

SPECIAL REPORT

MILITARIZATION IN MEXICO

TOWARDS THE CONSOLIDATION OF A STATE POLICY

2006-2022



September, 2022

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

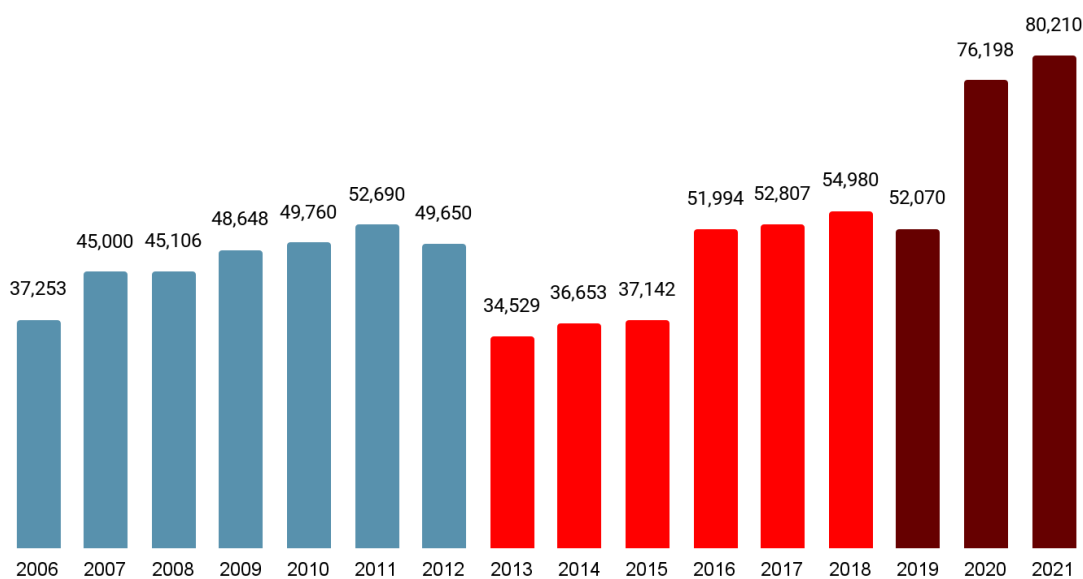
- Militarization is consolidated as a state policy: on September 8, 2022, the Senate approved the bill for the Secretariat of National Defense (Sedena) to take over the operation and administration of the National Guard (NG). The Reform Decree was published just one day later in the Official Gazette of the Federation.
- Although the NG has been formally under the command of the Secretariat for Security and Citizen Protection since it was created, in real life, it has been a material and operational extension of the armed forces (AF). Most of the NG members are employed and paid by Sedena or the Ministry of the Navy (Semar, per its Spanish acronym); they join the NG as “borrowed” and only 29% have the Single Police Certificate (CUP, per its Spanish acronym).
- Additionally, in the last three and a half years, the Armed Forces have taken operational and managerial control of more than 20 functions –including strategic areas– other than those of a military nature; for example, construction of civil infrastructure, administration of maritime customs, and participation in the management of social programs.
- Parallel to their expansion, they have been given greater public resources: from 2007 to 2022, the budget allocated to the Armed Forces increased by 60.5% (in real terms). This year, they have received 142 billion pesos. Consequently, both their factual (in public administration) and economic power have increased significantly.
- Along with the increased functions and responsibilities of the Armed Forces, violence and the incidence of some crimes have also increased. Although there has been a slight decrease in homicides, from 2018 to 2021, the extortion rate increased by 32.6%, drug dealing by 36.5%, and femicide by 7.4% per 100,000 inhabitants.
- Notwithstanding that the Armed Forces have high levels of trust and legitimacy among Mexicans, they are also the authorities that accumulate the most complaints for human rights violations. In addition, they are characterized by their opacity: beyond the number of transparency requests that they respond to negatively for reasons of confidentiality, they fail to report on fundamental issues to know their operation and evaluate their performance, such as their policies and programs, their territorial deployment, or events related to alleged human rights violations.
- Militarization carries several risks:

	Risk	Implication
1	Imbalance in the civil-military relationship	The participation of the Army as a provider of basic services will be more relevant in government decision-making outside of a war context.
2	State bodies lose their powers	Public life militarization threatens the modernization of civil institutions and strengthens the dependence of the State on the military to design and carry out public policies.

