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## Entre Madres, Putas y Buchonas: A Content Analysis of Narco Shows and their Representation of Women

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**Entre Madres, Putas y Buchonas: A Content Analysis of Narco Shows and their  
Representation of Women**

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Senior Honors Thesis

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Thesis Advisor: Dr. Leslie Walker

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## Introduction

Fatima Cecilia was seven years old when she went missing from the gates of her elementary school in Mexico City. She was last seen on February 11th, 2020, walking hand in hand with an unidentified woman. Four days later, her body was found in a plastic bag; she had been sexually assaulted. This case shook the nation and served as a reminder of the fear and danger that girls face every day. On average, ten women a day are killed in Mexico, half of them by a significant other or someone they knew (Villegas, 2020 p1). Women not only face the fear of violence in the streets or in their homes but they are burdened with a corrupt and overworked criminal justice system. This has created a dynamic where many don't have faith in the system, and those with money can get away with almost anything. Much of the violence on the streets is attributed to the drug trade, and although the Mexican government declared a war on drug violence in 2006, there have been around 360,000 drug-trafficking-related homicides since the start of that initiative. Despite there being a direct correlation between *Narcos* (drug traffickers) and violence on the streets, rather than being taken accountable *Narcos* have become folklore figures and portrayed in the media as something to aspire to (Acosta Ugalde, 2015).

Media such as *Narcocorridos* or *Narco* television shows have only further promoted the idea of *Narcos* as intelligent businessmen, living luxurious lifestyles where they are not only feared but respected. *Narcos* are often compared to a sort of Robin Hood, coming from humble backgrounds and giving back to their communities. Along with *Narco* culture come not only traditional values of family and loyalty but also machismo, violence, and the objectification of women innate in this culture. *Narcos* contribute to violence against women in multiple ways, ranging from criminal activity to symbolic violence and oppression through gender norms. *Narco* violence has further overburdened an already overloaded and corrupt criminal justice system,

one where the police have more cases than they can handle, and where citizens don't trust them to keep them safe. In this thesis, I argue that the glorification of Narco culture, and in this case, the consumption of Narco shows, creates a discourse that normalizes the subordination of women in Mexican society while ultimately creating a desensitization of street violence and subsequently femicide.

In the past, research on femicide has largely been studied from a political science lens, often establishing drug violence as a prominent factor (Valdez & Ivette, 2014). In addition, past studies on Narco media have outlined power dynamics and gender performance (Haas & Gonzales, 2019). In this study, I aim to demonstrate how Narco media is problematic and violent in its portrayal of women thus, normalizing sexism and creating conditions where femicide is normalized. For my primary research methods, I will conduct a qualitative content analysis on four mainstream Narco shows where I observe and analyze the role and portrayal of female characters. While watching and analyzing the shows I was interested in asking the following questions: How are women portrayed in these shows, especially in relation to the male characters? Is Narco culture glorified in this media? And what is a woman's role in the Narco world as illustrated on these shows? This work is valuable because as Narco media and shows continue to grow in popularity, it is important to understand the deeper implications of this media, and how discourse shapes our world and can have impactful consequences in public opinion and policy.

### **Narco Culture**

Whether it be Narcos, drug traffickers, or drug lords, these are all synonyms for the men who are leaders of drug trafficking organizations that transport drugs (usually internationally) in mass quantities. Although there are drug operations all over the world, Mexico is known as the

epicenter, which can be partly attributed to its location, as it connects the United States and South American drug trade. This is an immense economic advantage and it is estimated that Mexican drug cartels alone generate up to 30 billion dollars annually (Flannery, 2022). What makes the drug trade so dangerous is that there are multiple cartels around Mexico that operate in different regions and are constantly violently feuding over money and territory. Cartels are gangs that operate as a business each having internal hierarchies, with the Narcos at the top, and different members of the association being responsible for different tasks such as smuggling drugs, paying off officials, or serving as hitmen. The drug trade truly began to take off in the mid 1960s when a Mexican man by the name of Miguel Ángel Félix Gallardo began the concept of organized trafficking and creating alliances between different Narcos, and even the Mexican government (Haas and Gonzales, 2019). Gallardo organized the different cartels by convincing them that together they could move more drugs and money while maintaining peace through each having their designated territory. Their business deal resulted in extreme economic success when they escalated from trafficking Marijuana to Colombian cocaine. However, this new product and success also created more tension between the cartels and brought attention from the American Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). There are multiple factors that can account for the continued success and “untouchableness” of drug trafficking such as poverty, corruption from the government, and the immense wealth that Narcos have.

The drug trade started off as a lucrative underground operation, but it has quickly become a part of the larger Mexican society and developed into a larger subculture. According to, (Núñez-González, 2017) there are explicit symbols that encompass Narco culture such as fashion, cars, music, and extreme consumerism. On the other hand, there are also implicit symbols of Narco culture such as violence, machismo, and altruism. The use of material objects

as a symbol of power and status is what (Acosta Ugalde, 2015) describes as Narcoesthetics. Narcoesthetics are not just perpetuated by Narcos, but rather sought out by young Mexicans who dream of lavish lifestyles to which so few people in Mexico have access to. Being a Narco is usually a male-coded role as it is associated with being masculine, violent, and a successful businessman. From the female perspective, it is often considered an honor to be courted by a Narco, and being a Narco's girlfriend is a title reserved for only the most beautiful young women.

### **Femicide**

The term femicide was first coined in 1976, by feminist activist Diana Russel (Corradi et al., 2016). Femicide refers to the killing of girls and women simply on the basis that they are women. Naming this phenomenon was considered instrumental in identifying it and mobilizing against it, as one cannot fight against something until one can name it (Corradi et al., 2016). The term femicide has gained international recognition and has even been translated into the Spanish term "feminicidio" (Corradi et al., 2016). In Latin America, this term takes a more political definition as it is usually associated with the state and public institutions as complicit in high femicide rates (Corradi, 2016). According to the "Executive Secretary of the National System for Public Security," femicide has risen significantly in Mexico, from 427 reported victims in 2015 to 1,004 in 2021, marking a 135 percent increase. (SESNP) In the past, and even today, domestic violence has been regarded as a personal trouble and something to be dealt with in private (Mills, 1959). If the violence escalated to death, many would attribute this to a bad relationship or a bad man. However, the rising rate of femicide and alarming statistics point to deeper underlying factors at play.



