

The violation of human rights in the struggle against drug cartels in Mexico during the presidency of Felipe Calderón

Alejandro Anaya Muñoz¹

International Studies Division

CIDE Región Centro

Introduction

The central characteristic of the security strategy implemented by the government of Felipe Calderón (December 2006 to November 2012) was the extreme militarization of its law enforcement actions against drug cartels. In other words, the Calderón government put the armed forces at the forefront of its efforts to tackle the ever-growing power of drug cartels in Mexico (Anaya Muñoz 2012, 122-127). From a human rights perspective, a militarized response to public security threats is by its very nature problematic—that is, a militarized approach to law enforcement is bound to generate significant levels of violations of human rights. According to international human rights Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) this is what has happened in Mexico in recent years; particularly after Calderón took office and implemented his aforementioned militarized security strategy. The dire consequences for human rights of Calderón’s “war against drugs” have been documented in different reports produced by NGOs like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (Amnesty International 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Human Rights Watch 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011b and 2011b).

¹ I would like to acknowledge and thank the highly valuable research assistance by Julieta Pérez and Karen Silva, at CIDE Región Centro.

These reports offer narrative accounts of the situation, based on a quite flexible mix of quantitative data and qualitative information. However, these narrative reports do not offer systematic quantitative data that allow us to generate a database on the levels of human rights violations that have taken place in the current “war against drugs” in Mexico.

Alas, such a systematic database of human rights violations in Mexico is not available in any other source either. In this sense, the purpose of this paper is to offer a systematic set of indicators regarding the violation of human rights perpetrated in the struggle against drug cartels in Mexico during the presidency of Felipe Calderón. The goal is not to “count” all the “events” and thus to generate a comprehensive “registry” of all the cases of violation of human rights that took place. Given the nature of human rights violations (mainly perpetrated by agents of the state), one could hardly expect that those very actors that are responsible for the violations kept administrative records of their wrongdoings. For example, one could hardly expect that the General Attorney’s Office (*Procuraduría General de la República*, PGR) would generate and make publicly available a reliable, comprehensive and systematic database of all the cases of torture or enforced disappearances that it could record. In a similar sense, a national, periodic and statistically representative survey designed to collect data on the actual occurrence of violations of human rights in Mexico has not been done.² In this way, this paper is based on the assumption that we lack an ideal database that systematically depicts the occurrence of violations of human rights in Mexico. The paper thus offers a systematic record of what may be the best *proxies* available—the complaints received and the recommendations

² The First Survey in Federal Detention Centers (*Primera Encuesta en Centros Federales de Readaptación Social*) does offer exceptional information regarding the violation of due process rights in Mexico (Pérez Correa and Azaola 2012; see particularly Chapter IV).

issued by Mexico's National Human Rights Commission (*Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos*, CNDH).

The key advantages of focusing on information from the CNDH is that it generates systematic and public reports of the complaints it receives and the recommendations it issues. In this sense, it is possible to produce time-series of data that allow for a comparative exercise through time. Of course, the number of complaints received by the CNDH and the number of recommendations it adopts are not a perfect reflection of what happens throughout the country in practice. Not every victim of the violation of human rights in Mexico necessarily files a complaint. In the same sense, the “productivity” (that is the number of recommendations it adopts) of an institution like the CNDH can change for many reasons; as well as its agenda, or the issues or situations it decides to prioritize. The complaints and “productivity” patterns can (and quite likely do) vary independently of the actual or real patterns of the violation of human rights in practice. Indeed, the CNDH indicators are imperfect; but they might as well be the best we've got.

In this paper, the reader will find a systematic record of the complaints received and the recommendations issued by the CNDH regarding the violations of human rights perpetrated by members of the Ministry of National Defense (*Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional*, SEDENA), the Ministry of the Navy (*Secretaría de Marina*, SEMAR), the Federal Police (*Policía Federal Preventiva* [PFP] or *Policía Federal* [PR]) and the PGR in the 2007 to 2012 period. In comparison to other exercises that register the recommendations issued by the CNDH, the data presented here was generated through the review of the text of each recommendation, which allows us to identify those that are actually related to situations that took place in the framework of the struggle against drug cartels. Not all the

recommendations addressed at SEDENA or SEMAR, for example, are necessarily related to such situations. Some of them are related, for instance, to the right to health of soldiers with HIV. The data presented here are thus more reliable than a simple count of all the recommendations issued by the CNDH in a given period against a given governmental body.

The first section of this paper offers and analyses the data on the complaints registered by the CNDH, identifying the key tendencies and some patterns in the presumed violations perpetrated by SEDENA, SEMAR, the PF and PGR. The second section focuses on the recommendations issued by the CNDH. In addition to trying to identify the same kind of patterns and tendencies, the paper traces the states of the Mexican federation in which violations took place and the type of violations that were perpetrated by each of the government entities under scrutiny. The paper concludes stressing its key findings and proposing some lines for future research.

1. Complaints received by the CNDH

As can be seen in Table 1.1 and in graphs 1.1 and 1.2, the first thing to note in the patterns of complaints received by the CNDH is that SEDENA was, by far, the government entity that generated more human rights complaints in Mexico in the period under study. This coincides with the leading role given to the army by President Calderón and with its wide and massive involvement in the struggle against drugs. According to these data, SEDENA was then the prime violator of human rights in Calderón's "war against drugs".

