

## DYSFUNCTION OF MEXICO IN TERMS OF PERSONAL SECURITY

JÓZEF PRUCHNIAK\*

### ABSTRACT

---

The article refers to the currently shaped issues of human personal safety in relation to threats arising from events and situations. At the same time, it points out that an exhaustive expression of the need for security is rather unfeasible because this scope in personal view will be categorized by: physiological properties, age, environmental and situational conditions, knowledge, and socio-cultural conditions, as well as life experiences. The author focuses in particular on the analysis of organized crime in Mexico and the impact of these structures on the personal safety of people, social, ethnic, and professional groups, indicating their causes. The rooting or deepening of the indicated social problems and the lack of perspectives to improve them means that the main assumptions of the security strategy, including among others public safety improvement programs, and thus personal safety, is a very complex and extended process. The analysis of the functioning of the Mexican state in the security sphere clearly shows that in this respect state

---

\* Józef Pruchniak, dr, ORCID: 0000-0002-4256-0781, Akademia Pomorska w Słupsku, Polska; correspondence address: Akademia Pomorska w Słupsku, ul. Arciszewskiego 22a, 76-200 Słupsk; adres e-mail: jozef.pruchniak@apsl.edu.pl

institutions transfer this issue to the citizen. Fears for their safety result from the presence of criminal structures, shocking ones, their uncompromising attitude, sense of impunity, and ruthlessness towards anyone who has been defined by “crime syndicates” as a threat to their existence.

### ARTICLE INFO

---

#### *Article history*

Received: 21.11.2020 Accepted: 25.06.2021

#### *Keywords*

personal security, professional criminal structures, drug cartels, social anxiety, social inequalities

### **INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>**

The aim of the article is to outline and highlight the understanding of personal security and to present its real value and the possibility of protecting citizens in times of threat by competent state institutions. Public safety, and thus personnel safety in Mexico, is one of the most important problems faced by the central and local authorities, as well as citizens, non-governmental organizations, or religious associations. The functioning of this state in the area of security clearly shows that in this respect the relevant institutions (police, army) suffer from a deep dysfunction. The result is an expansion of organized crime, mainly drug cartels. Mexican authorities are unable to deal with this problem as the crusade against drug cartels and gangs is underperforming. The level of organization of criminal structures, the ruthless and cruel treatment of “uncomfortable” people create a real force of impact on almost every social environment in which they will mark their presence. Police inefficiency, lack of preparation of the army, widespread corruption, disclosed cases of local government actions administering “justice” are the most glaring examples of the correlation of state institutions with professional criminal communities in Mexico. The functioning of these structures or systems must affect the citizens’ sense of security, and even more so on their personal safety. Unfortunately, the reality differs from the theoretical

---

<sup>1</sup> The paper has been submitted to the conference LIV CICA – XV Security Forum Krakow 2020 that took place on 7–8 October 2020 at University of Public and Individual Security “Apeiron” in Krakow.

system, thus providing the title to discuss in the article the bestial murders of a social journalist Maria del Rosario Fuentes Rubio and students from the Normal School of Ayotzinapa.

#### MEXICO – A COUNTRY OF MULTIFACETED HISTORY

Mexico is a country with a multifaceted history, the origins of which, resulting from the mixture of Indian and European blood, were carried out in the conditions of the greatest genocide, which meant the destruction of civilization full of splendour. It is also a country that experienced invasions and internal unrest in the past, including fratricidal fights, plagued by periods of hunger, rain floods, volcanic eruptions flooding human communities, earthquakes, and attacks of hurricanes.<sup>2</sup> However, the marked difficulties, as well as misfortunes, have shaped in the vast majority of the nation a model of behaviour that is solid and faithful to its own tradition. The population of the state is formed by Métis,<sup>3</sup> accounting for about 60% of the community, while 30% are Indians and 9% of citizens mostly of Spanish origin, descendants of slaves and other nations. It is also worth noticing that the unfavourable climatic conditions, forcing the internal migration of people from rural areas and small urban centres, contribute to the uneven population of the country and the growth of urban centres. Illegal emigration of Mexicans, mainly to the USA, is also increasing significantly. Estimated at the level of 4 to 8 million, it acts as a safety valve, at the same time relieving the growing economic problems. Concurrently, it should be pointed out that the industrialization and modernization of the country are used primarily by the rich Creoles and foreign companies, in contrast to the ubiquitous poverty in the villages inhabited mainly by Indians. It was the source of many conflicts. G.G. Michel and J. Park describe this reality as a hybrid, emphasizing the polarization of its perception.<sup>4</sup> On the one hand, the people, respecting and adoring their homeland, did not legitimize the politicians who ruled it, especially since the state was unable to solve the problem of the great poverty of simple people.

It is estimated that approximately 70% of Mexicans live in cities. Unfortunately, despite rising economic indicators, a substantial part of the society

---

<sup>2</sup> R. Tomicki, *Tenochtitlan 1521*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 153–168.

<sup>3</sup> Métis – a person whose one parent is white and the other parent is Indian. There is a division into Canadian, American, and Mexican Métis.

<sup>4</sup> G. G. Michel, J. Park, *The Cult of Jesús Malverde. Crime and Sanctity as Elements of a Heterogeneous Modernity*, “Latin American Perspectives”, 2014, vol. 41, no 2, p. 203.

remains poor, which can be attributed in part to the crisis of the 1980s, resulting from the significant fall in oil prices and the downturn of 1994–1995, after the devaluation of the peso, which resulted in a sharp fall in the value of the national currency<sup>5</sup> and the outflow of foreign capital. Returning to social problems, it should be assumed that in Mexican society there is a noticeable significant stratification in terms of assets or access to education and healthcare services. The developing middle class is still small, the basic social groups are the educated and rich elite as well as the urban and rural poor, most visible in the provinces. Thus, the chance for people experiencing poverty remains the escape to overpopulated cities and living in primitive settlements formed by pariahs. It should be noted that about 40% of the inhabitants of urban agglomerations achieve income below the poverty threshold. Employees of the budgetary sphere also belong to this group. The opposite of the poor is a narrow class: politicians, doctors, lawyers, entrepreneurs, etc., having a significant impact on the economic and political life of the country.

Mexico with its capital Ciudad de Mexico is a federal-state comprised of 31 sovereign states with executive power exercised by governors. Each state has a unicameral local parliament (congress), and the judiciary is exercised by the Courts of Justice. The states are divided into 2,438 municipalities (*municipios*). Mexico covers an area of approximately 1,972,550 km<sup>2</sup>, making it the 14<sup>th</sup> place in the world and the 11<sup>th</sup> in this respect with 124,574,795 million residents.<sup>6</sup> For many years the employment rate has been above 93%, the average value of the unemployment rate has not been higher than 3.6%. On the other hand, the average population density in Mexico is 63.2, which places the country in 147<sup>th</sup> place in the world.