	Risk	Implication
3	Insufficient security strategy	Militarization prevents the creation of effective policies to reduce violence being that the Armed Forces are trained for national security duties.
4	Weakening of the federal covenant	The material superiority of the Army in relation to the local police favors the concentration of power to the detriment of a functional and balanced federalism.
5	Municipal and state police have been relegated to a second level	The creation of the NG and the cutbacks in local support for security have ended up displacing the urgent task of professionalizing and equipping state and municipal civil police forces. The specific context of the localities demands regionally differentiated interventions and militarization is incompatible with the proximity that pacification requires.
6	Human rights violations continue	The military lacks the competence to deal with civil affairs; rather, military bodies are formed to eliminate threats to national security and therefore are more likely to commit power abuse and rights violations. Victims of these violations rarely get justice.
7	It encourages corruption and opacity	Under the umbrella of national security, military institutions are less subject to counterweight mechanisms, surveillance, and accountability than civilian agencies. Likewise, military institutions can be used as a vehicle of opacity when the federal government seeks to keep a certain project or program away from public scrutiny.
8	Gradual politicization of the Army	The granting of resources and powers to the Armed Forces, together with the constant praise in the official discourse and the unconditional political support, can encourage military bodies to move away from institutional loyalty to the Federal Constitution and towards sympathy and support for the political project of the government in power.
9	Troubled participation of the military as economic agents	In the short term, this implies more significant interaction between companies and military institutions. In the medium term, this can create uneven grounds to compete (between companies and the military) and contributes to the distortion of the Armed Forces, which receive incentives to act under business logic and not of national security.

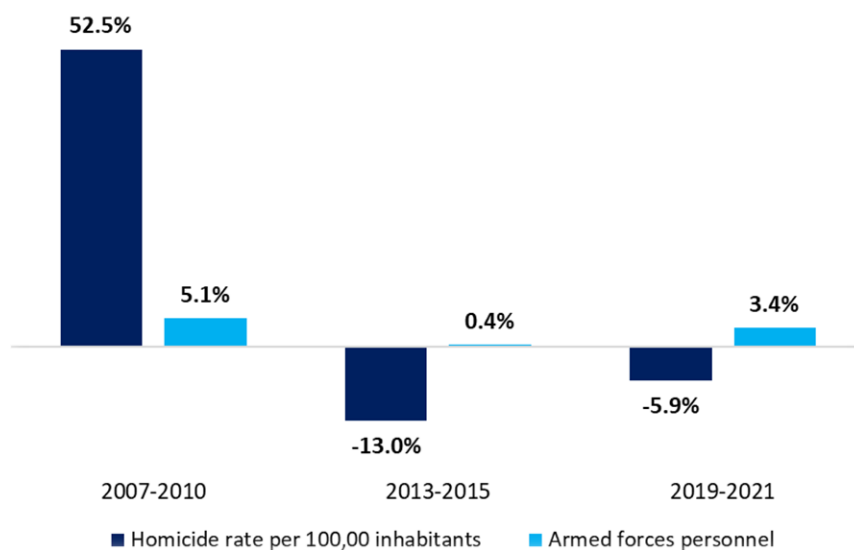
GRAPHIC RESOURCES

Figure 1. Number of military personal deployed in security tasks, 2006-2021



Source: Integralia with information from Animal Político: "[Con AMLO, Ejército moviliza a 80 mil elementos para labores de policía, cifra récord](#)", November 17, 2021.

