## Criminal Communication: Public Representations, Repertoires, and Regimes of Criminal Governance

#### **Online Appendix: Narco-Message Data**

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#### Part A. Data Collection

The analysis in this article is based on an original collection of narco-message data. This includes data on 5,771 messages that appeared in Mexico between 2006 and 2012. It also includes the full or partial transcription of the content of 2,724 of these messages.

Message data and transcriptions were collected from ten periodicals. *Proceso* is a (formerly) weekly political magazine covering the entire country. The other nine publications are regional newspapers. *El Norte* is based in Monterrey and covers all of northern Mexico (and often other areas of the country). *Diario de Coahuila* and *El Siglo de Torreón* are based in the northern state of Coahuila. *Zeta* is based in Tijuana and reports primarily on the northwest. *Noroeste* is based in Culiacán and covers Sinaloa and the Pacific Coast. *Mural* is based in Guadalajara and covers western Mexico (both *Mural* and *El Norte* are part of the influential *Reforma* publishing group). *La Unión de Morelos* is based in Cuernavaca and covers the state of Morelos. *El Sur de Acapulco* is based in Acapulco and covers the state of Guerrero.<sup>1</sup> *Tabasco Hoy* is based in the state of Tabasco and covers much of southeastern Mexico.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Juan Camilo Pantoja García for sharing his research on media coverage of violence and narco-messages in *El Sur de Acapulco* with me.

While media sources provided much of the detail and all of the transcriptions for this collection, I used another source to triangulate the data. This second source was a government crime database, a publicly accessible version of which is kept at the *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas Región Centro*. Although this dataset focuses on homicides, it records the presence or absence of messages with these homicides. It thus offers no data on the many messages that appeared without violence, especially from 2008 onwards.

This combination of sources provided a great deal of detailed data, but this is not a comprehensive collection. The data is closest to comprehensive for the period from 2007 to 2011. Before March 2007, the government database records no messaging, and starting in 2012, media sources typically provided far less detail in their reporting on narco-messages. I also expect that my collection generally undercounts the number of messages displayed without violence. This is because messages without violence are often displayed in coordinated campaigns, involving multiple messages in different public places. Media reporting of such events frequently relies on rough estimates of the total number of messages, simply stating that many messages appeared, or that a particular municipality was blanketed in messages. I use a conservative count in such cases, recording only two messages where no more precise specification of the number of messages is available. While far from complete, the collection can nonetheless offer a relatively accurate account of many campaigns of narco-messaging.

The following section contains data on every narco-message referenced in the main article. Each message is identified by a unique, four-digit number (numbers were assigned based on the order that messages were added to the overall collection). For each message, the section lists where (municipality and state) and when the message appeared, an English

#### Criminal Communication Appendix

translation of the message, and a brief summary of the context in which the message appeared. All messages originally appeared in Spanish and were translated into English by the article author. Italicized words have not been translated, and appear in the Spanish of the original message transcriptions. The punctuation of the original, Spanish transcriptions has been lightly edited for readability. I use square brackets to denote my own additions to the text, and ellipses in square brackets to mark places where a section of the original transcription appears to be missing. I reproduce all names (and one telephone number) as they were transcribed in the media source (in a few cases, it appears that the message authors got people's names wrong). The messages are presented roughly in the order that they appear in the article.

Many messages include insults or offensive language. I have generally kept and translated this language, but redacted out insults based on gender and sexuality. The exact wording of these insults is not critical for the analysis, so I mark the type of insult only. I made this decision so as not to reproduce and recirculate discriminatory language. This is a question of research ethics; by translating such insults, I would be treating them as neutral terms like any other, when they are targeted terms that harm and marginalize. The homophobia and misogyny in some messages are stark even without including exact insults.

#### Part B. List of Narco-Message Transcriptions

#### Case 1: The Familia Michoacana, 2006

#0563	
When:	September 5, 2006
Where:	Uruapán, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"The family doesn't kill for money, doesn't kill women, doesn't kill innocents. Only
	those that deserve to die will. The people must know, this is divine justice."
Context:	Written message with five severed heads in nightclub.

<u>When</u> :	July 27, 2006
Where:	Morelia, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"So that you learn to respect the family. The family is sacred."
<u>Context</u> :	Message displayed with two bodies with severed fingers, in a car in a residential neighborhood.

# #6088

<u>When</u> :	August 14, 2006
Where:	Tuzantla, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"For being a thief and an idiot. The Familia Michoacana doesn't act like that."
Context:	Message made from cut-up newspapers and displayed with a body.

# #6123

When:	September 21, 2006
Where:	Aquila, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"Dedicated to you, Jilo. Greetings to Leonel Anguiano and Erick Valencia, and for the
	Tenas as well. The Familia salutes you. Remember that we are growing. Until next
	time, dudes. We'll visit you soon, wherever you want. Sincerely, the Familia."
Context:	Message left with two bodies outside a municipal police base in a town plaza.

# #6419

<u>When</u> :	October 3, 2006
Where:	Jacona, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"This is for all the car thieves. Next are those with Gómez Farías and those that carry
	the last name Oseguera and the snitches and finger-pointers. Sincerely, the Familia.
	This is divine justice."
<u>Context</u> :	Message left with a body in a car on the side of a highway.

# #6103

<u>When</u> :	February 22, 2007
Where:	Uruapán, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"We don't want fucking rapists here. Sincerely, the Familia Michoacana."
<u>Context</u> :	Message displayed with a body on a dirt road.

# #6121

When:	August 27, 2006.
Where:	Tanhuato, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"Greetings Mencho, so you continue sending people to Michoacán to kidnap. The
	Familia salutes you."
<u>Context</u> :	Message left with four bodies in a vehicle at a garbage dump.

<u>When</u> :	November 13, 2006
Where:	Aguililla, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"Greetings Luis Valencia. Greetings from the Familia."
Context:	Message left with a body at an arch at the entrance to a village.

When:	October 7, 2006
Where:	Zitácuaro, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"Dear comrades, the <i>Familia Michoacana</i> are no extortionists. P.S. We're waiting for your next call."
<u>Context</u> :	Message displayed with two decapitated bodies – one victim was a former police officer – outside a car dealership.

# #6124

<u>When</u> :	October 1, 2006
Where:	Uruapán, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"The orders given by the Familia are clear and should be followed to the letter.
	There is to be no retail ice dealing in Michoacán."
<u>Context</u> :	Message displayed with a body outside a police checkpoint under construction.

# #6101

When:	December 16, 2006
Where:	Jacona, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"Divine justice. No to the <i>cristaleros</i> . the <i>Familia</i> ." <sup>2</sup>
Context:	Message displayed with a body by a highway.

# #6081

<u>When</u> :	August 6, 2006
Where:	La Huacana, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"So that you don't go around interfering with the family, learn from this experience. The family is sacred."
<u>Context</u> :	Message displayed with a body on a dirt road.

## #6095

<u>When</u> :	September 4, 2006
Where:	Tacámbaro, Michoacán
<u>Text</u> :	"Next are Nacho and Ramiro Castañeda, for messing with the Familia."
Context:	Message displayed with a body.

<u>When</u> :	September 4, 2006	
<u>Where</u> :	Tacámbaro, Michoacán	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cristalero can be a slang term for a methamphetamine dealer or a car thief.

- <u>Text</u>: "Next are Flavio, Diego, Osvaldo and the Barajas, for messing with the *Familia*. Bye kids, see you soon."
- <u>Context</u>: Message displayed with a body.

## Case 2: The Cártel del Pacífico Sur, 2010

#### #1199

<u>When</u> :	December 22, 2009
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- <u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca, Morelos
- <u>Text</u>: *"La Empresa*. This isn't even the beginning of a war in Morelos, we're just helping to fight delinquency in Morelos. They committed a grave error in messing with *La Empresa*. Barbie, you have all my support to start a war in Morelos. I already have enough people under my command to start the war, so let it be clear that the mafia will never be finished with. *Arriba* Sinaloa! Sincerely, *El Flaco (chiquis)*."
- <u>Context</u>: A large message displayed outside a kindergarten, one of room of which was set on fire.

## #1203

<u>When</u> :	December 31, 2009
Where:	Cuernavaca, Morelos
<u>Text</u> :	"Arriba the Sinaloa Cartel! We're with you Barbie. Kill all the fuckers. Miguel Rojas."
Context:	Message on two pages of paper, displayed on a residential street.

#### #1207

When:	January 8, 2010
Where:	Cuernavaca, Morelos
<u>Text</u> :	"Arriba Sinaloa! Barbie we're with you to start a war. DN237 Fuck it all up."
Context:	Message displayed outside an elementary school.

## #1213

When:	January 21, 2010
Where:	Cuernavaca, Morelos
<u>Text</u> :	"La Empresa doesn't tolerate traitors like you, Barbie. We know you gave up the
	Boss of Bosses. Happy New Year, it's going to be your last. Sincerely, La Empresa and
	the Zetas."
Context:	Message displayed in front of a playground.

## #1253

<u>When</u>: March 21, 2010

Where: Cuernavaca, Morelos

<u>Text</u>: "Édgar Valdez Villarreal (Barby), there is no doubt that your homosexuality and your addiction to pills have driven you crazy. The authorities and all those that help you with kidnappings, and theft from businesses and vehicles: this is how their

properties will end up. We won't rest until we find you and all the traitors. Sincerely, *La Empresa.*"

<u>Context</u>: Message left at a mechanic's workshop, which had been set on fire the previous day.

## #1254

- <u>When</u>: March 22, 2010
- Where: Cuernavaca, Morelos
- <u>Text</u>: "Édgar Valdez Villarreal (Barbie), Just like this will end up all the properties of officials, businesspeople, and functionaries that aid you in the trafficking and selling of drugs, kidnapping, extortion of businesses, violent robberies of banks, houses, and businesses. Like this, your collaborators Ismael Mojica that back you with politicians under threat. Morelos will be cleansed of all you degenerates, the *plaza* is ours. Sincerely, *La Empresa.*"
- <u>Context</u>: Message left in a family home after gunmen entered, intimidated the family, and tried (unsuccessfully) to start a fire.

#### #1256

- <u>When</u>: March 25, 2010
- Where: Cuernavaca, Morelos
- "Ambition is dangerous and power drives people mad. You betrayed the Beltrans Text: and that cannot be pardoned. You wanted to cut off heads to be left with the throne. I was the one that opened the doors for you, to join the business, you wanted to throw us to the side to feel powerful. The betrayal and lies will bring an end to you, fucking guy eating alone. The boss has given the order to eliminate the traitor, the trust that was placed in you is gone, the dog that bites the hand does not deserve compassion. You thought you were a great mind, you felt yourself a big boss, your delusions of grandeur are going to bring you down, your world fell apart while here everything is better. We know that you are mad for pills and that you are a homosexual [homophobic insult]. Even though you've teamed up with the other traitor, 'El Indio,' it won't save you, and traitor, I know it hurts that we really fucked you over in Acapulco, and this *plaza* is ours, it always will be. Guerrero and Morelos belong to us, these are our doings this week, this is a cleansing. We request that the people keep out of this, Morelos and Guerrero will be cleansed of traitors, kidnappers, and thieves like you, fucking homosexual traitor Barbie. Sincerely, La Empresa."
- <u>Context</u>: Message left at a large urban park.

- <u>When</u>: March 27, 2010
- <u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca, Morelos
- <u>Text</u>: "Citizens of the State of Morelos, with all respect that you deserve, we request that if you know of any house in which one of the homosexuals that works for Barbie is hiding out, or of any safehouses, we ask that you, citizen, denounce it to *La Empresa* 777263125. Now it will be the one governing the State of Morelos, or the military,

who are also helping us to get rid of this ball of degenerates, extortionists and kidnappers [...] What has taken place in the past few days is an example, so that all learn to respect *La Empresa*, because we go about united, we go and you all know that this *plaza* has always been ours. Now with all respect that the citizenry deserves, we give our word to the citizens that calm will be restored to this city. Sincerely, *La Empresa*."

<u>Context</u>: Message displayed outside a major supermarket.

## #1259

When: March 29, 2010

- <u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca, Morelos
- <u>Text</u>: "Jerónimo Pineda Wicochea (Jero), this business is yours and the same will happen to all of your other properties that you gained through trafficking drugs in support of the homosexual (Barby). We know that the authorities in the United States are looking for you because of your businesses supporting homosexuals in stealing cars and laundering money, affecting the citizens of Morelos. Sincerely, *Cártel del Pacífico Sur.*"
- <u>Context</u>: Message left at an auto mechanic, previously damaged in an attack.

## #1260

- <u>When</u>: March 30, 2010
- <u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca, Morelos
- <u>Text</u>: "Édgar Valdez Villarreal (Barbi), here you have your homosexuals, *El Bubu, El Negro*, *El Flaco, El Luke, El Abuelo* and *El Joni*. This is going to happen to all the traitors and all those that support you. Sincerely, CPS."
- <u>Context</u>: Message left with at least four corpses on the federal highway from Cuernavaca to Acapulco.

## #1276

- <u>When</u>: April 6, 2010
- <u>Where</u>: Juitepec, Morelos
- <u>Text</u>: "The *Cártel Pacífico Sur* is an organization dedicated exclusively to the business of drugs. We never do harm to the families of Morelos or other states. The Boss of the Resistance strictly prohibits this. We never mess with people who live a normal life and who work honorably to sustain their family. The authorization has arrived straight from the boss."
- <u>Context</u>: Message displayed at an elementary school.

When:	April 3, 2010
Where:	Xochitepec, Morelos
<u>Text</u> :	"Barbie, we know you are in Xochitepec. You're not worth shit and neither is the
	president. Sincerely. La Empresa."
Context:	Message left by a bus terminal.

When:	April 7, 2010
Where:	Jiutepec, Morelos
<u>Text</u> :	Barby, you are a [sexist insult] Remember those that were your friends, damn
	treacherous dog. Watch your back Barby. Sincerely, La Empresa."
Context:	Message left at a football field.

## #1263

<u>When</u>: April 1, 2010

<u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca, Morelos

 <u>Text</u>: "Negro, I know you're the [homophobic insult] who recruits for [homophobic insult], El Grande, and El Azul. You escaped the other bums, but not me. None of them will help you out, soon enough you'll pay what you owe. Sincerely, Barbie."
 <u>Context</u>: Message displayed on a bridge.

## #2269

- <u>When</u>: April 21, 2010
- Where: Cuernavaca, Morelos
- <u>Text</u>: "Héctor Beltrán, these are not innocents like those you have killed who you claim are mine. I've got 25 of your guys tied up in Acapulco. I'm just interviewing them, and I'll toss them back to you in four days. Thanks for the weapons. Understand, don't lie to your people, you don't have Morelos or Guerrero [...] *Licenciado* Fernando López Salinas, we know you sent people to Acapulco, so you better watch yourself you [ethnic insult]. Let's see if you're as quick to betray Héctor as you were to betray Juan José Esparragoza, *El Azul*. Sincerely, Édgar Valdez Villarreal, Barbi, and *Los Piras*.
- <u>Context</u>: Message left in front of a bar.

## #2709

<u>When</u> :	May 5, 2010
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<u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca & Jiutepec, Morelos

- <u>Text</u>: "This is just an announcement, the authorities that support Édgar Valdez Villarreal 'Barbie' will end up just like this [...] Rogelio Sanchez Gatica, Juan Hosto Castañeda, Raúl Valenzuela Farfan, Oscar Montes Muñoz, Gabino Vilchiz Nuñez, workers of H-15, kidnappers, thieves, and workplace harassers. We have them in view. CPS."
- <u>Context</u>: Four identical messages displayed in two municipalities.

## #1325

<u>When</u>: July 13, 2010

<u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca, Morelos

<u>Text</u>: "Here is José Santos, '*El Michoacano*,' one of those that escaped from the Atlacholoaya prison. We're coming for all the rest, if the authorities cannot do it, we can. So that it's clear: all the dealers, thieves, and extortionists, all the traitors will

end up like this, even if the authorities and army help them. Barbie, find yourself another [homophobic insult], I've already killed this one. You missed them so much that you sprung them out of prison, you'll always be a homosexual and a traitor. CPS."

<u>Context</u>: One of two messages displayed from a bridge, with two bodies left at the site.

# #1326

<u>When</u>: July 13, 2010

- Where: Cuernavaca, Morelos
- <u>Text</u>: "Here is Héctor Díaz Peña, one of those that escaped from the Atlacholoaya prison. We're coming for all the rest, if the authorities cannot do it, we can. So that it's clear: all the dealers, thieves, and extortionists, all the traitors will end up like this, even if the authorities and army help them. Barbie, find yourself another [homophobic insult], I've already killed this one. You missed them so much that you sprung them out of prison, you'll always be a homosexual and a traitor. CPS."
- <u>Context</u>: Message displayed from a bridge, with a body left at the site.

# #2471

<u>When</u>: July 13, 2010

<u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca, Morelos

- Text: "Here is Jaime Cuevas Cruz, one of those that escaped from the Atlacholoaya prison. We're coming for all the rest, if the authorities cannot do it, we can. So that it's clear: all the dealers, thieves, and extortionists, all the traitors will end up like this, even if the authorities and army help them. Barbie, find yourself another [homophobic insult], I've already killed this one. You missed them so much that you sprung them out of prison, you'll always be a homosexual and a traitor. CPS."
- <u>Context</u>: One of two messages displayed from a bridge, with two bodies left at the site.

# #2442

<u>When</u>: April 27, 2010

<u>Where</u>: Cuernavaca, Morelos

- <u>Text</u>: "CPS to all the citizens of Morelos. CPS does not participate in telephone extortion, kidnapping or thefts, only to that which is our business. This makes as self-sufficient without having to go around extorting, like the people of the homosexual Edgar Valdez Villarreal (Barby) with the support of military authorities, who reaffirm this role now that they are making 24-hour patrols around Avenue 10th of April. Where two bodies were found. During the day they have attacked banks even though federal forces are active only a few blocks away. Because of all this, we request that the citizens denounce acts of extortion or theft to the corresponding authorities and demand that they do their jobs. All those authorities that support these illicit activities will be treated as enemies. Sincerely CPS. PS, we're locating this type of person and when we find them, the order is clear: execute and dismember."
- <u>Context</u>: Message displayed on a road between different neighborhoods.

#1361	
<u>When</u> :	September 2, 2010
Where:	Cuernavaca, Morelos
<u>Text</u> :	"We killed these three for stealing cars in México state, Morelos, and Mexico City
	[] Alejandro Lemus, Omar Pérez and Francisco Ugalde [] CPS."
Context:	Message with three corpses left by the highway to Mexico City.
#1368	
When:	September 26, 2010
Where:	Cuernavaca, Morelos
Text:	"Here are Misael, Luis Angel, Alexis and Jorge Antonio, those that rob pharmacies,
	ATMs, and cars. They just stole a wine-colored Journey, which they left in Brisas. All
	thieves will end up like this. Sincerely, CPS."

Context: Message with four corpses left by a highway.

# Case 3: The Caballeros Templarios, 2012

## #2611

Where: Michoacán; Guerrero; Guanajuato; México

Text: "Message for Mr. Felipe de Jesús Calderón Hinojosa: Mr. President, we would like to say, through these sheets, which are the only media available to us, that we were never in accord about the way you treated us. Perhaps your intention was good, but not the form in which you went about it. Nevertheless, and despite the human suffering that you caused us and the wounds that are still fresh, we want to tell you that we have learned a lot. And well, as a rebel or heroic *pueblo* we also recognize that we also harmed your PFPs – which they deserved. As a *pueblo* or a fraternity, we wanted to show respect, but you never gave us the time of day. Another thing, it would have been better for Michoacán if you, with the reach and power that you possess, you had treated your *pueblo* with love and justice. Before all else, and for everything, we ask for your forgiveness, and now that as of December we're not going to have you as our government, we would like to wish you, your family, and your cabinet, that things go well, as Vicente Fernández says, I hope that it all goes beautifully for you. CTGM *Caballeros Templarios*, Michoacán Guard."<sup>3</sup>

<u>Context</u>: At least 42 large banners and many smaller flyers and posters displayed across four states.

## #3515

When:November 27, 2012Where:Michoacán; Guanajuato

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> PFP stands for *Policía Federal Preventiva*, the federal police agency at the time.

- "Second letter to Mr. Citizen President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa: Mr. President, we Text: would like to say and to record that despite everything, you could count on us, and in truth, you do count on us. Get to know us and you will realize what you didn't appreciate for a long time, that in truth you have our support. Give yourself a chance to get to know the finest and best-intentioned people on the planet. Sincerely, the Michoacanos CTGM Caballeros Templarios Mexican Guard. Have a very merry Christmas."
- Context: At least 21 large banners displayed across two states.

#### When: December 19, 2012

Where: Michoacán; Guerrero

Text:

"Letter to our Mr. President of the Mexican Republic: Mr. President of the Mexican Republic, we the *Caballeros Templarios* extend to you the most cordial welcome. This, your *pueblo* of Mexico, we want to tell you that we are with you. We know of your work, and we have a great desire to help you so that our country can escape from the problems that your predecessor left us with... It is clear to us that because of a tantrum over presidential authority and an obsession with power, a war without quarter was declared, against anyone thought to be part of organized crime. We are not denying that this exists, on the contrary, we are immersed in this because of the way we have been categorized. Nevertheless, we wish to tell you that we are not this, but we are a group of men who are tired of so much injustice. We decided to leave our lands and take up arms to fight back, primarily against the terrible Zs and the other cartels that want to turn our state into their den, raping and murdering our daughters and sons, kidnapping honest men that make their money legally, creating businesses, strengthening the state, and creating jobs. Men who were threatened, kidnapped and stained, forcing them to leave this, their state... If you follow through in the promises made on your tour around the country, we will hand over our weapons and leave our security in your hands. We ask that the international community and the media be vigilante about our proposals and petitions. And if things do not go like this, we will return to defend our home and our people. Very well, if you need our help, Mr. President, to combat the cartels that are damaging not only the image of our country, but also assassinating many innocent people, as is the case with Miguel Ángel Treviño, alias Z40, and Rubén Nemesio Oseguera Cervantes, alias El Mencho, of the Jalisco Cartel, New Generation... We are not organized crime, Mr. President, make a full investigation of our work and you will realize this, but yes, we tell you truthfully, that the methods we use for facilitating our battle, are and will remain illegal, including smuggling contraband. We are at your orders to face them if you give the order. In this way, we do not ask for clemency or pardon, and if we have to, we will face the law so long as it is fairly and correctly applied. Well, we are men of our word and men of honor." At least four (probably many more) large banners displayed across two states. Context:

#### Part C. Campaigns of Narco-Messages

The table below lists 47 narco-message campaigns that appeared in Mexico between 2006 and 2012. I define campaigns in terms of three essential criteria. First, a campaign must have a consistent author. Sometimes this will be the exact same name signed at the end of all messages. A single campaign can include messages signed with different names, provided these are closely aligned, such as the Sinaloa Cartel and one of its leaders, Joaquín "Chapo" Guzmán. Second, a campaign must have a consistent theme, which recurs across all messages. This is necessary for distinguishing between overlapping campaigns undertaken by the same authors, such as the two campaigns by the Gulf Cartel in September and October of 2008. Third, a campaign must have a clear timeframe. Within that timeframe, narco-messages might not appear on most days, but I take a full month without a message by the same author and addressing the same theme as an indication that the campaign has ended. If the same author later publicizes messages with a similar theme, this marks a new campaign. In addition to these criteria, I set a minimum threshold of 6 messages for a campaign.

These criteria require careful reading in order to identify campaigns of messages. The distribution of messages in time and space is not sufficient to identify a campaign. Sometimes multiple, rival campaigns occur simultaneously, such as the four competing campaigns in Guerrero in August 2011. In other cases, the same criminal actor may have distinct but concurrent campaigns, such as the Caballeros Templarios in November 2012. Only by reading the content of messages is it possible to identify patterns in authorship or themes. Differences here are sometimes subtle. For example, the *Cartel del Pacífico Sur* sometimes called itself *La* 

#### Criminal Communication Appendix

*Empresa* (the Business), but the *Guerreros Unidos* also sometimes referred themselves as *La Nueva Empresa* (the New Business). This was a strategic move to usurp a name with local salience, but the *Cartel del Pacífico Sur* and *Guerreros Unidos* were rival groups and thus this name needed to be coded differently depending on context.

This list is not comprehensive. The narco-message data is not the universe of cases of messaging, and I do not have full transcriptions for many messages. Other campaigns are probably contained within this missing data. For example, my data indicate that the Familia Michoacana displayed a large number of messages in Guanajuato in February 2010. This looks likely to be one large campaign, but cannot be confirmed as no transcriptions are available. Even where data is available, there may be connections that I do not have sufficient knowledge to decode. Many group and individual names appear in narco-messages, and it is quite likely that in some cases a local audience would recognize different names as referring to the same state or criminal actor.

Having compiled this list of campaigns, I coded the language of messages within each campaign. It should be noted that this coding attended to language patterns only; it did not consider the sequencing of messaging, nor the wider context in which they appeared. It is therefore a much rougher cut than the more rigorous analysis in the three case studies. Based on this coding, I classified seven campaigns (about 15%) as projecting the image of the Ruler, 18 campaigns (38%) as projecting the image of the Scourge, and 14 campaigns (30%) as projecting the image of the Guardian.