The complaints against SEDENA increased considerably as of 2008, when its involvement in the struggle against drug cartels started to acquire greater salience, both in depth and breadth. Though to a much lesser extent, the complaints against SEMAR also started to increase importantly in 2010 (both in absolute and relative terms), after this branch of the armed forces became more active in the struggle against drug cartels. So this CNDH data suggest that, as they became more involved in fighting drug cartels, both SEDENA and SEMAR started to perpetrate more violations of human rights.

The peak in the complaints against SEDENA (in relative and absolute terms) was registered in 2009. After that year, however, the number of complaints against this government entity started to decline, particularly in relative terms (that is, as a percentage of the overall number of complaints received by the CNDH). The sharp decline in the relative number of complaints against SEDENA observed after 2009 (see Graph 1.2) can be explained on the bases of a quite sharp increase in the overall number of complaints received by the CNDH.³ However, the (more modest) decline in the absolute number of complaints against SEDENA suggests that the military somehow managed to stabilize the rampant increase in the abuses perpetrated by its members.

As the abuses by SEDENA started to moderately decline after 2010, those by SEMAR, however, increased, reaching a high peak in 2011. Again, it seems that the navy also

³ According to the CNDH, the total number of complaints it received increased significantly as of 2010 as a result of an increase in social trust in the institution, the development of its faculties and the expansion of its infrastructure (Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos 2013, p. 11). A review of the CNDH's annual reports shows that this rise in the number of complaints resulted from a particularly sharp increase in the complaints received against the Mexican Institute of Social Security (*Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social*), the National Migration Institute (*Instituto Nacional de Migración*) and the Bureau of the Ministry of Public Security for the Prevention of Crime and Social Readaptation (*Órgano Administrativo Desconcentrado de Prevención y Readaptación Social de la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública*).

managed to moderate the abuses by its members in 2012 (see graphs 1.1 and 1.2). Though a decline in complaints in one single year is not enough as to determine a tendency in this respect.

Another branch of the security forces that generated a growing number of complaints to the CNDH was the PF. As can be seen in Table 1.1 and Graph 1.1, the absolute number of complaints against the PF steadily increased, year after year, throughout the Calderón period. Perhaps shielded by the attention generated in this respect by SEDENA and SEMAR, the PF did not feel the need to control its behavior and curve the incidence of abuses by its members.

On contrast, there was a modest but overall steady decline in the number of complaints against the PGR. Indeed, as the figures for SEDENA, SEMAR and the PF rose, those of the PGR declined, particularly in relative terms (see Table 1.1 and graphs 1.1 and 1.2). This coincides with the fact that the prosecution of cases was not the core of the Calderón's strategy. Indeed the role of the PGR was eclipsed by that of the other instances, which were sent to directly and forcefully engage drug cartels.

Table 1.1. Complaints received by the CNDH (2007 to 2012)

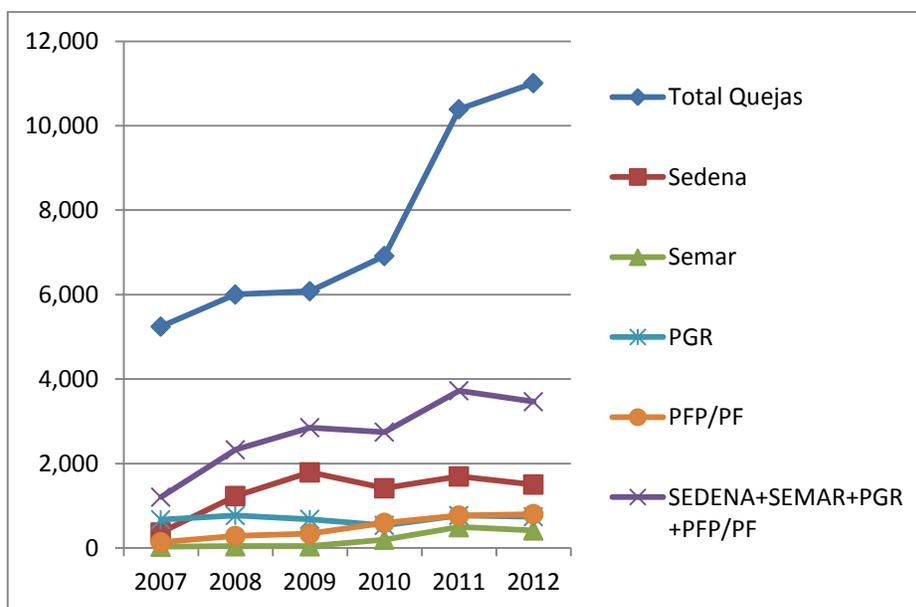
Year	Number of total complaints filed by CNDH	Complaints against SEDENA	Complaints against SEMAR	Complaints against PGR	Complaints against PFP/PF
2007	5,244	367 (7%)	31 (0.6%)	671 (12%)	136 (2.6%)
2008	6,004	1,230 (20.5%)	43 (0.7%)	769(12.8%)	284 (4.7%)
2009	6,083	1,791 (29.4%)	42 (0.7%)	680 (11.2%)	338*(5.6%)
2010	6,916	1,415 (20.4%)	198 (2.9%)	537 (7.8)	595 (8.6%)
2011	10,392	1,695 (16.3%)	495 (4.8%)	769 (7.4%)	767 (7.4%)
2012	11,011	1,503 (13.6%)	418 (3.8%)	742 (6.7%)	802 (7.3%)
Total	45,650	8,001	1,227	4,168	2,922

Source: Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013.