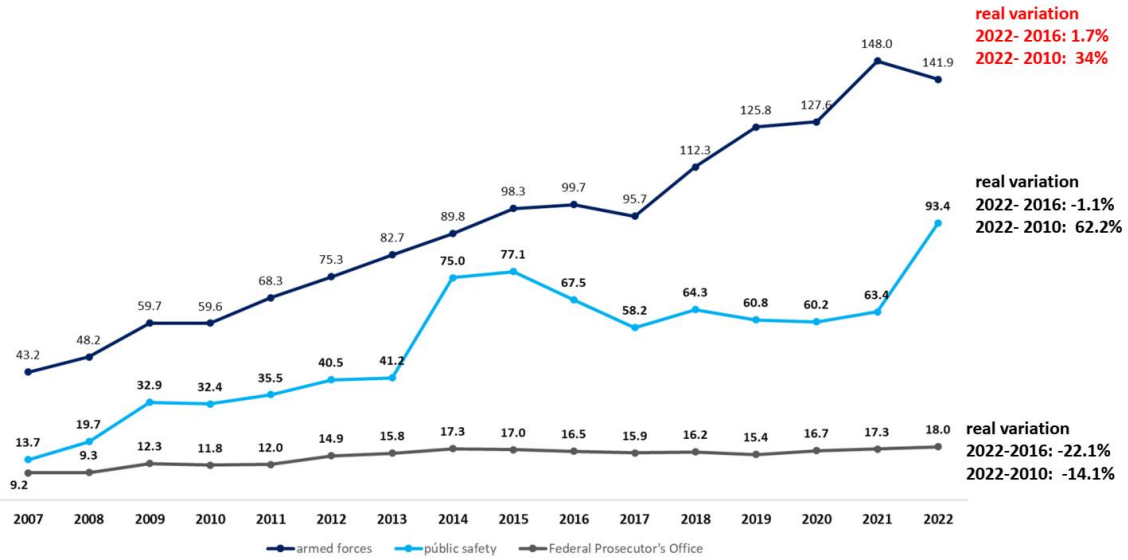
Figure 2. Percentage change in the intentional homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants and personnel assigned to the Armed Forces during the first half of the last three six-year periods, 2007-2021



Note: for 2015 onwards, the number of investigation files for intentional homicide reported under the new methodology for the systematization of crime incidence is used.

Source: Integralia with data from the Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System, the National Population Council and the Presidency of the Republic.

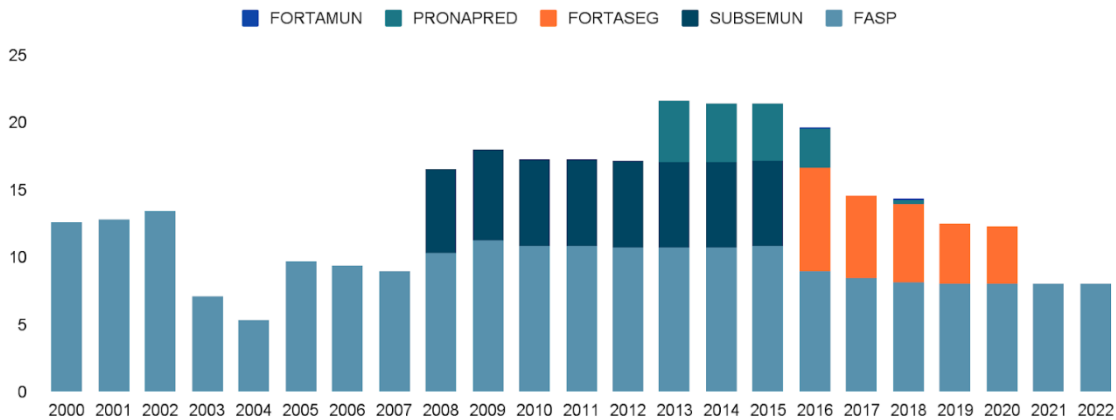
Figure 3. Evolution of the budget allocated to federal security institutions, 2007-2022 (figure in billions of pesos, at 2022 constant prices)



Note: the Armed Forces include the Secretariat of National Defense and the Secretariat of the Navy. Civilian institutions include those in charge of the operation and administration of the federal police; Public Security, Government, and Citizen Security and Protection, respectively.

Source: Integralia with information from the Federal Expenditure Budget, 2007-2022.