To the extent of which there is gender violence in Latin America and specifically in Mexico, this is no longer a “personal trouble” but rather a public issue rooted in the patriarchal and misogynistic structure of modern Latin American society (Mills,1959). As Duarte Bernal stated in “The Juristic Journal of Paraguay” “Gender violence is not a problem that affects the private sphere. On the contrary, it manifests itself as the most brutal symbol of the inequality that exists in our society. It is violence that is directed at women for the very fact of being women, for being considered by their aggressors, lacking the minimum rights of freedom, respect, and decision-making capacity”(Bernal, 2019). In other words, violence against women is not an isolated issue that must be dealt with within the home. This discrimination against women on the basis of being women is a large-scale issue that is embedded into systems such as the government, religion, and the very media and entertainment that is consumed by the public. Violence against women doesn’t start or end with physical violence and it is fundamental to study and dismantle the structures that allow these aggressions to occur.

### **Machismo**

Machismo is a word and way of being that best demonstrates the misogyny embedded in both Mexican and Narco culture. Machismo is a Spanish term that essentially describes misogyny and promotes the idea that men are superior and may act as they wish without repercussions. Within these machista behaviors, there is often “ Excessive drinking, fighting, womanizing, abandonment of responsibilities, cockiness, recklessness, displays of extreme jealousy, attempting to control women and demonstrations of physical prowess”(French and Bliss, 2007 p 232). In a machista culture, men are allowed to behave in ways for which women are shamed or ostracized, while the women must take roles such as good and pure mothers, daughters, and wives. A study by (Nuñez, 2017) demonstrated how machismo is a way for men

to maintain power within the Narco community. In other words, Narcos publicly perform in hypermasculine and violent ways to incite fear and domination over their enemies and the public. If one is respected or feared, they are able to maintain economic and political power over Narco competitors and the public in general. Machismo is so embedded into culture that it can even be seen in Mexican media such as telenovelas. (Watson, 2009) writes, “This celebrated male characteristic becomes problematic when the media creates machismo-enacted discourse that is used to reinforce existing male stereotypes” (p 2). In other words, machismo is normalized and seen as a natural way of being, and this stereotype is further perpetuated in the media.

### **Marianismo**

In Mexican culture, there are two iconic female figures that are household names; la Virgen de Guadalupe and Malinche. In Mexican Catholic culture, La *Virgen de Guadalupe*, or “Our Lady of Guadalupe” is considered the mother of both Jesus and all of Mexico and is one of the most respected religious symbols. This phenomenon is called Marianismo, which (Wright, A, 2021) refers to as “the veneration of the Virgin Mary, which “encourages women to follow the ‘example’ set by Mary. That is, to model ‘self-sacrifice, self-effacement, and self-subordination’ and by so doing become ‘spiritually superior.’” Essentially, women are expected to fit into this image of a pure and caring mother who is selfless and dutiful above all. Marianismo can be dangerous because it can lead to viewing women as only worthy of respect if they fit into this image.

The other iconic female figure in Mexican culture is commonly known as Malinche. This was an Indigenous woman who is said to have betrayed the Indigenous population at the start of colonization. She was Hernan Cortez’s concubine, translator, and guide for him as she could speak multiple languages. Malinche has gone down in time as a traitor, seductress, and master

manipulator. It could be argued that both the Virgin Mary and Malinche represent the two paths a woman can take in life and how women are viewed. This cultural view of women and the roles they can fill is important to analyze when looking at femicide because it explains attitudes toward victims. If a woman doesn't fit into Mexican society's idea of what it means to be a good woman, she is less valued as a human and therefore seen as disposable.

### **Discourse on Gender Expectations**

In post-colonial Mexico, women have traditionally been placed in roles of servitude to their husbands and their children (Wright, A, 2021). To make matters worse, women are often denied forming an identity outside of this all-consuming role. If a woman violates the norms and expectations within her society, this is when violence can become justified. These ideas and norms expressed through language and practice are what French philosopher Michel Foucault refers to as discourse. Foucault defines discourse as:

“ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern” (Foucault 108).

According to Foucault, discourse is a means through which power becomes justified and imposed upon individuals. When a woman goes missing, it is often asked where she was and what she was wearing as if that would explain what occurred. In other words, the blame is shifted to the victim for behaving in ways that resulted in her own suffering. There is often the misconception that if women do everything right and behave correctly, then they will avoid harm. In a study by Paula Godoy-Paiz, she interviewed family members of femicide victims as well as read news stories and ultimately found that the media and society further stigmatized

victims of femicide by implying the femicide occurred due to a “relationship gone wrong.” Furthermore, the blame is shifted to women, and men are protected from accountability.

The discourse that exists surrounding a woman's role in society, and their expected behaviors, may help explain the lack of urgency from the government to declare femicide a national issue. In the past, and even today, it is those with power (such as the church, government, and elites) who have the legitimate means and authority to speak on these issues. Seeing as the church and mass media such as soap operas are such staples of Mexican culture, it is no wonder that discourse entails the systemic blaming of women for their own misfortunes or social ills (Wright, M, 2011). Consequently, if society doesn't care about victims or humanize them, it feeds into a cycle in which femicide is normalized. In a study on the politics of death and femicide, Melissa Wright found that the police, news reporters and government were all complicit in implying that victims of femicide were women who were involved with the wrong people or living double lives. In doing so, it sent the message that femicide is the result of bad decisions, rather than the consequence of patriarchy or governmental incompetence.

However, discourse can also be altered or discussed in a way that benefits individuals and in this case, women. For example, although sexism and machismo are ingrained in Mexican culture, there are also other elements of Mexican culture such as family or community, which can aid in the fight against femicide. In Latin culture, and especially Mexican culture, family and community are fundamental values. There is extreme love and loyalty that is associated with family, and this transcends the immediate family to include extended family and friends as well. This love and passion for one another has been instrumental in mobilizing against violence against women and creating mass protests and events. Women have been able to use their sisterhood to their advantage and as a means to support, care and fight for one another.