*Includes the PFP and the PF.

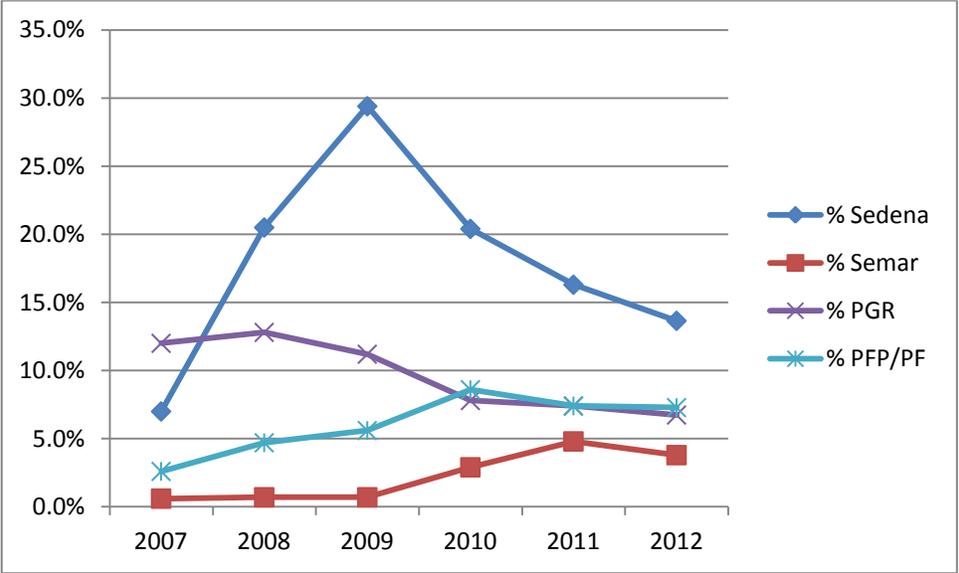
One complaint can be addressed at more than one government entity.

Graph 1.1. Complaint files opened by the CNDH (2007 to 2012)



Author's elaboration on the bases of Table 1.1.

Graph 1.2. Complaint files against each government entity as a porcentaje of the total number of complaint files opened by the CNDH (2007 to 2012)



Author’s elaboration on the bases of Table 1.1.

2. Recommendations issued by the CNDH

As mentioned in the introduction, another key indicator about the violation of human rights perpetrated in the struggle against drugs in Mexico is given by the recommendations issued by the CNDH. This indicator can even be more precise than that provided by the complaints received because the explicit content of each recommendation can be reviewed and thus it can be established if it is in fact related to the struggle against drugs or to any other given human rights issue or situation. In addition, the state of the federation in which the facts took place and the kind of violations that were perpetrated can be observed.

In any case, a comparison of graphs 2.1 and 2.2 with graphs 1.1 and 1.2 shows quite similar patterns. To begin with, SEDENA is again the branch of the armed forces that generated more actions by the CNDH. This supports the argument advanced in the previous section in

the sense that SEDENA was indeed the entity that perpetrated more violations of human rights in the framework of the struggle against drugs during the Calderón period.

As in the case of the complaints, on the other hand, the number of recommendations addressed at SEDENA also increased significantly as of 2008, reaching a peak in 2009. Similarly, recommendations addressed at SEMAR increased significantly in 2010 and 2011. The Ministry of Public Security (*Secretaría de Seguridad Pública*, SSP) was the target of more recommendations (regarding the actions of the PF) as of 2010, while the PGR received a lesser number of recommendations as the Calderón period evolved. Again, the image presented by the CNDH recommendations is quite similar to that of the complaint files—SEDENA was the leading violator, while SEMAR and the PF perpetrated more violations as the presidential period evolved.

In aggregated terms, as shown in Table 2.1 and Graph 2.1, the number of recommendations addressed at SEDENA, SEMAR, SSP (PF) and PGR increased significantly as of 2008, reaching its highest peak in absolute terms in 2011. As can be seen in Table 1.1 and Graph 1.1, this is the same picture shown by the number of complaint files opened by the CNDH. In this way, it can be argued that 2011 was the worst year in terms of the overall number of human rights violations perpetrated by the security forces in the framework of the struggle against drug cartels in Mexico during the presidency of Felipe Calderón.