Figure 4. Federal Transfers to Public Safety by program, 2000-2022 (billions of pesos)



Fortamun: Contribution Fund for the Strengthening of Municipalities and Districts | **Pronapred:** National Crime Prevention Program | **Fortaseg:** Program for the Strengthening of Security | **Subsemun:** Subsidy for Security in Municipalities | **FASP:** Public Security Contribution Fund

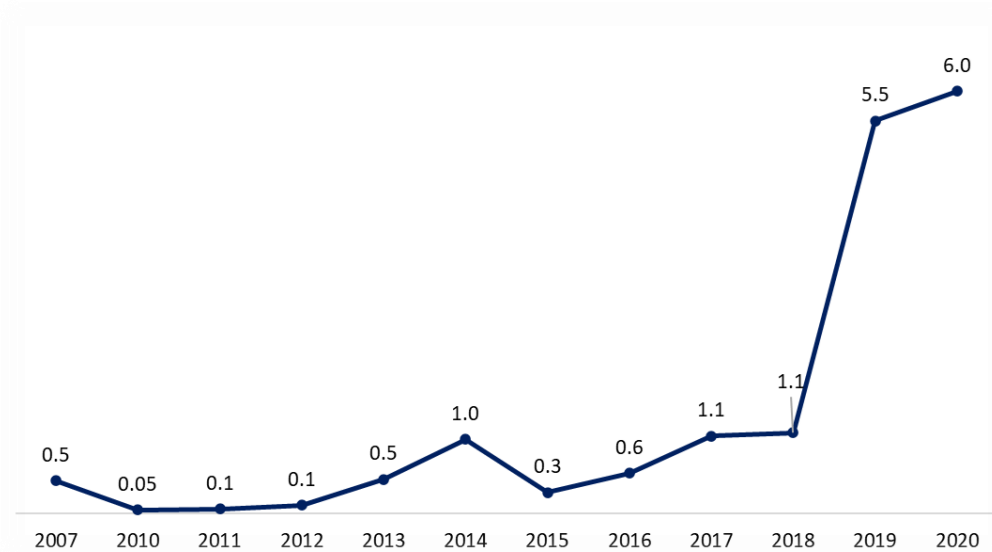
Source: Integralia with information from México Evalúa and the Federal Expenditure Budget.

Table 1. Responsibilities assigned to the National Guard and the Armed Forces (2019-2022).

Some tasks assigned to the National Guard and the Armed Forces, between 2019 and 2022	
1. Construction of the Felipe Ángeles International Airport	2. Construction of sections 1, 6 and 7 of the Mayan Train
3. Construction of 2,700 branches of the Welfare Bank	4. Administration of the airports of Chetumal, Quintana Roo and Palenque, Chiapas
5. Construction of the Tulum Airport	6. Remodeling of 32 hospitals that were abandoned by previous governments
7. Support in the attention to the Covid-19 emergency	8. Transfer of Covid-19 vaccines
9. Fighting hydrocarbon theft (<i>huachicol</i>)	10. Surveillance of the northern and southern borders for migration control
11. Construction of barracks for the National Guard	12. Delivery of free textbooks
13. Support for the <i>Sembrando Vida</i> program	14. Administration of the Mexico City International Airport
15. Surveillance of the delivery of resources from social programs	16. Cleanup of sargassum in Quintana Roo
17. Distribution and delivery of medicines	18. Custody of Pemex pipes
19. Transfer of seized merchandise to poor communities through the <i>Tianguis del Bienestar</i> (welfare market)	20. Administration and control of maritime and land customs
21. Protection of beaches during the holiday season	22. Protection of figures of public interest and political actors
23. Location of fugitives	24. Operations for "a safe return to school"

Source: Own elaboration with information from the study "National Guard: 3 years of militaristic definition", by Causa en Común. Example list (not exhaustive)

Figure 5. Budget transferred to the Armed Forces by federal institutions, 2007-2020 (figure in billions of pesos, at 2022 constant prices)