This leaves eight campaigns not classified as projecting any of the images. For six of these campaigns, the data is incomplete, and I thus do not have a clear sense of the main image

being projected. The final two campaigns appear to be outliers. In one case, *La Familia Michoacana* announces that it will disband. While the messages still project some features of the Guardian, the overall image is (uniquely) of criminal rulers peacefully relinquishing power. The other outlying campaign involves the *Caballeros Templarios* declaring a temporary pause in conflict while the Pope visits Mexico. The self-image here has some echo of the Guardian, but is focused more on respect for pontiff than *pueblo*.

Dates	Author	States	Image
2006, JulyDec.	Familia Michoacana	Michoacán	Ruler
2008, May	Beltrán Leyvas	Sinaloa	Ruler
2008, MayAug.	La Linea	Chihuahua	Scourge
2008, Aug.	Cártel del Golfo	14 states	Guardian
2008, Sept	Familia Michoacana	Michoacán	Guardian
2008, Oct.	Cártel del Golfo	13 states	Scourge
2008, Oct.	Cártel del Golfo	13 states	Guardian
2008, Dec.	Cártel del Golfo	9 states	Guardian
2009, May	Cártel del Golfo	9 states	Guardian
2009, Oct.	Familia Guerrerense	Guerrero	Ruler
2009, OctDec.	Arturo Beltrán Leyva	Morelos, Guerrero	Ruler
2009, Nov.	Familia Michoacana	Michoacán	Guardian
2010, Feb.	Zetas	8 states	Guardian
2010, Feb.	Zetas	8 states	Scourge
2010, March	Fusión de Carteles	5 states	Scourge
2010, MarchAug.	Cártel del Pacífico Sur	Morelos	Scourge
2010, JulySept.	Cártel del Milenio	Jalisco	Unclear
2010, SeptNov.	Hector Beltrán Leyva & Zetas	Guerrero, Morelos	Scourge
2010, OctNov.	Cártel Independiente de Acapulco	Guerrero	Unclear
2010, Nov.	Zetas	7 states	Guardian
2010, Dec2011, Jan.	Familia Michoacana	Michoacán	Other

 Table 4. List of narco-message campaigns (2006-2012) coded for projected self-image.

2011, FebMay	La Barredora	Guerrero	Scourge
2011, MarchApril	Cártel de Sinaloa/Chapo Guzmán	Guerrero	Scourge
2011, MarchJuly	Caballeros Templarios	Michoacán	Ruler
2011, MarchApril	Fuerzas Especiales de los Zetas	Quintana Roo, Tabasco	Scourge
2011, July	Zetas	7 states	Guardian
2011, JulyAug.	Comando del Diablo	Guerrero	Scourge
2011, AugSept.	Hector Beltrán & Zetas	Guerrero	Scourge
2011, AugSept.	La Barredora	Guerrero	Unclear
2011, Aug.	Chapo Guzmán	Guerrero	Guardian
2011, Sept.	Caballeros Templarios	Michoacán, Guanajuato	Unclear
2011, SeptOct.	Nueva Cártel de Juarez	Chihuahua	Scourge
2011, Nov.	La Fantasma	Guerrero	Ruler
2011, Dec.	Miguel Treviño Morales	Tamaulipas	Unclear
2012, Jan.	Caballeros Templarios	Michoacán	Guardian
2012, FebApril	Cártel de Jalisco Nueva Generación (& allies)	Guerrero	Scourge
2012, March	Cártel de Jalisco Nueva Generación	Jalisco	Guardian
2012, March	Caballeros Templarios	Guanajuato	Other
2012, May	Zetas	3 states	Guardian
2012, MayJuly	Guerreros Unidos	Morelos, Guerrero	Unclear
2012, MayJuly	Cremas & Capi Sosa	Guerrero	Ruler
2012, JulyNov.	Beltrán Leyvas & Zetas	Guerrero	Scourge
2012, Sept.	Zetas	Zacatecas	Scourge
2012, Sept.	Cártel del Golfo	7 states	Scourge
2012, SeptNov.	Caballeros Templarios	3 states	Scourge
2012, NovDec.	Caballeros Templarios	4 states	Guardian
2012, Dec.	Cártel del Golfo	Zacatecas	Scourge