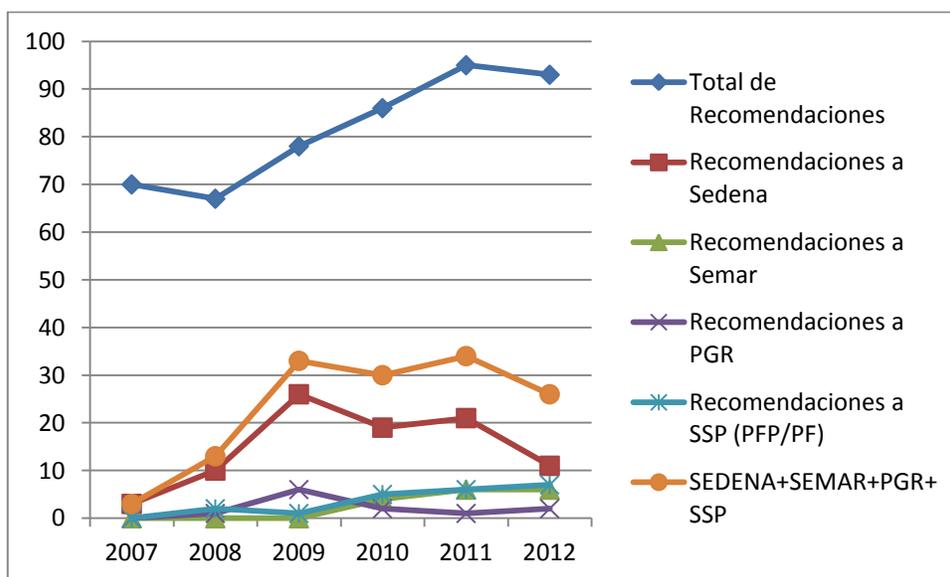
Table 2.1. Recommendations issued by the CNDH (2007 to 2011)

Year	Total number of recs	Recs to SEDENA	Recs to SEMAR	Recs to PGR	Recs to SSP (PF)	Total SEDENA+ SEMAR+ PGR+SSP
2007	70	3 (4.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3
2008	67	10 (14.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.5%)	2 (3%)	13
2009	78	26 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	6 (7.7%)	1 (1.3%)	33
2010	86	19 (22.1%)	4 (4.7%)	2 (2.3%)	5 (5.8%)	30
2011	95	21 (22.1%)	6 (6.3%)	1 (1.1%)	6 (6.3%)	34
2012	93	11 (12%)	6 (6.5%)	2 (2.2%)	7 (7.5%)	26
Total	489	90 (18.4%)	16 (3.3%)	12 (2.5%)	21 (4.3%)	139

Source: Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (http://www.cndh.org.mx/Recomendaciones_1990_2012) (last consult: November 28, 2012).

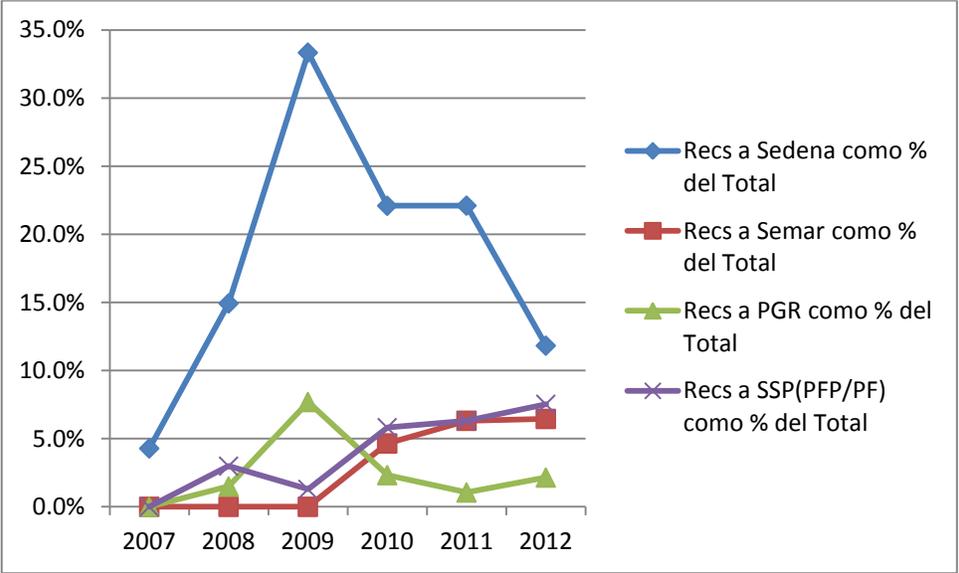
Notes: Each recommendation can be addressed at more than one governmental entity. The complete list of the recommendations identified as related to the struggle against drugs can be consulted in the Appendix.

Graph 2.1. Number of recommendations issued by the CNDH (2007 to 2012)



Author's elaboration on the bases of Table 2.1.

Graph 2.2. Recommendations issued by the CNDH as a percentage of the total (2007 to 2012)



Author’s elaboration on the bases of Table 2.1.

Tables 2.2 and 2.3, and Graph 2.3, present the geographic distribution of the violation of human rights in the struggle against drugs, as shown by the recommendations issued by the CNDH. It is no surprise that Chihuahua is the state in which more cases of violation of human rights took place during the presidency of Felipe Calderón—31 recommendations issued by the CNDH responded to cases that took place in this state of the Mexican federation. Indeed, drug related violence and the response by the security forces in Chihuahua (particularly in Ciudad Juárez) were particularly intense throughout the Calderón administration, especially during 2009 and 2010. It shouldn’t come as a surprise either that the states that follow Chihuahua in terms of the number of recommendations are Michoacán, Nuevo León and Tamaulipas—17 recommendations by the CNDH were related to cases that took place in Michoacán, 12 to Nuevo León and 11 to Tamaulipas. A third group of states is formed by Coahuila, Guerrero, Tabasco and Durango—between 9 or

8 recommendations about situations that took place in this states were issued by the CNDH during the period under study.