A surprising way that women have been able to find strength and empowerment is through Marianismo. Although there are harmful characteristics that come with Marianismo such as purity or self-sacrifice, many women have been able to identify with Our Lady of Guadalupe to find comfort. As the mother of God, Mary had to experience losing her only son as he died for our sins. In today's context, mothers of victims of femicide can hold onto this figure for strength and guidance, as the Virgin Mary also lost her son due to violence. As stated by Alejandra Wright, "Through the shared memory of Mary, we may find the strength and hope to fight for a world where our children and loved ones are no longer murdered and tortured—a world where women are no longer killed for being women" (6). This also serves as a tool for allowing the public to humanize and sympathize with victims and their families. Due to the Mexican value of family, and their veneration of the Virgin Mary, a mother losing her child is acknowledged as one of the most devastating outcomes of violence.

### **Symbolic Violence**

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence explains how thoughts and ideas on gender can become physically violent or even deadly. This is essentially the way that discourse manifests into gender roles, stereotypes, and attitudes which then establish female subordination within a society. According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence is: "The violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p 167). In other words, it is our own collective normalization and perpetuation of ideas that are harmful to certain individuals. However, these ideas aren't always seen as oppressive because they have been normalized and accepted as fact. An example of symbolic violence is the depiction and expectation of women to act as caretakers. Although this doesn't appear innately negative, it can lead to discrimination in non-caretaking fields, is restrictive on women, and puts pressure on

women to have that be their only identity or aspiration. Although it is an idea and not a fact, it carries weight in the minds of individuals and it acts as a force to maintain social order. As summarized by (Menéndez-Menéndez, 2014), symbolic violence is:

“a form of violence exercised by the dominant subjects over the dominated, consistent in an imposition of a world view, of social roles, of cognitive categories and mental structures, and therefore, other than the physical. This does not imply that it is softer and/or displaces physical violence in the form of blows, violation and exploitation, or that it has no real effects and remains on an abstract plane; it is simply another formula based on symbolic power” (5).

When it comes to femicide, symbolic violence is significant because unequal power dynamics between genders and prejudices in turn manifest into structural or physical violence. Symbolic violence is not only seen in everyday Mexican life but is also represented in the media such as soap operas, Narcocorridos, and in the retelling of history.

### **Media Theories**

Within media studies, there are multiple theories analyzing how mass media impacts our society. George Gerbner’s cultivation theory is one that claims that media influences discourse because the audience is being fed images and messages that solidify norms in a given society and therefore legitimize the structures in our world. Obert-Hong further describes this theory when stating “ Cultivation influences the way a person thinks and views the real world, building upon the assumption that any major impacts brought about by TV media come into being by the way people are exposed to the same images and metaphors over and over again”(Obert-Hong, 2019 p10). In other words, what one consumes on television is more than just entertainment but rather a repeated symbolic interpretation of the world.

When examining the effect of media on its viewers and their beliefs, Delcambre argues mass media is instrumental in challenging, changing, or mimicking structures in our society. In other words, media can both create discourse and give validity to preexisting norms or discourse.

In her study of depictions of domestic violence portrayals in mass media, Delcambre states, “Three predominate and universal framing themes [are] used in portraying domestic violence in mass media... (1) patriarchal hegemony, (2) individualizing the problem, and (3) assigning blame to women” (Delcambre, 2016 p 20). These three themes are often intertwined, for example, individualizing the problem, makes this issue appear to be an individual problem that only the victim is responsible for solving. In the case that the victim is unable to escape the problem, she is often blamed for putting herself in that situation. This all ties into patriarchal hegemony which is a system that conceals unequal power dynamics and protects men from accountability. Media and television are not reality, but rather a point of view within a given reality (Mercader, 2012). When solely dominant views in society are those depicted, it can hide the realities of marginalized groups. As a result, the audience is fed a version of reality that isn’t fact yet is given validity, and portrayed as reality.

## **Methods**

For this study, I conducted a qualitative content analysis based on four popular Narco shows. A content analysis consists of observing a specific text or media to interpret hidden meanings or deeper implications. According to (Ahmad) “Both quantitative and qualitative content analyses were used to carefully interpret and quantify the meaning embedded in words, images, etc. Additionally, discourse analysis was also used to get deeper insights into the text or images in relation to meaning hidden between words,” (Ahmad 1). While watching and analyzing the shows I was interested in asking the following questions: How are women portrayed in this show, especially in relation to the male characters? Is Narco culture glorified in this media? And what is a woman’s role in Narco as illustrated on these shows?

The sample for this study consisted of the first ten episodes of “La Reina Del Sur,” (2011) “Pablo Escobar: Patron del mal” (2012) and “Queen of the South” (2016) in addition to all three seasons of “Narcos: Mexico” (2018). These specific shows were chosen due to how often they were recommended to me and the high frequency with which they are referenced on social media. All four are available on both the Mexican and American versions of Netflix. “Queen of the South” (2016) is a modern remake of “La Reina Del Sur” (2011), I chose these shows to compare them and analyze how the portrayals have changed over time. Although “Narcos: Mexico” was first released in 2018, they have continued releasing seasons up until 2021. “La Reina Del Sur” aired in 2011 on Telemundo, a national Mexican channel. Both Narcos and “La Reina Del Sur” are based on Mexican characters, whereas “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal” is based on Colombians. All four shows are labeled as crime television shows and television dramas on Netflix, and both “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal” and “Narcos: Mexico” claim to be based on true stories and star male leads. On the other hand, “La Reina Del Sur” and “Queen of the South” are based on a female lead.

In this process, I watched each show with a notebook where I noted when female characters appeared, what their role was in the show, and how they were portrayed. I analyzed what they were wearing, how they interacted with other characters, and what role they served men if any. In this research, although I recorded the quantitative presence of these traits, my main focus was analyzing dialogues, prejudices, and women’s overall contribution and importance in these shows based on their behavior and character types. I looked for the presence of female characters including but not limited to acting as mothers, daughters, mistresses, villains, and housekeepers. I also identified when women were portrayed under the archetype of



sexualization, women in power, as well as victimization, I will describe these categories further below.

<b>Coding sheet for Narco shows:</b>		
Show: _____	Season: _____	Episode: _____
Women in positions of power _____	Sexualization _____	Mother _____
Women's power contested _____	Daughter _____	Mistress _____
Female villain _____	Female victimization _____	Female housekeepers _____

**Sexualization:** Female characters are shown having sex, trying to seduce another individual, wearing underwear, bikini or naked, or are sex workers.