The deepening crisis in the 1970s, and at the same time the destabilization of the structures of state institutions is a symbolic beginning of the boom in drug gangs in Mexico. The poor economic situation of the country revealed the acceptance of the power of the *bosses*, rejecting the fight against cartels. The new elites, that are drug cartels, take advantage of social stratification, displacing the “old avant-garde”. To this end, they use the local

---

<sup>5</sup> M. A. Botello, *Devaluacion – inflacion Mexico – USA 1970–2019. Valuacion del peso mexicano respecto al U.S. dolar*, <http://www.mexicomaxico.org/Voto/SobreVal02.htm> (accessed: 6.09.2020).

<sup>6</sup> *The State of Global Food Banking 2018: Nourishing the World*, “The Global Food Banking Network”, October 2018, <http://www.foodbanking.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/GFN-The-State-of-Global-Food-Banking-2018.pdf> (accessed: 6.09.2020).

population, supporting these environments materially, intimidating and corrupting them. The Mexican people learned to coexist with syndicates that also use *narco saints* for this, justifying and legitimizing their immoral activities. As M. Skorupska rightly points out, in this country “there is an irrationality of holiness, spiritually supporting criminals, giving them the strength to multiply evil and show that they have something fundamental in common with the people”.<sup>7</sup>

#### MEXICO AS A PARTICULARLY DANGEROUS COUNTRY IN LATIN AMERICA

Drug cartels have grown dynamically in Mexico since the 1980s. A derivative of this phenomenon was the political situation in Colombia because the civil war that has lasted there since 1964 generated the formation of these syndicates. However, one should go back to the United States prohibition era, indicated as a period of glory for Mexican border cities.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the illegal trade in alcohol, drug smuggling flourished. Luxurious nightclubs, fancy restaurants, and other attractions enjoyed by Americans prospered as well. In this way, the phenomenon of cooperation between entertainment “investors” and the local authorities arose because everyone had an interest in it, and after prohibition was cancelled, the demand for drugs remained. Thus, almost from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, drug smuggling and production along with the escalating wave of violence has attracted the attention of the international community. It seemed that the problem would be resolved after the ousting of the Revolutionary and Institutional Party that ruled Mexico in 1929–2000.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, the current reality is more unpredictable and dangerous for almost every citizen of this country, because Mexican drug syndicates accompany and addict the inhabitants of this country in almost every aspect of their lives.

The juxtaposed picture shows that the ubiquitous web of corruption remained the domain of the drug industry in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is the bloody battles of gangs and cartels

---

<sup>7</sup> M. Skorupska, *Narkoreligia w hybrydowej rzeczywistości Meksyku*, „Nurt SVD”, 2018, pp. 142–153.

<sup>8</sup> Prohibition – Partial or complete prohibition of the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages. Most often it is understood as a period in US history, marked in the years 1920–1933.

<sup>9</sup> Revolutionary and Institutional Party (PRI) – Mexican political party founded in 1929. It maintained a monopoly of power until 2000.

as well as everyday violence. A specific drug world emerged there, covering most of the country, having a destructive impact not only on the economy or security. The announced changes for the better after the ousting of the PRI, strengthened the functioning of the cartels and other criminal groups, intensifying the wave of abductions, kidnappings for ransom, torture, and murders. The brutal appropriation of the space of social life, both in cities, small towns, and villages, constitutes an unrealistic title for professional criminals, including members of the Mexican *Los Caballeros Templarios* cartel. It is said that they were defending the nation against tyranny, and in fact, they are murdering, plundering, and smuggling drugs. The *New Juárez* cartel has marked its criminal rule much stronger by displaying posters in the public space warning that their executioners will shoot a municipal police officer every day. These are some of the numerous examples of the state security area being restrained, and thus influencing the personnel security of citizens by criminal organizations. Mexico is therefore becoming an example of disturbed relations between the authorities and citizens because the level of social injustice on the one hand and the ineffectiveness of the state in the area of the sense of security is the cause of the current problems.<sup>10</sup> Undoubtedly, the weakness of public authorities and the services responsible for internal security causes Mexican citizens to report crimes to a marginal extent. This proves the fragility of the state security system. Of course, the authorities do not share such assessments commenting on the progress in the fight against organized crime, further claiming that the image of the state is distorted by the stereotypical perception of *narcos*.

A different point of view was presented in *The Washington Post*, which published a report by Mary B. Sheridan describing the contemporary Mexican drug cartel empire. The conclusions are not optimistic, because the CIA analytical data from 2018 shows that even 20% of Mexico's territory is under the direct control of criminals.<sup>11</sup> It was indicated that this covers an area of almost 2 million square kilometres. Some territories are fully controlled by the one-armed syndicate, while in other states there

---

<sup>10</sup> R. C. Fernandes, *Oddzielmy narkotyki od broni i przemocy*, [in:] *Wojny narkotykowe. Doświadczenia z pola walki*, M. Kropiwnicki, J. Smoleński, M. Sutowski (eds), Warszawa 2011, p. 13–14.

<sup>11</sup> M. B. Sheridan, *Violent criminal groups are claiming more territory*, "The Washington Post", 29.10.2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/world/mexico-losing-control/mexico-violence-drug-cartels-zacatecas> (accessed: 12.12.2020).

are still murderous rivalries between dispersed groups. Mexican authorities confirm the existence of 17 important criminal organizations, however, The International Crisis Group<sup>12</sup> already indicates 198 such structures. It should be noted that Mexico has been shaken in recent years by battles for territory and influence led by cartel militias and gangs. Thus, the number of murders and disappearances without a trace, not only involved in criminal practice but also bystanders, is increasing. It can be assumed that Mexican crime is not a problem of one continent today, because the power of cartel military groups in one place brings in crimes and violence in other geographic areas. The prophecies for the future are also of Cassandra's. Even the most massive military operation will not be successful quickly with syndicates embedded so strongly in local communities, in politics, and business.