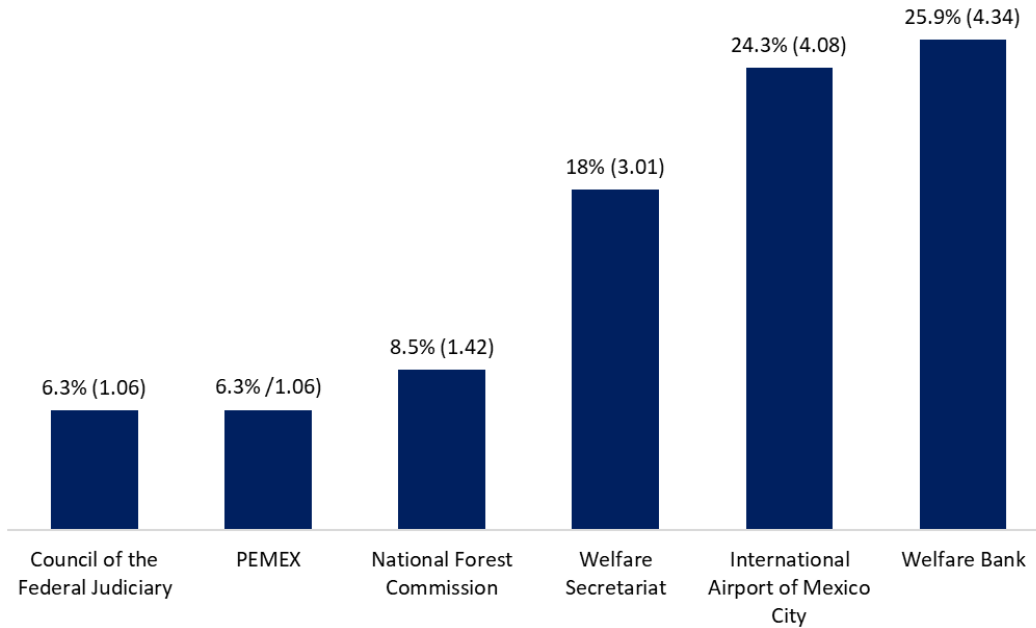
Source: Integralia with information from the national inventory of the militarized from the Center for Research and Teaching in Economics (CIDE).

Table 2. Number of civilians killed by federal public security agents on duty (by firearm discharge).

	Source	2018	2019	2020
ARMY	Official	175	201	237
	Press	59	77	52
NAVY	Official	59	4	5
	Press	54	8	4
NATIONAL GUARD	Official	46	18	30
	Press	51	49	36

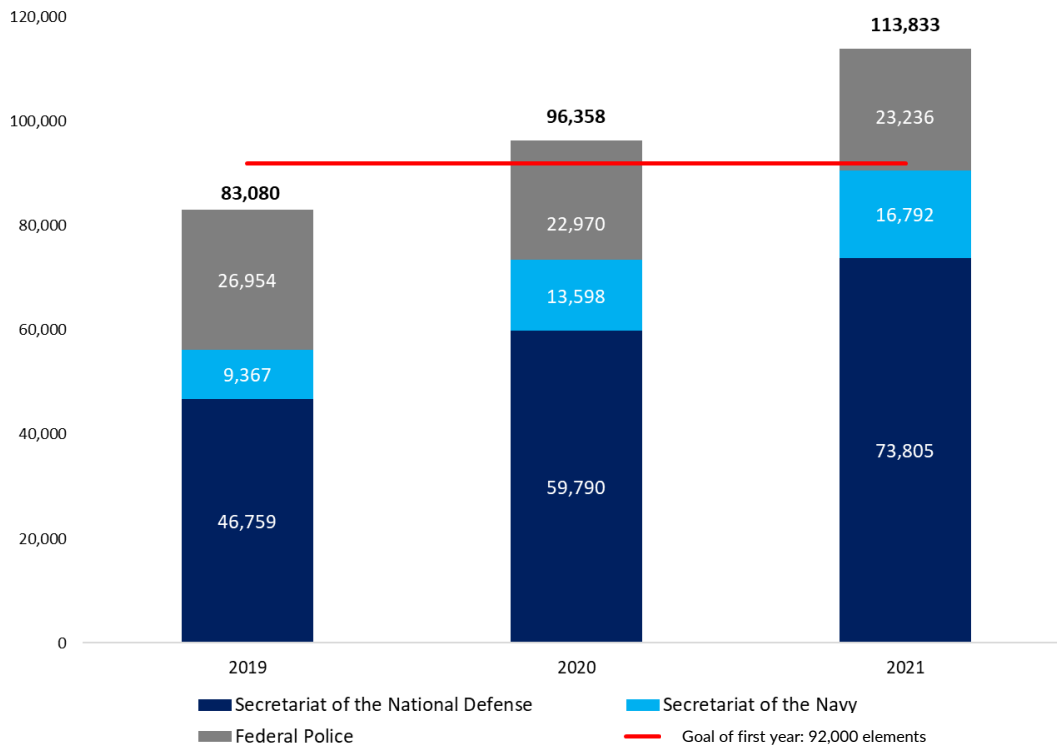
Fuente: Integralia with information from the Lethal Force Monitor 2022