**Women in power:** Female characters that have powerful roles such as female narco, successful business woman or have respect and/or authority over male characters.

**Victimization:** Female characters experience physical, sexual or emotional abuse from male characters.

Prior to describing and analyzing specific characters and scenes, I will briefly provide background on the plot of each show.

“Narcos: Mexico” (2018) is a Narco soap opera that is set in Guadalajara, Mexico in the 1960s. This show claims to be a historical retelling of the start of the drug trade in Mexico. The main character is Miguel Feliz Gallardo, a Mexican man from Sinaloa who was able to unite regional drug dealers to create a structured system to collectively traffick drugs both nationally and internationally. Other frequent characters include other Narcos working with Gallardo, American members of The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), and the wives and

girlfriends of both the Narcos and the DEA. This show is a retelling of the emergence of drug culture and how the U.S. and Mexican governments reacted to Narco activity.

The show “La Reina Del Sur” (2011) is a Mexican soap opera that takes place in Mexico and Spain in the early 2000s. In this show, the main character Teresa Mendoza flees to Spain after her Narco husband is murdered by his business partners in Mexico. The first ten episodes are flashbacks to her life in Mexico and her relationship with her late husband “Guero” as well as her new life in Spain working as a waitress in a brothel. The main characters in this show are Teresa, Mexican Narcos, Spanish Narcos, and the Spanish and Moroccan women who work as sex workers at the brothel with her. This show follows her journey of starting a new life and healing from the scars of her old one, all while finding love again, this time with a Spanish Narco.

“Queen of the South” (2016) is very similar to “La Reina del Sur” in its characters and plot, but it takes place in Mexico and the United States rather than Mexico and Spain. It also follows the story of Teresa Mendoza and her struggle to survive once her husband Guero is murdered by his Narco business partners. However, in this version, Teresa becomes a drug smuggler after her life is saved by a female Narco. Camila is a female Narco who hides Teresa from her Narco husband; the man responsible for killing Guero. This show covers Teresa’s journey into the drug transporting industry for Camila and the many obstacles she faces as an undocumented drug smuggler in the United States.

The Colombian show “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal”(2012) claims to be based on true events surrounding Pablo Escobar’s rise to become Colombia's most notorious Narco. This show is set in Medellin Colombia in the ’80s, and the main characters are Pablo Escobar, his family, friends, and Colombian politicians. Although it starts in his childhood, the show

progresses to the height of his success in the drug trade, and the story of his personal life as well as business strategies.

## Results

In my analysis of the four shows, three of them followed very similar patterns of violence against women whether it was physical or symbolic. “Queen of the South” had very different results which I will discuss separately following my dissection of the common themes found in “Narcos Mexico,” “Pablo Escobar Patron del Mal” and “Reina del Sur.” Prior to my analysis, I have provided a table where I documented the presence of female characters who fit into the following category for each season. I noted the roles of female characters for each episode, however, in this chart, it’s divided by each season to facilitate the reading of the results.

**Table Demonstrating Presence of Certain Female Character Types**

	Sexualization	Women in power	Mother	Daughter	Mistress	Female villain	Female Victims	Female housekeepers
Narcos Mexico S1	14	23	18	10	8	0	8	1
Narcos Mexico S2	7	31	13	7	3	0	6	5
Narcos Mexico S3	10	41	9	7	0	0	16	5
Pablo Escobar Patron del Mal S1	15	21	23	11	8	0	6	0
Queen of the South S1	7	49	22	6	0	0	10	2
Reina del Sur S1	40	6	11	1	0	13	24	1

## Sexualization of Female Characters

When looking at sexuality it becomes clear that all three shows have clear signs of sexualization through the characterization of sex workers, love interests, and women from other cultures. “La Reina Del Sur” had the most overt examples of both sexualization and dehumanization of female characters. From the very start of her new life in Spain, Teresa is told by a Spanish associate of her husband “You better take care of your money, because when it’s gone, the only thing that will help you is what is between your legs” (La Reina del Sur episode 4). This comment sets the tone for Teresa’s time in Spain, one spent witnessing the violence and exploitation of women while working as a waitress at a brothel. At this job, both Spanish and Moroccan sex workers were portrayed as either promiscuous criminals or victims of sex trafficking. During Teresa’s first encounter in the brothel, she witnesses two sex workers fight over a client and they are soon silenced by their boss who calls them “un par de Perras” (a pair of bitches/ dogs). In one scene when a sex worker is nearly beaten to death and her body is found in a dumpster, a fellow sex worker says “In this profession, we are daughters of death, it was probably a client of hers who did this.” Throughout “La Reina Del Sur,” the subordination of sex workers and their tragedies are seen as unfortunate happenings rather than the consequence of the patriarchy and other oppressive structures. This best exemplifies Delcambre’s description of “individualizing the problem” and the way that women and/or victims are blamed for their misfortunes and they are seen as personal problems (Delcambre, 2016). In other words, it’s sending the message that these women are exploited and abused because they are sex workers, and if they weren’t putting themselves in these situations no harm would occur to them.

While “La Reina Del Sur” includes sex worker characters with multiple appearances, personalities, and backstories, both “Narcos: Mexico” and “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal,”

depict sex workers as nameless figures. In “Narcos: Mexico,” there is more sexualization of Western women who are young and white and are shown partying and using drugs with the Narcos at extravagant parties. At these mansion parties, the women wear fashionable clothing or bikinis and they can be seen laughing and enjoying themselves with the drug lords. In “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal,” sex workers are seen as luxuries and objects to be enjoyed along with drugs and alcohol. There is a sexualization of the “other” when Pablo Escobar has Brazilian sex workers dancing for him and his friends while at his home in Brazil. In all three shows, women who are not from the dominant culture, are depicted as more promiscuous or in the role of sex worker. The portrayal of sex workers as nameless individuals allows for both their objectification and dehumanization. Furthermore, if they are foreign, it’s a way to further distance them from women that they consider pure such as their mothers and daughters who are women of their own culture. This “othering” that occurs to women in sex work is not just present in the Narco shows but, rather it is a staple of rape culture and the way that violence against women is justified.