Table 2.2. Recommendations issued by the CNDH and the states in which the facts took place (2007 to 2012)

Year	State	Recs to SEDENA	Recs to SEMAR	Recs to PGR	Recs to SSP (PF)	Total	
2007	Michoacán	2	0	0	0	2	
	Sinaloa	1	0	0	0	1	
2008	Coahuila	2	0	0	2	4	
	Guanajuato	0	0	1	0	1	
	Michoacán	4	0	0	0	4	
	Sinaloa	1	0	0	0	1	
	Sonora	2	0	0	0	2	
	Tamaulipas	1	0	0	0	1	
	Baja California	1	0	0	0	1	
2009	Chihuahua	14	0	2	0	16	
	Coahuila	2	0	0	0	2	
	Durango	2	0	0	0	2	
	Michoacán	3	0	1	1	5	
	Nayarit	1	0	0	0	1	
	Nuevo León	0	0	1	0	1	
	Oaxaca	2	0	0	0	2	
	Querétaro	0	0	1	0	1	
	Sonora	1	0	0	0	1	
	Tamaulipas	1	0	1	0	2	
	2010	Baja California	0	0	0	1	1
		Durango	2	0	0	1	3
		Chihuahua	5	0	0	0	5
Guanajuato		1	0	0	0	1	
Guerrero		2	0	0	0	2	
Michoacán		2	0	0	1	3	
Morelos		0	2	0	0	2	
Nuevo León		2	0	1	0	3	

	Sinaloa	1	1	0	0	2
	Sonora	1	0	0	0	1
	Tabasco	1	1	0	0	2
	Tamaulipas	1	1	1	1	4
	Zacatecas	0	0	0	1	1
2011	Baja California	1	0	0	0	1
	Chiapas	1	0	0	0	1
	Chihuahua	5	0	0	2	7
	Coahuila	0	1	0	0	1
	Colima	0	1	0	0	1
	DF	0	0	0	1	1
	Durango	2	0	0	0	2
	Guerrero	4	0	0	0	4
	Michoacán	1	0	0	0	1
	Nayarit	0	1	0	1	2
	Nuevo León	2	2	1	1	6
	Tabasco	4	1	0	1	6
	Tamaulipas	1	0	0	0	1
	Veracruz	1	0	0	0	1
2012	Baja California	2	0	1	0	3
	Chihuahua	1	0	0	2	3
	Coahuila	2	0	0	0	2
	Colima	0	2	0	0	2
	DF	0	0	0	1	1
	Durango	1	0	0	0	1
	Guerrero	1	1	0	0	2
	Jalisco	1	0	1	0	2
	Michoacán	1	0	0	1	2
	Morelos	1	0	0	1	2
	Nuevo León	1	1	0	0	2
	SLP	0	0	0	1	1
	Tabasco	0	0	0	1	1
	Tamaulipas	1	2	0	0	3

Source: Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos

(http://www.cndh.org.mx/Recomendaciones_1990_2012) (last consult: November 28, 2012).

Table 2.3. Number of recommendations by state (2007 to 2012)

State	Number of Recommendations
Baja California	6
Chiapas	1
Chihuahua	31
Coahuila	9
Colima	3
DF	2
Durango	8
Guanajuato	2
Guerrero	8
Michoacán	17
Morelos	4
Nayarit	3
Nuevo León	12
Oaxaca	2
Querétaro	1
SLP	1
Sinaloa	4
Sonora	4
Tabasco	9
Tamaulipas	11
Veracruz	1
Zacatecas	1

Source: Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos

(http://www.cndh.org.mx/Recomendaciones_1990_2012) (last consult: November 28, 2012).

Graph 2.3. Recommendations issued by the CNDH by state (2007 to 2012)



Author's elaboration on the bases of Table 2.3.

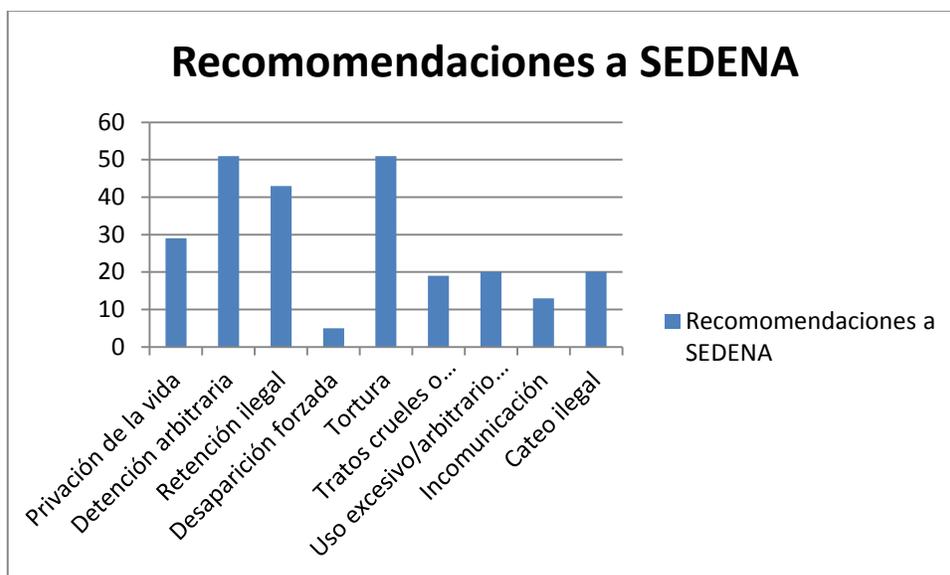
A final analysis can be elaborated around the type of human rights violation perpetrated by the security forces in the framework of the struggle against drugs. As can be seen in Table 2.3 and the graphs that follow, the recommendations issued by the CNDH suggest that SEDENA was characterized, during the period of study, by the perpetration of torture and arbitrary and illegal detention. SEMAR, on the other hand, is depicted as a body that is more prone to perpetrate executions, torture and arbitrary detention, while the PF seems to be more inclined to commit acts of torture.