Figure 6. Federal institutions with the highest percentage of resources transferred to the Armed Forces, 2007-2020



Source: Integralia with information from the national inventory of the militarized of the Center for Research and Teaching in Economics (CIDE)

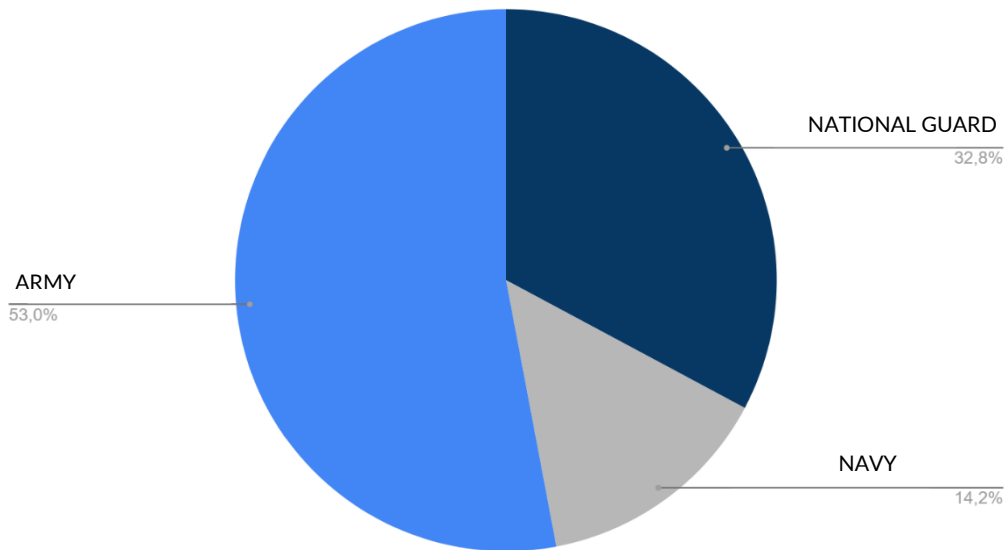
Figure 7. National Guard personnel by institution of origin, 2019-2021



Note: for 2019, personnel assigned to the National Guard that did not belong to any previous institution according to data from the National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics (7 in total) were discounted.

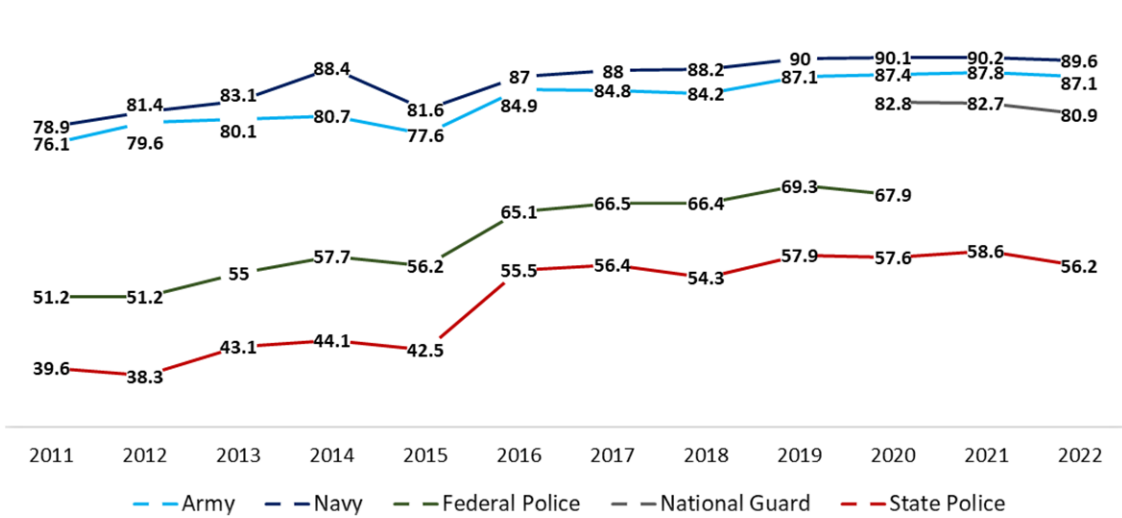
Source: Integralia with information from the National Public Security Census 2020 and 2021, and the annual report of activities of the National Guard, 2021.

