Decline of collective national identities, imaginaries and social representations

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ABSTRACT

The main thesis this work puts forth and argues for is that currently we witness fracturing and declining processes that are due, mainly, to the emergence and propagation of individualism, the normalisation of merchandise and services, and the standardization of ideologies and culture. Emotions play an essential role in the fracturing and deteriorating processes of nationalist identities and imaginaries. These processes are discussed by retrieving the approaches of Dominique Moïsi's work *The Geopolitics of Emotion* and Tzvetan Todorov's *The Fear of Barbarians* as guiding lines. Concomitantly, new identities emerge as a product of globalization and a civilizing crisis. Certain features of these causal phenomena are discussed and analysed, considering them the original sources that produce the contents of social representations, "multiple identities", and recently created imaginaries. The thesis is brought forth that the knowledge of common sense has been altered in its two basic processes: anchorage and objectification. This is due to new forms of communication spreading worldwide and the new contents that are produced in social relations within groups, such as individualism and mercantile mediations in subjectivities, as well as the cultural standardization that accompanies the production and consumption of new merchandise in international exchange. The conclusion is that there is need to revisit

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the theory of social representations by bringing up the problems of its basic processes and its relation to imaginaries and collective identities.

Common sense knowledge has ceased to be a process in which reality is assimilated through stable thoughts for prolonged periods, unchanging even for significantly prolonged periods. Similarly, groups in societies sharing an identity through common thoughts are overcome by ceaseless waves of information that not only widen their views, but also create new and ever changing "virtual communities". Opinions and other communicative phenomena with short duration and little transcendence are attributed to the construction and genesis of social representations. We are facing, then, new phenomena in human communication and the generation of common sense knowledge. These phenomena call for new analytical approaches within social representation theory. Such changes and the new challenges they encompass were foreseen by Moscovici (1998) years ago, when he asked himself whether social representations were reaching their end with the overwhelming development of new communication technologies. This question remains current in face of communication and information phenomena involving electronic devices, which have been rarely empirically studied. Originally, Moscovici referred to social representations as a product of modernity. Thus, it seems appropriate to question ourselves: how does this phenomenon take place in postmodern times?

A number of problems were approached in the development of social representations theory: the genesis and development of social representations (Jodelet, 1989), their structure, functions, and relation to social practices (Abric, 1994; Flament & Rouquette, 2003), their epistemological status (Jodelet, 1989; Marková, 1996), and their original sources, such as the "Thẹmata" (Moscovici & Vignaux, 1994). At present, problems tackled by the theory need updating in light of new phenomena in human societies that exhibit profound transformations in the form and content of thoughts, representations, and imagination, and indeed of communication.

These changes can be identified in human communication and beyond. Unheard-of social manifestations and expressions, allowing for the observation of alterations and transformations in the traditional ways in which every day realities are perceived, known, and interpreted, emerge worldwide. This is due to the accelerated changes that daily life undergoes both in cities, great and small, and in rural environments to a lesser degree. Contradictions of different magnitude appear in everyday life, with clashes between traditional and new forms of thought. These situations call for multiple perspectives within and outside the psychosocial theories that have hitherto been useful in understanding reality. This paper is placed within this framework.

TRANSFORMATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITIES, IMAGINARIES, AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS: THE CONTEXT.

Social representations theory, which is currently used to explain diverse phenomena of social subjectivities in psychology and other social disciplines, as well as in ongoing research in diverse applied fields, is facing new challenges in contemporary societies. These challenges are related to the appearance of new social objects, devices that mediate human communication, new social practices and relationships between individuals, groups and nations. In short, challenges regarding a new framework of subjectivities and social thinking schemes.

The main thesis in this article is that we presently attend processes in which national collective identities are fractured and declining as new ones are created. As a part of these processes, national imaginaries are influenced by the appearance of new meanings, and, concurrently, social representations not only transform their contents or add new representational objects, but also are altered in their basic processes, anchorage and objectification. Anchorage processes have moved from a classic translation of linguistic meaning to a dominating intervention of emotional and impulsive elements. This presents an epistemological challenge which, despite its lack of novelty in social representations theory (Marková, 1996; 2003), acquires particular features according to the kind of concepts that it aims to articulate.

The challenge of articulating studies regarding imaginaries, identities and social representations is to identify the articulating points beyond the gnosiological level. We should

include empirical articulating points that allow the discovery of the way in which subjective phenomena are transformed as a consequence of the "civilization crisis" (Buey, 2009). Together, the facts and phenomena caused by this crisis constitute the big picture in which we can find the sets of meanings, relations and articulations with studies of the imaginaries, identities, and social representations.

There are many paths to follow as we attempt to compare, amalgamate, or simply relate theoretical concepts or analytical categories as we face the demand to understand new world realities. To do this implies a need for the melding of diverse theoretical concepts and categories from social, human, and even artistic disciplines referring to a single event, phenomenon, or process. An epistemologically fruitful way to do so is to go over hermeneutic issues concerning a particular phenomenon or problem. In this way, concepts and their heuristic power are set in motion. Such an analysis is provided here for the notions related to imaginaries, identities, and social representations.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND SUPRANATIONAL IDENTITIES TRANSCENDING FRONTIERS AND CREATING NEW VIRTUAL SPACES.

Let us start here with the phenomenon of national collective identities. Why is it said that we are currently living a weakening of identity referents that, somehow, were the base of individual and collective meaning of life? In a general sense, we live in a civilization crisis (Buey, 2009). This crisis encompasses economic, environmental, alimentary and spiritual aspects. Furthermore, it is a source of cultural transformations through which imaginaries, collective identities and social representations are transformed. The worldwide economic crisis is characterised, unlike former crises, by being longstanding and stable, not cyclical (Estay & Álvarez, 2011). The environmental crisis produced by global warming results in diverse consequences: meteorological cycles, melting of the polar glaciers, deforestation, increasing air pollution, greenhouse effect, and other phenomena which, in short, entail the destruction and unbalance of many human habitats. The alimentary crisis can be observed through the existence of famine caused by food shortages in many places of the world in spite of the availability of technology for the production of sufficient produce. The spiritual crisis is manifested as an abandonment of

values and the neglect of meanings about life, conviviality and the creative potential of human beings. This abandonment occurs in favour of alienating values and meanings.

Identity transformation processes are contradictory. While certain structures and relations crumble, other structures are created and novel bonds are established. Though fragile, many of the organising forms derived from collective and social identities used maintain a certain social cohesion. Currently, we observe the breaching of a great number of institutional and symbolic mediations, which result in fluid social subjectivities. This is what Bauman (2013) has deemed the liquidity of culture within modern societies.

Social identities are an example of the mentioned permanent structures, or group of relations, which lasted for long periods without great alterations. These were never fixed or crystallised, but rather inherently flowing without risk of fracturing their structure. Nowadays, however, they are decomposed and recomposed, fragmented, and generative of new identities. Collective and individual subjectivities are a wide umbrella whose extremes go from homogenisation to fragmentation. This is also to social representations and to the ample spectrum of symbolic constructs which are part of imaginaries.

Traditional referents which produced relative social cohesion in countries throughout the world in the post-war –i.e. the notions of nation, equity, justice, equality, pertinence, freedom, etc.– are becoming "empty referents", completely distant and disconnected from current collective realities. These have become only discursive forms. Currently, relations between nations and regions of the world jeopardise their identities through emotional elements, as described further ahead in this paper.

Going back in history, we can appreciate that national identities –at least in Latin American countries– were strongly linked to each nation's State. In this way, national identities were the product of the emergence of nation-states in their independence processes. One of the essential elements in the projects to build new nations was the promotion of national identity. Diverse cultural policies were undertaken with the goal of promoting and structuring said identities[1]. However, with the appearance of globalisation, neoliberalism, and the transformation

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[1] In the case of Mexico, the processes generating and developing national identity in its history as an independent country are quite clear. The war of independence (1810-1821) achieved economic and political autonomy from the Spanish Crown, but it did not immediately lead to the creation of a proper national identity. This identity was first manifested towards 1862-1867 through a long process. At this point, Mexicans achieved unity against the French invaders and the monarchic state that had been imposed with the arrival of Emperor Maximilian I of Mexico

of a social State into an administrative State (and its many faces such as the business State and narco-State), national identities are enduring fragmentation processes. Concomitantly, local identities are resurging to take centre stage. The decline of the nation states causes the breakdown of national identities and the resurgence of local identities. However, at the same time we experience the construction of new worldwide identities and, certainly, the resurgence and intervention of religious or racial identities –and their fundamentalist expressions even to the point of violence against "others".

National identity is an imaginary construct whose origin and transformation is particular to each country. It is a product of the appearance of nation states. Two phenomena overlap as the imaginary unity of the nation breaks down and the identity network's social representations are diversified. On the one hand, the collective identities associated with the prototypical nation features are maintained. On the other hand, collective identities related to borderless cultural features are constructed. Some examples of such identities, found throughout the world, are ecologists, feminists, and "third world-ists" who share perspectives on reality, beliefs and values notwithstanding their nationality. To some, these processes are recognised as the creation of "multiple identities". Collective identities under construction are moved in the direction of both identification and denial, distancing and rejection in the face of groups, cultures, and nations that are considered threatening.

Emotions play a major role In the process of fragmentation and decline of nationalistic imaginaries. Let us look at two pieces, published in recent years, which make reference to these phenomena in particular. The first is the book published by Dominique Moïsi (2009), *The Geopolitics of Emotions*. The second is a text by Todorov (2013) titled *The Fear of Barbarians*, in which Moïsi's typology is taken up and adapted to new analytic categories. To Moïsi, emotions are so important as to have reshaped the geopolitics of the world. Three emotions dominate the world, namely, fear, humiliation and hope. The West defines its identities through

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(Second Mexican Empire). Years back, Mexicans lacked a national identity, which benefited the North American invasion in 1846-1848. The national identity emerged in the clamour of wars against invaders and, at a slower pace, through the challenging establishment of the Republic as a National State. Two defining moments in the history of independent Mexico, in which national identity was promoted by the State, were Benito Juarez's educational project of secular schooling, and the socialist education project of President Lazaro Cardenas during Post-Revolution years (1934-1940). On the other hand, during the 30 years of Porfiriato (rule of Porfirio Diaz), the dominating elites had an identity with strong referents in French culture. After Porfirio Diaz's regime was brought down, the identity of these groups was displaced to American culture, a phenomenon lasting to date.

fear. This is the fear of "barbarians", fear of cultures other than themselves and that are threatening. Muslim peoples, on the other hand, have deeply rooted feelings of humiliation and exclusion. Meanwhile, Asian cultures appear to be hopeful societies in light of their remarkable economic development. Moïsi (2009, p. 42, author's translation) points out that: "in the era of globalisation, the relation with the Other has become more fundamental than ever". Indeed, every national identity is a positioning in relation to Others. This Other is, in the context of national identities, other nations, but it could also mean different religious or ethnic groups. Positionings vis-à-vis such groups have strong emotional content.

In his work, Todorov recognises an abandonment of collective identities among most of the countries in the world, even when it is not necessarily the case with all citizens within a country or all of the countries. He goes on to recognise that collective identities are diverse, and differentiates cultural affiliation, civic identity, and adhesion to a political or moral ideal. This makes evident the conflicts that occasionally emerge among these. There is a plurality of cultures within each nation and, as a consequence, distinct cultural affiliations. Individuals, then, are multicultural; their identities are the result of the encounter between different collective identities. Cultures undergo constant transformation; however, globalisation affects the arrangements established between individual and collective identities by introducing a powerful mediator: the mercantile notion. "The contemporary age, in which collective identities need to transform at a quicker pace, is also an age in which groups adopt an increasingly defensive attitude and fiercely reclaim their original identity" (Todorov, 2013:90, author's translation). This is a source of conflict.

If culture is a constructive phenomenon, the creations of new cultural features fluctuate between universal traits and local, deeply rooted identity elements. Social representations are in a very dynamic state here. As Todorov (2013, p. 90, author's translation) points out:

> *(...) culture is the image that society forms of itself. Individuals attempt to identify themselves with this representation or strive to free themselves from it. Such a representation does not automatically derive from facts themselves (...) Representations are not mere reflections of facts or statistical approaches, but the results of choices and combinations among many possibilities. The internal hierarchy of the different elements of a given culture is determined or modified*

depending on conflicts between groups, which can transfer them to society, or those between society and its external interlocutors. Thus, religion becomes a determining feature when the invading neighbour professes a different one (...) It is evident that representations are determined by practice, but they also exert considerable power over behaviour. They do so by becoming norms that society explicitly adopts, but also by becoming images of the world albeit incomplete and inaccurate one, but one that is shared by the majority of the population. We know all perception is in itself a construct and that it is not because the objective world does not exist, but because it is necessary to pick between innumerable properties according to pre-established schemes to identify objects and events that are presented "right under our noses". Perception always merges "realities" and "fictions". These schemes are, in turn, ancient selective constructs, since the past image influences in current perception"

The conflict between traditions and cultural heritage of the southern countries and the new identity challenges introduced by dominating cultures of hegemonic liberal capitalist countries is a source for old and new objects of social representations and meanings for imaginaries. How will these tensions in social thought and subjectivities lead to new imaginary profiles, supranational identities, and objects of social representation? It is hard to foresee, but surely such tensions and their solution will answer Touraine's (1997) inquiry: Can we live together, alike and different? And, we might add, can we do so ceasing to reproduce denial, exclusion, annihilation, and extermination of the "Others"?

The increase in the migration flow from poor to high-income and high standard of living rekindles old conflicts such as racism, discrimination and xenophobia. The "Other" is no longer far away, but present in shared spaces and territories. The clash of cultural traditions, ways of life, and identities is a permanent source of conflict. Identities are disrupted by the presence of "others", in both one's own and others' territories. The growing migration flows from southern to northern countries during the last two decades have revitalised old ideological issues concerning the value of lifestyles. This profoundly contradicts the trends to homogenisation of cultures leading to a universal "culture of consumption".

RESTRUCTURING THE WORLDWIDE PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM GENERATES NEW IDENTITIES AND LIFE IMAGINARIES AS IT ALTERS THE TEMPORALITY AND CONTENT OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS.

It is no longer possible to deny the cultural diversity within and outside of single countries, even though it is still hard to identify, recognise, and accept the multiple identities of individuals or nations. Fittingly, some years ago the concept of "multiculturalism" was coined. However, it has only functioned as an ideology that allows neoliberalism to neutralise diverse collective identities opposing globalisation and neoliberalism, as well as the globalising expansion of the capital (Lazo, 2010).

The genesis of supranational identities, such as those of "alter-globalisation", "globali-phobics", "occupy", "anarchists" and others are movements that illustrate the contradiction and complexity of this phenomenon. Nonetheless, they express identities that clearly transcend national frontiers. New spaces, no longer limited by territory, have emerged allowing the appearance of such identities. The virtual space (whose ontological nature is under discussion; does it truly constitute a "space"?) is the place for the genesis of trans-frontier identities, where language is not an obstacle, for it is replaced by images and memes (see below).

At some point in its development, social representations theory explored its links with culture (Jodelet & Guerrero, 2000). However, despite the fact that many studies are immersed in the cultural contexts of the countries in which they are carried out, this line of enquiry did not receive the required attention. Furthermore, "culture" is without a doubt a topic of great importance in the context of a globalising world in which cultures are confronted as we move forth into the production of a universal culture based, mainly, in current manufacture of merchandise and services. All merchandise and services contain not only the required knowledge to produce it (know-how), but also the semiosis of the culture that designed and created it. This is a great area for the study of imaginaries, social representations, and identities that, to date, remains unexplored.

HUMAN COMMUNICATION HAS TRANSFORMED DEEPLY, THEREBY IMPACTING ON THE GENERATIVE PROCESSES OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS.

The restructuring of the world's productive system moves toward a de-territorialisation in which a new international division of work superposes imaginary frontiers over national frontiers. As Castells (2004) puts it, the space understood as a funding dimension for the construction of identity and belonging conflicts with virtual spaces conceived as constructed fluxes.

The predominant situation of financial capital being above industrial capital is more informational and speculative than it is productive. As a result social structures become disarticulated and thus the "old social order" changes into a "new social order".

In relation to merchandise production and consumption, production time has been considerably reduced. This has been noted by several authors as has the fact that we currently live vertiginously. Merchandise shelf life and time of production have significantly shortened, which connects with their compulsive and unlimited consumption.

The vertiginous nature of time is also felt in everyday life. We seem to be living much faster in all areas of social and cultural life. "Productivity" is now a demand that has become a referent in all areas of social, productive, institutional and daily life.

What is happening to our imaginaries, identities, and social representations with this "accelerated time" framework? Vital time, in which recognition and significance is given to the "Other", is damaged by the instantaneity generated by the expected times of production and consumption. These, in turn, are brought about by capitalism, which has altered its rhythm of accumulation and reproduction. The theoretical challenges to understand such processes are enormous. Our current theories have been exceeded by recent events.

With the idea of "progress" a linear timeline is imposed and history is denied. In the capitalist imaginary, the idea that welfare times are to come –both in an individual and a social or even national scale– is propagated. This idea can be seen in mass media in a repetitive and permanent way. Heeding the notion of linear time, "life and career plans" have been invented and offered in educational and business media. Tangible everyday realities (including growing unemployment, depreciation of the acquisitive value of salary, uncertain employment, outsourcing, exclusion and marginalization) that several people experience throughout the globe make social mobility impossible. Thus, routine is lived in cyclic, short-termed temporal blocks, which generates stress, despondency, alienation, incredulity, despair and pessimism.

Events in the world occur in their own time, but the awareness of their existence now happens instantaneously and universally. Information is available at the very moment of these occurrences. This fact alters the time-lapse in which social groups "anchor" and "objectify" said events: the production of social representations. The event is no longer "metabolised", but only reproduced or judged and immediately discarded. The loss of communicative practices in social spaces within everyday life –along with their substitution with rash, short-lived thoughts– does not allow reflection or the creation of representations that might be shared. The figurative spheres of social representations become, thus, unprompted.

INDIVIDUALISM DISPLACES CULTURAL CODES THAT SUPPORTED SOCIAL COHESION AND IDENTITIES.

It is widely recognised and proven that individualism, as ideology and practice, has become the dominant trend in most countries worldwide. It has become clear that the strengthening of individualism results oppressive to the development of collective identities (Bajoit, 2009). We observe a displacement of concepts shared by ample sectors of society, which concerned the role of public institutions in the creation of welfare, by new concepts that reclaim personal efforts in the achievement of such welfare or in accomplishing certain social mobility within institutional hierarchies. The search for personal recognition, standing out, and being distinctive within a group or a community is accompanied by images of personal success, personal achievements, values associated to effort and personal attributes and distinction (Bourdieu, 2003). These new concepts have surpassed the mere propagation across society. They are now becoming so natural that they are integrated to the alienated sphere of everyday life, especially among the younger generations.

Mercantile ideology is another inexhaustible source of symbols, images, and representations that is spread out among society and which disrupts every scale of national cultures. Along with individualism, as practice, it expands to all spheres of social life. Identity referents such as participation and solidarity, which kept social bonds of cohesion among groups, are substituted by referents based on values such as convenience, personal benefit and competence. These are the concepts that hold the market and commercial relations.

In the field of human communication, new and complex phenomena have taken place. Distances and time in communication have been considerably reduced, even to the point that we can communicate in real time to the furthest spots in the planet. Through the massive use of communication and information technologies, human life in great cities and small populations alike has been radically transformed in its communicative processes. Technology precedes knowledge of its impact. We do not know or fully comprehend its incidence in other spheres of social life, such as education, politics and culture. This, in turn, would affect the everyday life of social groups. Let us simply look at the current developments of communication in social networking.

Temporality, profoundly necessary for human groups to anchor in representations the new realities they face, has been broken. Consequently, anchoring is emotional, not rational. There is no time for assimilation, no time to operate the anchoring process along with experiences. The collective process of representation is fractured and so the generation of "common sense" knowledge is obstructed. This is troubling, as "common sense" knowledge is highly necessary and important to communication and coexistence, but above all, for the cultural reproduction of human life. Common sense knowledge, a practical and useful tool for everyday life, ceases to be constructed opening the doors to new and unprecedented forms of epistemological relation to the world. *Memes*[2], for example, which, for the most part, leave no room for reflection while providing an affective-emotional and contemplative content. Although this is not to say that certain memes do imply some previous knowledge or are able to create new knowledge.

We are living through transformations in linguistic, communicational and representational forms and codes that we are not yet able to understand. Certainly, these phenomena directly affect the identities and identity processes of human groups. The same does not hold for imaginaries, since the relation of what happens in the world and imaginaries is not an epistemological relation and is not given in a sense of impact. Imaginaries move in magmatic fluids, nourished by the very images that are produced, those that exist, and archetypical images.

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[2] "Memes" are units of information. They may be presented as an idea, an image, or the combination of both. The concept is used in virtual communication; it originated in molecular biology, where it refers to the units of genetic information that participate in hereditary processes. The concept was introduced by R. Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1976.

NEW OBJECTS OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATION ARE GENERATED IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION AND HEALTH.

New social realities impose the generation of new objects of social representation. Let us look at two fields of great productivity in social representations studies in Latin America: health and education. In the first, we note the existence of new diseases, afflictions, medical technologies and objects of representation. Furthermore, the old schemes in which common sense about health and disease was produced are still applied in situations in which the functioning phenomena – institutional realities of the health sector, the new technologies – are insufficient to understand them and to derive new sanitary and remedial practices.

This situation is similar to that of education, where great, gradual, and premature transformations are happening due to a series of factors. Among these, the massive incorporation of information and communication technologies into the processes of teaching-learning-evaluation; the values crisis among students and teachers, which shakes the very bases of the mission and vision of institutions; the growing violence in classrooms (bullying); the shift of psycho-pedagogic and educative referents toward productivity, quality and certification(Prado de Souza, 2011). This situation is leading to new objects of representation, a new imaginary related to school, education, and knowledge, and the creation of new identity referents. Knowledge produced in the field of social representations, imaginaries and identities from previous decades are no longer enough, nor are they the same, to understand what is happening to social thought and subjectivities both in actors in this educational field and those who continue carrying out studies under traditional parameters.

SUBJECTIVITY AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION: NEW CHALLENGES FOR SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS THEORY.

All the facts described above lead us to support that our objects of study in relation to social thought, subjectivities, emotion, cultural production and reproduction, local and world identities from the viewpoint of diverse theories –the imaginaries, social representations and collective identities– all point in the same direction. The multiple and varied transformations at work in societies throughout the world emerge, on the one hand, as a consequence of globalisation and

all it implies and, on the other hand, because of the civilisation crisis in which societies are immersed.

Given the transitive, highly complex, and contradictory nature of these processes, they are far from being understood by any theory from scientific disciplines or philosophical, humanist or scientific school of thought. The contributions and knowledge that each study makes in different scales and fields, must be arranged in some known or newly created *comprehensibility diagram* (Berthelot 1990; 2001). Thus, we may have a guide for their understanding. Otherwise, we are faced with a vast field of fragmented, unarticulated, and incomprehensible knowledge.

The challenges that we put forward here –under the need for articulation of the findings in imaginaries, social representations and national identities – can be faced without the need to come up with some conceptual model that establishes relations between these three notions. Such relations could be of an inclusive, relational or differential nature; that is, they could be the amalgamation or epistemological hybridisation of the concepts. Indeed, what is needed is the dialogical activation between those interested and concerned with the great and profound problems of contemporary societies.

Social representations theory needs to be revisited in order to be revitalized. The phenomenon of social representation undergoes substantive transformations during its basic processes of creation (anchoring and objectification) and contents. This is because human communication, the space in which social representations are produced, has been radically transformed. In the same way, the sources that produce representations revolve around two great polarities: globalisation and civilisation crisis. Perhaps, the emphasis of our studies needs to go from asking about the realities being represented by human groups in societies, to asking whether and how they are imagining a different world.

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ALFREDO GUERRERO TAPIA has been acquainted with the Theory of Social Representations since the 1980s. After ten years, he met Professor Denise Jodelet, with whom he trained and co-edited the book "Develando la Cultura. Estudios en Representaciones Sociales" [Revealing Culture. Studies on Social Representations] (2000). Under the auspices of the *Maison des Sciences de L'Homme* and the *Laboratoire de Psychologie Sociale* in Paris, he took part in the international research group that developed the study on Latin American imaginaries and social representations. This research was reported in the book "Imaginarios sociales y Representaciones Sociales" [Social imaginaries and Social Representations] (2007). Professor Guerrero Tapia is a founding member of the Mexican Centre for the Studies of Social Representations and of the Mexican National Network of Researchers on Social Representations, which bring together Mexican researchers. He is currently developing research projects focused on social representations, imaginaries and archetypes of violence.