Table 2.3. Recommendations issued by the CNDH by government entity and type of violation (selection) (2007 to 2012)

	SEDENA	SEMAR	PGR	SSP (PFP/PF)
Execution	29 (32%)	7 (44%)	2 (17%)	6 (29%)
Arbitrary detention	51 (57%)	8 (50%)	2 (17%)	2 (10%)
Illegal detention	43 (48%)	5 (31%)	1 (8%)	3 (14%)
Enforced disappearance	5 (6%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)
Torture	51 (57%)	9 (56%)	1 (8%)	10 (48%)
Cruel and degrading treatment	19 (21%)	5 (31%)	2 (17%)	5 (25%)
Excessive/arbitrary use of force	20 (22%)	5 (31%)	0 (0%)	5 (24%)
Incommunicado detention	13 (14%)	2 (13%)	1 (8%)	1 (5%)
Illegal searches	20 (22%)	4 (25%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)

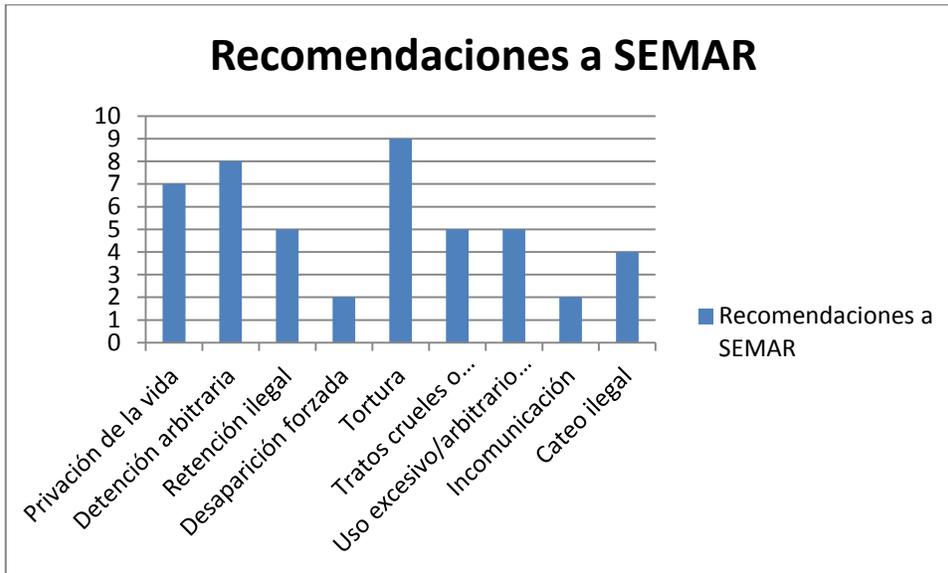
Note: Percentages in parenthesis reflect the percentage of recommendations regarding each type of violation of human rights in relation to the total number of recommendations issued to each force in the period of study. One single recommendation can make reference to more than one kind of violation.

Graph 2.4. Number of recommendations issued by the CNDH to SEDENA by type of violation (2007 to 2012)



Author's elaboration on the bases of Table 2.3.

Graph 2.5. Recommendations issued by the CNDH to SEMAR by type of violation (2007 to 2012)



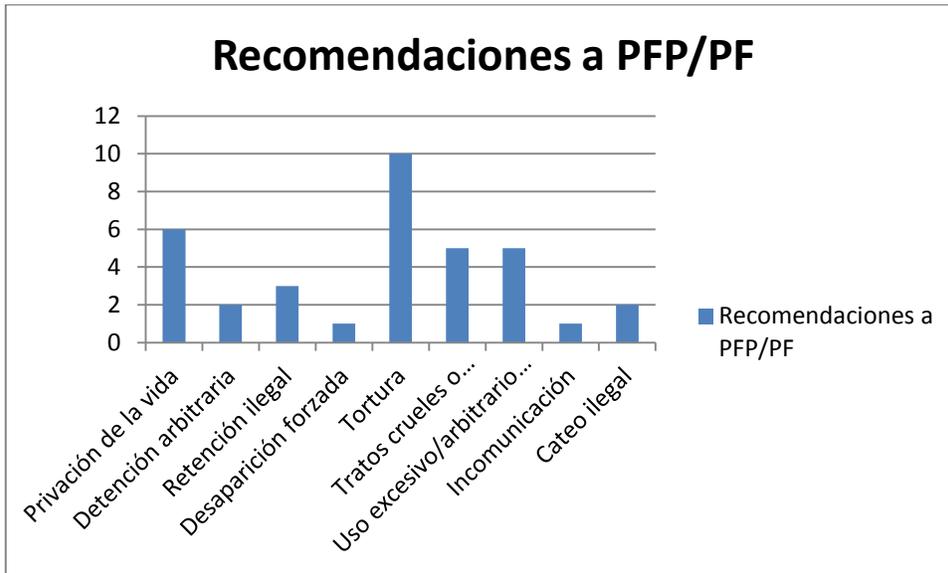
Author's elaboration on the bases of Table 2.3.