### **Power dynamics between Genders**

When analyzing power in Narco shows it’s clear that power manifests in different ways depending on gender. In “La Reina Del Sur,” Teresa is portrayed as an empowered strong independent woman who survives due to her resilience and intelligence. However, it could be argued that Teresa is allowed to be powerful and independent because she is a very specific type of woman. She is loyal to her late husband, she's modest, and doesn't participate in sex work. She has all the qualities of a woman who is considered dignified in Mexican culture and worthy of respect. This is further exhibited In “Narcos: Mexico” season 1 when the wives of DEA agents are often portrayed as intelligent or giving advice to their husbands. Additionally, the

head Narco's wife; Maria, is referred to as "the brains of the house." Again, in this dynamic, the women who hold some power, are very specific types of women who are deemed worthy of being listened to.

On the other hand, for many female characters in both "La Reina Del Sur" and "Narcos: Mexico," their power is in having something men want; their bodies. In "Narcos: Mexico" season 1, there is only one female Narco; Isabella Bautista who often leverages her beauty to make deals with other Narcos and act as a bridge between business deals. However, although she holds power over them, it is not the same as being respected. She has her beauty and sexuality, but this isn't enough to make her an equal to other Narcos. This is evident when she is not given as much power as the other Narcos by Miguel Felix (the head Narco), and the way she's called *mija* (girl) and often appears to be following Miguel Felix around rather than being his actual business partner. In episode 6 of "Narcos Mexico" season 1, when Miguel Felix and Isabela go to Colombia to make negotiations, she isn't allowed to enter the meeting with the other drug lord and she has to stay back with the bodyguards. Overall, sexuality is a way to have leverage over men in these shows, but it's never enough to protect them from harm or to elevate them enough to be considered equals to men.

From a different perspective, when men want to display power over women or other men, it is often expressed through machismo and/or violence. In the first episode, Miguel Felix shoots a Narco in the head because he knows doing so will bring him respect and authority over other Narcos and will facilitate making deals. This act shows that he's very serious about business and willing to do anything to be on top. When the Narcos throw extravagant parties, hire sex workers and/or have a team of hitmen, it's performing to be as "alpha male" and dominant as possible. Through possessing symbols of power, and through being violent, they are creating fear and

creating boundaries with other Narcos to establish and protect their territories. A prominent example of toxic masculinity and power is a scene in “Narcos: Mexico” season 1 where Narco; Rafael Quintero sees his ex-girlfriend Sofia dancing with Amado (another Narco). He confronts them and Sofia storms off. Amado says “ No, hey, hey! I was about to take her with me, man” to which Rafael replies, “Take her where, fucker? She’s mine.” Amado answers “Still? Sorry, bro, I didn’t know. If I did, I’d only fuck her harder.” After this exchange, Rafael grabs his gun and starts shooting around the dance club. In this exchange, Sofia is reduced to an object to be taken by whichever Narco “wins the fight.” She becomes a trophy and a symbol of power and success for whichever Narco is macho enough to end up with her.

### **The Humanization and Glorification of Narcos**

In “ La Reina Del Sur” and “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal” there is a sense of savior complex from the Narcos toward women and low-income communities. In “La Reina Del Sur” Teresa was considered to have been “saved” by her late husband Guero, who was the first man to not abuse her. He not only pulled her out of poverty, but he nurtured her and showed her romantic love. From a different perspective, Pablo Escobar was also considered a savior because he would donate money to low-income communities that were disregarded by the Colombian government. He was considered a Robin Hood figure among the people, and he gained support in this way. Both examples illustrate how the powerful are portrayed as saving the weak and powerless. In this case, their power and authority are not just maintained through violence but are upheld and protected by those around them who consider them to be good people worthy of wielding the power they have.

In the show “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal” and “Narcos: Mexico,” it wasn’t always about what female characters did, but rather what they represented and how they complemented

the male characters. In a way, characters who represent daughters or mothers serve as accessories to humanize Narcos even when they are simultaneously depicted doing the most inhumane things possible. By representing mothers, wives, and parts of their family, it shows the humanity of Narcos and it establishes them as fathers, husbands, and overall family men. In “Narcos: Mexico,” both Rafael Quintero and Miguel Felix Gallardo are humanized through the love they have for their significant others. The show reveals that Miguel Felix Gallardo was once a cop, but he became a Narco because he couldn’t afford medication for his late wife who had cancer. This implies that he was forced to become a Narco out of necessity, and in a way, his behaviors from that moment are justified. From a different perspective, when Rafael Quintero is separated from his girlfriend Sofia, he’s in so much pain and despair, that the audience is almost compelled to root for them and their happiness.

When Narcos are shown with their families, it provides a context in which the audience can identify with specific characters. In “La Reina Del Sur” one can see the humanization of Spanish Narco; Santiago when his mom is on her deathbed, and she asks him to leave the drug trade. In this scene, it doesn’t matter what he’s done in his past, it is a heartwarming moment where a mother tries to save her son from the life of crime he is living. The connection between mothers and their children is one of the strongest emotional connections present in both “La Reina Del Sur” and “Narcos: Mexico.” This connection is one that resonates with Mexicans as it ties into the veneration of the Virgin of Guadalupe; the mother of Mexico. Through this phenomenon, a Mexican audience is able to sympathize with a mother’s concern for her child, in this case, a Narco.

### **Victimization**

In all four shows analyzed there is a consistent portrayal of physical, sexual, and



emotional victimization of female characters. Overall, the show “La Reina del Sur” had the most instances of female victimization. As mentioned previously, it is set in a brothel, and both Teresa and the other sex workers are repeatedly faced with violent and traumatic situations. In episode 6 of “La Reina del Sur” one of the sex workers is found beaten nearly to death in a dumpster, and one of the other sex workers replies “ In this profession, we are the angels of death, it was probably a client who did this to her. Throughout “La Reina del Sur” the violence Teresa and the other women face is normalized and sensationalized to create more excitement in the plot. On the other hand, in “ Narcos: Mexico” season 3, although there is extensive violence against women it is framed as a critique and done so in a way that brings awareness to the femicide crisis in Mexico. Although the theme of glorification is present in all three seasons of “Narcos Mexico,” seasons 2 and 3 start to show the darker side of the drug trade and in some ways, it condemns Narco violence and violence against women in particular. “Narcos Mexico” season 3 brings awareness to the femicide crisis through a side plot that follows the life of Mexican police officer Victor Tapia. Although Victor starts out as a corrupt police officer, by witnessing a mother's pain as she searches for her missing daughter, he becomes invested in finding her. Victor becomes horrified as he finds out there are not only dozens of missing women but there are multiple killers out there.