Figure 8. Number of National Guard elements by institution of origin, 2022



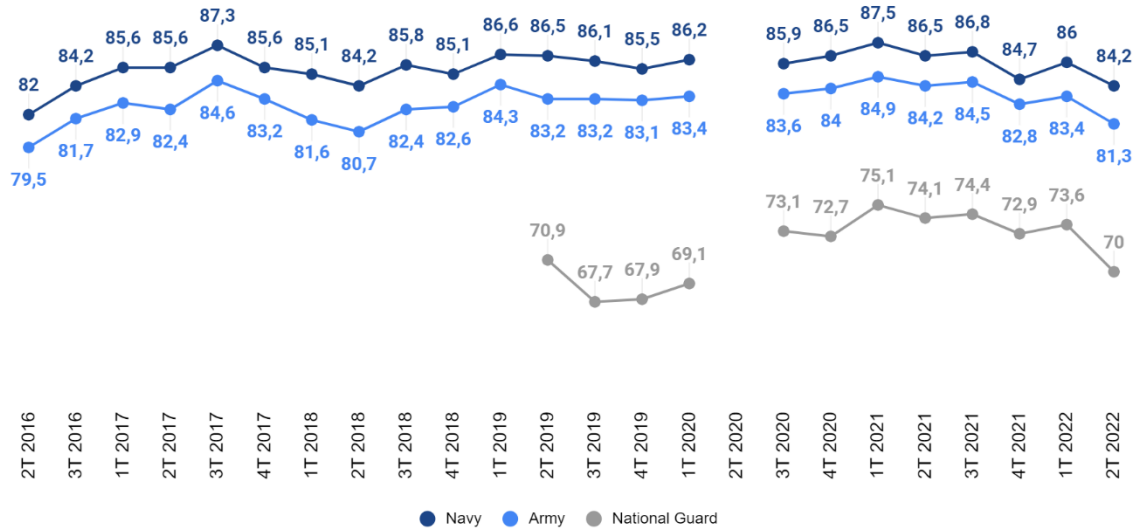
Source: Integralia with information from the federal government and the Federal Expenditure Budget.

Figure 9. Percentage of perception of trust that society expresses in security authorities, 2011-2022



Note: the percentage for state police refers to the national estimate.
 Source: Integralia with information from National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics

Figure 10. Level of perception of the effectiveness of the performance of the Armed Forces 2016-2022 (%).



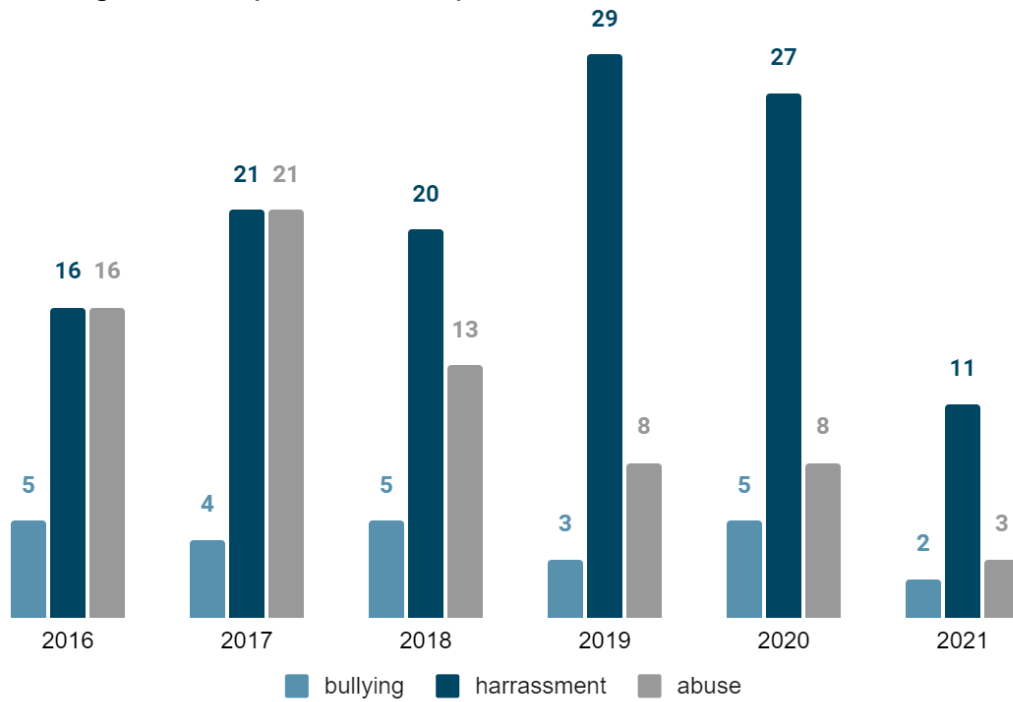
Note: there is no data for the second quarter of 2020 because the survey was suspended due to the COVID-19 health crisis.
 Source: Integralia with information from the National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics

Figure 11. Number of complaints for alleged human rights violations against federal public security institutions, 2007-2021.



Source: Integralia with data from the National Human Rights Commission and the Government of Mexico.

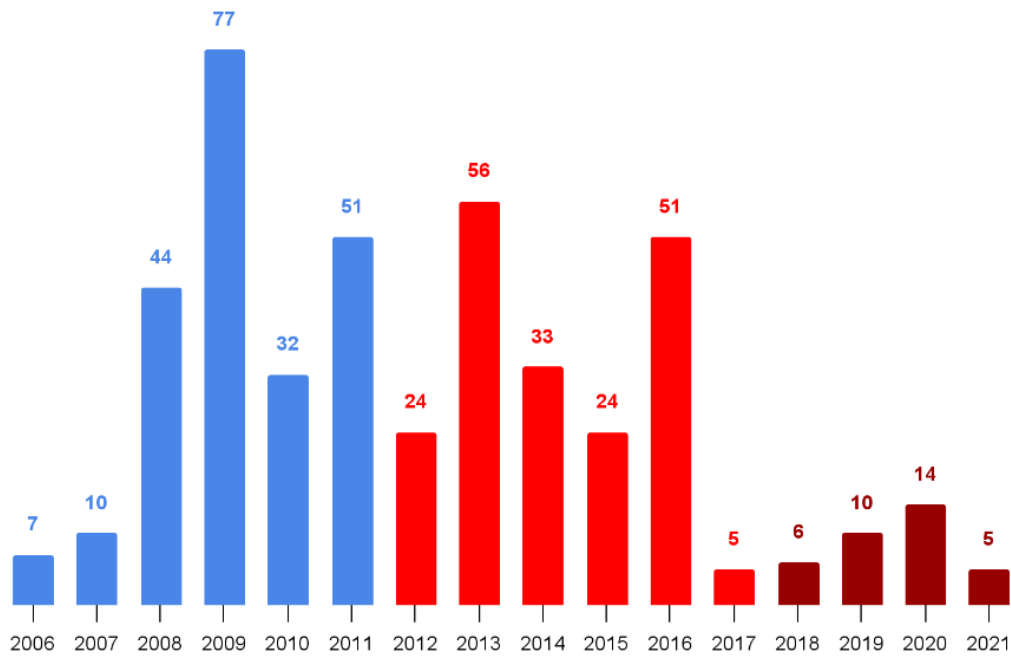
Figure 12. Complaints from Army elements related to sexual assaults, 2016-2021.



Note: data for 2021 are cut-off information as of August.

Source: El Economista with information from transparency request 0000700255321, published on February 8, 2022.

Figure 13. Number of negative responses to requests for information by the armed forces for confidentiality reasons, 2006-2021.



Source: Integralia with information from the National Transparency Platform.

*For further details, read the [full report](#), available only in Spanish.

We are a consulting company on political risk, social unrest, and strategic planning.

For more information about our products and services, please write to denise.canto@integralia.com.mx or find us at www.integralia.com.mx