After the year 2000 Mexican administrations, contrary to announcements, did not *de facto* limit the violence leading to death. The number of homicides in a country of over 126 million people fell by 0.57% in 2019 from a record number of 36,685 a year earlier.<sup>13</sup> There is also a huge dysfunction in the prosecution and detection of the most serious crimes, as 98% of the murders remain unsolved. In addition, official data show that more than 77,000 people have disappeared during the same period. Mexico's murder rates are more than four times higher than those of the United States. It can be assumed that this has been the greatest security crisis of the state, and thus its citizens, in Latin America since the *dirty wars* of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>14</sup>

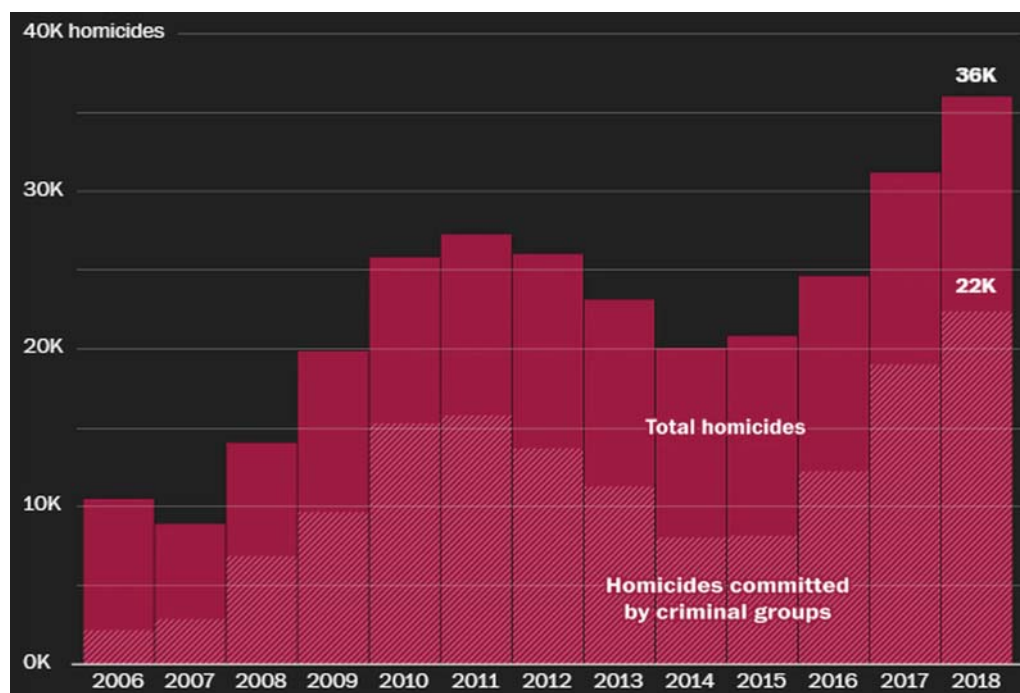
---

<sup>12</sup> International Crisis Group USA, (ICG) – Founded in 1995, an independent organization working to prevent wars and shaping policies that organize the “building” of a more peaceful world. Today the organization is regarded as the world's leading source of information, analysis, and policy advice on the prevention and resolution of fatal conflicts.

<sup>13</sup> In total, in 2019, there were 36,476 homicides. *Virus-proof Violence: Crime and COVID-19 in Mexico and the Northern Triangle*, “Latin America Report”, 2020, no. 83, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/83-virus-proof-violence-crime-and-covid-19-mexico-and-northern-triangle> (accessed: 12.09.2020).

<sup>14</sup> M. B. Sheridan, *Violent...*, *op. cit.*

CHART 1. LATEST AVAILABLE DATA ON HOMICIDES IN MEXICO  
IN 2006–2018



Source: *The Washington Post* website, *Democracy is dying in the dark*<sup>15</sup>

The impression is that in certain states of Mexico everyone is fighting against everyone. Paramilitary groups are also a disturbing signal of the *new order*. It is not known whether they benefit from the covert support of state authorities. Often these organizations are assembled into groups of hired killers paid by cartels. According to organized crime expert Edgard Buscaglia, “Mexico is an illegal secret service bazaar with Russian, Ukrainian and Chinese mercenaries. Nothing easier than 20 people hired to do the wet job”.<sup>16</sup>

When describing the context of the personal security of the inhabitants of Mexico, it is also worth recalling the position of Urszula Drzewiecka. The author presents a study carried out in the community of university youth in Tijuana. The results of these investigations indicate the penetration of

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> K. Kęciek, *Narcos nie znają łaski*, “Tygodnik Przegląd”, 12.02.2012, <https://www.tygodnikprzeglad.pl/narcos-nie-znaja-laski/> (accessed: 12.09.2020).



drug business environments into the general culture, becoming almost its prominent or indispensable component.

TABLE 1. TIJUANA STUDENTS' OPINIONS ABOUT DRUG DEALING IN MEXICO<sup>17</sup>

Youth opinions	Acceptance for the opinion
Drug business is a very risky activity	92,5%
Drug business affects public safety in Tijuana	92,5%
It is easy to get into the drug business	72%
Express fear of drug dealing	16%
Drug business causes social destruction	28%
Drug business is a crime and violence	14%

Source: U. Drzewiecka, *Narkokultura w życiu społecznym Meksyku...*

The analysis of Table 1 shows that young people from the Tijuana university community share the opinion that the drug business is a very risky activity, affecting public safety to the same extent, at the level of 92.5%. One should also refer to the answer – how easy it is to get into the drug business. The honesty of the expressed opinion can be called the naked truth because 72% of acceptance places this social problem on an unsolvable level. What is more, 16% of responses to the question – whether young people express fear of drug dealing is a disturbing phenomenon, because they treat this dysfunction as something natural that does not threaten them or others. Moreover, with 28% approval for the opinion that the drug business causes social destruction, it confirms the earlier remark on the indifferent perception of this threat. When asked if drug dealing is a crime and violence, there was only, or as much as 14% of approval for the opinion. Thus, it is visible and it can be assumed that the drug issue has become an element of the Mexican identity. The penetration of this phenomenon into various social and professional environments causes an increase in affirmative attitudes, trying to separate the world of violence from the drug business.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> U. Drzewiecka, *Narkokultura w życiu społecznym Meksyku*, [in:] *Transformacje w Ameryce Łacińskiej* (eds), A. Walaszek, A. Giera, Kraków 2011, p. 140.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 177.

### THE SCALE OF VIOLENCE VERSUS PERSONAL SECURITY IN MEXICO

Taking actions by public authorities in different parts of Mexico is not bringing the expected results. Therefore, it should be assumed that rebuilding the citizens' sense of security is impossible by further escalation of military and non-legal activities. Also, without their coordination in combating and limiting the most serious category of crimes, the situation may lead to the disorganization of the state. In addition, the disclosed cases of local government actions that administer "justice" are the most striking examples of the correlation between state institutions and professional criminal circles in Mexico. The permeation of criminal circles and institutions: police, military, special services, etc. is a particularly dangerous violation of the safety of citizens' life and health. The theoretically impossible linkage between drug cartels with secret services was confirmed in the case of Mexican gangsters who around the city of Reynosa<sup>19</sup> located and murdered a citizen journalist, Maria del Rosario Fuentes Rubio. Tamaulipas residents shared information on corrupt authorities and organized crime via social media, using the popular, in this state since 2012, website – *Courage for Tamaulipas*<sup>20</sup> (*Valor por Tamaulipas*).