Throughout “La Reina del Sur” and “Narco Mexico” there is a specific narrative of what it means to be a victim. In both shows, the women are often referred to as “putas” or sex workers as if that justifies or explains the violence being enacted on them. In other words, they put themselves in these situations by doing something wrong or being in dangerous places. This goes back to Marianismo and the norms that are expected of women in Mexican society in order to be respected. This is best illustrated in episode 4 of “Narcos Mexico” season 3 where a mother is

pleading with Victor to help her locate her daughter. Through tears, she pleads over and over again “Mi hija era una niña buena” (My daughter was a good girl). What one sees here is a mother's desperation to find her daughter and her awareness of society's perception of missing girls. She has to convince the police to want to look for her because she's someone “deserving” of being found. Society and in turn, the justice system's attitude towards missing or murdered women is clearly demonstrated through the pushback that Victor receives from others when trying to find the missing girls. In one scene, he is in the coroner's office looking at mutilated bodies of young girls, and in reference to the state of their bodies the coroner says to him “They are getting creative with the Putas.” In another scene, when he expresses his concern with the number of young girls being found deceased, he is told by other cops to stop looking into it and to “leave his heart at home.”

One of the most impactful and symbolic representations of violence against women is in episode 6 “Narcos Mexico” season 3. The episode begins with a four-year-old and six-year-old boy running around the house playing cops and robbers with what seem to be toy guns. The younger boy fires the gun at his housekeeper and it's revealed that it was a real weapon. Upon watching their housekeeper lie dead on the floor bleeding out, the older boy turns to his brother and says “ Mom's gonna be mad, this is her favorite carpet.” This is one of the eeriest examples of how women are viewed as disposable in Mexican society. Their deaths are often viewed as a mess to clean up and an inconvenience rather than a tragedy. What makes this story even more impactful, is the fact that it is not a fictional plot in the show, but rather based on the actual event of Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Mexico's 60th president, accidentally killing his family's 12-year-old maid Manuela when he was just four years old (Oppenheimer, 1996). Although it was an accidental shooting involving a very young child, it demonstrates how violence against women is

not a personal problem reserved for the criminal or the poor. It can be traced to even the most elite in Mexico and this violence is both personal and systemic.

“Narcos Mexico” season 2 focused on the downfall of Miguel Felix Gallardo’s empire and the way he destroyed connections and loyalty with everyone he ever loved in order to retain his power. In the Narco trade in the 60s and 70s, there was always one rule: women and children were off-limits. No matter how violent the territory wars got, these were two groups that were never to be harmed. However, Miguel Felix puts an end to this norm when he ordered the killing of a Narco’s wife and her two small children. He did this to scare the other Narcos and send a message but this action unleashed chaos in the Narco world and an escalation in violence against both Narcos and civilians. During this time, there was an overall escalation in violence and this can be seen through the public staging of Narco's rival’s bodies over bridges. The killing of this mother and her children was arguably a turning point in any “moral etiquette” that Narcos previously followed, and it set the stage for the bloodshed and fear tactics still innate in the Mexican drug trade to this day.

### **Queen of the South**

As mentioned previously, “Queen of the South” is a modern adaptation of the telenovela “La Reina del Sur.” This show aired on the USA Network while “La Reina del Sur” aired on Telemundo, one of the most viewed channels in Latin America (both companies are owned by NBC). I analyzed and compared the first ten episodes of both shows and found them to be similar in the plot but they had major differences in their portrayal of female characters. For starters, Teresa Mendoza doesn’t work in a brothel, but rather in a drug trafficking warehouse alongside other men and women. In “La Reina del Sur ” Teresa found herself obligated to have sex with a rich man in exchange for her freedom from jail, whereas in “Queen of the South ”

season 1 she never had a sexual encounter either consensual or not. In addition, in “La Reina del Sur,” sex workers were depicted as being aggressive or jealous of other women, and one even called the police on Teresa after she perceived her as a threat. On the other hand, in “Queen of the South,” a woman tries to mentor Teresa when she wakes up in the warehouse, and in one scene Teresa nurses a fellow female “drug mule” to health when she sees her severely sick in the warehouse. Other women in difficult situations are not the villains in this show, rather it is made clear that they are victims of their circumstances and are all just struggling to survive.

Another major difference is that the lead Narco in “Queen of the South” is a woman. This Narco; Camila is portrayed as a strong, intelligent, and successful woman. However, it also shows her struggle in certain situations to get respect from other Narcos because of her gender. “Queen of the South” portrays her as a successful and intelligent businesswoman while still showing that being a woman in this industry meant she had to work twice as hard as men to be feared or respected. In episode 5, one of the Narcos says to Camila “Muñequita (*little doll*), do u know why I call u Muñequita?” Camila responds “Because you’re an old world chauvinist prick?” and he answers “Because you’re beautiful in the day but scare me at night.” Camila is aware of her disadvantages as a woman in the drug industry but she strikes back against those who doubt her whether it is with words, physical intimidation, or sabotage. Camila’s awareness of her situation is evident when she says “You see, all my life men have underestimated me, I’ve grown used to it. See, most men are basic creatures, they can’t seem to see beyond my legs, so sometimes I use that to my advantage, and others I just depend on it” (ep.7). “Queen of the South” uses a combination of empowering Camila as a powerful figure in some scenes, while showing that she still faces discrimination and backlash due to her gender.

It could be argued that this version of “Queen of the South” is more progressive than the original “La Reina del Sur” because it is more recent and society has come a long way in terms of female representation and empowerment. However, it can also be argued that “Queen of the South” was created with an American audience in mind ( as it premiered on an American channel). This also means that it was adapted and executed by professionals with Western values. Regardless, “Queen of the South” depicts Narco culture in a way that is still entertaining to its audience, without relying on the humiliation or objectification of women to further its plot which is a step in a more progressive direction for Narco novelas.

### **Discussion**

Overall, in “Narcos: Mexico,” “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal” and “ La Reina Del Sur,” I identified the four themes of sexualization, power, humanization, and victimization. In “La Reina Del Sur,” a show with a female lead, violence against women and their subordination in society was portrayed more explicitly. On the other hand, “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal” and “Narcos: Mexico,” were based on the lives of male Narcos therefore, the women serve more as side characters. Despite not being at the center of the plot, women were still portrayed as powerless or sexual with their only identity being that of a mother or lover. This ties back to Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic violence and the way in which viewers likely don’t question these roles or see them as problematic because they appear as a natural and realistic telling of how the world works (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In both “Narcos: Mexico” and “Pablo Escobar, El Patron Del Mal,” if a woman's purpose was not to humanize their male counterparts, then it was to elevate their status. In this context, they would become beautiful mistresses or accessories to show off Narco’s lifestyles of luxury and unlimited pleasure. In other

words, masculinity and power are intertwined, and a man who can get any woman is a man who can get anything.

Throughout all of the shows, a woman's role in the Narco world is often as a supplemental character who only exists to add depth to a male character. However, in the case that women do have a prominent role, it's usually as a result of tragedy happening to them rather than by their initiative or natural courage (as in the case of male heroes). This is a phenomenon that Vladimir Propp describes as "Victim heroes" (Propp, 1968). In situations where female characters do have agency, they are often punished for this. When analyzing this phenomenon in children's tales, Sherry B Ortner writes, " '...Bad' female characters, the witches and wicked stepmothers... These women are highly agentic: they have projects, plans, plots. Needless to say they all come to terrible ends"(Ortner, 2006 p 10). An example of this in Narco media is Teresa's character in "La Reina del Sur." Although she eventually becomes a female Narco ( after many seasons), this whole journey is only put in motion because of the killing of her Narco husband and other Narcos trying to kill her. Even though Teresa has some agency, as she chooses to be a waitress instead of a sex worker, despite being a "good" female character, she is still sexually assaulted later in the plot to avoid incarceration and deportation. Agency is not simply handed to female characters, they must fight for it and pay the consequences for being bold enough to demand it.

As discussed by (Mercader, 2012) mass media is not just meaningless entertainment, but rather a tool to show specific realities of the world and give validity to certain structures. If one were to turn on the news, there would be a different reality, that of Narco violence, hundreds of disappeared women, and growing unsafety in Mexico. However, in Narco media such as shows or music, this reality is put on the side as Narcos are portrayed as hardworking family men

whose business skills and power allow them to live luxurious lives. According to this portrayal, Narcos are intelligent and calculated, everything is rational and means business. In other words, it's creating this narrative that those who are killed or harmed by them were doing something to deserve it. It is dangerous to allow glamorized “historical retellings” from Netflix to influence the public’s perception of Narcos as it is done in a way that allows the viewer to sympathize with Narcos. This creates a discourse where blame is shifted to the victims of Narcos, because in the eyes of the audience, Narcos are rational and intelligent businessmen who only become violent if they are crossed.

Narcos are also glorified in the sense that they are portrayed in all four shows as men who come from humble origins and work hard to get into their positions. It could be argued that this is a twist on the American dream. In Mexico, those with money or power have traditionally been descendants of colonizers, or Europeans from other countries who live in Mexico. Because of this, it is often easier for Mexicans and especially younger viewers, to see themselves in Narcos because they also come from rural backgrounds or humble origins. Narcos coming from nothing and becoming the richest and most powerful feeds the narrative that being intelligent or hard-working can get you the life you want. It is rare to see elements of regional Mexican culture represented alongside luxury and power. However, “Narcos Mexico” and “Queen of the South” both paired elements such as money and power with Banda, Mariachi, and Catholic symbolism such as imagery of the Virgin Mary of Guadalupe. One of the most obvious examples of Narco culture being glorified through its synchronism of Mexican culture is in episode 8 of season 3 of “Narcos Mexico.” In this scene, Amado, one of Mexico’s most notorious drug lords is in a high-speed car chase evading the police through the desert. During this chase, the camera zooms into a shot of an eagle eating a snake on a cactus. This image is in reference to the Aztec legend that

describes the “creation of Mexico.” According to this legend, the Aztec people would know where to build their city once they saw an Eagle eating a serpent on a cactus. This image is the design on the Mexican flag and is an iconic symbol of Mexican identity. I would argue that this sends the message that Narco activity has become as Mexican as the origin of Mexico itself.

While young men grow up listening to Narco corridos or watching Narco shows, it can potentially create an idolization and yearning for these lifestyles (Cupic, 2021). However, for women, their way to gain access to luxury and the Narco world is as Buchonas (the girlfriends of Narcos). As told by Tijana Cupic, it used to be Narcos who wanted to be with the most beautiful women, but now it is beautiful women who aspire to catch the attention of a Narco (Cupic, 2021). Although in these shows, women are not usually Narcos, their way of gaining access to the same lifestyle is by being their love interest. Being a Narco’s girlfriend is more than just gifts and luxury. It is also a symbol of status to be identified as a woman beautiful enough to be wanted by a man who seemingly has everything. In “Pablo Escobar Patron del Mal” and “Narcos: Mexico,” the love interests of Narcos can be seen receiving expensive gifts, spending time in exotic destinations, and staying in luxurious mansions.

Although not present in the shows (likely due to the period they are set in), there is currently a modern subculture of Narco culture that has developed for women known as Buchona culture. This is essentially women who desire the dangerous and lavish lifestyle of Narcos, and want to be the love interest of Narcos. There are many cultural components often innate in Buchona culture including plastic surgery, narco fashion, listening to narco corridos, and the flaunting of expensive belongings such as designer bags, nice cars, or even “ramos buchones” ( a large bouquet of several dozen roses). Although glorification may look different, there is room within the narco world for both genders to have figures to idolize. For many young Mexicans,



becoming a Narco or Narco's wife is the fast track to their dreams, like winning a way out of poverty without having to come from wealthy origins.

