana, the Huntress.

> The mysterious nature of Diana’s story adds to her godlike persona. Wilkinson and Sanchez (2013) write, “For now, at least, there is no way to verify the veracity of the message, whether it was written by the actual killer or killers of the bus drivers, whether Diana the Huntress really exists, or even whether she is a she.” Throughout these reincarnations of the
Diana narrative, a mythical element still exists; in other words, the narrative is not attached to a specific physical person. With no woman in particular to ascribe these events to, Diana becomes an even stronger godlike figure, adding her narrative alongside the countless other stories of Diana that have surrounded the globe.

This identification also engages with the terms proposed by Fisher (1984). First, narrative probability asks the audience to decide if the story with which they are presented makes sense. The story of Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers aligns with all of the elements of the global narrative of Diana, the Huntress: a woman who has her sexual purity challenged and fights back. However, the personal aspect of the story, or narrative fidelity, engages with the statue of Diana, the Huntress. Because this statue brings the global narrative of Diana, the Huntress directly into the city, it allows the audience to experience the story of this goddess on their own time. Not only does this story create a point of identification, but it still engages with the terms introduced by Fisher.

The narrative of Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers does not just share commonalities with the narrative of the Greek goddess of Diana, the Huntress; it also creates a point of identification on a local level with the women of the city. It is no secret in Juárez that women are often sexually assaulted or even murdered by bus drivers. Jo Tuckman (2013) writes:

Behind all this lies the legacy of the time when young women's raped and mutilated bodies were regularly found dumped in the desert, their murders almost never properly investigated despite the global attention they grabbed and the Hollywood movies they inspired. This phenomenon was associated with city bus drivers, in some cases with credible evidence and in others because they were turned into scapegoats by the pressured authorities.

Bus drivers, local male figures, often rape women, or challenge their sexual purity. Although this may seem like a distant phenomenon, hundreds of women have suffered this fate in Juárez. Tim Walker (2013) contends:
Estimates of how many women were murdered vary widely, but the city’s *El Diario* newspaper put the total at 878 between 1993 and 2010. However, some locals put the figure in the thousands. Many of the victims had been raped and their bodies dumped. Several bus drivers were arrested in connection with the killings. One driver was convicted but this was later overturned, and his co-defendant, another bus driver, died in prison before sentencing.

This storyline of a bus driver abusing, raping, or even murdering women is far too common in Juárez. Walker’s (2013) figures do not even report the numbers of women who were just sexually assaulted, not murdered. In Juárez where bus drivers are often blamed with the crimes, Diana’s story adds to the heaping evidence of sexual assault against women.

However, for women in the city who do not depend on public transportation, stories of abuse are also familiar. Rates of domestic abuse are high in Juárez as well. Kilpatrick (2013) argues:

> In a 2011 study by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography, more than a quarter of Mexican females 15 or older had experienced abuse in a relationship within the previous year, whether physical, emotional, sexual or economic. In Chihuahua, the average is slightly higher. Three out of five Mexican females have been physically abused within the past year — at work, school, home or elsewhere in the community.

Women, even if they are not accustomed to riding the bus, still likely face abuse at home, whether it is physical or sexual abuse from their partner or other forms. This narrative of abuse is especially true in Juárez. Walker (2013) explains, “Juárez also has the highest levels of domestic violence in Mexico, which many blame on a male-dominated, machismo culture that allows men to blame women for their struggles and misfortunes.” Women still face abuse at home, making the story of a woman who was sexually abused by a bus driver one that makes far too much sense for many in the community.

Diana places herself within this society of women who are the survivors of abuse. She writes in her note to local media, “We were victims of sexual violence from bus drivers working the maquila night shifts here in Juárez, and although a lot of people know about the things we've
suffered, nobody defends us nor does anything to protect us.” The use of a plural, first person, we, is a key rhetorical tactic to create identification with the audience. Stories of women abused by bus drivers do happen often in Juárez. Walker (2013) writes just before two bus drivers were murdered in Juárez, investigation was opened on twelve cases of sexual assault, all where the bus drivers were charged with assault. Using “we” allows Diana to claim ownership in this community and allow a common point of identification as a survivor of sexual assault. Even if women in the city had not been abused by bus drivers, the high rates of sexual and physical abuse at home make the story of a woman who has been abused ring true for many of the city’s women.

Furthermore, Diana identifies with the silenced stories of women in Juárez. When she writes, “...because even though we have nobody to defend us...we can no longer be silent in the face of these acts that enrage us. We were victims of sexual violence from bus drives,” she places herself into the story of women who have never received justice from their assaults. Oscar Maynez, a local criminologist in Juárez, told Kilpatrick (2013) the city’s police rarely finish one investigation. By the time a new one comes around, they are too distracted to focus on old cases. This indifference from local authorities is even expressed by women in the city. Sandra, a woman in Juárez, told Tuckman (2013), “With the police doing nothing and a society that doesn't care, it is understandable that she took justice into her own hands." Ultimately, the police in Juárez rarely attempt to solve many of the crimes committed against women, creating a point of identification with a narrative that is far too common in the city.

Gender

After the murders, a local news website that often covers Juárez’s gossip called La Polaka received a note signed by Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers (Herrera, 2013). In this
note, Diana begins to challenge traditional Mexican and regional gender norms. Diana relies on the language of the chicana experience rather than the traditional ideals of marianismo. For instance, she writes, “we have to work long hours until late into the night to earn a living for our families” (qtd. in Herrera 2013) The experience of the women she is defending does not come from the narratives of a homemaker pleasing her husband and family. Instead, she expresses her experience as a working woman. Deutsch (1994) writes as immigrant families moved from Mexico to the United States, women encountered financial responsibility they were not allowed to have before they moved. Women worked alongside men in the United States. Orozco, Nievar, and Middlemiss (2012) argue that traditionally in Mexico under the rule of marianismo women were asked to be financially dependent on men. Diana challenges this customary Mexican ideal by bringing the chicana experience to light in Juárez by pinpointing her economic freedom.

Diana is not alone in expressing this financial independence and responsibility felt by many of Juárez’s women. International publications recognize this as a key factor in explaining this story. Writing for The Independent, Tim Walker (2013) asserts, “The drivers were following a route frequently used by women who work in one of the city’s manufacturing plants, or ‘maquiladoras’, and who are often subjected to sexual abuse as they commute to night shifts.” Women, who often work by themselves to provide for their families, are the victims of sexual assault and abuse as they ride the city’s buses at night. Therefore, Juárez’s women, and Diana herself, start breaking the traditions of marianismo and, instead, begin embracing the ideas of chicana feminism.

Diana also challenges notions of traditional female sexuality in Mexico in her note. Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012) assert that Mexican women are often asked to remain sexually pure, just as the Virgin Mary was, in the traditional guise of marianismo. Furthermore,
discussion of sexual activity is taboo for women. O’Sullivan et al. (1999) argues that women are not even allowed to discuss sex and should, instead, remain silent and learn about sex at the hands of the men. However, Diana is not afraid to mention her sexual experiences in her note. She writes, “We were victims of sexual violence from bus drivers working the maquila night shifts here in Juárez, and although a lot of people know about the things we've suffered, nobody defends us nor does anything to protect us” (qtd. in Herrera 2013). Here, Diana speaks openly about her experience as a survivor of sexual assault, opening the door for a discussion about the sexual violence women face in the city.

Women in Juárez, also, are slowing becoming more open of talking about their sexual assault and abuse. In an interview with This American Life, Laura, a local woman, tells the story of her sister’s recent experience. Yuri Herrera (2013) writes:

> Just a couple of weeks before the Diana the Hunter case, Laura’s younger sister, Maria Alejandra, 20 years old, suffered a home invasion: a man slipped through her bedroom window in the night armed with a gun and tried to rape her. She recognized him; he lived in the neighborhood. After the man left her house, Maria Alejandra told her sister what happened and that she was going to report it to the police.

This marks a clear shift for the women in her community. As O’Sullivan et al. (1999) asserts, women are asked to not even mention sex in Mexico under the ideals of marianismo. With women opening up to mention their stories to family members, and also not being afraid of telling their stories to international publications, a clear shift is taking place in Mexico, rejecting the ideas of marianismo in favor of open communication about sex and sexual assault.

However, Diana also critiques the ideal of machismo. She argues, “...although a lot of people know about the things we've suffered, nobody defends us nor does anything to protect us” (qtd. in Herrera). By highlighting the idea that the women remain isolated in the community, she pinpoints the fact that this violence is not talked about and is accepted as normal. This violence is
considered commonplace under traditional Mexican gender roles. For men, the term machismo is
often used to discuss how they are expected to behave. Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012)
assert that under machismo, sexual abuse is the norm for men where they can exert their
dominance over women. Diana not only mentions the traditional sexual expectations of gender
within the country, but she also serves as a challenge to them. Sexual assault should not be
normal. Instead, women should be allowed to freely discuss their sexual experiences, and men
should not exert their dominance by exerting physical violence over women.

Women in the community, as well as international media, recognize the patriarchal
culture that supports the ideas of machismo. A local woman in Juárez named Laura told This
American Life:

I remember when I was in high school I would hear a lot about it [sexual assault on
buses]. My friends would say to me if you’re going on the route, and no one’s there, take
a pen with you with the point facing outward, because you never know. That’s been
happening for years, years. And it’s the same for the ladies working in the maquilas.
(Herrera, 2013)

Women know that their safety is constantly at risk as they travel to and from work on Juárez’s
bus system. However, the international media, too, recognizes this constant threat. Wilkerson
and Sanchez (2013) write for The Los Angeles Times:

What is clear is that for the last two decades, hundreds of women, many of them
maquiladora workers, have been killed or have gone missing in Ciudad Juárez. Some
disappeared after boarding buses, their raped and tortured bodies later found dumped in
the desert. Few of the cases are ever resolved, and families have endlessly protested the
lack of justice for their daughters, sisters and mothers.

By using the word “rape” Wilkerson and Sanchez hint toward ideals of machismo mentioned by
Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012). However, Wilkerson and Sanchez (2013) are not the only
writers to mention sexual assault. Yuri Herrera (2013) writes:

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the first disappearances of young women in
Juárez. Or, at least, when people started recording these disappearances, and considering
them as being related, after a 13-year-old girl was kidnapped and then found dead with signs of rape and strangulation... One day, a girl would disappear on the way to work on the way home, and if there was any news about her, it would be when her body was found in the desert or an abandoned lot, often with traces of rape and torture.

Rape, a sexual outburst that uses physical force, reinforces the culture of machismo within Mexico. Women in the community understand the physical outbursts could easily harm them, and the international media understands the culture of machismo puts women in the community’s safety at risk.

Diana’s choice to protest also echoes the ideals of a modern Chicana woman. In the 1960s, Chicanas began to stage political protest alongside men to improve the education system in the United States to insure the Latino community had equal access and representation (Roth, 2007). A key part of this protest for women within the Chicano community was creating positive female role models women could revere. These female heroes were supposed to stand alongside male heroes in the fight for equality. Diana mirrors this goal. However, instead of recognizing a hero in the community, she makes herself the hero. She writes, “That's why I am an instrument that will take revenge for many women” (qtd. in Herrera, 2013). Here, Diana states that she will be the hero for women by bringing the countless stories of sexual violence and assault to justice. She creates a political protest that asks for representation and acknowledgement of the struggle women face in the city of Juárez, just as Chicanas did in the late 20th century.

However, one cannot just call oneself a hero. Instead, there must be community support that recognizes the person’s deeds and abilities. In an interview with This American Life, Laura, a twenty-five year old woman living in Juárez explains, “When I heard what she did, I said, ‘How great that someone’s doing what many of us should have done’” (Herrera, 2013). When asked what she would do if she met Diana, she responded, “I would congratulate her” (Herrera, 2013). Margarita, another local woman, told The Guardian, “...you’ve got to admit that woman...
has guts” (Tuckman, 2013). Women in the community recognize that there is a clear need for the stories of sexual assault to be heard in Juárez. By recognizing a female hero, even a mythical hero like Diana, women in the community inch forward to the ideas of chicana feminism to find a hero within the city.