M. F. Rubio remained one of its administrators and, fearing for her life, used a pseudonym. She was known for ongoing alerts, describing criminal activity in the district and warning against the activity of criminals. She also urged victims of criminal activities not to be afraid to testify about corrupt policemen and gangsters. For indicating the identity of the administrators of *Courage for Tamaulipas*, the commissioners of the killings established 50,000 dollars reward. On October 16, 2014 on the Twitter profile @ Miut13, M. F. Rubio appeared with the posted message: "Friends and family, my real name is Maria del Rosario Fuentes Rubio. I am a doctor. Today my life ended".<sup>21</sup> Via her Twitter, perpetrators warned that using the media

---

<sup>19</sup> Reynosa, a city in north-eastern Mexico, in the state of Tamaulipas, on the Rio Grande River.

<sup>20</sup> Tamaulipas – a state in north-eastern Mexico with an area of 79 384 km<sup>2</sup>, with a population of over 3 020 000. It borders in the north with the American state of Texas, and to the east of the Gulf of Mexico. For years Tamaulipas has been the scene of bloody clashes between two powerful cartels, fighting over the influence and drug trafficking routes to the USA.

<sup>21</sup> Tlanonotsalistli, *Dziennikarz obywatelski porwany i zabity w Meksyku za raportowanie o przestępczości zorganizowanej*, "Global Voices Advox", 17.10.2014, <https://pl.globalvoices.org/2014/11/meksykanska-dziennikarka-obywatelska-zamordowana-za-relacje-o-przestepczosci-zorganizowanej/> (accessed: 1.07.2020).

against them was pointless, and cartels were closer to whistleblowers than anyone concerned would imagine. In this cruel and ruthless manner, they called for the deletion of accounts, warning against possible revenge, which would also affect the rebellious families. The last message on this account was also posted, containing pictures of the living Maria, on the other one she was already dead with a shot-through head. Her body has not been found. It should be noted that the criminal “hunt” for this heroic citizen journalist had lasted for about two years.

This crime, as well as others, reveals that Mexico is one of the most dangerous countries in the world for anyone who stands up against crime syndicates. Moreover, it is extraordinary that social media representatives become targets of drug cartels when they break their silence about what they see and hear around them. As *The Daily Beast* wrote, hostile to each other, the Bay Cartel and Los Zetas have such long tentacles that they reach not only politicians and services responsible for state security, but even local media.

Pointing to the connection of drug cartels with public authorities, one should also refer to the unbelievable crime classified as the 2014 mass murder in the Mexican state of Guerrero.<sup>22</sup> The incident in question was reported by the world’s media and portrayed as a disgusting conspiracy of interdependent drug gangs, the police and political dignitaries, and at the same time the authorities of the cities of Iguala and Cocula. The inspiration for the events may be the commitments made during the session on September 18-20, 2014 in Amilcingo, where representatives of 16 rural schools grouped within the National Federation of Mexican Students, Peasants and Socialists<sup>23</sup> [FECSM] planned to participate in the annual October demonstration in Mexico City. Students of the Ayotzinapa school [hereinafter: normalists] undertook to obtain means of transport for this purpose.<sup>24</sup> Activities in this area began immediately after the deliberations, continued in the following days until the critical September 26, 2014.

---

<sup>22</sup> Mass murder – the murder of a large number of people, usually committed at the same time or within a relatively short period of time. It can be committed by one person or an organization.

<sup>23</sup> U. Drzewiecka, *Ruchy partyzanckie w Meksyku w drugiej połowie XX w. i na początku XXI w.*, [in:] *Ruchy społeczne i etniczne w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, K. Derwich, M. Kania (eds), Kraków 2011, p. 249.

<sup>24</sup> It was assumed that approximately 25 buses would be needed to transport all students to Mexico City.

It should be noted, following Hector Mauleon – a journalist of the Mexican newspaper “El Universal” that the students in question were “hijacking” Estrella Blanca buses, as many as 68 times, sometimes with their drivers. These incidents almost always took place in the villages of Chilpancingo and Palo Blanco, located approximately 160 km from the school of normalists.<sup>25</sup> It can be assumed that these repetitive experiences contributed to the declaration of acquiring more than 20 vehicles to move to Ciudad de México for the demonstration. In view of the multiplicity of unlawful behaviour of normalists, this manner of behaviour was perpetuated and at the same time considered almost socially justified. Moreover, despite threats to bus drivers and sometimes their unlawful imprisonment, there were no effective reactions from the authorities responsible for safety. Unfortunately, the impunity confirmed in this way routinized and emboldened the student community of Ayotzinapa.

The federal police of the state of Guerrero, after the incidents of annexation, appropriation, or the short-term use of buses, strengthened patrols in Iguala and on the motorway connecting it with the town of Tixtla. Despite the safety measures taken, the students on September 26, 2014 intended to reach the town of Iguala by buses. According to the testimony of the bus driver seized on the outskirts of the city by the normalists, it appears that it was done by a few young hooded men holding stones in their hands. They were passengers who together with other travellers arrived around 8:00 PM at the Iguala terminal. At that point, the vehicle driver, using a trick, left the adversaries in the vehicle, locking it with a key. It was the beginning of the tragic events known in the world as “Night in Iguala”. As a result of the incident ten imprisoned students and seventy or eighty colleagues from Ayotzinapa came to help demolished the bus and the terminal. In addition, after an hour and a half reinforcements from the school arrived in the city in two vehicles. The police were notified about the situation, the officers began to observe the vicinity of the terminal and control people’s behaviour. A convoy of three buses, with around a hundred normalist students<sup>26</sup> from

---

<sup>25</sup> Normalists are an organized movement of the student collective.

<sup>26</sup> Normalist schools, centres of education emerged during the Mexican Revolution of 1910, when Mexico was mostly made up of farmers. Provide professional teachers with undergraduate education, preparing educators to work with the poorest people in the Mexican countryside.

*the Normal School of Ayotzinapa*,<sup>27</sup> was heading over to the city Square of Three Guarantees in Iguala.

Their intention was to disrupt and break the election rally of the president of the municipal family aid organization María de los Ángeles Pineda, who was also a candidate for mayor after the dismissed office by her husband José Luis Abarca Velázquez.<sup>28</sup> Mayor J. L. Abarca was informed by the police control centre in the city about the movement of the normalists and their intentions. The Oakland Ross journalist in the Thursday issue of “The Star” on October 30, 2014 indicated that “the order was returned almost immediately and was stop them”. However, this information contradicts the findings of an interdisciplinary group of independent experts which showed that the incident involving the city’s steward and his wife ended when J. L. Abarca gave such an order.<sup>29</sup> However, his explanations show that the agents and policemen only had to keep the belligerent students from Aytozinapa from reaching a specific part of the city so that they would not disrupt the festivities. Undoubtedly, something has got out of hand and what happened has not been fully explained.