Graph 2.6. Recommendations by the CNDH to PGR by type of violation (2007 to 2012)



Author's elaboration on the bases of Table 2.3.

Graph 2.7. Recomendaciones issued by CNDH to SSP (PF) by type of violation (2007 to 2012)



Author's elaboration on the bases of Table 2.3.

Conclusions and future research

This paper offers a systematic set of indicators regarding the violation of human rights perpetrated by the security forces in Mexico in the struggle against drug cartels during the presidential period of Felipe Calderón. As argued in the introduction, given the lack of other kind of data, the information of the actions by the CNDH might be the best *proxy* indicators we have.

In general terms, these indicators *show* that the security forces systematically violated human rights in its efforts to tackle drug cartels in Mexico. They also *show* that the militarized strategy adopted by president Calderón had dire consequences for human rights—indeed, the bulk of the numerous violations recorded by the CNDH were perpetrated by the military and (though to a lesser extent) the navy.

Can it be argued that SEDENA, SEMAR and the PF perpetrated *more* violations of human rights as a consequence of their engagement in Calderón's "war against drugs"? In other words, can we argue on the bases of these data that the overall level of violation of human rights in Mexico actually *increased* during the Calderón period as a consequence of its "war against drugs"? Of course, the variation in the number of complaints received by the CNDH and in the number of recommendations issued does not perfectly reflect the variation in the occurrence of violations of human rights in practice. The number of complaints and recommendations can vary independently from that of the violations "on the ground". But if the army, the navy and the PF had not been sent to directly engage in an armed struggle with drug cartels, they would have not perpetrated the violations recorded by the CNDH. In this sense, it can be argued that the Calderón strategy generated higher levels of violation of human rights in Mexico. As argued above, the security forces systematically violated human rights in their efforts to destroy drug cartels in Mexico; and they would not have done so if they had not become involved.

The CNDH indicators suggest that the occurrence of human rights violations was concentrated in states that were particularly characterized by the levels of drug-related violence, and therefore by the massive presence of the armed forces or the PF. In this sense, an interesting future research exercise could trace the correlation between the number of members of the armed forces deployed in each state in counter-narcotics operatives and the CNDH's indicators. Such a correlation could show that, indeed, as the number of soldiers, marines and members of the PF increases in a particular territorial entity, so does the number of violations of human rights.

Finally, the CNDH indicators signal interesting differences in the types of violations perpetrated by the different forces involved in the struggle against drug cartels. The army (SEDENA) seems to be more prone to commit torture and arbitrary and illegal detention, while the navy (SEMAR) appears to be more inclined to execute and the PF to commit torture. Why? How can we account for these differences? Are they related to the kind of training these bodies get, the rules of engagement they follow or the type of leadership they have? These type of questions, of course, will have to be addressed in future research. In the mean time, what this paper has shown is that getting the military out “on the street” to fight drug cartels generates undesirable policy externalities—in this case, the violation of human rights.

Annex 1. Recommendations issued by the CNDH related to the struggle against drug cartels (2007 to 2012)

Year	Government entity	Recommendations related to the struggle against drug cartels
2007	SEDENA	38/2007, 39/2007, 40/2007
2008	SEDENA	29/2008, 30/2008, 31/2008, 32/2008, 33/2008, 34/2008, 35/2008, 36/2008, 60/2008, 67/2008
	PGR	26/2008
	SSP	3/2008, 55/2008
2009	SEDENA	13/2009, 15/2009, 18/2009, 28/2009, 31/2009, 32/2009, 33/2009, 34/2009, 37/2009, 38/2009, 41/2009, 44/2009, 48/2009, 52/2009, 53/2009, 54/2009, 55/2009, 59/2009, 61/2009, 63/2009, 66/2009, 70/2009, 71/2009, 73/2009, 75/2009, 77/2009
	PGR	2/2009, 34/2009, 47/2009, 71/2009, 72/2009, 73/2009
	PFP/PF	72/2009
2010	SEDENA	11/2010, 15/2010, 19/2010, 20/2010, 22/2010, 36/2010, 43/2010, 45/2010, 49/2010, 50/2010, 52/2010, 57/2010, 74/2010, 75/2010, 77/2010, 79/2010, 80/2010, 81/2010
	SEMAR	34/2010, 61/2010, 72/2010, 83/2010, 86/2010
	PGR	36/2010, 45/2010
	PFP/PF	1/2010, 13/2010, 23/2010, 49/2010, 65/2010
2011	SEDENA	8/2011, 10/2011, 14/2011, 22/2011, 28/2011, 31/2011, 38/2011, 40/2011, 41/2011, 42/2011, 43/2011, 55/2011, 59/2011, 60/2011, 66/2011, 67/2011, 84/2011, 86/2011, 87/2011, 88/2011, 91/2011
	SEMAR	33/2011, 34/2011, 59/2011, 63/2011, 71/2011, 72/2011
	PGR	16/2011
	PFP/PF	16/2011, 29/2011, 30/2011, 43/2011, 59/2011, 75/2011
2012	SEDENA	7/2012, 16/2012, 18/2012, 29/2012, 34/2012, 38/2012, 45/2012, 52/2012, 53/2012, 72/2012, 74/2012
	SEDENA	10/2012, 39/2012, 50/2012, 68/2012, 69/2012, 73/2012
	PGR	26/2012, 48/2012
	PFP/PF	9/2012, 30/2012, 38/2012, 42/2012, 46/2012, 59/2012, 70/2012