The glamorization of Narco culture that occurs in both Narco shows and Mexican culture is not a harmless phenomenon, it is what sets the tone for discourse surrounding both Narco issues and violence against women in Mexico. In "La Reina Del Sur" female victims are constantly accused of making the wrong choices, such as marrying a Narco or being a sex worker. In this way, violence against them becomes justified. From a similar perspective, only portraying women as mothers or wives, establishes their subordinate place in society as a caretaker. These roles are connected to Marianismo and the unrealistic expectation for women to encompass the traits of the Virgin Mary of Guadalupe. This leads to dehumanization because women are thought of only in terms of their relationship with others, rather than respected and seen as valuable simply for being human. This can also lead to victim blaming as seen in the study by Melissa Wright (2021) where women were blamed for their own suffering for having an alleged connection to Narcos. Overall, in all four Narco shows, it gives a platform for Narcos to be humanized and glamorized rather than bring attention to all the violence and destruction they bring to Mexican society. Due to this portrayal, they are not only protected by their money and bodyguards, but by everyday people who become invested in the personal narratives of Narcos rather than identify them as main contributors to the violence and lack of safety they experience each day.

Symbolic violence is one of the most pervasive forms of violence in society, yet it often goes unnoticed because it is agreed upon unconsciously between both parties and normalized. Viewers may fail to identify female roles in Narco media as oppressive because they so often mimic real dynamics found within Mexican culture. A woman's role within a Mexican

household has traditionally been as a homemaker or as a submissive individual, and this same dynamic is replicated within the Narco world. In investigating cultural attitudes towards victims of violence, media, religion, and traditional gender roles are prominent factors to take into consideration. Lynn Kwiatkowski did research on domestic violence in Vietnam and her work explores the effect religion and culture have on attitudes regarding divorce in situations of domestic violence. In this study, she found that no matter how dangerous the situation got for these women, they were still usually against divorce for themselves and other women due to their Confucian ideologies. Despite being unhappy or in dangerous situations, divorce seemed like a betrayal of their familial duty and loyalty. Kwiatkowski found that despite programs implemented to deter violence against women, many lacked an understanding of the way culture and religion feed into structural inequalities and allow this violence to persist. In Mexican culture, servitude and religion often go hand-in-hand as there is no woman more venerated in Mexico than the Virgin Mary of Guadalupe. She is the ultimate example of servitude, sacrifice, and femininity whose example all women are expected to follow. When women fail to meet these expectations, this is when violence against them can become justified in the eyes of society. This is just one example of how religion and cultural values can influence how societal issues are viewed.

When it comes to solutions to violence against women, there are several branches of feminism that offer their own explanations of femicide and possible solutions. Overall, feminist theory is literature that focuses on the subordination of women in society and how patriarchy is present in all social institutions which facilitates the oppression of women (Rae, Jaskinsky, 2011). As cited by (Rae, Jaskinsky, 2011), “Violence against women... is a result of the subordinate position women occupy in the social structure, and this subordination is the cultural

legacy of the traditional family...violence against women is one manifestation of a system of male dominance that has existed historically and across cultures” (Adinkrah, 1999; Yllö & Straus, 1990 cited by Rae, Jasinky). In other words, violence against women occurs every day in all sectors of life, it is not confined to one’s home or solely consisting of physical violence.

Liberal feminism, antiracist/ anti-imperialist feminism, and Marxist feminism are a few examples of branches of feminism that discuss femicide and its solutions. Liberal feminism aims to eliminate violence against women through legal reform, this branch of feminism is often associated with white feminism or Western feminism. They challenge the private/ public divide which has traditionally placed private life and politics separately. However, women have often been denied a place in politics which meant their voices weren’t being heard and their needs weren’t being met. By bridging the public and private, liberal feminists believe that they can combat issues like domestic violence which have traditionally occurred and been hidden behind closed doors (Rae & Jasinski, 2011).

On the other hand, feminists of color and anti-colonialist feminists look at other structures as the root of femicide and violence against women. As stated by Rebecca Hall, “...Feminists of color from the global North and South called for engagement with global structures of economic and social inequality—racism, imperialism, and capitalism—arguing that only through attention to these complex, interlocking structures of oppression could a movement to end violence against women truly be transformational” (Hall, 2015). For many women of color in both Western culture and Latin America, the answer can’t be found in law enforcement as this is another system of oppression. Black women, Indigenous women, and low-income women, in general, belong to groups that have historically been oppressed and unfairly targeted by the government and law enforcement. Due to these power dynamics, many feminists of color

argue that bridging the public/private divide would not be a solution to the violence they face. Feminist theorist bell hooks argued that affirming the public/private divide conceals the violence that black individuals face in both. When analyzing hooks, Hall writes, “Violence acted upon poor black women and men in the so-called public realm— through discrimination, harassment, exploitation, threats of violence and actual violence experienced in places of work, schools, and the streets—is inextricably linked to violence in the home (Hall, 2015 p 3).” In other words, antiracist feminists attest that femicide is an issue that cannot be fully eliminated through the criminal justice system because this system was not created to work for or protect women of color.

### **Conclusion**

In this research, I have analyzed the role of women in Narco shows and how this compares to Mexican cultural phenomena such as machismo, Marianismo, and overall gender expectations. I have also established that Narco culture is indeed glamorized in these shows, while there is an uplifting of misogynist norms and the overall subordination of women. Narco culture isn't just glamorized in the plot but in other ways such as casting attractive or well-known Latino actors to play Narcos such as Diego Luna or Bad Bunny. Casting beloved Latino actors, and incorporating elements of Mexican culture and history creates the ideal conditions for narco characters and shows to be well received by their audience. This is significant because as stated previously, media is a prominent tool in disseminating values and normalizing structures within a society. When connecting Narco culture to gender violence, it becomes clear that women are not respected as individuals and therefore it becomes easier to inflict violence upon them or justify what occurs to them.

To live in Mexico as a woman is often to live in fear. To understand the statistic that ten other women a day will be killed, to hope you won't be one of them, and to pray that the criminal justice system won't fail you if something happens. Narco activity and violence against women have a direct correlation in the sense that Narco activity leads to corruption as well as an overworked criminal justice system (Jimenez Valdez, 2014). However, it is also important to understand how the values of the public and the discourse that exists around femicide and Narco activity also allow for this violence to continue without justice. In the future, I suggest further research on public perceptions of Narcos, and how this differs between age groups or whether or not they consume Narco media. In addition, it would be valuable to analyze news or overall media that condemns Narco activity, and what strategies they use for doing so. Change or action is difficult in Mexico due to the corruption of the Mexican government. However, changing the language and discourse surrounding violence against women and Narco's compliance in this suffering is an immense step in reaching a new future, one with less violence, and one with less fear.

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