Unquestionably the seizure of the buses should be classified on the verge of robbery, which was also confirmed by the manager of the station in Iguala, pointing out that “they took them with threats and force because they did not ask, they just come and take them”. This was the reason, and above all the wrong entitlement, for the convoy to be attacked by police forces allowing the use of firearms. As a result of emotionally unbalanced decisions result-

---

<sup>27</sup> Raúl Isidro Burgos rural school located in Aytozinapa, on the outskirts of Tixtla. Founded on March 2, 1926 to offer rural youth access to education. It is also an educational centre for students from Mexico’s poorest municipalities. It describes itself as an institution that educates free people, worthy representatives of the teaching profession. It is known for the radical protests of students, including short-term seizure of buses and vans.

<sup>28</sup> José Luis Abarca Velázquez – Abarca, born in 1961 in the municipality of Arcelia. Before assuming the office of mayor, Iguala traded in hats and wedding dresses, and then in gold. Member of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). The Abarca Pineda family owns the trading empire. According to the financial analysis department of the Prosecutor General’s Office (PGR), they own at least 65 properties: houses, apartments, jewelry stores, commercial premises. The jewel in the crown is the Plaza Tamarindos shopping center, built with an initial investment of 300 million pesos, with seven cinemas, a department store, 50 stores, and a car park for 720 cars.

<sup>29</sup> *The 111 people arrested for the disappearance of 43 students*, “Borderland Beat”, 12.10.2015, <http://www.borderlandbeat.com/2015/10/the-111-people-arrested-for.html> (accessed: 16.08.2020).

ing from the orders of the mayor of Iguala, there was a massacre in which 25 people were injured and five lost their lives, including two students: 25-year-old Daniel Solís Gallardo and 19-year-old Aldo Gutiérrez Solano.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, armed men opened fire on a passing bus on which the players of the third league – Chilpancingo Hornets – were travelling. Police forces from Iguala and Cocula mistook it for the expected “student coach”.<sup>31</sup> This unlawful and reckless, chaotic action, also resulting from the belief that there is permanent impunity, resulted in the death of three random people including a minor football player, a bus driver, and a woman who was ricocheted in a taxi. A third bus appropriated by students was moving in the indicated column, but the driver managed to get out of the blockade.

The day after the attack soldiers revealed the body of the 6<sup>th</sup> victim on a dirt road in Iguali. It was a freshman from Ayotzinapa, 22-year-old Julio César Mondragón. His body bore marks of torture with 64 fractures, mostly of the skull, face, and spine. The murderers then skinned his face and gouged out his eyes. J. C. Mondragón was on the board of one of the hijacked buses that were attacked by the police. After the first attack, when they opened fire and escaped from the danger zone, he reappeared at this place at an impromptu press conference of students, recording a video on his mobile phone. Due to the death of J. C. Mondragón, no until February 25, 2015 the Mexican National Security Commission issued a communiqué. It shows that the Iguala police officer Luis Francisco Martínez Díaz was arrested in connection with the crime, he was one of more than 110 people accused in this case. Five other people directly involved in the torture and death of J. C. Mondragón were also indicted.

Seeking answers about the background of the violent reactions of the mayor, his wife – law enforcement, and the extra-rational killing of students, some sources indicate that in one of these “annexated” buses heroin prepared for transportation to the United States was hidden. This can be confirmed by the findings of the investigation carried out by the Drug Enforcement Agency in 2013-2014 [DEA].<sup>32</sup> It shows that the *Guerreros*

---

<sup>30</sup> Some sources say that seven people were killed in this incident.

<sup>31</sup> *Masowe porwanie Iguali - 2014 Iguala mass kidnapping*, [https://pl.qwertyu.wiki/wiki/2014\\_Iguala\\_mass\\_kidnapping](https://pl.qwertyu.wiki/wiki/2014_Iguala_mass_kidnapping) (accessed: 1.07.2020).

<sup>32</sup> Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) – federal agency fighting the drug trade at the US Department of Justice. It is an agency for the national enforcement of the Controlled Substances Act, sharing jurisdiction with the Federal Bureau of Investigation

*Unidos* cartel was transporting drugs to Chicago, Illinois, hiding them on passenger buses from Iguala.

After clashes with the police, the detained normalists last seen in police cars were taken to a nearby police station. Then police officers from Iguala and Cocula escorted them along with *Guerreros Unidos* drug cartel leader,<sup>33</sup> Gildardo López Astudillo (nickname: El Cabo Gil), to a place called *Colonia Loma de los Coyote*, 5 km from Iguala. As a result of an irrational decision, police authorities transferred 43 detained students as members of the hostile *Los Rojos* drug cartel<sup>34</sup> to the executioners from *Guerreros Unidos*. Then the normalists were transported in two trucks, by road to Cocula, directly to the garbage dump of this commune of Hoyo del Papayo.<sup>35</sup> There, they were to be mass murdered and to obliterate any traces of their bodies, they were burnt, then ashes were poured into the San Juan de Cocula River. However, independent experts who examined the evidence, in this case, questioned the allegation that the bodies of the students were burned.

In the first days after this event, 14 people out of 57 missings during the riots were found. The Mexican state was asked what happened to the other students. There are several versions that describe the dramatic events in one of the squares in Iguala. As the investigation showed, the mayor and his wife ordered the local police to “deal with this convoy”.<sup>36</sup> José Luis Abarca, the mayor of Iguala, feeling a tightening noose of suspicion, fled the city with his wife María de los Ángeles Pineda and the chief of the city police.

In addition, an extremely Cassander’s “truth” was revealed.<sup>37</sup> Detained killers from *Guerreros Unidos* admitting to the murders of students from

---

(FBI). It has sole responsibility for the coordination and execution of drug investigations, both in the US and abroad.

<sup>33</sup> *Guerreros Unidos* – United Warriors, (Zjednoczeni bojownicy). Iguala-based drug cartel founded by criminals who joined forces of various criminal groups: Guerrero and Michoacán, Los Pelones, La Barredora, the Acapulco independent cartel, La Familia Michoacana and other minor groups.

<sup>34</sup> *Los Rojos* is a faction of the Mexican drug trafficking organization known as the Gulf Kartel. The group was founded in the late 1990s to ensure the security of the organization’s leaders as the armed wing of the cartel.