References

Amnistía Internacional (2008), *Amnesty International Report 2008. State of the World's Human Rights*, Londres, Amnistía Internacional (consultado en: <http://archive.amnesty.org/report2008/eng/regions/americas/mexico.html>) (última consulta: 27 de diciembre de 2011).

Amnistía Internacional (2009a), *Amnesty International Report 2009. State of the World's Human Rights*, Londres, Amnistía Internacional (consultado en: <http://report2009.amnesty.org/es/regions/americas/mexico>) (última consulta: 27 de diciembre de 2011).

Amnistía Internacional (2009b), *México. Nuevos informes de violaciones de derechos humanos a manos del ejército*, Londres, Amnistía Internacional (consultado en: <http://amnistia.org.mx/abusosmilitares/informe.pdf>) (última consulta: 6 de febrero de 2013).

Amnistía Internacional (2010), *Amnesty International Report 2010. State of the World's Human Rights*, Londres, Amnistía Internacional (consultado en: http://report2010.amnesty.org/sites/default/files/AIR2010_AZ_EN.pdf#page=170) (última consulta: 27 de diciembre de 2011).

Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (2008), *Informe de actividades. Del 1 de enero al 31 de diciembre de 2007*, México, Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (consultado en: <http://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/all/fuentes/documentos/informes/anuales/2007.pdf>) (última consulta: 6 de febrero de 2013).

Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (2009), *Informe de actividades. Del 1 de enero al 31 de diciembre de 2008*, México, Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (consultado en: http://www.cndh.org.mx/Informes_Actividades) (última consulta: 6 de febrero de 2013).

Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (2010), *Informe de actividades. Del 1 de enero al 31 de diciembre de 2009*, México, Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (consultado en: http://www.cndh.org.mx/Informes_Actividades) (última consulta: 6 de febrero de 2013).

Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (2011), *Informe de actividades. Del 1 de enero al 31 de diciembre de 2010*, México, Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (consultado en: http://www.cndh.org.mx/Informes_Actividades) (última consulta: 6 de febrero de 2013).

Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (2012), *Informe de actividades. Del 1 de enero al 31 de diciembre de 2011*, México, Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (consultado en: <http://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/all/fuentes/documentos/informes/anuales/2011.pdf>) (última consulta: 6 de febrero de 2013).

Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (2013), *Informe de actividades. Del 1 de enero al 31 de diciembre de 2012*, México, Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos (consultado en: http://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/all/fuentes/documentos/informes/anuales/2012_I.pdf) (última consulta: 7 de marzo de 2013).

Human Rights Watch (2008), *World Report 2008*, Nueva York, Human Rights Watch (consultado en <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/englishwr2k8/docs/2008/01/31/mexico17773.htm>), (última consulta: 27 de diciembre de 2011).

Human Rights Watch (2009a), *World Report 2009*, Nueva York, Human Rights Watch (consultado en: <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/79216>) (última consulta: 27 de diciembre de 2011).

Human Rights Watch (2009a), *Impunidad Uniformada. Uso indebido de la justicia militar en México para investigar abusos cometidos durante operativos contra el narcotráfico y de seguridad pública*, Nueva York, Human Rights Watch (consultado en: <http://www.hrw.org/es/reports/2009/04/28/impunidad-uniformada>) (última consulta: 6 de febrero de 2013).

Human Rights Watch (2010), *World Report 2010*, Nueva York, Human Rights Watch (consultado en: <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/87527>) (última consulta: 28 de diciembre de 2011).

Human Rights Watch (2011a), *World Report 2011*, Nueva York, Human Rights Watch (consultado en: <http://www.hrw.org/en/world-report-2011/mexico>) (última consulta, 28 de diciembre de 2011).

Human Rights Watch (2011b), *Ni seguridad, ni derechos. Ejecuciones, desapariciones y tortura en la “guerra contra el narcotráfico” de México*, Nueva York, Human Rights Watch (consultado en: <http://www.hrw.org/es/reports/2011/11/09/ni-seguridad-ni-derechos>) (última consulta: 6 de febrero de 2013).

Pérez Correa, Catalina y Azaola, Elena (2012) *Resultados de la Primera Encuesta Realizada en los Centros Federales de Readaptación Social*, México, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE).