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THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF VIOLENCE AND DRUG TRAFFICKING IN MEXICO

1.1 Introduction

Mexico, in recent years, has been considered one of the countries from Latin America that has been characterized by its development concerning education and democracy policies (Latinobarómetro, 2015). However, regarding issues related to citizen's insecurity, it is a country that has been stuck (Pansters & Castillo, 2007). Mainly, several authors point out that the factors that have contributed to the establishment of insecurity, are related with the lack of work opportunities, social inequality, or Mexico's poor social structure (see Moreno, 2009; Vite, 2014). In spite of these studies, which put forward the evidences of the structural and social causes as determining factors of insecurity, government institutions have made and spread an hegemonic speech, that centers drug trafficking as the source of violence and insecurity, as well as organized crime. Nonetheless, since, Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000), and then with Vicente Fox (2000-2006) and with Felipe Calderón (2006-2012), until today with Enrique Peña (2012-current President), diverse studies have pointed out that institutional corruption has been a key factor with drug trafficking's associated violence (Bailey & Matthew, 2009; Williams, 2010).

Despite corruption within the high spheres of politics being a factor that has promoted an increase in violence (Morales, 2011; Guevara & Reyes, 2012; Vite, 2014), the media has played a fundamental role in constructing strategies to influence society's opinion. Specifically, the media has developed a communicative strategy that focuses its attention in two fundamental questions: The first one, in exonerating the government, advertising actions that the police and the military perform to improve social wellbeing. The second, spread the news of the criminal actions made by drug trafficking groups,

noting them as the main causes for high crime rates. I this way, several authors and studies (Muñiz & Ramírez, 2015; Phail, 2010) have pointed out the media and the government's mutual understanding. For such reason, authors like Phail (2010) say that behind such understanding, the government tries to hide factors of greater importance, such as sustaining political and economical: Political hegemony or implicit political agreements (Phail, 2010).

The best way to know what causes a social phenomenon is asking those affected by it (Zamperini, Menegatto, Travaglino & Nulman, 2012). For such reason, a fundamental approach to the Social Representations Theory in this research thesis has been considered (SRT). Social representations may be understood as intercrossing realities, and are objectivized in our daily universe (Moscovici, 2001; Moscovici & Duveen, 2000). Thus, social representations are constituted as a dynamic explanation, exposed to the transformations that allow constant relations that generate a knowledge that comes from common sense (Uribe, 2012). Like so, exploring the social construction of violence and drug trafficking through SRT turns out to be specially pertinent. Social representations allow us to gain access to contents and meanings that society has on objects of social relevance (Jodelet, 2003). Besides, together with the SRT, and due to the characteristics of this study's context, an approach from the Framing Theory has been considered (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Framing Theory will allow the analysis of the different types of speech which the media emphasizes when framing their news on issues related to violence and drug trafficking.

In this way, via the SRT and the Framing approaches, four studies have been designed, with the ultimate goal of exploring the fundamental reasons from which

population speech promotes high levels of violence, as well as establishment and development of drug trafficking in Sinaloa, Mexico.

The first study pretended to know the content and the elements that compose the representation of the causes of violence. In a context with high levels of insecurity, it turns out to be highly important to identify, from speech, the main problems that have allowed the settling of a violent environment in Sinaloa's society. In this sense, and being aware of the fact that daily life circles around the phenomenon of violence and drug trafficking, it turns out to be interesting to know the relationships that are established between both objects. In this sense, to study the relationship between drug trafficking's social representation and violence's social representation, has been the target of the second study. On the other hand, due to the fact that the figure of the drug trafficker has played an important leadership role, the third study was centered around knowing the social representation that Sinaloa's youth has of such drug trafficker, deepening in the type of appraisal (positive-negative) youths have on such drug trafficker. Lastly, and due to the influence that the media has on Sinaloa's society social construction of violence and drug trafficking, the fourth study posed an approach to SRT and the Theory of Framing. Through the Theory of Framing, the treatment given to issues on violence and drug trafficking by the media in Sinaloa was analyzed. Through SRT, knowing the content of the social representation that the media constructs on both social objects was intended.

The following showcases a brief historical journey that will allow a general panorama of the conditions that have given way to the development of a violent environment related to drug trafficking in Sinaloa. Though a more concrete development of what has caused a settlement of violence and drug trafficking will be

found in later chapters, a general introduction will help the reader to place him or herself within the context of the object of study.

1.2 Violence and the origins of drug trafficking in Mexico: the case of Sinaloa

Drug trafficking is a problem that historically has accompanied the development of Mexico and particularly of the State of Sinaloa, where drug trafficking found the right conditions to settle and take root (Astorga, 2003, Burgos, 2013). In this section, we will introduce ourselves to the events that supported the establishment of drug trafficking in Sinaloa.

In a process of emigration, the population not only emigrates with its difficulties and shortcomings but also, it does so with its customs and forms of appropriation of reality. In this sense, it is known that in Mexico with the immigration of the Asian population to Sinaloa[1], came the practices of drug consumption and cultivation[2]. By then, in Mexico poppy was already found, but it was only sold in pharmacies and for medicinal purposes. In addition, and for its unique beauty, the poppy was used by the population of Sinaloa as decoration in their homes (Lizárraga, 2003).

With the establishment of the Chinese population in Mexico, poppy took another use and began to be treated to obtain opium gum. It should be noted that although at first the consumption of opium was at a personal level, due to the high demand among the Chinese population, it soon begins its commercialization (Astorga, 2003). The

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[1] This displacement occurred between 1885 and 1900. The reasons that caused the displacement have to do with the poor conditions in which the Chinese population worked in the southern region of the USA, Baja California (Astorga, 1995, Burgos, 2013).

[2] The Asian population already used opium gum (which is extracted from the poppy) for personal consumption (Fernández, 2010).

factors that allowed the commercialization of opium and its subsequent development are related, on the one hand, to the agreements (economic payments) between the regional police and the owners of the casinos where the opium was consumed. And on the other hand, because around 1910 there were no prohibitions on the traffic of drugs (Fernández, 2010), its consumption begins to generate significant profits and starts to be perceived as a highly profitable business (Ramírez-Pimienta, 2004). For this reason, the first prohibitions on drug trafficking in Mexico (between 1916 and 1917) did not have great impact. Specifically, in the Mexican post-revolutionary period, the country was undergoing a restructuring that made it difficult to control and battle drug trafficking. In addition, due to the corruption of the political class that began to venture into the business, drug trafficking in areas such as Sinaloa, far from being stopped, led to structural problems (Astorga, 2003).

In the decades of 1920 and 1930, the opium trade business became a business dominated by the Mexican political class[3] (Fernández, 2010). Furthermore, due to the conditions of poverty in which the population of the Sierra of Sinaloa was living, drug cultivation was established in that State. The cultivation of narcotics thus became a form of economic sustenance for the population (Lizárraga, 2003). By 1933 drug trafficking spread to the borders of Mexico and the United States (US). Both borders were zones of multiple clandestine transactions, with opium trafficking being profiled as a very profitable business (Burgos, 2013). However, it was the beginning of the Second World War that enshrined the drug trade as big business. This is because the US

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[3] The first opium bans were used by the political class to promote the first persecutions against the Chinese population in Mexico. These prohibitions were aimed at removing the Asian community from the drug trade business. In this way, the political class would ultimately control the drug business (Fernández, 2010).

government breaks the agreement signed in 1914 on the International Opium Convention, in order to obtain morphine for its troops. In this way, a pact is created between the governments of US and Mexico for the production of poppies (Astorga, 2003). At this time, it was well known that those who controlled the drug trade were the political class since because of their position within the government, this traffic did not entail any criminal repercussion (Astorga, 1996).

With the end of the Second World War, the US no longer needs poppy production as a stimulant drug. The Mexican government tried to force farmers to stop cultivating it (Lizárraga, 2003), but despite warnings from the Mexican government, the population of the Sierra continued to harvest poppy. Later on, by the year 1950, the people of the Sierra begins to venture into drug trafficking. The latter led to the creation of various groups of drug traffickers and also led to the first armed clashes between them, with the aim of monopolizing and controlling the distribution of drugs. According to the records of the newspaper library of the Historical Archive of Sinaloa, in the 1950s the first executions linked to the groups of drug traffickers appear (Astorga, 1995).

By the 1960s, the phenomenon of drug trafficking extends. This is due to the beginning of the cult of drugs, the hippies, and the end of the Vietnam War, which left dozens of military addicts in the US (Lizárraga, 2003). In the 1970s and 1980s, drug trafficking reached its peak. Due mainly to the so-called Operation Condor of the year 1977. This operation was considered the largest anti-drug campaign ever carried out in the country, and its purpose was to combat organized crime. However, Operation Condor paradoxically caused several adverse problems. On the one hand, this operation produced violence, assassinations, and insecurity to intensify exponentially in Sinaloa (Montoya, Rodríguez & Fernández, 2009). On the other hand, Operation Condor, rather

than eradicating drug trafficking, extended it through most of the Mexican territory. The drug traffickers, seeing the intense operatives implemented by the government, were forced to flee the zone of the Sierra in search of protection. In addition, Operation Condor caused the drug trafficking organizations to specialize in terms of security, which made their subsequent combat more difficult.

By the decade of 1990, drug trafficking would become a phenomenon with great political and social impact. The capture of drug trafficker Miguel Ángel Félix Gallardo demonstrated the collusion that existed between drug trafficking and the government. Félix Gallardo was described by the press as a person of significant influence, well connected in the political world, and very visible in social life (Astorga, 1995). This event forced the Mexican government to fight corruption and drug trafficking frontally. Former President Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000) developed the first strategy aimed at fighting organized crime, which also included government institutions[4]. This led to violence related to drug traffic increasing exponentially. Moreover, some authors attribute the increase in violence to the death of Amado Carrillo (leader of the Juarez cartel) who had maintained control of drug traffic in Mexico. With this death and with the purpose of controlling the business, the confrontations between the different groups of drug traffickers intensify and increase exponentially (Williams, 2000).

The period between 2000 and 2006 was characterized by the change of government, with the political party PAN (National Action Party) reaching the presidency of Mexico. In this way, the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) is

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[4] Unlike Operation Condor, which had the sole purpose of directly fighting the groups of drug traffickers. The strategy developed by Zedillo (1994-2000), in addition to continuing the fight against drug trafficking, also included the fight against institutional corruption. In this sense, this strategy aimed to end the collusion between government institutions and various groups of drug trafficker s (Williams, 2000).

replaced, a political party that had dominated the government for more than 70 years (Morales, 2011). With this change, the implicit agreements between the government and the drug trade broke down, giving place to numerous confrontations between the different criminal groups in order to control the areas of drug traffic. In addition, this period was characterized by the centrality that the new government of Mexico gave to the issue of insecurity associated with drug trafficking. Former President Fox (2000-2006) began the so-called "War on Drugs." This caused the upsurge of violence in a large portion of Mexican territory. However, it was during the administration of former President Calderón (2006-2012) where violence reached its peak in Mexico's recent history. With the continuity of the strategy proposed by Fox, and specifically with the so-called "War on Drugs," at the end of Calderón's six-year term, a total of 121,000 homicides were recorded (Robles, 2014).

All the preceding allows us to understand the complicated social and political situation that Mexico is currently experiencing. The disorganization, corruption, and disinterest of the government to solve a problem that has hurt Mexican society so much is the result of the nonsense of a government that over the years has simulated an action against drug trafficking, without really intending it. All this shows that the collusion between the government and drug traffickers never ended and that the government of the current president of Mexico is not developing a real strategy to combat drug trafficking.

Following, a brief section will be developed with the theoretical perspectives adopted in this research thesis, the SRT and the Theory of Framing. These theoretical approaches set out to find out the reality that the society of Sinaloa's lives, in relation to the problems of violence and drug trafficking. It should be noted that the SRT approach

will have a more concrete development in the first, second and third studies. The Framing Theory, conversely, will have a more concrete development in the fourth.

1.3 Theoretical perspectives in the study of violence and of drug trafficking: Social representations and framing theory

The SRT states that a representation is the product of a mental activity, through which an individual or a group reconstructs reality, providing a specific meaning (Minibas-Poussard, 2003). Social representations are imbricated products within the process of social communication (Moscovici, 2001). In this sense, social representations function as mechanisms through which the reality of a society can be known since through them it is possible to approach knowledge shared in the social consensus (Jodelet, 2003). For this reason, representations must be understood as realities that intersect and objectify in our everyday universe (Moscovici, 2001).

This definition allows us to show that, through the approach of social representations, we can access the different discourses that groups build around objects of social interest (Voelklein and Howarth, 2005). That being said, in this thesis of investigation an approach from the three more representative perspectives of the theory has been raised: the first one is the classic school that has exponents like Moscovici (2001) and Jodelet (2003), the second the school of Aix-en-Provence, developed by Abric (2001), and the third, the school of Geneva that has Doise (2003) as an exponent. Next, the main characteristics of each perspective will be briefly developed.

The dynamic process approaches studies about the construction of the social object in the mediate context (Moscovici, 2001). Specifically, this perspective is interested in the fundamental knowledge, which is constructed through two processes:

objectification and anchoring (Moscovici & Duveen, 2000). Objectification is understood as the conversion of an abstract object in concrete. In other words, the transfer of a mental image to the physical world. By anchoring, we understand the mechanism that transforms the strange into familiar. Reducing universal ideas in common categories and images, making the context familiar. Knowing these elements will allow us to contextualize and give a meaning to the content of the representation of violence and drug trafficking.

The structural approach is concerned with the structure of the representation of a specific social object, organized around the central core and the periphery (Rateau & Lo Monaco, 2013). The central core is the most durable part of the representation and presents a greater resistance to change. Its determination is inherently social and is related to historical, sociological and ideological conditions (Abric, 2001). The periphery, on the other hand, allows the adaptation of the representation to the context, providing some flexibility to adjust to the situations and interactions that appear in everyday life (Uribe, 2012). These elements will allow us to deepen the organization and hierarchy of the elements that make up the representation of violence and drug traffic.

The approach of social insertion understands social representations as generating principles of position taking, which are linked to specific insertions in a set of social relations (Doise, 2013). These insertions allow us to know if, in different group relations, there is a specific and differentiated idea about the construction of a social object. Depending on the hierarchical position that a subject or group has within a society, the perception of the object will be different from that perceived by another group with another social position (Doise, 2003; Doise, 2013). In particular, the study of

social positioning will allow us to identify if there are differences in the representation that groups construct of a social object, in our case violence and drug trafficking.

The Theory of Framing, likewise, allows us to analyze the framing that the media emphasizes when transmitting the news to society (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Framing can be understood as a set of interpretation schemes that allow subjects to organize events that come out of everyday life (Goffman, 1974). In this way, the study of framing takes great importance since it becomes a mediator by connecting everyday discourse with individual cognitions (Pan & Kosicki, 2001). The coercion and influence that the media exert in the construction of topics of social interest are evident (Pan, Meng & Zhou, 2010). In this sense, through the Theory of Framing, it is intended to identify the types of discourses that the media convey when framing their news on the issues of violence and drug traffic.

In sum, these theoretical approaches will guide the approach of the four studies that make up the thesis, the analysis of the data and their interpretation. The four studies that aim to build a more critical vision of the phenomena of violence and drug traffic in Mexico are briefly presented below.

1.4 Four studies for the analysis of violence and drug trafficking

The first study of this thesis had a double purpose. On the one hand, it aimed to identify the leading causes that the population of Sinaloa attributes to increase the violence rates. And on the other hand, it sought to determine the causes that, based on gender, are identified as the primary promoters of violence. In this sense, a cross-sectional study with a sample by convenience was designed. A total of 300 people (50% men and 50%

women) participated in this research. The instrument used was a questionnaire based on the technique of free association of words (Abric, 2001, Chugar & De Oliveira, 2008). This questionnaire was organized into three sections with different questions to establish complementation systems on the content and structure of social representation (Vergès, 2003). In the first section, each participant was asked to state the first three answers on the question: To what do you attribute the causes of **VIOLENCE**? In the second section, they were requested to rank the three answers in the order of importance that each evocation had for them. Finally, in the third section, they were asked to justify the reason for each evocation associated with the causes of violence.

The second study had the purpose of learning what kind of relationship the phenomena of violence and drug traffic maintain. In order to respond to this objective, we approached the study of relations between objects of representation (Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004). In this sense, an inter-subject study was designed with a sample by convenience. A total of 443 young people (49.9% men and 50.1% women) answered a free word association questionnaire (Abric, 2001, Chugar & De Oliveira, 2008). Participants were divided into two groups. Half of the participants responded to the violence stimulus: What comes to mind when think about **VIOLENCE**? The other half of the participants responded to the drug trafficking stimulus: What comes to mind when you think about **DRUG TRAFFICKING**? The participants answered with the five characteristics they thought best describe the object of study: violence or drug traffic.

The third study aimed to learn the social representation that the young people of Sinaloa have of the drug trafficker. At the same time, its purpose was to identify the type of assessment (positive-negative) that young people of Sinaloa build on this

subject. In this sense, a cross-sectional study with a sample by convenience was designed. A total of 443 young people (49.9% men and 50.1% women) answered a free word association questionnaire (Abric, 2001, Chugar and De Oliveira, 2008). The inducing question was presented in the following way: What comes to mind when you think about **DRUG TRAFFICKER**? Young people responded with the five characteristics they thought would better describe the object of study: drug trafficker.

The fourth study had two specific objectives. On the one hand, it aimed to discover the treatment and types of frames that the press in Sinaloa emphasizes on the issues of violence and drug traffic. Furthermore, it intended to find out the social representation that the press constructs of violence and drug traffic. To respond to these objectives, two newspapers of great media coverage and that respond to the ideological differences or sensitivities present in the country were selected. A total of 547 articles that referred to violence and drug trafficking were analyzed. It should be noted that the news articles were taken from January, May, September, and December of the years 2000 and 2008. Finally, it is to be noted that for the analysis of the data the ideological position of each newspaper was used as independent variables, the years of study and the stimuli (violence and drug trafficking).

Finally, we must also point that the process followed in the first, second, and third was similar. Once the object of investigation was presented in a general way, each participant was given an informed consent form stating that all their answers were completely anonymous. Also, said form declared that the participant could stop responding to the questionnaire at any time, being the participation entirely voluntary. Although, most of the people agreed to participate, others refused, arguing the complexity of the topic. These four studies try to provide more information about the

phenomena of violence and drug trafficking, problems that have profoundly affected the social development of Mexico. For this reason, understanding and knowing the opinions that society builds around both phenomena is a way of denouncing and exposing a reality that the government itself tries to silence by all possible means. Below are the four studies described above that make up this research thesis.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES

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2. STUDY I: SOCIAL VIOLENCE AS REPRESENTATIONAL OBJECTS IN SINALOA, MEXICO

2.1 Introduction

Throughout time, Mexico has been affected by several problems, one of them is the phenomenon of violence. About this problem, a multiple explanations have been generated, both in the political and in the academicals contexts. In the political speech of the 90's, it has been said that one of the main causes for the promotion of violence is the phenomenon of drug trafficking. This speech is still heard today, because of this, antagonic results regarding the decrease of violence have been produced; potentializing it and spreading it in a large part of the Mexican territory.

In the field of political sciences, it has been brought up that one of the main factors favoring the establishment of violence is the lack of a solid State of Law. The population continues to perceive a negative climate, characterized by high levels of violence; despite the presence of the police and the military on the streets (Montero; 2012; Santamaría, Brito & Martínez, 2009). In this same line of research, other authors point out that violence is more of a global phenomenon that has to do with a lack of economical regulation related to neo liberal politics, which has generated insecurity and corruption problems (Maldonado, 2012).

From Sociology, some explanations about the causes for violence are centered in the analysis of social vulnerability. From this perspective, Mexico would be in a state of exception, favored by democratic federalism and the deficiencies in public politics. In this way, the blooming of illegal activities has constructed a climate of instability and

violence (Vite, 2014). In this same line, other authors propose that violence has a base in the transgression of a subculture. Thus, it may be understood how a society, that is led by and/or replicates practices against its own rules considered to be those of criminal activities, has been built (Córdova, 2011).

In the field of social psychology, particularly in the field of social representations, the work of Guevara and Reyes (2012). It was found, in this study, that violence has its causes in the existing collusion between two social agents: The government and drug trafficking groups (Guevara & Reyes 2012). The work of Burgos (2011), from the ethnographic method, points out that violence does not have to be mediated by drug trafficking. Quoting the author, the influence of a drug trafficking culture in a society's life style (such as folk songs about drug trafficking, or narcocorridos), does not imply the construction of subjects that replicate criminal activities. (Burgos, 2011).

The best way of knowing what causes a social phenomenon is to question the population affected by it (Zamperini, et al. 2012). That is why, this research intended to know the social representation that the population from Sinaloa have on the causes of violence. Following the data provided by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (National Institute for Statistics and Geography, INEGI), Sinaloa is one of the five Mexican States affected the most by violence (INEGI, 2013) and not in terms of punctuation, but as something that has been suffered throughout decades (Astorga, 1995).

2.2 Social representations of violence: Theoretical approaches to the study of peace and conflict

The concept of violence seems to be a sort of "Passepartout" or umbrella concept that may be used to name everything but mean nothing (Sémelin, 1983). From the approaches to violence associated with politics and power, done by political experts and anthropologists, passing through psychological schools on the Theories of Aggression, even by criminology, authors can give a precise definition or agree on the concept (Blair, 2009). It is evident that the concept of violence has several faces and presents multiple forms of manifestation.

This last statement allows the introduction of the SRT approach. This explanatory frame, because of its methodological flexibility, has allowed the development of studies on the different manifestations of violence. Some of them related to school violence (Ribolla & Flamenghi, 2007), the beliefs and values about violence (Grossi, 2006), violence in media (Stoyanova, 2012) or the violence associated with drug trafficking (Reyes, Valencia & Larrañaga, 2015). However, the studies regarding the analysis on peace and conflict are the ones that will allow us to explain violence as a global concept in a wider range (Gibson, 2011).

More particularly, the structure of the representations of peace considering the context as a generator of diverse representations has been analyzed from social representations. Wagner, Valencia y Elejabarrieta (1996) performed a comparison between Nicaragua and Spain. In their study, these authors found that in Europe the concept of peace appeared to be of scarce relevance, in comparison to Latin America. From the perspective of these authors, the end of the Civil War and the start of the

social reconstruction in Nicaragua was what prompted people to evoque the concept of peace (Wagner et. al, 1996). The study of Orr, Sagi and Bar-on is found in this same line of research (2000). These authors perform a comparison between youths from Israel, Palestine and Europe. In this study it was found that youths from the Middle East build a representational field in which individual and etno-national values (Palestine's independence, for example), are strongly bound. In this way, both Palestinians and Israelites shared a representation that had a tendency for justifying war, thus excluding the concept of peace. Besides, these groups constituted a type of dysfunctional confrontation, which adapted the reality perceived by them (war conflict) as the only possible solution (Orr, Sagi & Bar-on, 2000).

Zamperini, et. al. (2012), on the other hand, proposes a qualitative approach in the study of social representations, focusing on conflicts as civil protests. In their study, they explore the representation of the G8 conflict in Italy, approaching the activists' opinions on the internet. It was found in their results that activists represent the protests as a confrontation between groups. Activist described police forces as ineffective and as the enemy. However, it is interesting that groups of anarchists who took part in the protest and caused large damages, were not represented as enemies. Which puts forward the thought that in the activists' representation, a construction positioned speech is found (Zamperini, et. al. 2012).

All the formerly quoted studies show the interest of outlining a study of violence from an "ecological" model that takes into consideration the interaction of diverse factors, such as social, cultural, political and economic, and that also takes into consideration three levels and a complementary articulation: The individual, the relational and the social (Martín-Baró, 2003). In order to approach this systemic

standpoint, the notion of violence called culture of violence proposed by Galtung is to be retaken (Galtung, 1990). The culture of violence holds and legitimizes the situations of violence in two ways. A direct one, that may be considered personal, related to physical aggressions against a person or group of persons. Another one, indirect, that may be considered structural, related to the socio-structural system, and more specifically, with poverty, social injustice and lack of equity (Galtung, 1990).

2.3 Methodological orientations of Social Representations

Social representations are constituted as a dynamic explanation, exposed to those transformations that allow the constant social interactions between the individual and a group, thus originating knowledge of the common sense (Uribe, 2012). That is why social representations must be understood as realities that intercross and that are objectivized in our daily universe (Moscovici, 2001).

The existence of three approaches is worthy of differentiation in SRT. The first one emphasizes the dynamic and procedural aspect, the second one the structural aspect, and the third one focuses on the role of social intersections. Following Rateau and Lo Monaco (2013), the first one would be the classic school that has Moscovici as an exponent (2001) and also Jodelet (2003), the second one is the school of Aix-en-Provence, developed by Abric (2001) and the third one being Geneve's school represented by Doise (2003).

The dynamic-procedural approach studies the construction of the social object in the perpetrator's context. This perspective is interested in the constituent knowledge, which is built through two processes: Anchoring and objectification (Moscovici & Duveen, 2000). Anchoring is understood as the mechanism that transforms the strange

into a familiarity. Reducing universal ideas into ordinary categories and images, creating a familiar context. objectification is the conversion of an abstract object into a concrete one. In other words, the transference of a mental image to the physical world. Transforming the unknown and strange into a comprehensible reality. Knowing these elements will allow us to give meaning to the content of the representation.

The structural approach is interested in a hierarchical organization and the structure of the representation of a determined social object, organized with a central core basis and a peripheral system. The central core will be the longer lasting part of the representation, and it will show a higher resistance to change. Its determination is essentially social, and it is related to historical, sociological and ideological conditions (Abric, 2001). The peripheral system, for its part, allows the adaptation of the representation to the context, giving certain flexibility to adjusting to situations and interactions that are presented in daily life (Uribe, 2012). These elements will allow us to deepen into the hierarchical organization of the elements that compose the representation.

The approach of social intersections understands social representations as the generating principles of position taking that are linked to specific intersections in a group of social relationships (Doise, 2013). These intersections will allow us to know if in different group relationships a specific and consensual idea exists on the construction of a social object. Depending on the hierarchical position that a subject or group has within a society, the perception of the object is different to the one perceived by another group with another social position (Doise, 2003; Doise, 2013). Specifically, the study of social positioning will allow us identify if there are differences in the representation that groups build from a social object.

This study has the purpose of knowing the content and the elements that compose a representation of the causes of violence and how are these structured and organized around a central core and the peripheral representation (Abric, 2001; Moscovici, 2001). Besides, it is intended to determine if there are differences in the representation of the subjects that build the causes of violence, taking into account gender and age as positioning aspects (Doise, 2003).

2.4 Method

2.4.1 Participants

A convenience sampling was used for this study. 300 persons of the same sex participated (50% men and 50% women). All of them residents of Culiacán City. The sample was divided in groups using an age criterion: Young people between 18 and 26 years old (N = 100), adult persons between 30 and 60 (N = 100) and senior citizens 60 years old and over (N = 100).

2.4.2 Instrument and procedure

The questionnaire was applied to the participants after a brief presentation in which they were informed of the interest of knowing their opinion about the causes of violence. Most of the participants consented, however, several persons refused to take part in the study and left the questionnaire unanswered. The instrument used was a free word association technique based questionnaire (Abric, 2001; Chugar & De Oliveira, 2008). This questionnaire was organized in three different sections with different questions in order to establish complementing systems about content and structure of social

representation (Vergès, 2003). In the first section, each participant was asked to enunciate the first three answers to the question To what do you attribute the causes of **VIOLENCE**? In the second section, they were asked to organize in hierarchies the three answers in order of importance according to the evocation they had to them. Lastly, in the third section, it was asked that they justified the reasons for each evocation associated with the causes of violence.

2.4.3 Data analysis

With the aim of knowing the content (product) and the structure (process) of a social representation, two softwares were used: ALCESTE and EVOC.

ALCESTE performs a segmentation of lexical worlds by means of the co-occurrence of words. For its analysis, ALCESTE takes words called functional. These words are the objectives, nouns and verbs that guide the analysis. From Reinert's perspective, these elements are the ones that are most adequate to express lexical worlds; functional words highlight the concepts that have a greater relevance in the subjects' speech when describing an object (Reinert, 1986). This division of words carries the creation of Units of Elemental Contexts (UCEs) (De Alba, 2004). This gives, as a result, the analysis of descending hierarchical classifications that fragment the content in lexical classes (Klein & Licata, 2003). In this way, content is obtained from the different representations (classes) that the subjects build from an object, for this study, of the causes of violence.

EVOC, through its lexicographic analysis, allows the organization of words based on a hierarchy of frequencies and order of evocation (Vergès, 2001, 2003). This

program emerged from the studies of structural approach hypothesis, and permits the identification of elements that are susceptible of belonging to a central core. To do that, the participants' answers are codified based on the order of response (first answer = 1; second answer = 2; etc.). Besides, to establish cuts, the intermediate frequency is taken into consideration, and then the middle range of the recalled words. The intermediate frequency establishes a segmentation between the words that are very frequent and less frequent in speech. The middle range establishes a segmentation of the order of words. That is, the words those are primary or secondary in speech. Following Vergès (2003) the lexicographic analysis allows us to build a representational prototype (classification of words in quadrants), fragmenting the elements that belong to the central core, and the peripheral system.

On the other hand, EVOC permits conducting an analysis of categorization with all the recalled answers. In this case, these categories have their base in previous studies about violence and drug trafficking (Guevara & Reyes, 2012; Ovalle, 2005; Oliveira, Chamon & Mauricio, 2010). In those, four categories of speech on violence and drug trafficking were distinguished: Social agents, structural factors, cultural factors and delinquent actions. With the final aim of knowing the importance and the relationship that the categories have with the subjects' speech, an analysis of similarities was performed. In this analysis the Index of Implication is taken as a reference. This index permits the knowledge of the percentage of people that make reference to some term in a category and do so also to a term in another category. The analysis of similarities is performed using the SIMI2003 program (Vergès, 2003; 2001).

With the final aim of knowing the influence of two social positions (in our case gender and age) ALCESTE and EVOC allow the performing of a comparative analysis.

ALCESTE calculates the relationship between a lexical class and the levels of an independent variable (passive variables). This relationship is obtained through the independence test (χ^2 test) EVOC by, the subprogram COMPLEX, performs a comparison of the lexical, based on group belongings. This comparison is performed with the independence test (t test) (Bonnec, Roussiau & Vergès, 2002).

2.5 Results

In a first moment, the results that correspond to the content of the representation are shown. Following immediately, the structure and organization that the elements of the representation shows are analyzed. Lastly, the corresponding results of the analysis of the different positions taken towards the causes of violence are exposed.

2.5.1 Content analysis: An approximation to the causes of violence

Basing ourselves in the content given by the participants regarding the causes of violence, a 12 745 corpus of words was obtained, out of which 2057 were different words. Following ALCESTE's process (see De Alba, 2004), words are distributed in subclasses, using words with a higher than 5 frequency. Particularly, the analysis of a down way hierarchical classification distributed the corpus in 426 UCEs, out of which 372 UCEs were the ones that were worked with.

The distribution of content built two general classes, one that is made of 191 UCEs and another that is made of 181 UCEs. An 87.32% of the UCEs build the total amount of the listings. Class 1 groups a 51.34% of the total amount of text content, class

2 groups a 49.52%. In Reinert's terms (1986) it is a high percentage of analyzed text, which will derivate in good results for the analysis.

2.5.2 Vocabulary and content of classes

To ease its exposure, following ALCESTE's structure (Klein & Licata, 2003) the content of each class and its subdivisions will be presented. Between parentheses the Chi Square of each one of the words is presented, this in order to differentiate its importance in the population's speech.

Class 1: Consequences of violence, fear and vulnerability (51.34% UCEs):

Negative practices, consumption and aggression: drug (29), drug addict (21), consumption (7), man (7), violent (7).

Consequences of violence, fear and uncertainty: murdering (9), death (9), arrive (9), home (9), opportunity (9).

Inter-individual and private-public space consequences: person (35), family (21), people (16), robbery (11), alcoholism (11), want (9), kill (7), streets (7).

The vocabulary which characterizes this class was divided via ALCESTE in three subclasses. As it can be seen, the first subclass describes elements related to the causes that generate violent behavior and customs. The second subclass refers to the consequences and uncertainty that violence carries with itself in an immediate context. The third subclass makes reference both to the implications and the consequences that violence has in inter-individual relationships and in the public-private space. These kind

of meanings mainly refer to behaviors related with unlawful. It must be warned, at the same time, that this dimension defines customs in an inter-individual level, priorizing more individualized actions.

With the aim of contextualizing the built categories, some typical examples of a subject's speech are presented next. The first one refers to the subclass of negative practices, the second one to the consequences of violence, and the third one to the inter-individual and public-private space consequences:

"Drug addicts consume drug to feel better but it makes them more violent. They can´t contain their impulses and they beat up people who has no blame whatsoever. Drugs are an addiction that affects the brain, causing people to hallucinate stuff that awakens their anger".

"Thieves when they want to defend themselves end up killing people. They may hurt or kill people which would be a violent act. Kidnappers become violent to get whatever. Drug lords, those are the ones that generate more crime in general".

"Alcoholism, because many times there are mood swings, tempers and attitudes. They may do any kind of harm to people, like molestation. Drug addicts those people when they are like that, high, they don't know what they're doing and even bet their own family up".

Following the text analysis, it may be observed that this speech is centered in the consequences of violence, pointing out aspects such as: Death, fear and inter-individual violence in the private space (family) and public (streets). These data is the reflection of

a daily reality within the society in Sinaloa. Aspects related with addiction, such as selling or buying drugs, are common activities in this context. As pointed out by Santamaría, et al. (2009), consuming drugs in Mexican territory has become more common. Besides, this class and its problematic may be considered an effect of drug trafficking in the social environment.

Class 2 is formed by elements that were taken for having a higher frequency in the subjects' speech. This class is composed by three subclasses. The content will be described next.

Class 2: Structural causes and factors generated by violence (49.52% UCEs):

Causes for structural and cultural lack: absence (19), education (13), employment (11), need (9), exists (9), culture (7), delinquency (7).

Corruption and lack of values: corruption(39), world (11), governor (9), city (9), part (9).

Institutional incompetence: government, police and politics: government (29), police (24), municipal (14), fact (14), main (14), politics (11), corrupted (11), drug trafficking (7), power (7).

The first subclass includes words that describe structural and cultural factors as violence mongers. The second subclass refers to the decline of values and their social decadence that generates negative customs and supports the establishing of violence. The third subclass relates the former two, due to the fact that it shows the lack of interest and the use of illegal customs by social groups and/or actors (government,

police officers or politicians), who, to begin with, are in charge of solving the problems of insecurity and social development.

Up next, typical examples of speech belonging to class 2 are shown. The first one refers to the lack of structure subclass, the second one to the subclass of corruption and lack of values, and the third one refers to the incompetence of the institutions:

"Lack of a better education and education system. To have a better education system so that the citizen have each more knowledge and development in all aspects. To implement safety measures in cops and high ranked officers. To have better police corps in the whole".

"So that corruption doesn't exist in high ranked officers as well as in low ranked ones, to create opportunities in the State. The government due to they not doing their part in fighting such problems. Corrupted, the police corps is one the causes that helps criminality since some of them give protection".

"The government, because there has never been a serious administration and there is always disorganization. Governors let corruption grew, drug lords are the ones who have always caused it. The policemen, because of the corruption they practice, they manage to make the former group (drug lords) grow, and crime grows".

This second class emphasizes the structural and cultural causes of violence, as well as in corruption and in the existing structural deficit that exists in society. Besides, paying attention to the words that forms it, it can be seen that this content represents the inconformity that the government's poor functioning has created. The results found

allow us to say that this inconformity on the government is due to the closeness it has with organized crime. In the same way, said explanations allow us to see the complaint of the authorities lack of interest in this type of facts. To sum up, these classes describe the problematics considered by the subjects to be, if not the main causes, the most relevant ones when explaining the phenomenon of violence, for it is in them where the needs and problematics that affect society directly, are found.

2.5.3 Organization of elements: Central nucleus and peripheral system

In the research question about the causes of violence, a 46.4% of the recalls and cut points analyzed were the following: intermediate frequency 14 and middle range 2.1. Words susceptible of belonging to the central core are found in the first quadrant of table 1. These words are the following: drugs, economy, government, drug traffickers, drug trafficking and violence. The social representation that subjects have on violence is structured in three dimensions (Cerrato & Palmori, 2007; Moscovici, 1961):

1) **Informative dimension:** refers to actors and groups (government and drug traffickers).

2) **Attitude dimension:** refers to illegal activities (drugs and drug trafficking).

3) **Representational field dimension:** refers to economic factors (economy and violence).

The first one has to do with the knowledge that a group has with the object of study, in this case, the ones responsible for violence or the main social agents: The government and the drug traffickers. The second one points out the position taken

before the object of representation. In this case the unlawful (negative) aspect of crime related activities that promote violence is pointed out: Drug trafficking and drugs. The third one is related with specific knowledge of the object. In this case, structural factors are cased, such as economical uncertainty, which, from a population's perspective, promotes violence.

Table 1. *Frequencies and range of causes of violence*

Frequency > 14	Midrange < 2.1	Frequency > 14	Midrange > 2.1
Drugs	29	Corruption	27
Economy	14	Drug addiction	20
Government	50	Education	20
Drug trafficker	78	Lack	42
Drug trafficking	106	Poverty	15
		Policemen	44
		Politicians	14
Frequency > 14	Midrange < 2.1	Frequency > 14	Midrange > 2.1
Robbery	7	Addictions	9
Murders	6	Alcoholism	13
Chapo-Guzmán	6	Robbers	6
Communication	8	Crisis	8
Corrupted	9	Delinquents	6
Culture	7	Money	9
Delinquency	8	Drug addicts	12
Unemployment	10	Thieves	10
Disintegration	7	Machismo	6
Adjustments	7	Persons	8
Family	9	Power	7
Familiar	10	Police	10
Governors	6	Politics	6
Intrafamiliar	10	Employment	12
Parents	8	Robberies	9
Values	7	Kidnappers	9
		Social	7
		Society	10
		Work	7

Source: *Made by the authors*

In the first periphery (2nd and 3rd quadrants) elements that fix and reinforce central elements are presented. Analyzing both systems (central system and peripheral system) the interdependence that both sustain may be observed. The social actors,

governors and drug traffickers, are categorized as corrupted. Violence, as a generic action, is described with particular acts, like murder, delinquency and robberies. Lastly, in relation with economy, the situation of uncertainty is highlighted with terms like unemployment and poverty.

To sum up, these results allow us to demonstrate an hegemonic representation around the causes of violence, and center the elements in three dimensions: The first one composed by subjects/groups, a second one composed by structural factors, and a third one composed by social factors.

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2.5.4 Distribution of the categories of representation: Categories and similarities analysis

The category analysis performed by EVOC, allowed the construction of 8 categories (see table 2). These categories centralize the causes of violence attributed by the society in Sinaloa.

Table 2. *Categories on violence*

Category	Thematic field	Main words	Characteristics
V1	**Agents**	politics, delinquents, kidnappers, bands	Points outs the main agents/characters in promoting violence
V2	**Cultural aspects**	Costumes, respect, machismo, moral, values	Characterizes the social factors that support the establishment of an environment of social insecurity
V3	**Economic aspects**	Opportunities, scarce, work, crisis	Defines economic uncertainty and the lack of opportunities that support the encouragement of unlawful activities
V4	**Relational aspects**	Influences, environment, friendships, familiar	Identifies interpersonal relationships in which a subject develops and the way they influence in constructing positive/negative behavior
V5	**Structural factors**	police, social, political parties, government	Underlines the State's poor and deficient structure as a mechanism of social security
V6	**Unlawful activities**	smuggling, raping, organized, corruption, robbery	Characterizes typical drug trafficking activities (smuggling drugs, laundering money)
V7	**Social uncertainty**	lack, justice, impunity, inability	Defines the State's deficiencies to backup law within the social system
V8	**Agents' characteristics**	aggressive, corrupted, arrogant, sick	Defines the prototype characteristics of the agents/characters who promote violence

Source. *Made by the authors*

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The implication analysis performed with the SIMI2003 program, showed that the central categories, the most shared ones, that were in first place, were two: Unlawful activities (V6), (used by 54.1% of the sample, with a middle range of 2.0) and agents (V1), (used by 50.0% of the sample and with a middle range 2.0). The analysis of similarities performed in order to visualize the inclusion of the semantic fields (see figure 1), showed that the larger part of the categories presented high indexes of implication (more than 50%).

Figure 1. *Implication analysis of stimuli for violence (%)*
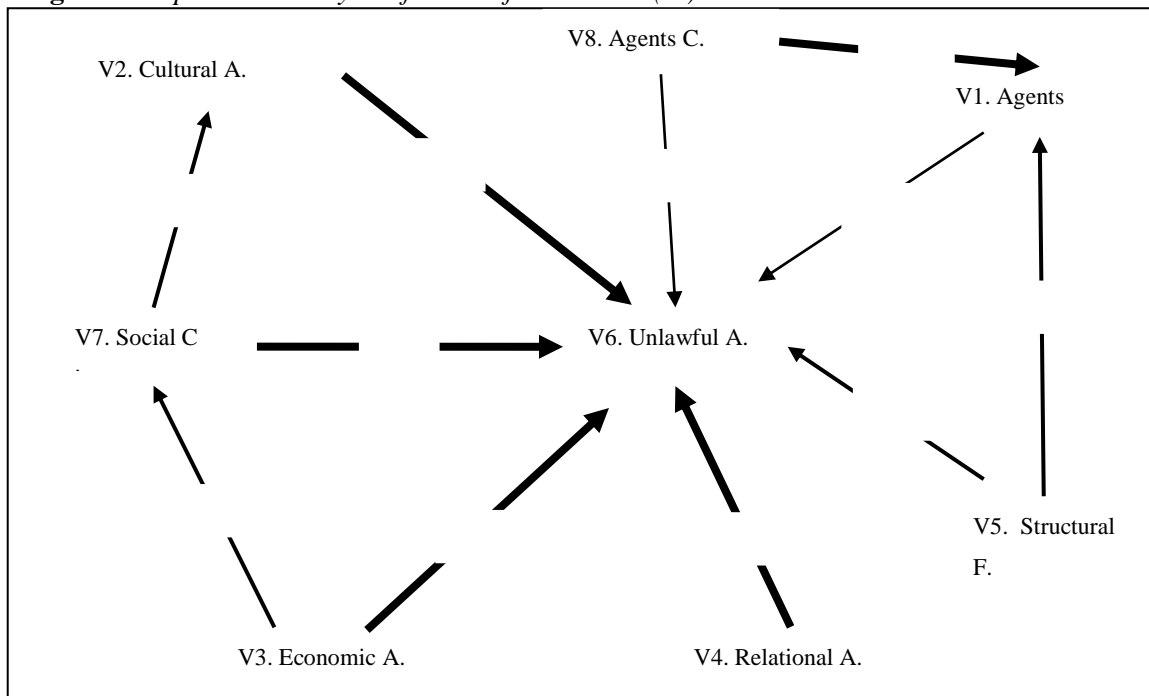
Source. *Extracted from the Similitude program*

In the same way, said categories are strongly related with unlawful activities (V6), considered to be the main category, and the one from which we take off in order to explain and understand the construction of violence in this population's speech. Three speeches are divided around this dimension. A first speech formed by Structural Factors (V5), Agents (V1) Agents' Characteristics (V8). A second speech formed by Cultural

Aspects (V2), Social Uncertainty (V7) and Economical Aspects (V3). And a third speech formed by Relational Aspects (V4). The first speech implies the description of subjects and groups, as well as the description of social and structural aspects identified as violence causers. It is worth noting that, from this first speech, we include Agents' Characteristics (V8) in the category of Agents (V1). This inclusion may be attributed to how the subjects in this population build a particular stereotype on the agents that cause violence.

The second speech describes the needs and insufficiencies perceived by the population, those are referred to the lack of interest the government has in generating opportunities in society. The third speech, refers to the interactions that subjects maintain in their immediate surroundings that, following Martín-Baró (2003), have an influence in the construction of customs (positive/negative) learnt by subjects in their daily life.

2.5.5 Social positioning: Group comparisons

Based on the analysis of gender positioning, meaningful differences were found. The results of the comparisons made by ALCESTE show that the first class (Consequences of violence, fear and vulnerability) is associated with the female group χ^2 (1) = 2.06, p = .001, while the second class (Causes and structural factors generators of violence) is associated to the male group χ^2 (1) = 2.06, p = .001. In this sense, we may highlight that the image formed around the phenomenon of violence in Sinaloa's population shows two dimensions. On one side there is the dimension of violence from the female group, and on the other, the male group's dimension.

The results of the comparisons performed by EVOC also found meaningful differences regarding gender. Thus, in the speech used by each group the differentiated concerns are made evident based on the phenomenon of violence. The female group casts their speech in terms of insecurity, using expressions as discrimination, justice, small time drug dealing, rapes, terrorism and loss. Men, on the other hand, use a speech more oriented towards defining structural aspects such as impunity, incapacity, heavy handing and corruption.

These results allow the marking of a bidimensional representation of violence that has to do with a feminine and a masculine version of it. In this sense, studies performed by Campbell and collaborators (Campbell 2002; Campbell & Muncer, 1987) about the representation of aggression - violence, also indicate the existence of a feminine and a masculine dimension of aggression. The first class of our study (Consequences of violence, fear and vulnerability) refers to the female dimension of violence, centered more in individual consequences such as death, fear and interpersonal consequences. The second class (Causes and structural factors generators of violence) refers to the masculine dimension of violence, more centered in structural causes of deficit, corruption and structural political, police corps and government incompetence.

Lastly, it is worth to mention that the variable for age has not presented meaningful differences. This is due to the fact of the existence of an hegemonic representation in which all three generational groups highlight similar elements on the causes of violence: Agents, structural or social factors. However, when positioning subjects in a gender basis way, the causes of violence do affect in a different way the

groups differentiated daily life, which generates different answers between men and women.

2.6 Conclusions

The multi-methodological analysis of social representations considered in this study found interesting elements about violence. The structural approach showed that subjects built an hegemonic representation that clearly defines the causes of violence (Sarrica & Contarello, 2004). The subjects' speech is divided in three main topics: Social agents, criminal actions and economical aspects. All of them recalled as the main promoters of violence (Guevara & Reyes, 2012; Ovalle, 2005; Reyes, et al. 2015).

These three speeches are distributed within the similarity speech. However, the speech mostly used is the one about criminal activities (delinquent). It is interesting that this speech is the most meaningful one when explaining the causes of violence; Unlawful actions such as corruption are activities typically related to government institutions, besides, these are current situations happening in the population's daily life, such as, for example, drug trafficking. In this sense, and because of drug trafficking's autonomy, developed lately, is why the people is denouncing the collusion between drug trafficking groups and the government system. This leads us to consider the term social vulnerability from a sociological perspective; Mexican federalism, as well as its inefficient government, adding to that, the government's lack of interest in creating public politics to solve problems like violence have generated a negative environment characterized by high criminal rates (Vite, 2014).

Despite the existence of an hegemonic representation built by the population, it was found, through the analysis of social insertions, that when positioning subjects based on their gender, within the representation, two differential speeches rise: One related to direct violence and another related to indirect violence. The first one is associated with the consequences of violence (class 1) and have to do with deaths, murders, robbing and street insecurity. The second one is associated to structural factors (class 2) and have to do with the government's lack of interest, corruption or economic uncertainty. All of them are actions found in the population's daily life, and, as Galtung defines, build a culture of violence (Galtung, 1990).

The representational hegemony on the causes of violence indicates that this phenomenon affects, without discrimination, all subjects, in spite of the generational differences they may have. However, when positioning subjects based on their gender, the causes for violence affect groups in a differentiated way. Studies in social representations on peace and conflict pose that this differentiation is due to the context and its consequences affect all those groups implied in a different way (Doise, Spini & Clémence, 1999; Orr, et al. 2000; Sarrica & Wachelke; 2009; Wagner, et al. 1996; Zamperini, et al. 2012). More concretely, studies of fear of crime show how to position the subject in a situation of stress that limits his or her life, what Jackson calls perception of personal crime emerges. Specifically, this author poses that the fact of belonging to a determined social group (Male or female, for example) influences the perception of the characteristics or skills needed to cope with a violent occurrence or situation (Jackson, 2009).

The analysis of the representation through the defined approaches allowed us to show interest in the ecological vision when studying violence. The results of this study

allowed us to show that the population signals four factors from the ecological model given: Social, cultural, economic and politic. The first one, characterized by a context of social instability. the second one by the lack of values or education, the third one by economic uncertainty in which society is in; the fourth one is characterized by the government and politics, as well as by corruption.

We may conclude that the representation of violence in Culiacán covers the types of violence named by Blair (2009). A first one of the structural type, a second one of the daily type, and a third one of the performance type. In the case of males, through a critique shown towards the government (corruption, economic uncertainty and delinquency) define violence of the structural type.

The female group, on the other hand, through denouncing the situation of daily insecurity (violence, abuse and robbery) define violence of the daily life type. Lastly, it is worthy of mention that both groups constitute the violence known as performance. We consider that the relationship the population of Culiacan has with violence has led to a certain naturalization of this phenomenon. In this sense, and following Martín-Baró (2003), it must be pointed out that, not because we are a society established in current violent occurrences we are an emaciated society. It is simply the abnormal in certain situations going to being what's normal, and, in an opposing way, what is normal becomes abnormal.

3. STUDY 2: RELATION OF INSERTION BETWEEN TWO SOCIAL OBJECTS: VIOLENCE AND DRUG TRAFFICKING

3.1 Introduction

Drug trafficking is a criminal activity that in the beginning was characterized by the cultivation and marketing of drugs (United Nations, 2013). Nowadays, due to the battles between cartels for the control of the territory in Mexico, drug trafficking is characterized by assassinations, extortions and has even been pointed out for influencing Mexican political participation (Cervantes, 2012). In this sense, and due to the impact that this phenomenon has had to a large extent in Mexico, the problem of violence has taken a relevant role in public opinion in general and in the Mexican population in particular. This can be attributed to the fact that drug trafficking, through its criminal actions, has become a problem that significantly limits public safety.

In this climate of instability, accentuated by organized crime, is Sinaloa. This State is characterized as an area in which drug traffic has taken root (Moreno, 2009) and has positioned itself strongly over time. Such is the development that this activity has had within society that the so-called Sinaloa Cartel has been considered one of the most powerful criminal organizations in the world (Verza, 2014). Furthermore, it should be noted that the developing process of drug traffic has not been stealthy or alien to the society of Sinaloa. On the contrary, this development has caused a hostile and insecure climate characterized by multiple violent events such as confrontations between armed groups on public roads or kidnappings. In this sense, it can be considered that there is a clear relationship between drug traffic and violence since violence is materialized through the criminal actions of drug traffic. And in turn, drug traffic is a phenomenon that generates numerous violent acts in this social context.

Besides, it ought to be noted that the fact that drug trafficking and violence have been established in the state of Sinaloa, has resulted in both issues becoming a topic of high social relevance. The mentioned influence is such that both phenomena are part of the conversations in the daily life of the population. Thus, due to the closeness that the population has maintained and still maintains with these phenomena, these researches had as primary objective to learn the social representations of drug trafficking and violence, its cores and periphery. In turn, we wanted to identify the type of relationship that both phenomena have with each other. That is, it was analyzed if both problems are perceived as similar or analogous or, on the contrary, they are differentiated phenomena. The explanation of the results was done through the perspective of the core since through its core and periphery hypothesis, it is known how the elements that make up the social representation are organized, hierarchized, and structured (Abric, 2001).

3.2 Social violence and organized crime: the case of drug trafficking

The state of Sinaloa is a region characterized by being a pioneer and having an economy that in the course of time has focused on agriculture. Likewise, due to its geographical location in the Mexican territory, it makes it an ideal route for the commercialization of a wide variety of products (Ibarra & Carrillo, 2003). These characteristics have caused acute problems in the social life of Sinaloa. Thus, it can be considered that between 1885 and 1910 the planting of drugs began, particularly the planting of poppy, which was initially cultivated by the Chinese population for personal consumption and was not illegal (Astorga, 2003). At this time, drug trafficking as such still did not show signs.

Later, between the years of 1940 and 1946, due to the conflict of the Second World War and to satisfy the needs of the US Army, the Mexican government agreed to grow poppies for US consumption. It should be noted that this crop is concentrated in the Sinaloa region. This promoted the increase of the production of poppy in Mexico, positioning it as the main supplier of the USA (Astorga, 2003). On the other hand, by the 1950s, also fostered by the crisis in which Sinaloa was, the sowing of drugs becomes a remunerated activity and generates, in turn, conflicts of interest between criminal groups. It is at this time that the dispute between criminal groups is sharpened, to monopolize the market and achieve a better position and greater wealth. The magnitude of these conflicts came to cause up to fifteen daily executions, according to the newspaper library of the General Historical Archive of Sinaloa. Consequently, it can be said that the problem of violence and insecurity is aggravated, being confronted in broad daylight among the armed groups (Rivera, 2003).

Nowadays, the phenomena of drug trafficking and violence generates high levels of insecurity. This has been attributed to the change of government that took place in 2000 and that dismantled the 70 years of the mandate of a single political party. From this time a wave of violent characteristic of drug trafficking appears. This increase in violence has been related to the breakdown of agreements implicitly agreed with political leaders, thus initiating a struggle between armed groups to control Mexican territory (Morales, 2011). Likewise, the analysis of murder data shows that the violence has had significant repercussions, registering around 70,000 deaths during the six-year term of 2006-2012 (Martín, 2011). This fact demonstrates the inefficient strategy and weak structure of the government to solve a social problem of such magnitude as public safety (Morales, 2011). This small historical sketch allows us to observe how drug

trafficking and violence are problems that have arisen in parallel in the State of Sinaloa. It can be thought that the proliferation of violent acts such as assassinations, kidnappings or armed confrontations are due to the effects of drug trafficking. But, in turn, we can consider that violence has its expression through drug trafficking. Thus, we are faced with two interrelated objects that converge juxtaposed through social practices.

3.3 Social representations: the perspective of the central nucleus

The theory of social representations assumes a psycho-sociological perspective in the knowledge of social phenomena (Valencia & Elejabarrieta, 2007). Likewise, they are representations of socially relevant and controversial objects that are constructed through social interaction and produced by social thought (Poeschl, 2006). Also, it should be noted that there are different versions and developments of the theory of social representations. In this study, we use the structural perspective of Aix-en-Provence which understands by social representation a group of beliefs and attitudes, which as a whole form an ordered hierarchical structure of mutual dependence (Wagner, Hayes & Flores, 2011).

This perspective is interested in the structure and hierarchy of the social representation of a specific social object composed of its core and its periphery. The core is understood by those elements that provide sense, coherence, and meaning to a representation. In turn, they present a sociological burden related to historical and ideological conditions (Flament, 2001). For this reason, through the elements that make up the core, it is possible to know what is consensual and shared about a

representational object, as well as the elements that are most relevant when representing it. For its part, the periphery is flexible and allows the adaptation of the representation to the context, providing some flexibility to adjust to situations and interactions that occur in everyday life (Banchs, 2000). In this sense, the periphery, being closely related to the core, allows to complement and strengthen the discourse that is constructed from the representation. Thus, through its elements, new emergent discourses can be identified that transform and reconstruct the object of representation.

In sum, this research had, as primary objective, to learn the social representation that the population of Sinaloa has of drug traffic and violence, determining its cores and periphery. In addition, and to deepen in the dynamics between both phenomena, it was intended to understand the type of relationship that both objects maintain. That is, we sought to identify if both problems are perceived as similar or analogous or, on the contrary, they are different problems within the population of Sinaloa.

3.4 Method

3.4.1 Participants

For this research, 443 subjects participated: 49.9% men and 50.1% women, all residents of the city of Culiacán. The questionnaires were applied in three local universities, with the aim of reaching university students from different social strata. The average age of the sample is 21.32 years (SD: 2.23).

3.4.2 Instrument and procedure

For the collection of information, a free evocation of words questionnaire was applied (Vergès, 1992). Likewise, a design of the inter-subject questionnaire was defined, in order to avoid bias in the answers. Randomly, half of the subjects were assigned to the "drug traffic" inducing stimulus and the other half to the "violence" inducing stimulus. The participants answered the five characteristics they thought better described their response stimulus. The inducing question for each stimulus was presented in the following way: What comes to mind when you think of **DRUG TRAFFICKING**? And, What comes to mind when you think of **VIOLENCE**? After a brief presentation of the instrument by the research team, the questionnaire was voluntarily answered by the participants in the university.

3.4.3 Data analysis

Concerning the treatment of the data, a lexicographic analysis was carried out with the responses of the subjects. Thus, the words are organized by hierarchies of frequency and order of evocation. This facilitates the identification of representation based on its core and periphery (Navarro & Gaviria, 2009). The representational prototype is explained as it appears in table 3.

Table 3. *Structural hierarchy: representation prototype*

	Strong	**Weak**
Strong	Nucleus	Periphery 1
Frequency	Periphery 1	Periphery 2
Weak		

Source: *Made by the authors*

Furthermore, of the total of words organized and structured by the lexicographic analysis, we performed a categorization to study the relationships between the different discourses evoked by the subjects through the implication index. This index indicates the percentage in which people who refer to a term in a category also refer to terms in another category (Larrañaga, Valencia & Ortiz, 2012). Thus, the lexicographic and category analysis was carried out with the EVOC and SIMILITUDE programs (Vergès, 2003). Finally, a group comparison was made to observe the gender differences in the representations of both objects. This analysis was carried out through the COMPLEX program (Vergès, 2003).

3.5 Results

3.5.1 Representational structure: Nucleus and periphery

In the question referring to drug trafficking in general, 84.0% of the recalls were analyzed (words that had been evoked at least eight times), and the cut points were the following: intermediate frequency of 20 and an average range of 2.7. The words likely to belong to the central nucleus are found in the first quadrant of table 4. In this quadrant, three aspects describe drug trafficking. Drug traffic, which describes the criminal activity of drug trafficking. Addictions and drugs that reflect the social consequences that drug trafficking generates. The work, which demonstrates the role that drug trafficking plays as a counter-regulation institution, that is, that provides an economic benefit to the subject that enters their ranks.

In the first periphery (second and third quadrants), elements appear that specify and objectify the core dimensions. Thus, killings, deaths, weapons, and crime describe

the violent acts typical of drug trafficking activity. The term substances and people, the social consequences that drug trafficking causes in people who consume their products. The sale, the money, and the territory refer to the economic activity and the consequent benefit that drug traffic brings. Also, in the second periphery (fourth quadrant), appeared again terms that specify the elements that build the representation of drug trafficking. Thus, the typical criminal acts of the activity are presented through murders, shootings, and extortion. The economy, laundering, and commerce evoke the economic benefit of drug trafficking. In turn, addicts and harm refer to the social consequences of this phenomenon. Finally, it is appreciated that a positive value or lifestyle of drug trafficking emerges when the comforts that the activity brings with it appear, such as vans, luxuries, women, and articles (for instance, houses or ranches).

Table 4. *Frequencies and range of evocations about drug trafficking*

Frequency ≥ 20	Midrange < 2.7	Frequency ≥ 20	Midrange ≥ 2.7
	159		129
Drugs	133	Deaths	58
Violence	29	Guns	30
Drug traffic	26	Drug trafficker	27
Addictions	20	Power	22
Work		Confrontations	68
		Insecurity	37
		Fear	66
		Corruption	44
		Illegal	132
		Money	34
		Easy	20
		Earn	31
		Persons	28
		People	20
		Young	

Frequency < 20	Midrange < 2.7	Frequency < 20	Midrange ≥ 2.7
	19		19
Delinquency	12	Items	15
Theft	12	Luxuries	14
Territory	12	Vans	12
Sale	8	Narcocorridos	11
Sell	9	Women	8
Substances	10	Economy	19
Killings	9	Shootings	18
Persons	9	Murders	19
Sinaloa		Damage	13
		Extortion	8
		Control	19
		Organized Crime	17
		Government	15
		Illicit	13
		Laundering	11
		Commerce	17
		Innocents	12
		Addicts	11
		Cause	10
		Abuse	8
		Education	10
		Wrong	

Source: *Made by the authors*

In the question about violence, 82.9% of the evocations were analyzed. The cut-off points were the following: intermediate frequency 18 and an average range of 2.9 (see table 5). Observing the elements that make up the representation of violence in general, the subjects evoke diverse types and violent actions. Thus, in the core referring to types and expressions of violence, the terms beatings, mistreatment, aggression, aggressiveness, and physical and verbal violence are presented. In addition, elements are referring to the climate of social insecurity - consequences of violence - with the terms muggings and insecurity. Finally, there are frequent violations of criminal practices in Culiacán, such as shootings, murders, and deaths. Additionally, in the first periphery (second and third quadrants), terms that reinforce the central elements, as well as other types and causes of violence, were evoked. Thus, hit, words, abuse, psychological violence, and insults refer to types and expressions of violence. Thefts, streets, and fear refer to the climate of social insecurity - consequences of violence. For its part, weapons, drug trafficking, kidnappings, corruption, and drugs evoke acts and criminal acts of violence. Finally, in the second periphery (fourth quadrant) terms were found that specify and exemplify the central elements that construct the representation of violence. In this sense, the consequences of violence are presented through delinquency and crime. Swearwords, bullying, and courtship - violence in courtship - refer to types and expressions of violence. Finally, individual causal attributions to the violent person appear, such as self-esteem, problems - psychological or emotional -, and alcohol. Concerning the similarities between the two objects, it is to be noted that both have common elements when represented. Hence, in the drug trafficking structure, there are violent acts and criminal acts such as deaths, weapons, and shootings or murders, all elements present in the structure of violence.

Table 5. *Frequencies and range of evocations about violence*

Frequency ≥ 18	Midrange < 2.9	Frequency ≥ 18	Midrange ≥ 2.9
Beatings	95	Weapons	51
Abuse	94	Drug trafficking	35
Verbal	44	Drugs	23
Physical	42	Psychological	26
Aggression	64	Abuses	23
Aggressiveness	21	Damage	23
Deaths	60	Kidnappings	23
Shootings	25	Blood	20
Murders	21	Fear	23
Muggings	43	Emotional	18
Insecurity	43	Corruption	22
Person	69	Family	49
		Lack	23
		Someone	22
Frequency < 18	**Midrange < 2.9**	**Frequency < 18**	**Midrange ≥ 2.9**
Domestic	15	Delinquency	16
Psychological	14	Crimes	8
Words	12	Threats	14
Insults	9	Injustice	12
Robbery	14	Arrogant	13
Streets	11	Shouting	13
Danger	8	Bullying	13
Hit	13	Swearwords	12
Actor	12	Courtship	9
Kill	10	Alcohol	11
Bad	12	Self-esteem	10
Pain	13	Problems	9
		Respect	8
		Cause	8
		People	8

Source: *Made by the authors*

Additionally, in violence, there are social consequences such as delinquency, robbery, insecurity, and fear, all elements present in the structure of drug traffic. Also, both phenomena point to structural problems, such as corruption. However, although both phenomena share common elements, in each object the shared element takes a different degree of importance in the structure and hierarchy of the representation. Thus,

drugs are nuclear elements for drug trafficking, while for violence they are peripheral elements. Besides, deaths, insecurity, shootings, and murders are core elements for violence and peripheral elements for drug trafficking.

In addition, it should be pointed that together with the marked specifications, we also find differential elements in each object. Therefore, drug traffic is concretely represented as a criminal activity aimed at drug trafficking. On the other hand, violence is represented as a violent act that seeks to attack a subject. For this reason, violence evokes multiple violent acts such as deaths, assassinations, or aggression, all of which are not related to drug traffic. In short, it can be considered that there is a close relationship between drug traffic and violence since its structures contain elements that reflect similar concerns and problems. But in turn, it is interesting that each object has characteristics that particularize it. Thus, drug traffic is characterized by drug trafficking and the economic aspect. On its side, violence is characterized by the types and expressions of violence – interpersonal - such as mistreatment, abuse, violence - verbal or psychological -.

3.5.2 Distribution of representational elements: Category analysis

In relation to the results found in the prioritizations and organization of the social representation of drug trafficking, EVOC's program allows the creation of categories and its subsequent analysis. These categories allow the visualization of all the answers (so far only the answers with a minimum frequency of 8 had been analyzed) in their corresponding semantic fields and the determination of its implication and inclusion in other semantic fields. For the stimuli of drug trafficking (see table 6) four categories

were created: (N1) Consequences of drug traffic (e.g., insecurity, violence), (N2) Drug trafficking's Economic activity (e.g., commerce, business), (N3) Positive characteristics of a drug trafficker (e.g., luxuries, parties) and (N4) Violent occurrences and criminal acts from drug trafficking (e.g., confrontations, drug traffic). The central categories used the most in the stimuli for drug trafficking were: (N4) Violent occurrences and criminal acts from drug trafficking, used by 6.7% of the subjects with a middle range of 2.8 and the (N1) Consequences of drug trafficking used by 81.3% of the subjects with a middle range of 3.0.

Table 6. *Categories on drug trafficking*

Category	Tematic field	Main words	Characteristics
N1	**Consequences of drug trafficking**	Insecurity, social injustice, violence, fear, harm, addictions, place	Indicates the social consequences drug trafficking generates in the social context
N2	**Drug trafficking's Economic activity**	Power, commerce, economy, work, business, drug trafficking, laundering, market, territory	Characterizes the typical economic activity (drug traffic and laundering) of drug trafficking
N3	**Positive characteristics of a drug trafficker**	Articles, Pick Ups, luxury, women, money, narcocorridos, parties	Defines the prototypical profile of a drug trafficker
N4	**Violent occurrences and criminal acts from drug trafficking**	Killings, shootings, murder, deaths, confrontations, war, kidnapping, drug traffic, corruption, organized crime	Identifies typical criminal activities (killing and kidnapping) of drug trafficking. As well as it points out violent actions that criminal groups wield on society

Source: *Made by the authors*

In relation to the category analysis regarding the stimuli of violence, recalls were classified in four categories (see table 7). The categories are as follows: (V1) Consequences of violence (e.g., insecurity, fear), (V2) Negative characteristics of a

violent person (e.g., self-esteem, education), (V3) Expressions and types of violence (e.g., battery, rape) and (V4) Violent occurrences and criminal acts (e.g., killings, shootings). The categories mostly used in the stimuli of violence were: (V4) Violent occurrences and criminal acts of violence, used by a 91.7% of the subjects in a middle range of 2.8 and (V3) Expressions and types of violence, used by a76.4% of the subjects in a middle range of 2.7.

Table 7. *Categories on violence*

Category	Tematic field	Main words	Characteristics
V1	**Consequences of violence**	Insecurity, fear, injustice, go out, streets, society, violence, suffering	Highlights the social consequences that violence generates in the social context
V2	**Negative characteristics of a violent person**	Lack, emotional, education, self-esteem, psychological, values, alcohol, anger, attitude, trauma	Defines the prototypical profile of the characteristics of a violent person (low self-esteem o psychological issues)
V3	**Expressions and types of violence**	Verbal, battery, physical, punches, psychological, bullying, sexual, rape, abuse, machismo, infantile	Characterizes the types of violence with a stronger presence in society
V4	**Violent occurrences and criminal acts of violence**	Killings, deaths, kidnappings, killing spree, murder, shootings, harm, dying, corruption, drug trafficking, fire arms	Identifies the characteristics of typical criminal activities (killing and kidnapping). As well as it points out the violent actions that criminal groups wield against society

Source: *Made by the authors*

It is worth to mention the similarity and closeness of the elements which constitute the categories for each social object. Like so, comparing the content in both of the categories for the objects, it is observed that in the N1 category (about drug trafficking) and in the V1 category (about violence) insecurity, violence and fear, arise.

For their part, the N4 and the V4 categories show the appearance of killings, deaths, killing sprees and kidnappings.

Moreover, together with the similarities and common elements, there are specific elements which differentiate each object. When representing drug trafficking, two categories emerge that concretize on this, the N2 and the N3. The first one is composed of typical elements from the activity of drug trafficking and that refer to the economical aspect. Drug trafficking is shown as a money generating job (economy), it is an activity of laundering and, specifically, a commercial activity that targets the selling of narcotics. The second one is composed of elements that describe the typical characteristics or lifestyles of a drug trafficker. The elements refer to luxury, articles, women and money. On the other hand, when representing violence, two categories emerge that concretize on this, the V2 and the V3. The first one is composed of elements which describe the typical characteristics of a violent person. The elements refer to emotional problems, psychological issues –self-esteem- or lack of education. The second one is composed of elements that refer to different kinds of expressions of violence, like verbal violence, machismo, rape and battery.

3.5.3 Category organization: implication analysis

The analysis of implication performed in order to analyze the inclusion of semantic fields showed that for the drug trafficking stimuli (see figure 2) all categories show a high index of implication (more than 80%). Likewise, all categories are strongly implied with the N4 category, violent occurrences and criminal acts of drug trafficking (used by 96.7% of the subjects), considered the central one and the most widely used by

the subjects. Furthermore, together with this category, two more categories are recalled with a strong presence in speech, the N1, consequences of drug trafficking (used by 81.3% of the subjects) and the N3, positive characteristics of a drug trafficker (used by 71.0% of the subjects). In this sense, it can be attributed that the representation of drug trafficking shows an ambivalent valuation which fluctuates between the idealization – positive- of the benefits of drug trafficking, and the perception of the consequences drug trafficking has on the social texture –negative-. Lastly, we found that the N2 category, economical aspect of drug trafficking, has a minor presence in the subjects' speech (used by 51.9% of the subjects). This category holds strong implications with the N1, consequences of drug trafficking, and with the N2, positive characteristics of a drug trafficker.

Figure 2. *Implication analysis of the stimuli for drug trafficking (%)*
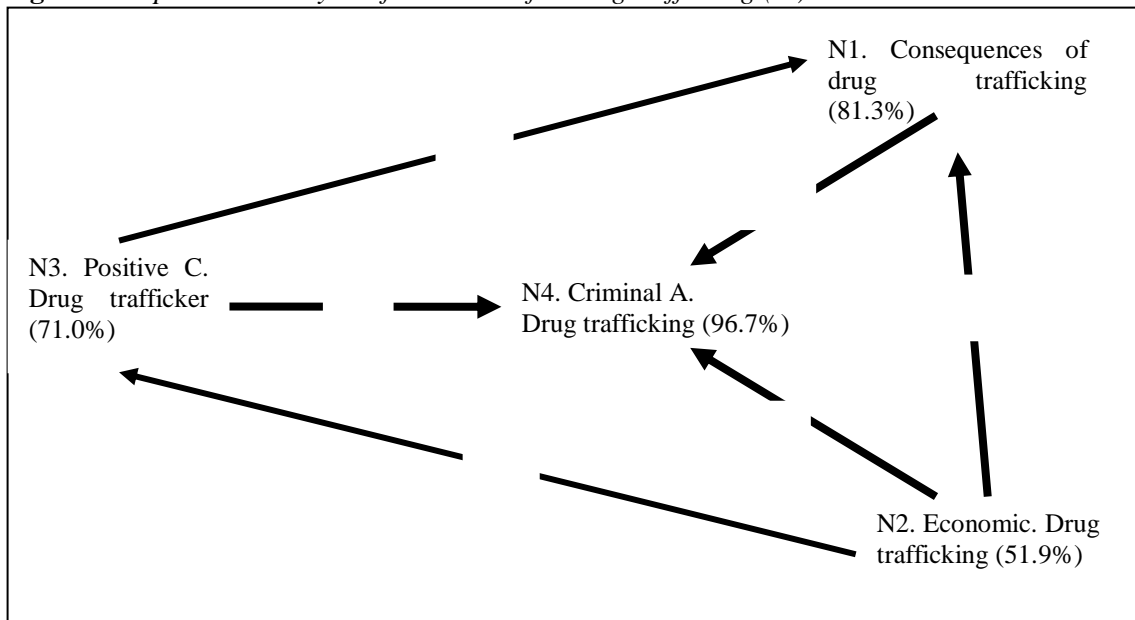
Source: *Extracted from the Similitude program*

The analysis of implication in the case of violence (see figure 3), showed that all categories present high indexes of implication (around 60%). Just the stimuli for drug trafficking, all categories are strongly bound with the V4 category, violent occurrences

and criminal acts of violence (used by 91.7% of the subjects), considered to be the central and mostly used by the subjects. Besides, together with this category, another category that also has a strong presence in speech emerges, the V3, expressions and types of violence (used by 76.4% of the subjects). The representation of violence has a negative valuation which is expressed mostly on the V2 category V2, negative characteristics of a violent person, (used by 48.0% of the subjects) and the V1 category, consequences of violence (used by 55.9% of the subjects).

Figure 3. *Implication analysis of the stimuli for violence (%)*
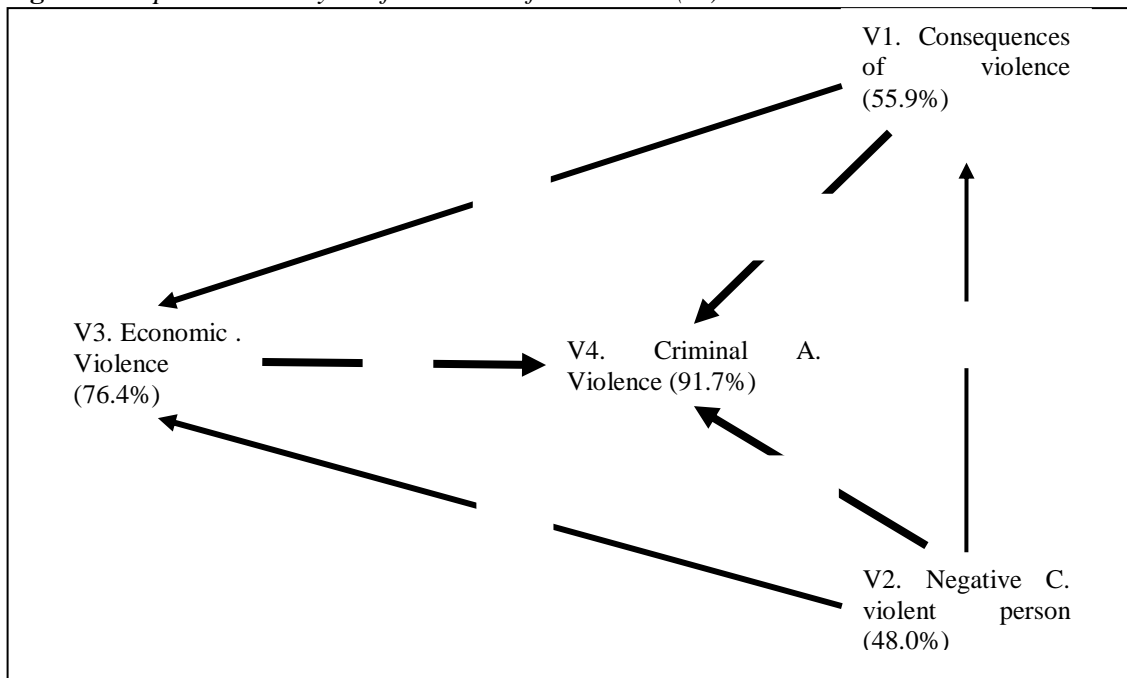
Source: *Extracted from the Similitude program*

Lastly, it turns out to be of interest the way in which drug trafficking, despite being an activity that causes serious social issues, like insecurity, fear in public spaces or killings, when presented with the economical benefits and lifestyle of drug traffickers, they, the population, have a transferred tendency of being positively valued, contrary to what happens with violence, which has a negative valuation. Likewise, it

turns out to be of relevance to state how the N1 category of consequences for drug trafficking and V1 for violence, take on a different weight for each object. In this sense, for the case of violence, the consequences do not present a high degree of importance. In this way, it may be understood that violent acts such as punching, yelling to a person, or throwing down somebody are daily practices that the population considers to be natural, because they are low impact acts. Contrary to violent occurrences caused by drug trafficking where the consequences show a high degree of importance. Thus, violent occurrences like murder, executions, shootings and killing sprees between armed groups are considered high risk, and to which the population has not grown accustomed to, since they may cause harm beyond repair, altering the population's daily life.

3.5.4 Groups comparisons: differences of gender

The comparative analysis of the answers given by men and women showed meaningful differences when taking gender into consideration. In relation to drug trafficking, the group of males quoted, more that the females, the following terms: weapons (41 and 17 respectively) t (2314) = 3.29, $p < 0.1$, confrontations (15 and 7 respectively) t (2314) = 1.79, $p < 0.1$, government (12 and 5 respectively) t (2314) = 1.77, $p < 0.1$, drug trafficker (21 and 9 respectively) t (2314) = 2.29, $p < 0.1$ and life (22 y 5 respectively) t (2314) = 1.77, $p < 0.1$. Females, on the other side, quoted the following terms more than males: easy (25 and 9 respectively) t (2314) = 2.07, $p < 0.1$ and persons (45 y 22 respectively) t (2314) = 2.66, $p < 0.1$.

In relation with violence, the following meaningful differences were found. The group of males quoted the following terms more than females: someone (17 and 5 respectively) t (2314) = 2.50, $p < 0.1$ and shootings (20 y 5 respectively) t (2314) = 2.93, $p < 0.1$. On their side, females quoted the following terms more than males: physical (18 6 respectively) t (2314) = 2.51, $p < 0.1$, battery (57 and 37 respectively) t (2314) = 2.19, $p < 0.1$, fear (21 and 5 respectively) t (2314) = 1.94, $p < 0.1$, psychological (21 and 5 respectively) t (2314) = 3.20, $p < 0.1$ and verbal (31 and 13 respectively) t (2314) = 1.97, $p < 0.1$.

Comparisons previously made with the COMPLEX program (Vergès, 2003), are based on a differential use (more or less frequent) of the words recalled both by male and females. Not only that, but, a more detailed analysis of words exclusively used by females and by males may turn out to be of interest. On the one side, in relation to drug trafficking, it is the male's group the one who valuates more positively the recalls of terms like richness, value, impulse –of economy- and idols- drug trafficker. On the other, the female's group emphasizes the negative valuation of drug trafficking, thus this group represents it through elements like immoral, negative, bad example, setback and uneasiness. On the other hand, regarding violence, it turns out interesting to see how the group of males recalls violent occurrences and criminal acts typical of drug trafficking or kidnapping-. In the same way, it should be highlighted that it is through the stimuli of violence that the positive valuation of drug trafficking is lost, a negative valuation of it emerges. Like so, typical actions of drug trafficking are perceived as a risk, a disease, a cancer, or as social disorder. Females, when representing violence, also recall typical elements of drug trafficking, sustaining their negative valuation of it. In this way, elements as gun smuggling, killings or corruption –impunity, emerge.

3.6 Conclusions

The perspective of the central core has allowed us to identify a clear organization and hierarchy of the elements which compose the social representations of drug trafficking and of violence. In this sense, it has been possible to observe that drug trafficking and violence are represented with similar elements and are inter related. Specifically, when representing drug trafficking, the population recalls typical actions of violence. Like so, violence itself -social violence- appears as a nuclear element in the structure of drug trafficking. In their own turn, subjects, when representing violence, highlight actions and acts that are typical of the activities related to drug trafficking. Thus, killings, shootings and murder are presented as nuclear elements of violence. This relationship between drug trafficking and violence is also revealed through peripheral elements that refer to social issues. Subjects speak of delinquency, robbery, corruption, killings and guns, all of them present elements of the structure of both representational objects. This proximity may be understood from the social practices, due to the fact that both objects are represented through violent actions –negative customs-. In this sense, one same action, as for example, killings or shootings, may have two types of readings or meanings. On one hand, they may be understood as violence, and on the other, they may be understood as typical actions from drug trafficking. This is, in Sinaloa, when a person is killed, two types of speech appear, one about the increase of violence and another one that passes a judgment of value, which attributes the murder the world of drug trafficking and them settling the score. In this sense, it may be considered that despite violence and drug trafficking being different phenomena, they both cross in social praxis (Gaffié, 2012).

Apart from that, when observing the different meanings that recall drug trafficking and violence. It turns out interesting to find that drug trafficking shows a tendency of being positively valued. Through a comparative analysis, it was specifically identified it is the group of males whom present this positive valuation. The female group does not idealize drug trafficking, on the contrary, their representation of drug trafficking appears a negative and immoral activity. We consider that the positive valuation and acceptance that drug trafficking has for the group of males, has its root in the ideological aspect, and in the social status in which the society in Sinaloa has placed drug trafficking. Moreover, the cultural acceptance that drug trafficking has had, historically, in Sinaloa, has led to the spreading of this positive valuation.

Violence is negatively valued both by males and females. In this sense, subjects emphasize the insecurity of the environment present in their daily life, recalling elements like fear and danger – in public spaces-, corruption – in police corps-, robbery and kidnapping. Likewise, it turns out to be interesting to highlight the elements that compose the social representation of violence, there are multiple occurrences and criminal acts typical of drug trafficking. Some of these elements are the killings, shootings and extortions. When referring to violence, subjects emphasize social harm and the feeling of insecurity established by drug trafficking, which carries criticism towards drug trafficking and reduction in its acceptance.

Results found in different analysis allow us to showcase a proximal relationship between the concepts of drug trafficking and violence. Following Guimelli and Rouquette (2004), we may identify that between both objects a structure of relation shows up, called "relation d´emboîtement" (Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004; Fraïssé, 2010) match relation. One of the first characteristics to define this type of relation, is the

existence of a relation between an object of inferior level that integrates in its central core an object of a superior level. In our case, violence is presented as the superior element, since it appears as the central object of the representation of drug trafficking. Drug trafficking, on its own, is presented as an element of an inferior level, since it appears in the periphery of violence. A second characteristic is that the element of a superior level takes the status of ruling central element. This is, it will be the element through which judgments will be created. In this sense, it is through the judgment made on violence that the valuation of drug trafficking is formed. Violence is valuated as negative, referring to uncertainty and the fear killings generate in society, or kidnappings and violent robberies which are committed in a day to day basis. This same negative valuation is seen in drug trafficking, where kidnapping and murder are common praxis and that society relates with drug trafficking. That is why we can say that drug trafficking loses its social acceptance through their acts of violence. However, despite the negative effects of this phenomenon, subjects perceive the economical aspect as something positive, that is, something that allows obtaining a life of luxury. This lifestyle is pinpointed through a positive valuation of a drug trafficker. Thus, these people lifestyle is cheered –parties, women, houses or jewelry-. In this sense, a two way valuation of drug trafficking may be confirmed, since, on one side, the benefits of the activity are idealized, on the other, the consequences that this activity has on society are emphasized. Lastly, and as third characteristic, the new element that appears in the inferior level object of match relation's central core, takes the status of functional element and is differentiated from the rest. This new element is constituted by drugs. In this way, drugs constitute the matching, connecting, element through which violence and drug trafficking are related. Since situations of insecurity such as kidnapping and

extortions and violent occurrences such as shootings may be considered as an attempt by the criminal groups, this will create a chaotic and uncertain social climate.

To understand the existing dynamics amongst two social objects that are "matched", it is necessary to incorporate the historical aspect. History gives content, relevance and meaning to social objects, and it constructs the valuations and praxis shared within the social context. The fact of a negative and a positive connotation of drug trafficking coexisting with a negative connotation of violence, would be explained better using this historical process and it would talk of a certain autonomy of the matched object. Autonomy that in the process of change may lead to a new representation (see Fraïssé, 2010, for the case of natural medicine in relation to conventional medicine).

In this sense, to deepen into the relationships of dependence and degree of autonomy in the case of drug trafficking, a very interesting future research line would be to analyze how the valuation of drug trafficking is constructed and how does it evolve (Brady & Kaplan, 2009). It may be thought that with a larger proximity or closeness, or a person who knows somebody who does this activity for a living, as well as obtaining some direct or indirect benefit from the activity- will have a predisposition to build a more positive valuation of drug trafficking. This would partly explain the acceptance that drug trafficking has, socially speaking, since the networks of drug tracking are immerse in a large part of the society in Sinaloa. For example, via economical aid, family ties –the financing for some party- or in terms of safety –indirect protection because someone is a friend or a relative of a drug trafficker-. In this sense, the presence of the phenomenon of drug trafficking in Sinaloa and its acceptance may be pointed out, it shows a sense of weariness and the lack of back up given by the

government. In this way, drug trafficking no longer influences only matters of social insecurity, but also, it modifies social praxis, life projects, behavior, the way a person dresses - within the Mexican general population.

4. STUDY 3: SOCIAL REPRESENTATION OF DRUG

TRAFFICKER IN SINALOA'S YOUTHS

4.1 Introduction

Drug trafficking is an issue that has been present in Mexican's society daily life. Besides, it is a phenomenon that has scarred a large part of the population in terms of social and cultural development. Historically, the State of Sinaloa is where this problem has rooted and where it has found a place for developing (Ibarra & Carrillo, 2003; Moreno, 2009). Despite the groundings and influence drug trafficking has had in Sinaloa, it is thanks to the image of the drug dealer that this activity has become fashionable. Several versions about drug traffickers have been historically built. Some mention a subject born in the mountains of the Sierra, with no education, others show a benefactor of the people (society) and some others show a criminal who lives outside the law, just to cite some examples (Astorga, 1995; Simonett, 2007).

However, despite the influence and appropriations that have been made of drug traffickers in different times, it is in current times that this character has caused a greater influence. Through cinema, music, mass-media, literature or arts, the drug trafficker has found a place to consolidate himself/herself as a successful subject. In this way, the image of a person with high economic capital, manly looking and with power, is presented (influences government institutions), this allows the subject to remain outside the law and live in apparent comfort. This image created by the very drug trafficker is, apparently, an image accepted by the youths in Sinaloa. Likewise, it is an image that has, apparently, influenced several aspects of their daily life. Some aspects are related to building a life project, since it is through drug trafficking that they may become successful (Moreno, 2009), at least economy wise, in interpersonal relationships and behavioral lifestyles (influencing the way they dress and speak). Because of the

aforementioned, this study had as an objective, knowing the social representation that the youths in Sinaloa have of the drug trafficker. Also, knowing the type of valuation (positive/negative) that youths from Sinaloa have on this type of social group.

4.2 The drug trafficker in social imagination

The drug trafficker is a person present in the history of Mexican society. In spite of this, it is in Sinaloa where this subject had a space for its development. The first appearance of the drug trafficker (smuggler) is at the end of the XIX century, and at the beginning of the XX (Ramírez-Pimienta, 2004). This period is characterized by the establishment of the Porfirian dictatorship. Besides, this era was marked by a big oppression and resources control in the country, done by a few bourgeoisie groups (Ibarra & Carrillo, 2003). From this climate of inconformity one of the first figures of smugglers appears (textiles) "Mariano Reséndez". This character was portrayed as a generous bandit who would give social support to the communities of the region. Besides, because he was a character that was against the Mexican government, and challenged (mocked) the United States of America, he was considered a hero, and an element of the civil resistance (Ramírez-Pimienta, 2004). With the alcohol prohibition in the USA (Volstead Law 1919). Some folk song about smuggling drugs like "Morfina y cocaína" o "El contrabandista" would appear, they presented and described a character that smuggled for a living because of the wretched situation in which he is in. Likewise, a subject who does a dangerous job for a living is presented, a job that has serious repercussions if captured by the forces of the law (Ramírez-Pimienta, 2004).

In the 1933 with the end of Volstead's law, smuggled goods in the USA were not only textiles and alcohol, but also drugs (Ramírez-Pimienta, 2004). In this way, despite prohibition, the frontiers of Mexico and the USA were turned into multiple underground transactions, profiling opium traffic (narcotics) as a highly profitable business, giving birth to the figure of the drug trafficker (Burgos, 2013). Besides, because of the start of World War II, and with the aim of obtaining morphine for their troops, the United States government breaks away from their 1914 agreement on the production of opium (International Opium Convention) and creates a pact with Mexico's government for the production of poppy (Astorga, 2003). It was well known, at this time, that the ones doing the trafficking were the politicians, since their positions and collusion with other governments allowed them to protect the business (Astorga, 1996). In this sense, there is no clear image of the drug trafficker, since it was a business mainly done by politicians or by owner of large portions of land. However, the image of "gomeros" was created by the printed media. Gomero was the name given, exclusively, to the subject devoted to the growing of poppy, and the smuggling of opium (Astorga, 1995). Like this, from the media, it was not the persons who harvested poppy (Sierra inhabitants) the ones who smuggled it, even more, the Sierra inhabitants had no idea of what they were harvesting to begin with (Lizárraga, 2003). However, the climate of social turmoil, the depriving situation and poor developing, pushed people into sowing stimulants in order to obtain economical support.

After the 1950's, at the end of World War II, the Mexican government forces farmers to halt poppy production. However, when seeing the benefits of growing such product, the group continued harvesting. In this way, by the end of the 60's the phenomenon of drug trafficking spreads and develops, this is attributed to the begging

of the drug cult, hippies and the end of the Vietnam war, which left several military

personal addicted to drugs (Lizárraga, 2003). Despite this development, it is only until

the 70's and the 80's that drug trafficking, and the figure of the drug trafficker begin to

peak. Besides, because of the way these subjects were visualized and the way they were

implied in the phenomenon, the name narcotraficantes (drug traffickers) appears, it was

used to name any person who smuggled any kind of stimulant or narcotic (Astorga,

1995). By this way, a concrete image of the subject who engages in drug trafficking

begins to be built. Characters such as Pedro Avilés, Rafael Caro Quintero and Manuel

Salcido "Cochiloco" start to appear. In this way, a popular speech emerges

characterizing drug traffickers as a brave person (fierce), from the Sierra, with a lot of

money, and that mocks (lives outside) the law. Together with this, due to their support

and social work in certain areas of the Sierra, their social acceptance increases, and they

become benefactor. As Arturo Lizarraga quotes in his book *Nos llevó la ventolera*:

> "Bueno, hay muchos de ellos que han ayudado al pueblo. Esa gente
> ayuda. Caro Quintero hizo escuelas, puso alumbrado en algunos
> poblados. Hacía más que el gobierno. Ahí está también El Cochiloco, él
> fue un verdadero benefactor. Entre ellos hay gente bien derecha"
> (campesino de la localidad de San Juan. p. 202; 2003).[5]

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[5] "Well, there are a lot of them who have helped the people. Those persons help. Caro Quintero built schools, had illumination installed in some villages. He used to do more than the government. There you have El Cochiloco as well, he was a true benefactor. There are very honest people among them" (local farmer from the San Juan community. p.202; 2003)

In the 90's, drug trafficking became a fully visible phenomenon because of its impact and implication both in the social as in politics. This visibility is credited to two occurrences, one, the so called Condor Operation in 1977 and the other, the murder of DEA agent Enrique Camarena in 1985 (Alzaga, 2015). In this context, the seizing of one of the most important and representative capos Miguel Ángel Félix Gallardo. With his capture, the image of the drug trafficker from the Sierra has an evolution. In this way, a character with a social influence and with relationships with sports men, politicians and a visible social life (high class) is presented. In Astorga's words, a character who is skilled, cunning, discrete, refined and abnormally simple, is presented. Befriends politicians all sizes, has relationships in commerce, agriculture, with livestock producers, the press, and even in universities (Astorga, 1995).

Afterwards, during the periods of 2000-2006 and 2006-2012, two issues made drug trafficking a national topic. The first one is related to the offset of the dominant party who had been ruling for 70 years, the government changed (2000-2006) (Morales, 2011). The second one, the new president (Felipe Calderón 2006-2012) arrived to the Mexican presidency in a climate of mistrust and slandering, for several media said that his political campaign was a dirty war and that it lacked legitimacy (Camacho, 2006). This facts forced the new government to deal with drug trafficking with a strong hand, since it was a way to legitimize on take position over power. However, this drug war brought brutal consequences, such as a high murder rate (Burgos, 2013). In this sense, the government sent a message in order to group people and signal the ones responsible for this, in this case drug traffickers. Despite the government's effort and the support of some media in profiling and slandering this social group, drug trafficking and drug trafficker continued to be tolerated and accepted. In this way, the drug trafficker

continued to gain a large presence in, for example, cinema or television. Thus, the drug trafficker did not appear as a secondary character, nor was drug trafficking a subplot. The drug trafficker and drug trafficking were presented as main themes, representing a world around wealth, opulence and power (Mercader, 2012).

Currently, the image of the drug trafficker has a great social impact. Drug culture is perceived to have been inserted with a stronger drive inside the population's daily life. In this sense, the population appropriates lifestyles such as outfits, behavior and even musical taste (narco-corridos) related to the world of drug trafficking (Polit, 2007). Just to lay an example, the capturing of La Barbie (drug trafficker), who had a particular outfit when presented to the media (London brand polo t shirt) was immediately copied by the population. In this same line, drug traffickers like "El chapo" Guzmán, Beltrán Leyva or Arellano Félix, all born in Sinaloa, have great power and a large economic capital. Like so, it may be observed that the population's perception of the drug trafficker is divergent (positive-negative), since violent occurrences have weakened the social fabric, pushing the population to have a certain animosity towards this group and towards what they do. In sum, the current influence of drug trafficking/ drug traffickers must be considered from a historical bases, for it has managed to create an identity inside Sinaloa. Besides, because of the implications these characters have had in the process of social development, it is not strange that the acceptance of this group by the population is sustained even though the social expense that this activity causes in the population's daily life.

4.3 Structural perspective of social representations

From its beginnings (Moscovici, 1961), SRT has had various theoretical contributions which have derived in a practical and useful methodology for the study of a social environment (Wagner, et al. 2011). One of the perspectives that has made strong contributions to SRT is the perspective of the central nucleus from the Aix-Provence (Abric, 2001). This version of the theory postulates that any representation is organized around a central nucleus, which constitutes the elements that give meaning to a global representation.

In this sense, the elements that make the structure of social representation take on various degrees of importance, differentiating themselves from central and peripheral elements (Rateau & Lo Manaco, 2013). The first ones give what is consensual and are linked to the group's collective and historic memory. The second ones allow the functioning of the representation in order to adapt itself to specific social praxis and differentiate the content of the representation (Kornblit, 2007). Knowing the structure of the representation is of great importance for this study. The nuclear elements will allow us to identify the consensual elements and what greater relevance do they have when representing a drug trafficker. At the same time, which peripheral elements will allow us to know the new speeches that emerge around said representation.

Because of the aforementioned, and due to the closeness that the drug trafficker has maintained with Sinaloa's society, this study had as a final aim knowing the social representation that Sinaloa's youths have on the drug trafficker. Through the central nucleus' perspective it is pretended to know the organization and structure of the elements which construct the representation of a drug trafficker. It was also sought to

know the type of valuation (positive-negative) that Sinaloa's youths have on this social group.

4.4 Method

4.4.1 Participants

A sample of 443 college youths (49.9% men and 50.1% women) took part in the research. The sample was taken from three college institutions in Culiacán (of different economic status) with the aim of reaching youths from different social levels. The average age of the participants is situated in 21.32 years old (DT: 2.23).

4.4.2 Instrument and procedure

With the aim of knowing the representation of the drug trafficker, a questionnaire of free recalling of words was applied (Tosoli, De Oliveira and Sá, 2008). The introducing question for the stimuli was presented in the following way: What comes to your mind when you think of a **DRUG TRAFFICKER**? Youngsters answered the five characteristics they thought better described the answer stimuli. After a brief presentation of the research, voluntary participation was requested. The questionnaire was answered in the campuses of the ones participating.

4.4.3 Data analysis

For the treatment of the collected data the EVOC software was used, it analyzes data based on a frequency of hierarchies and order of recalling (Vergès, 2003). This program allows the identification and organization of elements which compose the social

representation of an object of study in its central nucleus and its peripheral system. Once the total amount of words is organized through a lexicographic analysis, a categorization was made with the objective of studying the relationship between the different discourses via the index of implication. This index signals the percentage in which persons that make reference to some term from a category may do so to terms from another category (Larrañaga et. al, 2012). In this way, the lexicographic and categorization analysis was performed with two programs: EVOC and SIMI2003 (Vergès, 2003).

4.5 Results

Based on the research question about a drug dealer, of the total analyzed speech through EVOC, an 86.6% of the total recalls was analyzed. The cut points were: Intermediate frequencies of 21 and a middle range of 3.0 (see table 8). The words that compose the central nucleus (1st quadrant) of the representation allows us to identify that in the social consensus there are two types of representations (valuations) on the drug trafficker. A positive one, which describes the drug trafficker through the luxuries in their daily life, some others refer to money, cars, luxuries (jewels or house), clothes (outfits) and power. Another, a negative one that makes reference to behavioral ways that recall elements such as being violent, corrupt, aggressive and person (which refers to being an aggressive person). In the first periphery (2nd and 3rd quadrant) it may be observed how the representation formed in the central nucleus is maintained. In this sense, it may be said that the peripheral elements complement and reinforce the central elements. In relation to the positive representation, elements like positive (referring to the fact of being a nice person), rich (huge economic capital), business man (drug

trafficking is just like any other job), intelligent or vendor (referring to being a

salesman) emerge.

Table 8. *Frequencies and range of drug trafficker*

Frequency > 21	Midrange < 3.0	Frequency > 21	Midrange > 3.0
Money	67	Arrogant	43
Cars	59	Weapons	32
Violent	46	Assassin	31
Person	45	Immoral	22
Drugs	40		
Luxuries	40		
Power	36		
Corrupt	30		
Aggressive	28		
Clothes	23		
Has	22		
Frequency > 21	*Midrange < 3.0*	**Frequency > 21**	*Midrange > 3.0*
Sick	19	Drug addict	20
Blood	18	Ambitious	19
Education	17	Narcocorridos	17
People	16	Armed	16
Violence	15	Outlaws	16
Bad ones	13	Illegal	13
Positive	13	Wrong	13
Cold	12	Jewelry	12
Rich	11	Housed	11
Vendor	10	Deaths	11
Business man	10	Traces	11
With no culture	10	Negative	10
Illiterate	9	Blood thirsty	10
Man	8	Eccentric	9
Intelligent	8	Women	9
Dangerous	8	Alcoholics	8
		Economy	8
		Easy	8

Source: *Made by the authors*

In relation to the negative representation, elements referring to the drug

trafficker being a sick person, with no education, violent, mean, cold, abusive, immoral,

illiterate, without culture and dangerous are recalled. In the second periphery (4th

quadrant) again the positive and the negative of the drug trafficker appear. On the positive, elements as narco-corridos, jewelry, women (seduce), economy, life (lifestyle), ambitious and houses were recalled. Concerning the negative, words like drug addict, outlaws (living outside the law), bloodthirsty, language (way of speaking) and values (lack of moral values) were recalled.

Because of what was exposed earlier, it can be said that when representing a drug trafficker, Sinaloa's youth recall a concrete stereotype and valuations (positive-negative). In relation to the stereotype, from the perspective of young people, the drug trafficker is a subject who traffics with drugs for a living, has large sums of money and lives a life of luxury. Besides, this group highlights the behavioral part in terms of being an aggressive person. Just to see an example, youths, in their speech, emphasize the following:

"Man who imports and exports drugs. Persons who have a lot of goods like jewelry and fancy and luxurious things. They ride a lot of luxury cars and have money. Use outrageous outfits. It may be a violent aggressive and arrogant person. Works in the illegal market business".

On the other hand, the positive valuation point to everything related to a life style, power (influence) and material object that a drug trafficker may have by unlawful business. This way, youths refer this in their speech:

"They have a lot of money, luxury cars and expensive clothing. A lot of houses, full of jewelry and nice pickups (cars).With power and intelligent since he knows

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how to dominate and evade the law. Influencer who has a lot of power in society and in police corps".

Negative valuation, on its own share, refers to behavioral styles (aggressive and violent) and to drug traffickers as persons without education. In the same way, young people recalls violent occurrences typical of illegal business as for example killings or violence. In their speech it is pointed out that:

"They kill anyone that crosses their path. Thug, is a person who does not see right from wrong. Is hot tempered, is vulgar, illiterate and has no morals. They are blood thirsty people, ignorant and cruel".

Overall, it turns out to be interesting to find that youth's speech prioritizes the positive aspect that describes a drug trafficker. They recall elements which refer to the goods, social and economic status (influence). All of them elements that a person could gain access to if that person had a successful job that would allow said person to earn a large economical capital. This leads us into thinking about the notion of sawing what you reap. Using this logic it could be understood that being a drug trafficker is considered by the youth to be one through which a person could gain access to a life of luxury. Besides it turns out to be interesting to highlight that, in spite the positive focalization, young people will not leave aside the negative aspect of the drug trafficker. Like this, elements that recall aggressive behavior and delinquent actions typical of this subjects and that dent the social fabric are recalled. All of this leads us to attribute youths with the idea that they do not just idealize a drug trafficker's lifestyle. In this

way, what moves them is luxury, violence, on the other hand, is excluded. As Lizarraga points out, what people want from drug trafficking are the benefits, not the violence (Lizárraga, 2003).

4.5.1 Distribution of representational elements: Category analysis

Based around the results found through the lexicographic analysis, EVOC allows the creation of categories and its follow up analysis. In relation to the drug trafficker, four categories were created (so far only the answers that had a minimum frequency of 8 had been analyzed) they encompass all representational elements in their respective semantic field (see table 9). The categories are as follows: (N1) Positive characteristics of a drug trafficker (e.g., jewelry, economy), (N2) Negative characteristics of a drug trafficker (e.g., illiterate, with no culture), (N3) Behavioral style (e.g., aggressive, immoral) y (N4) Violent occurrences and criminal acts of a drug trafficker (e.g., kill, corruption).

The central categories and the ones used the most for the drug trafficker stimuli were: (N1) Positive characteristics of a drug trafficker 74.4% with a middle range of 2.8. The (N3) category, Behavioral style of a drug trafficker 66.2 with a middle range of 2.9.

Table 9. *Categories on a drug trafficker*

Category	Tematic field	Main words	Characteristics
N1	**Positive characteristics of a drug trafficker**	Cars, houses, economy, jewelry, rich, money, women, outfit, traces, intelligent, brave	Defines a positive prototypical profile of what a drug trafficker is, as well as the drug trafficker's typical actions
N2	**Negative characteristics of a drug trafficker**	Illiterate, ignorant, drug addict, with no culture, illiterate, sick, vulgar, alcoholic	Defines a negative prototypical profile of what a drug trafficker is, as well as the drug trafficker's typical actions
N3	**Behavioral style of a drug trafficker**	Aggressive, violent, corrupt, abusive, dangerous, eccentric, chauvinist, rude, delinquent, immoral, intolerant	Characterizes the behavioral style typical of a drug trafficker, as well as the drug trafficker's delinquent activities
N4	**Violent occurrences and criminal acts of a drug trafficker**	They kill, delinquency, violence, power, armed, sell, drugs, weapons, deaths, corruption	Identifies the typical delinquent activities of a drug trafficker. As well as signaling violent actions that criminal groups perform

Source: *Made by the authors*

Furthermore, the implication analysis performed to know the inclusion of semantic fields (see figure 4) showed that all categories present high indexes of implication (around 60%). Likewise, it was found that all categories are strongly bound to the (N1) category, Positive characteristics of a drug trafficker (used by 74.4% of the subjects). Parallel to this category, three more categories with a strong presence in youth's speech are recalled, the (N3) Behavioral style of a drug trafficker (used by 66.2% of the subjects), the (N2) Negative characteristics of a drug trafficker (used by 58.2% of the subjects) and the (N4) Violent occurrences and criminal acts of a drug trafficker (used by 57.8% of the subjects).

Figure 4. *Implication analysis of the stimuli of drug trafficker (%)*

N2. N.C Drug trafficker (58.2%)

N3. B.S Drug traffikcer (66.2%)

N1. P.C Drug trafficker (74.4%)

N4. V.C Drug trafficker (57.8%)
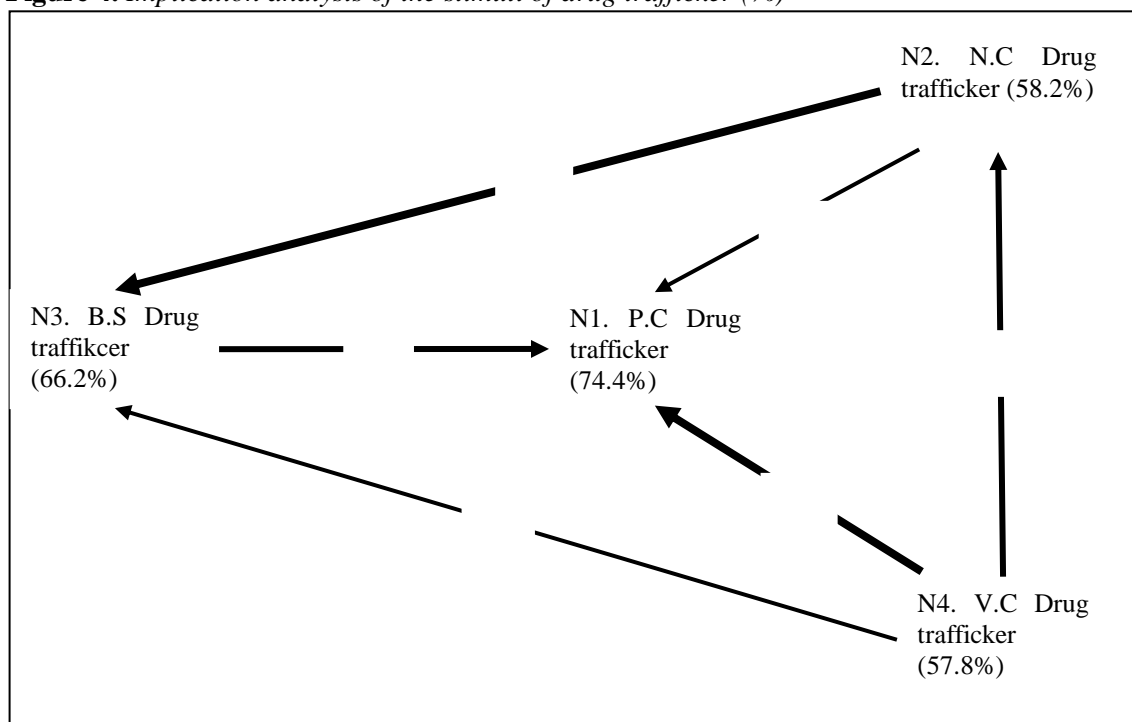
Source: *Extracted from the Similitude program*

The distribution of the implication analysis turns out to be interesting, for it allows us the corroboration that, when presenting the drug trafficker, young people recall the two speeches together: One specifically points out to the positive aspects of the (N1) category, related to the economical and social aspect (power). Another one specifically related to the negative characteristics of a drug trafficker, the (N3) category, like being aggressive or violent. Besides, it calls our attention that the positive characteristics are the ones that rule over the population's speech. Again, this leads us to think that young people consider drug trafficking as a business through which a high rolling lifestyle may be reached. Thus, drug traffickers transfigure into successful beings. In this way, young people does not exclude drug trafficking or drug traffickers, what they exclude are the occurrences of violence (drug traffic) and behavioral styles (drug traffickers) which generate a sense of insecurity in the population´s day to day

context. In this sense, it may be highlighted that young people build a divergent valuation on the drug trafficker. Therefore, this group does not accept the violence generated by this subjects. However, and after all the negative expressions, a certain positive valuation is found, related to the luxurious lifestyle of this subjects.

4.6 Conclusions

The SRT's structural approximation has permitted the finding of several interesting elements about the drug trafficker. The elements which construct the representation allowed us finding about the very specific stereotype young people have on drug traffickers, which is centered around a lifestyle. Youths specifically highlight economical benefits such as luxury, houses, or cars that drug trafficking facilitates and that are materialized through the drug trafficker. Besides, it is very interesting to see how in the central and peripheral elements a divergent representation on the drug trafficker is found. On the one hand, a positive valuation, in which all elements that refer to the economical and status aspects that this character has, is recalled, for example power (political-social influence), vendor (a way of making a living), intelligent (knows how to evade the law) and luxury (jewels, houses or money). On the other hand, a negative valuation, in which elements that refers to all behavioral and individual aspects (personality) of the drug trafficker, is recalled. The elements that refer to the drug trafficker being illiterate, blood thirsty, immoral, arrogant and vulgar.

The existing divergent representation in the elements may be confirmed, for, if we follow the analysis of implication, it was possible to find, from the perspective of youths, that the positive aspects and the behavioral styles of the drug trafficker

(negatives) are the most commonly used speeches when describing this subject. Besides, finding that the positive aspects are the most relevant is highly interesting. This leads to thinking in the notion of merits. Through this concept it may be understood that young people perceive drug trafficking as a way of life that will allow them to obtain a life of luxury reflected in the projection of a drug trafficker's everyday life. This speech must not be interpreted without relating it and contextualizing it with the environment in which these young people dwell. In this sense, it must be emphasized that the conditions of deprivation and the conditions for personal development are limited. Thus, because of the poor conditions generated by the government, particularly the one in Sinaloa, young people look for a way of obtaining lifestyles or goods that are deemed acceptable. This is, if it is well known that not having a path for personal development may be a reason for young people to join drug trafficking, the consumism that is grounded in Sinaloa for the outrageous is another path for young people to reach, at any cost, what may be considered success. In this sense, and just to give and example, in Sinaloa consuming an object that cover a need for communication (buying a cell phone) is not enough. From the cultural perspective you must buy and "expensive" one, one that defines the acquisitive power of the person who buys it. Nevertheless, despite what has been stressed, it must also be emphasized that, young people do not look away from the harm that drug trafficking (drug traffickers) causes to the social fabric (death and insecurity) which makes it not be fully accepted. In this sense, and paraphrasing Lizárraga (2003), what people looks for in drug trafficking is only economical benefit, nobody wants the collateral effects, such as insecurity, murders and confrontations between criminal groups.

On the other hand, it must be clear that, as a matter of fact, it is not new that the figure of the drug trafficker and the activity of drug trafficking have a certain degree of acceptance in today's society in Sinaloa. Historically, these two objects have accompanied Sinaloa's development have helped said society. Just as it has been noted in the historical aspect of this research, in certain communities there has been support, such as building roads, public lighting and even the creation of schools which have been contributions of drug traffickers. Besides, producing narcotics has served, in different times (like in the present day) as a source for employment for several social groups. In this part we seek to note what in other works has been highlighted: In order to understand the dynamics, valuation, evolution and establishment of a current social object, it is paramount to understand its history and change through time (Reyes, et al. 2015). In this sense, we may understand the current acceptance of the drug trafficker and drug trafficking. Like so, what has been called narco-culture may be understood as a deep influence in behavioral styles and forms of relationships, and even in language, among Sinaloa's youths, since, historically, the drug trafficker has been an object of social restraint. Besides, through diverse media, such as music, cinema, or literature, this character has managed to position itself. That is why drug trafficking and drug trafficker has won, and continues to win, social spaces. Since the first one materializes the given benefits as an option for personal development, and the second one, from the population's perspective, generates life choices.

5. STUDY 4: FRAMING AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS: VIOLENCE AND DRUG TRAFFICKING FROM MASS MEDIA'S PERSPECTIVES

5.1 Introduction

It is well known that opinions in media go beyond their informative character. Media is a reference in the construction of phenomena of social relevance (Pan, Meng & Zhou, 2010). Therefore, approaching its study may be a great asset in understanding the evolution and establishment of diverse social objects or facts. In Mexico's case, the phenomena of violence and drug trafficking constitute a liability that, in spite Mexico's development, continues to constantly affect social life (Burgos, 2013). The wide and continual coverage of both phenomena in media urges to be better understood. Phail (2010) points out that there is criticism against sensationalist media that excessively publicize violent events as a commercial strategy. However, the media argues that they only fulfill their function of informing society in a context in which violence is part of everyday life (Phail, 2010; Reyes-Sosa, Larrañaga-Egilegor & Valencia-Garate, 2015).

Nevertheless, it is known that in Mexico mass-media has been controlled to fulfill a political strategy (for further development see Reyes, 2007). The media have played a fundamental role in the construction of strategies to influence the opinion of the society (Morales, 2011; Guevara & Reyes, 2012; Vite, 2014). Mass-media has developed a communicative strategy that focuses in two fundamental issues: a) to exculpate the government, mass-media has publicizing the actions that police institutions perform to improve social well-being; b) mass-media spread criminal actions of groups of drug traffickers, arguing that they are guilty of rise in Mexico (Bravo, 2009; Reyes-Sosa et al. 2015; Phil, 2010). It could be argued that mass media aims at protecting the political hegemonic of power elites (Bailey & Taylor, 2009; Williams, 2010). Although mass media in Mexico is able to provide elements of

analysis creating debate and criticism in society, it also generates disinformation and fragmented vision of political facts (Muñoz & Rospir, 1999).

It is of special interest to analyze the kind of treatment and representation that media constructs concerning violence and drug trafficking in Mexico. For this study the analysis of mass media (newspapers El Debate and El Noroeste) is relevant to understand how different information systems are constructed; especially because both newspapers have been at the disposition of the political system in Stage of Sinaloa, Mexico (Montoya, 2013; Reyes, 2007). Nevertheless, for the political climate that was established in Sinaloa[6] in the years of study of this research (2000 and 2008), the analysis about violence and drug trafficking news can yield interesting results are interesting; between 2000 and 2008 in Sinaloa remained a liberal government (Ramos-Robledo, 2012; Reyes-Sosa et. al, 2015). In addition, these years were the period in which both phenomenon rise; 2000 violence and drug trafficking started to have visibility among society and 2008 both phenomenon took a more serious tone, which has carried along, in later years, extreme levels of violence (Brambila, 2014; Carreón & De la Cruz, 2012). Finally, in this paper we will relate Framing Theory and social representations theory (Moscovici, 2001; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) in the way the media conveys issues of violence and drug dealing, exploring content and meaning that the media builds around these social objects. The anchoring that these objects have in media discourse based on their ideological positioning will be analyzed at the same time.

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[6] Following data from the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), Sinaloa is one of the five states of Mexico most affected by violence (INEGI, 2014) and not in a specific way, but has suffered for decades (Astorga, 1995).

5.2 Media increase in violence and drug trafficking phenomena: The case Mexico

Mass media are mechanism that has been disposition of politics party and particularly of Mexican's government. From presidency of Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994) showed how mass media (i.e. television or newspaper) development communicative strategies to manipulated the information of great problem (i.e. violence) to government benefic (Bravo, 2009; Phail, 2010). From this utilitarianism vision in which mass media have been used in Mexico, we can understand why importance is the study of mass media in 2000 and 2008 years.

With arrived of ex-president Vicente Fox (2000-2006), the country administration changed, and with it a change in ideas towards a conservative Mexican presidency. Partido Revolucionario Institucional[7] (PRI) the political party that had been in office for over seventy years was substituted (Lawson & McCANN, 2004). Mexico started a process of democracy that was as mean aim build a canal informative among government and society; the government wanted informative a populations of their advances (i.e. program for the development social) but meanly about insecurity and violence (Lawson, 2001). The new government was characterized by the protagonist and openness of the mass media. Therefore, the government invested exorbitant amounts of capital in advertising and in the creation of various radio stations for dissemination (for further development see Bravo, 2009). For this, and due to the strategy of mediate visibility proposed by Fox, which had the purpose of disseminating

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[7] Note: PRI stands for Partido Revolucionario Institucional, meaning Institutional Revolutionary Party.

the government's progress in security, we can understand the increase in news about violence and drug trafficking; between 2000 and 2006 years the principal problem that worry society in Mexico were the insecurity and violence relation with drug trafficking (Brambila, 2014). Moreover, the speech that mass media and government disseminated among the society points out the confrontation among government institution and groups of drug trafficking.

In the year 2008 violence takes on a whole new dimension, due to a couple of reasons: Firstly, in relation to the strategic actions that Felipe Calderon's government used in the war on drug trafficking. Calderon arrived to the presidency of Mexico amidst an election that lacked legitimacy. Reinforcing the fight against drug trafficking became a mean by which it was possible to legitimize his position; Calderon continue with the strategy of widespread in mass media started for Fox (Campbell & Hansen, 2014). The second one, paired with the president's continuation of the war on drug trafficking started by president Fox, regards to the military involvement in the issue. Diverse authors point out that this strategy was the cause of several violent events to rise significantly (Correa-Cabrera, 2006). After reviewing the number of homicides in these years, it can be observed that in the year 2000 about 10,737 homicides were accounted, and by the end of 2006 the amount was 10,452. In 2008 the amount of homicides quickly rose to 14,006 and by the end of Calderon's six year period in office we had a total of 70,000 homicides (National Institute for Statistics and Geography [INEGI], 2013). It could be argued why violence and drug trafficking had a media development; violence and drug trafficking have been present in government speech from 2000 to present (Escalante, 2011, Martinez, 2012). However, according to the INEGI (2013) data, it can be objectively argued that these increases in news about

violence and drug trafficking was paralleled by the increase in violence rates; the greater number of violent acts related to drug trafficking, the greater presence of the government in the media.

5.3 Construction of reality: Framing and mass media

The opinions and positions people take on their everyday lives on common issues of social interest are constructed through social interactions (Pan, et al. 2010). The influence and coercion that mass media exercise on the construction of such issues is undeniable (Valkenburg & Semetko, 2000). For the last 50 years, a great number of contributions for the study of media communication in social construction has been developed, namely related to the development of the concept of framing (Edelman, 1993; Goffman, 1974; Graber, 1988). Framing is understood as the grouping of schemes that allows subjects to organize facts or events emerging from day to day life (Goffman, 1974). Its research takes on a great deal of importance, considering the intermediary connection between everyday life discourses with individual cognition (Pan & Kosicki, 2001).

Framing has been used as a methodological work tool by which diversified social phenomena has been studied in relation to violence. Some of them related with the representation of violence in youth (Stoyanova, 2010), others related with the analysis of political speeches (Refaat, 2013) and others related to domestic violence (Bullock & Cubert, 2002). Furthermore, in framing research the importance of social positioning or standing ideologies have been accentuated in the construction of objects of social relevance (Flood, 2009; Fraley & Lester-Roushanzamir; 2004; Huhn, Oettler

& Peetz, 2009; Norris, 1995). In Pan and collaborator's (2010) work this research line can be found. The construction of the legalization of gay marriage in the American media is compared in two newspapers with different ideologies, the New York Times (liberal) and the Chicago Tribune (conservative). Their results show that the New York Times considers equality in human relations linked to gay marriage legitimization, whilst the Chicago Tribune considers immoral. The Chicago Tribune specifically emphasizes in great measure the American traditions and family values (Pan, et al. 2010).

In the field of ideology, Muñiz and Ramirez (2015) explore the treatment given by the press in Mexico, Europe and the U.S.A. towards the issue of violence and their consequences on corporate business areas in Mexico. The results show that European and American newspapers dedicate more attention to the issue of violence in Mexico. These are also the countries that frame and highlight the violent actions against entrepreneurs in their cover stories. These authors also found that each newspaper qualifies some kind of frame when delivering their news: conflict frame characterizes European newspapers; economic consequences frame characterizes U.S.A newspapers and morality frame for Mexican newspapers (Muñiz & Ramirez, 2015).

The research done by Muñiz and Ramirez (2015) has reinforced the perspective previously developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) on media studies, developing the concept of deductive approximation. In particular, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) studied deductive approximation, according to previous studies (Brants, van Meurs & Neijens, 1995; Brants & Neijens, 1998; de Vreese, 2003; Kleinnijenhuis, Oegema & de Ridder, 1995; Semetko, Scammell & Nossiter, 1995), they propose five frames for the study of mass media, also to be used in the current study: a) conflict frame: emphasizes

the conflict between individuals, groups or institutions with a main concern, b) human interest frame: proposes a personal face or an emotional aspect in the presentation of a fact, event or problem to capture an audience, c) economic consequences frame: reports events, problems or topics in terms of the economic consequences that such events may have over individuals, groups, institutions, religion or the country, d) attribution of responsibility frame: presents an issue or problem in the sense of attributing a responsibility of a cause or solution to the government, an individual or a group and e) morality frame: proposes the events, problems or issues in the context of religious principles or moral predispositions (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

5.4 Social representations: Their meanings, contents and positioning in social discourse

Social representations constituted a dynamic explanation of social life and allow regulation in interactions among individuals and groups (Moscovici & Duveen, 2000). It is understood as focused realities of our daily universe in interaction (Moscovici, 2001). In this research we will take two of these perspectives: focusing on the process of construction and on the role of social insertions (Doise, 2003; Moscovici, 2001).

The approach developed by Moscovici (2001), understands social representations as a system of values and ideas that allows the establishment of an order of the material and conceptual world, while enabling communication in social interactions (Moscovici & Duveen 2000; Wagner et. al, 1996). This perspective takes interest on constitutive knowledge, which is constructed through two processes: objectification and anchoring. Objectification is understood as the transfiguration of an

abstract object into a concrete one, corresponding to the transference of a mental image to the physical world (Rateau & Lo Monaco, 2013). Anchoring is understood as the mechanism that familiarizes what is unknown i.e., this process inscribes unfamiliar objects into a network of significations. Universal ideas are reduced into ordinary categories and images, making the context familiar, and classifying social objects into an already existing system of knowledge (Moscovici, 2001). Understanding the processes of objectification and anchorage, will allow us to clarify the ways in which the content of the social representation that the press builds from violence and drug trafficking are constructed.

From the perspective of social insertions, social representations are understood as generating principles for position taking that are linked to specific insertions in a set of social relations, emphasizing, thus, the role of position taking in social structures for the development of representations (Doise, 2013). These produced social representations, by members of different groups, contribute to the sustaining of a social order (Doise & Staerkle, 2002). They are formed to establish a hierarchic world and to highlight attributes for differentiating groups that do not have the same social value. Constituted representations reflect, in this way, the differences in the group statuses in the social hierarchy; they are justified and are involved in the sustaining of these positions in society. When defining a social positioning for each newspaper it will possible to identify different discourses on violence and drug trafficking taking the newspaper's ideology in considerations when conducting our analysis.

Lastly, the inter relation between the theory of social representations and framing turns out to be of great interest for media analysis. Despite the fact that both perspectives direct their analysis from different visions, we consider that both can

complement each other. The epistemological junction could be on ideology. That is, ideology is a system of beliefs characteristic of a group and, in addition, ideology allows people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social belief to form the basis of specific arguments and explanations of the world in general (van Dijk, 1996). In this sense, framing allows, by relating with socio-politic issues, the construction of opinions and position taking in the social structure (Pan, et al. 2010). Social representations, being a theory of the common sense, allows the identification of the content in opinions that groups build based on a social object (Moscovici, 2001). The study of social insertions, on its own, allows the reflection on different discourses that the groups, based on their social hierarchy, build over a representational object (Doise & Staerkle, 2002).

Summarizing, the general objective of this research is to explore how press reports on violence and drug trafficking. For that matter, in a first moment we will analyze if there is an increase in the articles quoting violence and drug trafficking, between the years 2000 and 2008. In a second moment, the type of frame that characterizes Noroeste and El Debate newspapers when positioning themselves towards violence and drug trafficking will be analyzed. Lastly, the social representation of violence and drug trafficking that each newspaper constructs based on their ideological posture will be analyzed. The hypotheses are thus the following:

H1) A progressive and meaningful increase in the number of articles that quote violence and drug trafficking between the years 2000 and 2008.

H2) Differences in the frames that each newspaper uses when presenting objects of violence and drug trafficking. The attribution of responsibility frame and the conflict

frame will be used to a larger extent by Noroeste. The human interest frame and the morality frame will be more widely used by El Debate.

H3) Differences in the content of the representation that each newspaper conveys about violence and drug trafficking based on their ideological positioning.

H4) The conveyed representations by each newspaper about violence and drug trafficking will present common elements in their contents.

5.5 Method

5.5.1 Procedure

With the objective of understanding the ways in which media communication shapes the issues of violence and drug trafficking, newspapers articles were collected from the editorials section and the security/police section of two newspapers with a different ideology (Noroeste = conservative vs El Debate = liberal[8]). In this sense, all news where violence and drug trafficking were mentioned, were selected. It must be pointed out that only news from January, May, September and December[9] 2000 and 2008 were selected.

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[8] This ranking is based on each newspaper's history. El Debate appeared in 1941 specifically as a critic newspaper that reviewed a wingspan of social problems. Besides, some of its early publishers were intellectuals such as Moreno Rivas who was involved in political demonstrations, and later targeted for retaliation (Montoya, 2013). Since its beginnings in 1973 Noroeste positioned itself as a newspaper for the entrepreneur sector. Owners, Manuel Clouthier, Enrique Murillo and Jorge del Rincón, and the first publisher and principal Silvino Lozano, never hid their preferences towards conservative parties. (see: http://www.noroeste.com.mx/historia.php?id_seccion=56).

[9] Only four months were used , we tried to access the historical archives in the State of Sinaloa but we were told by the coordination that the government itself had picked up the remaining months, and had not return the files to the said historical archives.

5.5.2 Instrument

Framing Measures (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Scales that measure five kinds of frames: attributions of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality. The scales conform by 20 items which the coder had to answer *yes* (1) or *no* (0). These were questions such as "Does the story suggest that some level of government is responsible for the issue/problem"? (Attributions of responsibility), "Does the article reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/group?" (Conflict), "Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected the issue/problem"? (Human interest), "Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?" (Economic consequences), "Does the story contain any moral message?" (Morality). We conducted Cronbach's alphas (Kuder-Richardson 20 method for dichotomous data, Cronbach, 1990) to measure the internal consistencies for the five scale values. Alpha values were .52 attribution of responsibility frame (5 items); .69 for the conflict frame (4 items); .51 for the human interest frame (5 items); 80 for the economic consequences frame (3 items); and .73 for the morality frame (3 items). We formed multi-item scales by the unweighted scores on the individual item in each factor to develop the subsequent analyzes.

5.5.3 Design and codification

With the intention of measuring the use of the five frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and to identify if there is an increase in the articles where violence and/or drug trafficking are quoted (a total of 547 newspapers articles), we will consider as independent variants the ideological positions of each newspaper (Noroeste and El

Debate) and the years of research (2000 and 2008). The analysis of data was conducted via SPSS 21 software.

The data was submitted to content analysis to determine the main relevant topics in our corpus of violence and drug trafficking articles. However, to avoid situations of liability or a biased position by the researcher, the set of date was analyzed using ALCESTE software (De Alba, 2004; Illia, Sonpar & Bauer, 2014; Klein & Licata, 2003). This program organizes fragments and quantifies the most important occurrences and, then, it extracts its most important structures. Through its descendent hierarchic classification, ALCESTE creates categories that allow the identification of main topics within an analyzed text (Bauer, 2000; Reinert, 1996).

5.5.4 Newspaper selection

The selected newspapers were chosen due to their large media distribution and because they answer to the current sensibilities or ideological differences in the country. Two newspapers from the State of Sinaloa were chosen: Noroeste and El Debate. Together these two newspapers, according to Dirección General de Medios Impresos (http://www.pnmi.segob.gob.mx/), publishes a total of 1 225 691 issues a month.

- **Noroeste:** Published in Spanish and positioned within a conservative ideology. It has a special section for issues concerning violent facts and insecurity called security and justice (*seguridad y justicia*).

- **El Debate:** Published in Spanish and positioned within a liberal ideology. Just like Noroeste newspaper, it has a special section for issues concerning violent facts and insecurity called police affairs (*policiaca*).

5.6 Results

5.6.1 Rise of violence and drug trafficking in newspapers articles

A total of 547 articles that deal with violence and/or drug trafficking were analyzed. Noroeste newspaper generated a total of 291 articles (53.2%), and El Debate newspaper generated a total of 256 articles (46.8%). To analyze whether there is a significant increase in the distribution of the articles between the year 2000 and 2008, we conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). MANOVA yielded a significant increase $F_{(1,546)} = 15.40$, $p = .000$ ($h_p^2 = .05$) in the number of articles in which violence and/or drug trafficking is quoted (see table 10). This increase was to be expected, since it was in the year 2008 that drug trafficking related violence started to have a greater impact on society, reflecting the highest ratings of violence in Mexico's recent history (Burgos, 2013; Carreon & De la Cruz, 2012).

Table 10. *Mean and standard deviation: Presence of violence and drug trafficking in news between 2000 and 2008*

Variables	Years	
	2000 N = 197	2008 N = 350
Violence	2.66(1.08) (N = 74)	2.89(1.13) (N = 101)
Drug trafficking	2.55(1.15) (N = 70)	2.52(1.01) (N = 200)
Violence and Drug trafficking	2.54(.97) (N = 53)	1.38(.53) (N = 49)

5.6.2 The case of violence and drug trafficking: Framing in Noroeste and El Debate newspapers

To analyze if there are differences in the kind of frames that characterizes each newspaper when positioned in relation to violence and/or drug trafficking, the MANOVA analysis was conducted. The results showed significant differences between the frames that characterizes each newspaper $F_{(1,546)} = 3.98$, $p = .001$ ($h_p^2 = .03$). Noroeste newspaper maintains a more critical discourse by characterizing on the use of attribution of responsibility frame and the conflict frame in comparison to El Debate newspaper (see table 11). El Debate on the other hand, maintains a more sensationalist discourse by characterizing on the use of the human interest frame and the morality frame in comparison with Noroeste newspaper.

Table 11. *Mean and standard deviation to the visibility five frame in two newspapers*

Frames	Noroeste N =291	El Debate N = 256	$F(gl=1)$		p^2
Attributions of responsibility	1.50(.21)	1.45(.26)	4.67	031	01
Conflict	1.67(.34)	1.60(.33)	6.04	019	01
Human interest	1.49(.22)	1.53(.22)	5.56	014	01
Morality	1.89(.25)	1.94(.17)	8.66	003	02
Economic consequences	1.89(.29)	1.86(.29)	1.12	289	00

5.6.3 Analysis of news content about violence and drug trafficking

The content provided by the editorial and security/police affairs sections in both newspapers[10], allowed a corpus of 36,673 words, from which 6,864 were different words. Following the ALCESTE analysis, the words were distributed in classes, utilizing words with a frequency larger than 5 (see Klein & Licata, 2003). In this way, the analysis of descending hierarchic rating distributed the corpus in 696 ECUs[11].

The distribution of news content in which violence and drug trafficking is quoted constructed four general classes, one class features 282 ECUs and groups a 40.52% of the total amount of content, a second class is constituted by 87 ECUs and groups a 12.50% of the total amount, a third class consists of 61 ECUs and groups a 8.76% of the total, and a fourth class features 266 ECUs and constitutes 36.22% of the total amount. However, the four classes group an 83.86% of the total amount of content; the content of each class is presented next (see figure 5).

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[10] Only 100 random news reports where violence and/or drug trafficking are quoted were taken for this analysis.

[11] Elemental Context Units (ECUs) are fragmentations of text composed of main word sequences (objects, nouns and verbs).

Figure 5. *The hierarchical clustering dendrogram of the free association with the most frequent words and the words with the greatest association χ2(1), p < .001.*

Class 1: Drug trafficking representation

Words	F	X²
Drugs	41	48.30
Government	6	5.84
Trafficking	9	8.58
Money	11	11.27
Cartel	11	12.27
Juarez	8	6.02
Allow	12	11.88
Cocaine	18	17.74
Mexico	14	13.69
Drug trafficking	42	42.09
Struggle	14	6.93
Corruption	16	16.24
Army	36	20.65
Product	16	16.46
Process	8	8.85
Country	17	12.73

Class 2: Police actions against organized crime

Words	F	X²
Security	46	48.03
Violence	20	19.57
Prevention	13	50.27
Corporate	17	16.74
Impunity	8	8.28
Sinaloa	19	15.65
High	21	20.93
Commando	36	35.52
Effect	10	7.02
Felony	25	25.48
Delinquents	8	6.50
Fight	14	14.20
Raid	53	53.17
Surveillance	41	41.12
Tranquility	57	56.65
Federal	14	14.49

Class 3: Delinquency's effect on society

Words	F	X²
Commit	36	36.40
2008	11	94.32
Average	8	62.74
Homicides	29	181.48
Execution	12	11.83
Figures	14	70.16
Month	14	87.07
December	16	10.35
Case	26	16.36
Organized crime	15	64.28
PGJE	9	38.23
Crime	39	45.57
Downtown	21	23.30
Intentional	14	87.07
Register	36	12.51
Securing	6	5.85

Class 4: Delinquency's crime facts

Words	F	X²
Shots	36	51.19
Murders	39	36.11
Subjects	18	23.38
Agents	34	33.97
Victims	21	20.71
Body	18	20.09
Finding	28	27.25
Pistol	13	21.42
Wounded	18	23.38
Move	13	21.42
Bullet	16	23.06
Police	45	30.75
Kidnap	39	36.11
Shooting spree	23	31.77
Assassin	17	21.73
Zone	14	5.17

5.6.4 Representations and social positioning: The relation with the independent variables

Using the Chi-Square independence test, ALCESTE calculates the relation between a lexical class and the levels of an independent variable (passive variable). In our case, we analyzed the content depending on the type of newspaper (El Debate or Noroeste) and of the central object of the article (violence or drug trafficking). The results casted four classes (representations) differing in ideology and object of study. Whilst each newspaper elaborated a specific representation of violence, both newspapers constructed one representation around drug trafficking. The results found are described in detailed in the following section.

El Debate newspaper (χ^2 (1) = 3.34, p < .001) and the object violence (χ^2 (1) < 25.26, p < .001) were associated with the second class. In its representation, this newspaper emphasized the actions and raids that the system of government implements to reduce violence's ratings. This type of news coverage is presented under the human interest frame, stressing an emotional dimension in the violent fact. The news item "Dejan mensajes firmados por Arturo Beltran Leyva[12]" (05/05/2008), describes the consequences that the arrest of an alleged drug trafficker (Beltran Leyva "Mochomo") would have over the judiciary corps and therefore in everyday life, since the unspoken arrangement in which the government allowed organized crime to conduct its activities was betrayed (Morales, 2011).

Noroeste newspaper was associated to the third (χ^2 (1) = 33.71, p < .001) and fourth classes (χ^2 (1) = 2.29, p < .001) whilst the object violence was also associated

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[12] Note: "Messages signed by Arturo Beltran Leyva are left".

with the third (χ^2 (1) = 2.17, $p < .001$) and fourth classes (χ^2 (1) = 14.30, $p < .001$).

Noroeste newspaper constructed two representations around violence: one related to the effects that the high ratings of violence have in the social fabric and, another, where the kind of criminal acts that are committed everyday are specified. These types of news items are presented under two frames: attribution of responsibility and conflict. The first one is exemplified by the news item "Crimen organizado dueño de la ciudad: Aguirre Meza[13]" (10/12/2008), which poses the lack of coordination from the authorities in order to fight violence and insecurity. That is why, hardly any safeness could be brought to society. A second example is: "Combate al narco dispara delitos[14]" (25/12/2008), this news item points out that, due to the start of the war on drug trafficking, the hunting down of criminals and armed standoffs has increased the ratings of high impact violence.

Lastly, both newspapers represent drug trafficking in a similar way. El Debate (χ^2 (1) = 8.39, $p < .001$), Noroeste (χ^2 (1) = 10.31, $p < .001$) and drug trafficking (χ^2 (1) = 50.68, $p < .001$) were associated with the first class. Hence, both newspapers highlight the typical criminal activities of drug trafficking as dealing and producing drugs, and also the existing abetment between drug traffickers and the government. For example, in Noroeste newspaper we found the news item entitled: "Ejercito vs narcotrafico: causa perdida[15]" (12/09/2000). In this article the corruption and protection that the army gives to the drug traffickers in exchange for money is exposed. On El Debate, then again, we found the news item: "Matan 2 narcos a 3 madrinas de la PFJ en la colonia Guadalupe

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[13]Note: "Organized crime owns the city: Aguirre Meza".

[14] Note: "Fight against drug trafficking skyrockets crime".

[15] Note: "Army vs Drug trafficking: A lost cause".

Victoria[16]" (12/01/2000). Such news item refers to the payroll that the agents demanded from the drug traffickers in order to protect them and not turn them in.

5.7 Conclusion

Based on our first hypothesis, just as it may be observed in the results, the amount of news items about violence and drug trafficking presented a meaningful increase between the years 2000 and 2008. There was greater media concern on the topic due, especially, to the governmental decisions to deal with violence and drug trafficking and its violent consequences, as it is well mentioned by Escalante (2011) and Martinez (2012). Furthermore, this increase also responds to the objective increase in homicide numbers. Based on the information from the INEGI (2013), it may be observed that the number of homicides between the years 1990 and 2007 never presented a meaningful decrease; they always fluctuated between 9,329 and 13,656 occurrences. However, it is in 2008 when homicide ratings skyrocketed to 14,066 that resulted from the warmongering strategy that the government adopted with the fight against drug trafficking (Morales, 2011).

Regarding the second hypothesis, results that there are, indeed, differences in the kind of frame that each newspaper uses according to their positioning towards violence and/or drug trafficking (Flood, 2009; Huhn, et al. 2009; Fraley & Lester-Roushanzamir; 2004). Noroeste newspaper presented a more critical discourse characterized by the frames of attribution of responsibility and conflict (de Vreese, 2003; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), whilst El Debate newspaper presented a discourse that was more

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[16] Note: "2 drug traffickers kill 3 informers for the PFJ in the Guadalupe Victoria neighborhood".

sensationalist, characterized by the frames of human interest and morality (Muñiz & Ramirez, 2015; Pan, et al. 2010). This result must be understood in the political context from the years 2000 and 2008. The lack of political stability and PRI's loss of hegemony in Sinaloa drove the opposing parties to promote political collisions. Partido Acción Nacional[17] (PAN), particularly, of conservative ideas, presented the most opposition to the interests of PRI. Like so, Noroeste's critical posture may be explained through the news items where they decried PRI's government institutional corruption, supporting PAN's opposing campaign. El Debate on the other hand, characterized itself for having a more sensationalist discourse. Specifically, this newspaper in concrete distinguishes itself for the use of imagery and popular speech when describing violent facts associated with drug trafficking. In this same way, it could be attributed to El Debate that they use this kind of characterization as a commercial strategy[18] (Phail, 2010).

Conversely, the results of the second hypothesis also allowed evidence on the kind of interpretation that the frame of conflict and the frame of morality may take. Concerning the frame of conflict, previous studies have pointed out that this may be useful to give a more critical sense to a social issue, by describing the characteristics and main differences between the implied groups (de Vreese, 2003). In this research it was found that Noroeste uses the conflict frame to evidence the relation among the implied groups in the issue of violence and drug trafficking. El Debate newspaper is

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[17] Note: PAN stands for Partido Acción Nacional, meaning National Action Party.

[18] This newspaper has two spin offs: La I and La Sirenita. These two are newspapers characterized mainly for covering violent situations associated with drug trafficking. Besides, it must be pointed out that both newspapers present their images with certain slangs used by more popular users of the language (see: http://www.pnmi.segob.gob.mx/).

characterized for using the morality frame. From this newspaper's perspective, promoting religious beliefs or values, are two practices that may help solving the issues of violence and drug trafficking. Previous research in Mexico show how the use of the morality frame is associated with the development of coping strategies that allow the general population to inhabit in an insecure environment. In other words, this environment has favored the construction of social rules to face or avoid violence (Muñiz & Ramirez, 2015). These results clarify that framing affects much more than just the construction of the article, in its form and content, framing is an attitude process that allows the construction of opinions and decision taking in a social structure. Specifically, communication media have the capacity of constructing practices in the face of objects that have social relevance (Pan & Kosicki, 2001; Pan, et al. 2010).

The third hypothesis, which proposed different representations for the objects of violence and drug trafficking for each newspaper was not fully confirmed. On one side, each newspaper constructed a particular and completely different representation of violence (Doise & Staerkle, 2002). El Debate centered its discourse on the efforts by the police system to reduce violence, whilst Noroeste centered its discourse on the effects that violence has on society. On the other side, content analysis reveled that Noroeste and El Debate represent drug trafficking with common elements; both newspapers highlight the complicity among drug trafficking groups and the government. The fact that violence was represented differently by each newspaper and drug trafficking was not, leads us to consider that with violence could be a polemic representation. This kind of representation is characterized for building antagonist and conflictive relations between the involved groups (Lo Monaco & Guimelli, 2011). Different representations of violence may be justified by how each newspaper

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accentuates different consequences of violence in social life reflecting, thus, its polemic nature. In contrast, a dominant representation has been built around drug trafficking, both newspapers represented drug trafficking the same way, i.e., using the same elements. A highly consensual representation is characterized, firstly, by its historic character; dominant representations are built around historic objects and secondly, by its coercive character; dominant representations are established shared and practiced by all members of the group (Howarth, 2006; Sarrica & Contarello, 2004). In relation to drug trafficking in Mexico both characteristics are met, for it has been a phenomena established historically, and that has accompanied the development of the State of Sinaloa and, also, drug trafficking has disrupted different generations, turning the phenomena into a ruling object (coercion) that evokes common elements in the group's representation (Abric, 2001; Burgos, 2013).

Concerning the fourth hypothesis, which posed the existence of a relationship between both objects (violence and drug trafficking), the results found that Noroeste and El Debate represented both objects with common elements. From both newspaper's discourses it can be observed that violence and drug trafficking are two strongly connected issues. This proximity between both phenomena may be understood through social practice. General population in Sinaloa explain violence through violent/aggressive practices and actions, actions that are typical and characteristic of drug trafficking. The relation between drug trafficking and violence has been called in previous studies as a fitting relation (relation d'emboîtement), where an object of inferior level (drug trafficking) fits into an object of superior level (violence) (Reyes-Sosa, et al., 2015). In this sense, violence and drug trafficking become related concepts

that evoke common elements in their representations (Fraïsse, 2010; Guimelli & Rouquette, 2004).

In short, this research shows the importance of continuously deepen the study of the relationship between framing and social representations when studying media communication. The suggested strategy in this study allows the articulation of both theoretical approaches when studying the phenomena of violence and drug trafficking in Mexico. Thus, framing allowed the identification of the kind of discourse which characterizes media communication differently positioned in relation to violence and drug trafficking; social representations took on content and meaning from media discourse and social insertions, permitted the reflection on differently constructed discourses by each newspaper around violence and drug trafficking, taking ideology as an aspect for social positioning.

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Main results

The results of the four studies given in this thesis have allowed us to better know the drug trafficking and violence phenomenon in Mexico. In this sense, the most relevant findings of the studies performed will be exposed.

Concerning the first studio, results showed that, from the perspective of society, there is a representation that clearly defines the causes of violence around three main axis: Social agents (government and drug traffickers), unlawful praxis (corruption y client making) and the economic aspects (economic deprivation) (Reyes, et al. 2015; Vite, 2014). Concerning social agents and unlawful praxis, from society's speech, the collusion of criminal groups and government institutions. This has derived in the lack of prosecution and punishment of crimes such as kidnapping, robberies, murders and drug trafficking. In other words, the government's poor structure and the collusion amongst criminal groups and government institutions, has favored the increase of violence in Sinaloa and in a large part of the Mexican territory. In relation to the economical aspects, society indicates a lack of interest from government institutions to invest in generating better conditions for social development. In this way, economic deprivation, lack of work opportunities and social uncertainty are signaled as economical factors that deepen the phenomenon of violence (Ovalle, 2005). These results oppose the speech build and spread by government institutions, who point to drug trafficking as the sole producer of Mexico's high crime rates (Vite, 2014). In this sense, taking the populations speech, it may be concluded that Mexico's federalism[19], as well as the governments lack

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[19] Government's poor structure, coupled with the autonomy each State in Mexico (federalism) has allowed the proliferation of unlawful activities, since the central government has no control on the States that make up the Mexican territory.

of efficiency, together with their lack of interest for creating public politics for creating public politics and for improving the economical conditions of the population in order to solve problems such as violence and drug trafficking, has allowed the establishing of an unsafe climate, characterized by high delinquency rates (Vite, 2014).

The second study, allowed showing how, for the population, violence and drug trafficking have a matching relationship (relation d'emboîtement; Guimelli and Rouquette, 2004; Fraïssé, 2010). Both objects were represented with similar and correlated elements. Specifically, when representing drug trafficking, the population recalls typical occurrences of violence. Thus, violence itself (social violence) appears as a nuclear element in the structure of drug trafficking. On the other hand, when representing violence subjects point out to actions and violent occurrences typical of drug trafficking. Thus, deaths, shootings and murders are presented as nuclear elements of violence.

This tight, existing relationship between violence and drug trafficking obeys two fundamental reasons: The first one, related to the aggravated diffusion that the media covers from both themes (Phail, 2010). In Sinaloa, the media (newspapers, television and radios) center their attention and spread violent occurrences associated with drug trafficking, which makes both phenomena a permanent and indivisible theme of everyday conversations (Muñiz & Ramírez, 2015). The second reason, has to do with the historical settling of drug trafficking in the State of Sinaloa (Astorga, 2003; Burgos, 2013). From the year 1900 until current days, drug trafficking has been present in the population's daily life. In this sense, drug trafficking has become a normalized phenomenon that allows the population the explaining of the causes of violence in Sinaloa. This does not mean that the population signals out drug trafficking as the sole

instance responsible for high criminal rates. But, due to the historical settling of drug trafficking, the former one has been made normal. In this sense it must be remembered that historical objects have a sociological, stereotypical and consensual function that allows, from the social context, the explaining of relevant problems as well as of social interest (Abric, 2001). On the other hand, said settling also allows the understanding of the reasons why drug trafficking, despite being signaled as one of the main causing agents of violence, shows a certain social acceptance. In this sense, it is worth remembering that, historically, drug trafficking has been an activity that has given economical support to a large part of the population in Sinaloa (Moreno, 2009). Likewise, the figure of the drug trafficker has been characterized throughout time as a benefactor and as a protector of the people (Astorga, 1995).

The third study is related with the valuation of the drug trafficker, it allowed us to find that, around this figure, the population built a representation valued in an ambiguous way: Positive and negative (Ovalle, 2005; Ramírez-Pimienta 2004). Concerning the positive valuation of the drug trafficker, the population highlights the lifestyle (luxuries) and the fueled economical capital of drug trafficker (Mercader, 2012). Also, the high social positioning that this figure has within society. The fact of being a person with power and influence in government institutions makes Sinaloa's society grant them a high social status within the social structure (Moreno & Flores, 2015). Concerning the negative valuation, the population points to the stereotypical behavioral styles of the drug trafficker. Specifically, the population represents the drug trafficker as an aggressive person, violent and drug addicted. On the other hand, the effects and negative consequences are also signaled (killings, kidnappings, or extortions) out in the activity which they perform (drug trafficking) that undermines the

social fabric (fear, deprivation and insecurity). To sum up, these results allow us to evince that in current times, the population not only highlights what is positive in the activity of drug trafficking (economic), but also, due to the high levels of violence (associated with drug trafficking) in Mexico and particularly in the State of Sinaloa, the population starts rejecting more openly the activity of drug trafficking. We may conclude that the harm generated by drug trafficking in the social fabric has surpassed the benefits (economics) which this activity provides for society (Lizárraga, 2003).

The fourth study, related to the treatment the media gives on the issues of violence and drug trafficking has allowed the revelation of interesting data. On the one hand, there is a wide debate, in Mexico, about the evolution of murder rates (see Escalante, 2009). In this sense, some author point out that in Mexico violence did not increase objectively (in higher homicide rates), but that it increased in the media's exposition of violence (Escalante, 2009; Martínez, 2012). It is worthy of recognition that on themes about violence and drug trafficking there was a media impulse, this answers to the objective rise in murder rates. Based on data from INEGI (2013a), it was found that the number of homicides between 1990 and 2007 never showed a significant reduction, since they always fluctuated between 9 329 and 13 656 homicides. In addition, in 2008, homicide rates skyrocketed to 14 066 (INEGI, 2013a). In this sense, it may be said that violence never diminished, and the its increase was due, largely, to the governments belligerent strategy adopted in the war against drug trafficking (Morales, 2011).

On the other hand, the fourth study also allowed the recognition of the types of frames that each journal emphasizes when framing their news coverage. As a generality, it must be mentioned that the most commonly used frames were the ones about morality

and economy, followed by the frames of conflict, human interest and liability. Concerning the frame which characterized each newspaper, the ones that characterized the right wing newspaper (Noroeste) were the frames of liability and conflict. The ones that characterized the liberal newspaper (El Debate) were human interest and morality. This study also allowed a deeper kind of possible interpretation for the frames of conflict and morality (De Vreese, 2003; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In this study in particular, the frame of conflict provided a critical sense, focusing in its interest in deepening on the causes that promote issues of violence and drug trafficking. The morality frame was characterized for framing the issues of violence and drug trafficking inside a religious frame, and focused its interest in highlighting the praxis which allows the population to carry on such a negative environment.

In relation to the social representation which is constructed by printed media on violence and drug trafficking, the fourth study evinced that, every paper builds their own representation of violence. However, both papers have a similar and shared representation about drug trafficking. The fact that violence was presented differently by each paper and drug trafficking was not, it leads us to think that there is an argument on the representation of violence. This type of representation is characterized by constructing antagonistic and conflictive relationships amongst the implied groups (Ben-Asher, 2003). In this sense, the differentiated representation of violence may be understood, since each paper focuses its attention in one violence related aspect. El Debate focused its attention on the efforts made by the government to control violence, whereas Noroeste focused its attention on the effects violence has on the social fabric (Cerrato & Palmonari, 2007). Concerning the similar representation of drug trafficking, both papers highlight the criminal activities of drug trafficking such as smuggling and

producing narcotics, adding the existing collusion between drug traffickers and the government. This leads us to suggest, the existence of an hegemonic representation of drug trafficking. In fact, this type of representation is characterized by its historical character (Sarrica & Contarello, 2004) and it is from the historical settlement of drug trafficking in the State of Sinaloa, from which said common representation is understood (Burgos, 2013).

Overall, the results of these four studies have allowed us to evince the complex political and social situation in which Mexico is currently in. The poor social structure, the collusion of authorities and organized crime, together with a lack of public politics designed to improve the conditions of economic and social development, has derived in a climate of insecurity, characterized by high levels of violence. In this sense, we may conclude that there is a lack of interest on behalf of the Mexican government (politicians) for creating and implementing laws to fight corruption and drug trafficking, that allows the taking of control over the country's current situation. In this way, going back to the speech used by the society in Sinaloa, it could be argued that the Mexican government, more than looking out for the common wellbeing, they are looking out after their own particular interests.

6.2 Conclusion and discussion

Based on the results of the four studies developed in this thesis, we can focus our conclusions in two aspects. The first one, related to the contributions of the analysis of violence and drug trafficking, which allows us to build a more critical vision of the current situation in Mexico. The second aspect, related to the theoretical contributions,

within the fields of SRT and Framing Theory. Up next, the main conclusions on the representation of the phenomena of violence and drug trafficking are exposed.

Mexico currently has certain social disconformities around the government. Just as it has been observed in the results of the first study, society has started to demand better socio-structural conditions that allow social and economic development. Society is aware of the existing corruption inside the government's structure and the lack of interest from it in investing and encouraging social development, these are the main contributing factors for a climate of insecurity. However, despite results indicating that society is starting to be more critical about the country's political situation, we wonder why is there no massive, public, mobilization demanding better life conditions.

Taking into account the speech that society expressed in the first study, there is a feeling of fear when criticizing government openly. Mexico's current reality is that of, when a group of persons manifest against the government's interests and earn certain social backup, this will be going against the interests the hegemonic politicians' social class, and this persons, who are mavericks, risk suffering a violent occurrence (attack). The mechanism used by the government to stop and paralyze these demands is by the use of the drug trafficking phenomena. An example of this is the recent disappearance of 43 students from Ayotzinapa, while on their way to manifest against the government in order to demand better education conditions. When confronted with this, the Mexican government declared that this young persons were murdered because they were carrying drugs in the bus in which they were travelling. Drug traffickers were, from the official speech, protecting their economic interests (Hernández & Fisher, 2015). What is more, the pressure some media and journalists have endured is worth the mention, they have been and continue to be the victims of numerous murders and kidnappings. In the words

of Veracruz's governor during a public act, journalists should be careful about what they write and who do they relate with (Zavaleta, 2015). Numerous critical journalist, who oppose the government's interests have been killed and the justice institutions does nothing but point to drug trafficking as the entity responsible for said homicides (Phail, 2010). In this sense, you may say that Mexico's government has built a context characterized by social fear. In the words of Martín-Baró (2003) the government has developed a psychological war against society. Drug trafficking is used as a mechanism that coerces the population and by committing acts of violence, it terrorizes dissident groups. Like so, a collective conscience based on fear, panic and dread, is build, paralyzing social mobilization (Martín-Baró, 2003). This would be the main reason why society does not express, massively, its displeasure in the public context. Drug trafficking is the mechanism (symbolic repression) with which society is constantly reminded of the violent occurrences that may happen when fighting against the interests of the dominant political class (Porras-Velásquez, 2011).

Another effect that drug trafficking has had in the social fabric, is the one of what has been called narco-cultura, the culture of narcotics (Astorga, 2003; Córdova, 2007). Narco-cultura has characterized itself by the building a subculture within the State of Sinaloa. A subculture that provides a cult to the world of drug trafficking, characterized by flaunting (Córdova, 2007). Besides, said narco-cultura has had its development around the figure of the drug trafficker. For this reason, through the study of the figure of the drug trafficker this phenomenon is better known. Based on the results of the third study, it was found that Sinaloa's society builds an ambiguous valuation on the drug trafficker. Besides, results also showed that Sinaloa's society relates the drug trafficker to a life full of luxury and power. This elements are related to

the lifestyle a person with a high economic position may have. This result allows us the bringing of a different vision, to what other studies have suggested on narco-cultura (Astorga; 1995; Córdova, 2007). Narco-cultura in Sinaloa has been associated with a system of values, beliefs and specific praxis (Héau & Giménez, 2004; Valenzuela, 2002). Besides, the culture of drug trafficking has been defined as an object of social compulsion, which modified and constructed new ways of acting within Sinaloa's society (Castorina, 2010). However, if the historical development of Sinaloa's values is reviewed, the systems of values and beliefs that are attributed as self and emergent from the culture of drug trafficking (bravery or courage), this were already embedded in society. In this sense, it may be said that drug trafficking was developed based in a system of values and beliefs already installed in the social fabric (Lizárraga, 2013). Besides, it was not only that said system of values what allowed the establishing and development of drug trafficking, but also the conditions of deprivation (social and economic) in which the population was at the moment, those were a determining factor for drug trafficking to settle in Sinaloa. For this reason, we think that, more than a subculture of drug trafficking that coerces society, there is an identification on behalf of the population with the world of drug trafficking. Just as it was found in this study, society idealizes the economical aspects that spring from said activity, aspects that are shown around the figure of the drug trafficker (lifestyles which society deems worthy of imitation). In this sense, listening to narco-corridos (drug glorifying folk music), dressing up in a t-shirt with the image of Malverde, or buying a large pickup truck, does not make a person a drug trafficker, or a person willing to perform such activity. This is only in the nesting of the construction and idealization that some social groups have made around drug trafficking.

Concerning the theoretical aspects, the results of the studies on the relationship between violence, drug trafficking and mass media, have allowed us to contribute with some aspects of relevance that will be exposed next.

In the field of social representations, there are objects that may sustain some sort of relationship: Opposing, specific or matching (Guimelli and Roquette, 2004). Specifically, the study of social representation of violence and drug trafficking has allowed us to support the hypothesis of the *relation d´emboîtement* (matching relationship) mentioned in earlier studies (Fraïssé; 2010; Guimelli & Roquette, 2004). These sort of relationship is characterized by the proximity both objects have when represented by the population (see study two). Analyzing this matching relation has allowed evincing a high relevance issue, one that studies of social representations have lately casted aside: The incorporation of the historical aspect when analyzing an object of representation (Cerrato & Palmonari, 2007). History carries a content, relevance and meaning to the social object and build, at the same time, the valuations and practices shared in the social context. Thus, via the study of drug trafficking and violence's historical process, the matching relationship they have is understood (Burgos, 2013). In the studies of social representations, it becomes specially important to retake the historical dimension as a process that conforms the reality of the objects of study, since it allows the anchoring and the understanding of the praxis society builds around the object of representation (Abric, 2001; Moscovici & Duveen, 2000).

Concerning the study of media, analyzed from the Theory of Framing and SRT, the way the approaches used complement each other is to be highlighted. There is a vision that may be called classic, on the interpretation of liability, economic, human interest, conflict and morality frames. (Brants, et al. 1995; Brants & Neijens, 1998;

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Kleinnijenhuis, et al. 1995; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). However, concerning the frames of conflict and morality, there are new reinterpretations. These reinterpretations pose that the frame of conflict allows not only the framing of news in a tabloid way, but that it also takes on a critical sense, and that the morality frame not only frames news in a religious frame, but it also promotes certain praxis in society (De Vreese, 2003; Muñiz & Ramírez, 2015). In this sense, the study of framing performed in the fourth study allowed the confirmation of new reinterpretations that the frames of conflict and morality may take. Specifically, concerning the frame of conflict, its content showed a more critical sense on issues of violence and drug trafficking. By using said frame, the main factors and causes that promote violence were described. The morality frame, on the other hand, was centered in the promotion of values and religious beliefs as practices that may help with the coping of the problems of violence and drug trafficking. In other words, the morality frame was associated with the development of practices that allow the population to coexist in a negative environment. In this sense, it must be underlined the way SRT and the Theory of Framing complement each other, this eased the recognition of this new reinterpretations. Specifically, by using SRT the content the media builds on violence and drug trafficking we deepened into the way frames are used. Despite both perspectives approaching their analysis from different visions, we consider that both may complement each other, particularly in the studies on media. The epistemological junction point between both theories may be in ideology. Framing, when related to socio-political issues (ideological), allows the building of opinions and position taking in the social structure (Pan, et al. 2010). Social representations, being theory of the common sense, allow knowing the content of a group's opinion based on a social object (in this case the media) (Moscovici, 2001).In

this sense, framing identifies the type of frames which characterizes the media by positioning itself in front of social interest issues; social representations, on the other hand, charge speech with meaning and content, around the construction of the objects of representation.

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