<sup>35</sup> The village of Cocula is 21 km from Iguala. It is one of the 81 municipalities in the state of Guerrero, southwest Mexico, with a population of approximately 14,000 residents.

<sup>36</sup> *Guerreros Unidos*, [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerreros\\_Unidos](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerreros_Unidos) (accessed: 16.09.2020).

<sup>37</sup> Mario Patron of the UN Office believes that the torture and extortion of witness statements and explanations from suspects by the Mexican authorities completely discredit the official version of the incidents. In addition, the lawyer for the families of the killed

Ayotzinapa indicated that when the bodies were set on fire, some victims were still alive.<sup>38</sup> The contemporary Minister of Justice J. M. Karam also provided significant information that 22 policemen were arrested during the investigation.<sup>39</sup> This number has increased significantly and, according to the source of *Borderland Beat* – Reporting on the Mexican cartel drug war, by October 2015, 52 police officers from Iguala were arrested. This group included Francisco Salgado Valladares, a former deputy commander who was arrested in May 2015, incl. for accepting 600,000 pesos, which he was to divide among “his people” in exchange for “favouring the actions of the cartel”.<sup>40</sup>

A journalist Hektor Mauleón in the online newspaper, “Nexos” on February 1, 2016<sup>41</sup> included the synthetic content of the explanations of F. S. Valladares, who told investigative authorities that United Warriors had firmed up in the city after J. L. Abarca: “[...] from that moment on, the criminal group enjoyed absolute impunity, and the kidnappings for ransom intensified”. In addition, his article shows that the municipal police were completely controlled by this group, quoting the deputy police chief: “one night, a few days after Abarca took office, in the evening I came to the headquarters to replace the batteries on the radio. A man in the building, dressed in civilian clothes, told me that here in that envelope there was a support of two thousand pesos, which would be awarded each month so that I didn’t say anything I would see or hear. He warned me not to get into trouble. He said they knew me, where I lived and my family”.<sup>42</sup> Ms. Valladares further stated that he was not going to talk about it because

---

students, Vidulfo Rosales, says experts suspect, based on their own investigation, that the real target of the attack on the convoy was a bus, unknowingly seized by students and previously loaded with possibly pure heroin, was supposed to smuggle it into the US. Local civilian and uniformed dignitaries were to be involved in this transport.

<sup>38</sup> According to the authors, some students may have remained in a state of symptoms immediately preceding death, lasting from a few to several hours, manifested, among others, by disturbances of consciousness, which are associated with stopping the functioning of the body’s systems.

<sup>39</sup> *Willa María de los Ángeles Pineda*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mar%C3%ADa\\_de\\_los\\_%C3%81ngeles\\_Pineda\\_Villa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mar%C3%ADa_de_los_%C3%81ngeles_Pineda_Villa) (accessed: 1.07.2020).

<sup>40</sup> The average wage in Mexico is 10,453 MXN, (Mexican peso) = 0.201 PLN, (state as of the day: 16.09.2020).

<sup>41</sup> R. Bada, *De cómo el dinero del premio Nobel de Einstein lo cobró su ex mujer*, “Nexos”, 10.12.2019, <https://www.nexos.com.mx/?p=46156> (accessed: 16.09.2020).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*.



he was afraid. Despite his office, he began to receive monthly “support” from a designated criminal group.<sup>43</sup> In connection with the disappearance of normalists 19 policemen from Cocula were also arrested, including the former deputy commander of the police station, Cesar Navy Gonzalez, also suspected of being involved in organized crime and kidnapping.<sup>44</sup> It was this police official, under pressure from the leader of *Guerreros Unidos* who ordered 43 students to be transported to Pueblo Viejo in vehicles one of which belonged to a member of United Warriors.

Investigators revealed the ties of the mayor of Iguala and his wife to the *Guerreros Unidos* cartel, whom they had supported and cooperated over the years, receiving their protection in return. These findings were confirmed by Sidronio Casarrubias Salgado, the leader of the criminal syndicate arrested in October 2014, who was found to be the manager of the kidnapping and missing of 43 students. He revealed that it was Maria Pineda who ordered the gangsters to “clean up” the students. He also identified her as actually the most important person in Iguala. It has also been shown that the mayor’s wife acted as the main contact of the gang while remaining formally a member of the gang. It should be noted that the brothers of the wife of the mayor of Iguala: Marco Antonio aka El MP; José Alberto known as El Borrado; Julio Guadalupe, and Salomón Pineda Villa belonged to the *Sinaloa* cartels, and then Beltrán Levya, creating a subordinate militia, and at the same time a brutal cohort of killers with the acronym *Los Pelones*. Her father, Salomón Pineda Bermúdez, was also on the payroll. The first two brothers were murdered in 2009 for attempting to betray the boss of bosses, while Julio Guadalupe was killed by the Sicarii of the *La Familia Michoacana* cartel. Solomon’s brother was arrested for drug trafficking, and after leaving prison, he settled as head of one of the cells at United Warriors. Salomón, nicknamed El Salo or El Molón, was found by the Mexican investigative authorities as to the leader of the *Guerreros Unidos* criminal group and the accomplice of the attack on Ayotzinapa students.

Undoubtedly, there is no real motive in the collective murder of Cocula to be so cruel towards young people who did not belong to the fighting hostile criminal groups. They did not pose any threat to the “interests” of *Guerreros Unidos*, and thus to the corrupt steward of Iguala, as confirmed

---

<sup>43</sup> H. Mauleón, *Guerreros Unidos*, “Nexos”, 1.02.2016, <https://www.nexos.com.mx/?p=27516> (accessed: 1.07.2020).

<sup>44</sup> *The 111 people arrested for the disappearance of 43 students, op. cit.*

by the arrested cartel member Agustin G. Reyes, who reported that: “[...] they took to the Cocula landfill, more than 40 people who said they were students and they do not belong to any criminal group [...]”.<sup>45</sup> Miguel Angel L. Bahena who participated in this crime also explained in the investigation how cruel they had dealt with young people who dared to perceive Mexican reality differently. He stated: “[...] I put young people in a pile of tires and wood, which was then poured over with gasoline and diesel fuel, and others set it on fire.” In addition, other *Guerreros* members indicated that they killed 17 abducted students who were taken to the top of Mount Pueblo Viejo. However, it turned out that this news is unlikely because the human remains in the discovered mass graves, hiding victims of lynching at Iguala, did not belong to the missing students.<sup>46</sup>

The degeneration scale of the system of exercising, and at the same time civil supervision over internal and social security in this area of the state was deepened by the information that the search for students contributed to the “discovery in the state of Guerrero, in the hills around Iguala, 60 graves with 129 bodies and their remains”.<sup>47</sup> An investigation into the mass murder of students led to the identification of a DNA profile of one of the abducted normalists. Mexican police in an official announcement confirmed that the remains found at the Cocula dump belong to 19-year-old Alexander Mora, one of the 43 missing students of the Ayotzinapa college. It should be noted that the consequence of the crime committed against the students is the death of the leader of the local self-defence group from Guerrero, Miguel Angel Jimenez Blanco. His body, with a shot-through head, was found on August 8, 2015 near the city of Xaltianguis (about 50 km from Acapulco) in a car parked by the side of the road. This man was murdered because he became involved in the search for 43 students as well as other missing people, discovering the mass graves near Iguala.