Not only does the language of the note reject marianismo and embrace chicana ideals, but the medium through which it was presented also resembles modern chicana forms of protest and assembly. Revilla (2007) argues that as chicana protest began to evolve from the 1960s and 1970s, social media and the internet became important tools for women. Online activity has become a way for modern chicanas to spread their viewpoints and also a way to organize protests such as marches and sit-ins. Diana mirrors this technique. La Polaka, an online newspaper, is a medium that is based out of El Paso, Texas that specializes in gossip. This newspaper covers online news from Juárez but also spreads across the border to the United States (Herrera, 2013). Diana embraces protest techniques of a chicana woman, rejecting the traditional ideals of docility and silence. Her note, and her choice of medium, brings chicana ideals across the border from the United States to Mexico and challenges the traditional ideals of marianismo and machismo.

Social media, in Diana’s case, played an important role for her supporters to speak their minds and advocate for change within their community. On her Facebook page, called “Diana, la cazadora de choferes” translated “Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers,” people in her community began expressing support for her actions and also advocating for bus drivers to be brought to justice. Months after the two bus drivers were murdered, Grieze Miller wrote on the page on December 30, 2013, “Don't stop, don't be afraid...I also hope that there will be more people to stand up and take the law into their hands, to be brave and defend themselves in the face of such impunity. Keep it up tight, sister! Women have to stick together!” Another woman, Rosario
Carrera Palafox, writes on September 13, 2013, “I sure hope you never get caught...I'm with you!” As Revilla (2007) contends, social media is a key tool for modern chicanas to express their viewpoints and begin political activism. Diana’s actions of rejecting marianismo and embracing the ideas of chicana feminism are spreading throughout her community, as local women are taking to social media to discuss their support for Diana.
CHAPTER 4
IMPLICATIONS

Diana challenges ideas of gender and victimhood by bringing elements of chicana feminism across the border into Mexico. Peña (1991) argues women are encouraged to remain sexually passive in Latin American countries. Furthermore, Englander, Yanez, and Barney (2012) assert this passive attitude often manifests itself as violence against women, where men are encouraged to take advantage of women while their victims remain silent. Constrained by the ideals of marianismo, women are asked to remain silent about sexual activity, creating a cycle where violence against women and sexual assault is often underreported and ignored in Latin American cultures (O’Sullivan, et. al, 1999). However, when migration north to the United States occurred, chicana feminism found its roots. As Roth (2007) asserts, women needed to create role models so future generations could experience a canon of female heroes. Furthermore, the modern chicana women expresses her viewpoints and ideas online, especially through the vehicle of social media (Sanchez & Ek, 2013).

The physical location of Diana’s story could help serve as an impetus for redefining gender roles in Mexico. Valencia (2015) argues Juárez plays a pivotal role in the relationship between the United States and the Mexican government, especially economically, considering this city alone accounts for one-fifth of trade between the two nations. As this analysis suggests, Diana challenges the ideas of marianismo within Mexican culture and, instead, harkens on many of the elements of chicana feminism. With Juárez being a vital trading post for Mexico’s
economy, the transmission of political and social ideals across the country could easily follow
suit with Diana’s story. Therefore, in the following years, Diana’s story could help introduce
chicana feminism on a larger scale into Mexican culture, potentially serving as a way to help
challenge gender roles steeped in patriarchy.

Second, this analysis focused on facts and narratives specific to Mexican culture. Diana
did challenged gender roles and perceptions of victimhood within the country. Elements of her
story extend far beyond Mexican borders, however. Fincher-Hansen & Poulsen (2009) assert the
narrative of goddess named Diana who was sexually assaulted is not specific to Mexican culture
or even Latin American cultures. Rather, the narrative of Diana has extended globally from
ancient Greek and Roman culture with the expansion of trade routes. Therefore, by choosing the
name Diana, the Huntress of Bus Drivers, she harkens back to ancient, international stories of
sexual assault.

Choosing the name Diana, though, could serve as a larger critique of a global culture that
normalizes sexual assault. Stemming back to ancient Greek culture, which as served as a
foundation of modern Western though, sexual assault permeated popular thought without many
feminist critiques. Several Greek tragedies helped to aid in this process. Rabinowitz (2011)
writes, “Euripides’ Ion oscillates between scenarios of rape and desire. Creusa, raped by Apollo
years ago, conceived a child and abandoned him” (p. 10). She continues, however, that also
imbedded in ancient stories of sexual assault is a culture that dehumanizes victims. Creusa,
before Apollo raped her, made comments about his physical attractiveness. Therefore, although
she was assaulted, there is still the connotation that she must have somehow enjoyed the abuse.

Rabinowitz (2011) also asserts, “the modern problems [rape and sexual assault]… were
elements of Greek culture, in particular epic and tragedy, and…this is part of the western
heritage, too” (p. 17). The choice of the name Diana could then serve as a larger critique of Western cultures outside of Mexico, as well. By choosing the name of a goddess that fought against patriarchal norms surrounding the discussion of sexual assault, Diana could be attempting to challenge patriarchal boundaries in countries around the globe. Her words of “…although a lot of people know about the things we've suffered, nobody defends us nor does anything to protect us” depict a global struggle of challenging notions of sexual assault.

Although Diana’s story is not unique to Mexican culture, it is imperative to understand her story within the normalized canon of sexual assault narratives in Western culture.

Also, in this analysis, I used the Burkean concept of the pentad to understand the events that happened in August 2013 in Juárez, Mexico. It was clear that the media surrounding Diana, including her note published in local papers, focused on a scene-act-purpose ratio. The purpose, the revenge for the countless women who had been survivors of sexual assault, was key. Otherwise, Diana’s actions would blend into the other stories of violence told and experienced in the city. Although the scene and purpose did play integral parts in the drama of Diana’s story, her purpose was pivotal to making sense of the rhetoric surrounding her crimes.

This focus on purpose in Burke’s pentad was especially clear in Hamlin and Nichols’ (1973) study regarding the interest values of each of the elements of the pentad. Using Burke’s definitions of each of the terms, Hamlin and Nichols constructed sentences that relied on narratives. As an explanation, they write, “For example, a scene-act strategy would consist of a specific spatial and/or temporal orientation in which a reference to the occurrence of a particular thought or deed were made” (Hamlin & Nichols, 1973, p. 98). It is important to note that Hamlin and Nichols have renamed Burke’s idea of ratios as strategies. In other words, ratios are tools for
rhetors to explain their messages to crowds, rather than typical rhetorical analysis that focuses on how each term was used after the message was made public.

In the study, participants were presented with sixteen sentences, each containing a unique ratio. Scene-agent, scene-act, agent-purpose, and act-purpose were primarily the ratios used, however. After reading the set of sentences with which they were presented, readers were asked to rate sentences on a scale of very uninteresting to very interesting. One predominant theme was clear. Hamlin and Nichols (1973) write:

> These results indicate, in general, that various rhetorical strategies derived from Kenneth Burke's pentad differ in interest value, and, specifically, that strategies containing a purpose term are more interesting than scene-"gent strategies. As to the nature of these strategies, the term purpose denotes ends, goals, values, or ideals which can be assigned to particular actions. (p. 101)

Purpose, therefore, was a key component of the audience’s reception and understanding of the information with which they were presented.

Diana’s actions reaffirm this belief. By merely focusing on the scene of Juárez and the act of murder, her actions are more likely to be absorbed by the city’s violent landscape. Baverstock (2015) writes along Juárez’s borders reside a strip of land called “Murder Valley” where cartels trade drugs and weapons while murdering hundreds of people each year. These cartels have become so violent that del Barco (2015) asserts local businesses face daily threats; pay a fine to the cartel or expect a gunman to appear at the store. Without knowing her purpose, Diana would fit the mold of any of Juárez’s criminals. Therefore, her strategy, and the ones used by the surrounding media, reinforce the importance of purpose in pentadic analysis.

Finally, when Burke (1945) discusses the concept of ratios, only two elements of the pentad are present. Further articles using ratios continue to include only two parts. Hamlin and Nichols (1973), in conducting their study, only created ratios with two of the pentadic elements present. This analysis suggests that ratios could include more than just two parts of this system.
Rather, critics should not be afraid to use three elements of the pentad when analyzing an artifact.
REFERENCES


Revilla, A. (April, 2007). Queers and feminists in Vegas: Building a community of inclusiveness while planning a revolution. Research presentation at the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies Conference. San Jose, CA.