In the matter of the death of normalists, the leader of the crime syndicate – Adán Zenén Casarrubias Salgado, known as El Tomate, was arrested in the state of Morales in October 2015. However, an ominous element of the symbiotic and criminal interdependence of Mexican local authorities

---

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>46</sup> Genetic tests in this area were carried out at the Institute of Forensic Medicine in Innsbruck –Austria.

<sup>47</sup> *Szukają zaginionych studentów. Znaleźli 60 grobów*, “TVN 24 BIS”, 27.07.2020, <https://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-ze-swiata,2/zaginiecie-studentow-w-iguali-masowe-groby-w-meksyku,563557.html> (accessed: 1.08.2020).

and the most criminal structures of crime is the unimaginable background of the detention. During the activities involving the wanted, El Tomate was in the company of the Mexican politician Erik Ulises Ramírez Crespo who was the mayor of Cocula in the state of Guerrero. This fact presents an amazing and unbreakable connection of power with criminal structures that have been anchored in the bloodiest place.<sup>48</sup> Additionally, two years after this crime on October 21, 2016 Felipe Flores Velázquez, who was hiding from law enforcement agencies, was arrested. It was established that being the chief of municipal police in Iguala and at the same time the cousin of the mayor J. L. Abarca, he manipulated the facts in an attempt to conceal her role in students' missing.

The appalling dimensions of lawlessness in Mexico indicate how much the criminal octopus of related local government, drug cartels, and gangs terrorize the country, crossing previously impassable borders. In the case of Iguala, the conspiracy of local authorities, including the police, allowed bandits with the acronym *Guerreros Unidos* to infiltrate the town hall of around 120,000 inhabitants. The connections of the mayor of Iguala with the indicated crime syndicate were contributed by his wife, because, as shown, she comes from a family of drug dealers.<sup>49</sup> The described crime revealed how effectively gangs of various kinds, controlling territories reserved as "their" ones, penetrate local governments. A question should also be asked whether the struggle of representatives of local offices with a structural crime in Mexico in certain environments is not only superficial and apparent. The almost widespread corruption of state institutions is the cause of well-functioning narcotic and criminal environments. Certainly, it is more profitable for some government officials to cooperate with professional criminals than to fight them. At the same time, not all agree to this cooperation but being forced by fear, they do not resist providing support and unspoken approval, so as not to receive the so-called "silver or lead" choice.<sup>50</sup> It should be emphasized that about half a million people in this

---

<sup>48</sup> A. Marentes, *Borderland Beat: Reporting on the Mexican Cartel Drug War*, Lulu Publishing, October 14, 2019, p. 55-62.

<sup>49</sup> *Tasr, Vodca kartelu Leyva zomrel vo väzení: Drogový boss podlahol následkom infarktu*, "Nový Čas Nezávislý denník", 19.11.2018, <https://www.cas.sk/clanok/768108/vodca-kartelu-leyva-zomrel-vo-vazeni-drogovy-boss-podlahol-nasledkom-infarktu/> (accessed: 16.09.2020).

<sup>50</sup> K. Kiepora, *Wojna z kartelami narkotykowymi w Meksyku*, „Przegląd Geopolityczny”, 2018, nr 25, pp. 151-161.

country make a living from the drug industry, of which over three hundred thousand are peasants growing marijuana and poppy seeds. Therefore, if the state managed to limit the production and trafficking of drugs, what would be offered to these people in return?

Independent media in Mexico and around the world say the Ayotzinapa students' massacre was a strategic and planned crime. Its goal was to subdue the civil society groups in Iguala and the surrounding municipalities. As Guillermo Trejo points out, the past, present, and future coincide in the Iguala massacre. To understand this crime only in terms of the heinous act of organized crime means only to concern about the present without referring to the past. On the other hand, to interpret this massacre only as a crime for which the state is responsible is to look at the present through the eyes of the past.<sup>51</sup> The described model of local-level policy implementation has highlighted the need for profound changes in terms of stopping further crime growth. The inability to take effective actions using legal means cannot constitute the basis for the political legitimacy of these decisions and the manner of solving disputes or problems. The justification of terror used by local authorities for higher social purposes leads only to the physical elimination of immediate and temporary threats.

### CONCLUSION

The progressive anarchization of social relations in Mexico, and at the same time the prevailing chaos, may lead to political and economic destabilization. Also, on the basis of the presented examples, it can be noticed that the leaders of the drug industry in Mexico have political aspirations at the level of imposing their rules of the game or by supporting in elections only specific people controlled by and cooperating with criminal organizations. As already indicated, the drug problem in this part of the world has not emerged in recent years. However, there was not such a high escalation of the unimaginable level of cruelty, enhancement after the inauguration of the presidency of F. Calderón in 2006. It was accurately accepted in the media that Mexico remains in the depths of a civil war, which in terms of cruelty has no equality because human bodies dissolved in acid, hanging on viaducts, decapitated heads lying around in public places, murders of politicians, policemen, journalists, and their families are common in this

---

<sup>51</sup> G. Trejo, *La industria criminal en Mexico*, "El País", 15.10.2014, [https://elpais.com/elpais/2014/10/14/opinion/1413308987\\_673533.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2014/10/14/opinion/1413308987_673533.html) (accessed: 6.09.2020).

country. Moreover, statistics show that the level of violence in the state increases in proportion to the degree of its degeneration.

The indicated examples of political corruption of the highest state and local government officials, corrupt police services, cooperating, and sometimes obeying the orders of gangs and drug cartels, state that currently in Mexico as many as 96% of committed crimes go unpunished. Unfortunately, for young people with no life prospects to overcome the ubiquitous scarcity, as well as the promise of a long-term myth (to be noticed, appreciated, and the illusion of a better life) is an indispensable bait, even at the cost of being a part of Mexican criminal groups. Banditry and the resulting widespread violence will continue to be the bane of millions of citizens of this country, and until the end of this conflict, the road will be paved with dramatic choices of a lesser evil, including psychological and physical terror, executions, and murders. To successfully combat this scourge, changes are necessary outside Mexico, as drug demand in the US and the rest of the world will continue to fuel this bloody drug business. Organized crime groups achieve local hegemony in the areas of a fearful society that is absolutely incapable of disobeying the dictates of real power. That is why they lure and buy social groups and their leaders, and also use selective repressions and executions to emphasize strength and power.

Therefore, a question can be asked what is the real level of the safety perception of Mexican citizens and whether the local administration institutions and those responsible for combating crime, carry out their duties, following the interest of the public and each citizen. Unfortunately, as indicated by the attempts to take action by public authorities in individual states, they did not contribute to the improvement of security, and thus personal security. The example of the murdered medical doctor Maria del Rosario Fuentes Rubio, and the murders of 43 students from the Normal School of Ayotzinapa reveal the brutal truth. Both the first and second case study revealed that Mexico is a dangerous homeland also for its citizens. The described murders indicate that personal security and the guarantees of its protection by the Mexican state are only theoretical. If citizens take actions against the social order, local authorities, criminal syndicates, or common gangs, they must fear for their lives, actually remaining unprotected.

#### REFERENCES

1. Drzewiecka U., *Narkokultura w życiu społecznym Meksyku*, [in:] *Transformacje w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, A. Walaszek, A. Giera (eds), Kraków 2011.

2. Drzewiecka U., *Ruchy partyzanckie w Meksyku w drugiej połowie XX w. i na początku XXI w.*, [in:] *Ruchy społeczne i etniczne w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, K. Derwich, M. Kania (eds), Kraków 2011.
3. Fernandes R. C., *Oddzielmy narkotyki od broni i przemocy*, [in:] *Wojny narkotykowe. Doniesienia z pola walki*, M. Kropiwnicki, J. Smoleński, M. Sutowski (eds), Warszawa 2011.
4. Kiepuska K., *Wojna z kartelami narkotykowymi w Meksyku*, „Przegląd Geopolityczny”, 2018, no. 25, pp. 151–161.
5. Michel G. G., Park J., *The Cult of Jesús Malverde. Crime and Sanctity as Elements of a Heterogeneous Modernity*, “Latin American Perspectives”, 2014, vol. 41, no. 2.
6. Skorupska M., *Narkoreligia w hybrydowej rzeczywistości Meksyku*, „Nurt SVD”, 2018, pp. 142–153
7. Tomicki R., *Tenochtitlan 1521*, Warszawa 1984.
8. Trejo G., *La industria criminal en Mexico*, “El Pais”, 15.10.2014, [https://elpais.com/elpais/2014/10/14/opinion/1413308987\\_673533.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2014/10/14/opinion/1413308987_673533.html) (accessed: 6.09.2020).

#### NETOGRAPHY

1. Bada R., *De cómo el dinero del premio Nobel de Einstein lo cobró su ex mujer*, “Nexos”, 10.12.2019, <https://www.nexos.com.mx/?p=46156> (accessed: 16.09.2020).
2. Botello M. A., *Devaluación – inflación México – USA 1970–2019. Valuación del peso mexicano respecto al U.S. dolar*, <http://www.mexicomaxico.org/Voto/SobreVal02.htm> (accessed: 6.09.2020).
3. *Guerreros Unidos*, [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerreros\\_Unidos](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerreros_Unidos) (accessed: 16.09.2020).
4. Kęciek K., *Narcos nie znają łaski*, “Tygodnik Przegląd”, 12.02.2012, <https://www.tygodnikprzeglad.pl/narcos-nie-znaja-laski/> (accessed: 12.09.2020).
5. *Masowe porwanie Iguali – 2014 Iguala mass kidnapping*, [https://pl.qwertyu.wiki/wiki/2014\\_Iguala\\_mass\\_kidnapping](https://pl.qwertyu.wiki/wiki/2014_Iguala_mass_kidnapping) (accessed: 1.07.2020).
6. Mauleón H., *Guerreros Unidos*, “Nexos”, 1.02.2016, <https://www.nexos.com.mx/?p=27516> (accessed: 1.07.2020).
7. Sheridan M. B., *Violent criminal groups are claiming more territory*, “The Washington Post”, 29.10.2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/world/mexico-losing-control/mexico-violence-drug-cartels-zacatecas/> (accessed: 12.12.2020).

8. *Szukają zaginionych studentów. Znaleźli 60 grobów*, “TVN 24 BIS”, 27.07.2020, <https://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-ze-swiata,2/zaginiecie-studentow-w-iguali-masowe-groby-w-meksyku,563557.html> (accessed: 1.08.2020).
9. *Tasr, Vodca kartelu Leyva zomrel vo väzení: Drogový boss podlahol následkom infarktu*, “Nový Čas Nezavislý denník”, 19.11.2018, <https://www.cas.sk/clanok/768108/vodca-kartelu-leyva-zomrel-vo-vazeni-drogovy-boss-podlahol-nasledkom-infarktu/> (accessed: 16.09.2020).
10. *The 111 people arrested for the disappearance of 43 students*, “Borderland Beat”, 12.10.2015, <http://www.borderlandbeat.com/2015/10/the-111-people-arrested-for.html> (accessed: 16.08.2020).
11. *The State of Global Food Banking 2018: Nourishing the World*, “The Global Food Banking Network”, October 2018, <http://www.foodbanking.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/GFN-The-State-of-Global-Food-Banking-2018.pdf> (accessed: 6.09.2020).
12. *Tlanonotsalistli, Dziennikarz obywatelski porwany i zabity w Meksyku za raportowanie o przestępczości zorganizowanej*, “Global Voices Advox”, 17.10.2014, <https://pl.globalvoices.org/2014/11/meksykanska-dziennikarka-obywatelska-zamordowana-za-relacje-o-przestepczosci-zorganizowanej/> (accessed: 1.07.2020).
13. *Virus-proof Violence: Crime and COVID-19 in Mexico and the Northern Triangle*, “Latin America Report”, 2020, no. 83, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/83-virus-proof-violence-crime-and-covid-19-mexico-and-northern-triangle> (accessed: 12.09.2020).
14. *Willa María de los Ángeles Pineda*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mar%C3%ADa\\_de\\_los\\_%C3%81ngeles\\_Pineda\\_Villa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mar%C3%ADa_de_los_%C3%81ngeles_Pineda_Villa) (accessed: 1.07.2020).

**CITE THIS ARTICLE AS:**

J. Pruchniak, *Dysfunction of Mexico in terms of personal security*, “Security Dimensions”, 2021, no. 36, pp. 200–222, DOI 10.5604/01.3001.0015.0493.

Licence: This article is available in Open Access, under the terms of the Creative Commons License Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0; for details please see <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided that the author and source are properly credited. Copyright © 2021 University of Public and Individual Security “Apeiron” in Cracow