Bachelor Thesis in Political Science

Mexico’s response to the drug war
and its impact on human security

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Abstract

Drug war has become a global issue that is affecting the whole population. One country that has been especially affected is Mexico. There are more than 120 million people living in Mexico and only in 2007 and 2008 more than eight thousand were assassinated in relation to drug conflicts, including over 500 police officers. Kidnapping has also increased enormously. Since The Human Security aspect is taking more and more space on the international agenda, it has been chosen as a theoretical framework for this study.

In order to answer the research question, which is to what extent the Mexican government has taken human security principles into account in the war against the drug cartels, a case study method has been used. Focus of the study is the aspect of human security and antidrug policies in Mexico, between 2004 and 2010.

The results of this study show that there is a lack of Human Security Principles in the Mexican strategy to fight the drug cartels. During Felipe’s Calderon president mandate the power has been given to the military forces, excluding the police from the governmental actions. Civilians rights and threats to their personal security has been forgotten and that had led to many violations of human rights.

Keywords
Mexico, drug war, human security, cartels, UN
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1. Introduction

“See, if you look at the drug war from a purely economic point of view, the role of the government is to protect the drug cartel. That's literally true.”
— Milton Friedman, 1991

Drugs have been a global problem since many years ago. But today it has become a war between different cartels, a war that kills civilians and innocent people. A country that has been affected by this issue, in both social and security aspect, is Mexico. Already in the 1980s Mexico became home to some of the most violent drug trafficking organizations in the world. It started with a small smuggling business and turned to be an enormous multi-national empire. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and the Mexican Federal Police believe that today there can be more than 100 active drug trafficking organizations, only in Mexico (Beittel, 2009). Statistics from DEA show that in 2001 The Juvenal trafficking organization was smuggling about 30 metric tons of cocaine per month through Mexico into the United States (DEA, 2001). The export of narcotics from Mexico to the US was tolerated by the Mexican government during many years. Because of the widespread corruption, the drug lords and the politicians found their ways to make money and skip the law (Beittel, 2009).

Drug-related violence has always been a delicate issue and statistics from DEA show an increasing trend since 2007. Only in 2008, around 6,000 people had been killed, which is 110 percent more than in 2007. Among these people, 522 were Mexican military and law enforcement officials. According to the U.S Department of State, in 2009 the violence increased with 146 percent (Beittel, 2009). Javier Oliva, national security specialist at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, argues that different cartels are cooperating by exchanging contacts and illegal markets, but the issue of weapons training is dividing them. The numbers of how many drug traffickers has received gun-training are unknown (Fox News Latino, 2015).

The Americas barometer shows different statistics from all countries in Latin America. One very significant is the one that shows the percentage of people that have seen or have heard about illegal drug sales in their neighbourhood. This data is from 2014. Mexico is not in the top five thought (Romero, 2015).
Another statistic, also from Americas barometer, show peoples main concerns since 2004 until 2014. The economy and security are classified as the two most important. About 36 percent of the respondents answered that it is still the most crucial part of life for them. At the same time, it’s importance has decreased during these ten years, while the aspect of security has taken more space (Romero, 2015).

One more important aspect of the statistics from Americas Barometer is the confidence to the armed force and the police in 2014. When it comes to armed forces the percentage is relatively high, but in countries like Canada and Ecuador. Mexico is in the middle of the chart. The analysis of the confidence to the police, on the other hand, shows much lower results. Canada has the highest rate, of 67 points. Mexico 39. It shows a big difference between these countries (Romero, 2015).

1.1 Aim of the research

The aim of this study is to research to what extent the human security principles have been taken in to account in the drug-war in Mexico. The research will concentrate on the period of 2004-2010. It is an interesting issue of global level that is worth to analyse and understand. It is important to realize that this problem has become everybody’s issue and has to be resolved in as soon as possible. The research will concentrate on articles and books that are related to this issue, and also statistics from different data bases, both from Mexico and international organizations. Such question that involves states, organizations, people and lives needs to be narrowly described and analysed.

The research question of this study is to what extent the Mexican government has taken human security principles into account in the war against the drug cartels?

1.2 Methodology and theoretical framework

In order to investigate and answer the main question of my Bachelor thesis, which is to what extent the Mexican government has taken human security principles into account in the war against the drug cartels the qualitative research method will be used, and also the already existing data from different databases. The qualitative method is a set of practice that seek to improve collective understanding. It provides a deeper analyse of the research problem.
alongside with increasing knowledge of the area (Esaiasson, et al., 2012:237). The qualitative research of this study will be done using the aspect of human security and its principles.

This research is going to be a one-case study, where the focus will lie on the aspect of human security and antidrug policies in Mexico. The case study is based on detailed analysis of an aspect of an episode to test or find explanations of it (George & Bennet, 2005; 5). A case is a phenomenon that interests us and that we want to study in detail (George & Bennet, 2005; 17). The case study method has four strengths that are a huge advantage for the investigator. This method allows to achieve high level of conceptual validity, by considering the contextual factors. It gives opportunity to derive new hypotheses, to examine the causal mechanisms in concrete cases and to find complex causal relations (George & Bennet, 2005; 17-22). However, this study method has a few limitations and trade-offs. It has been criticized for being prone to selection bias, that it can only make provisional conclusions, having a "degrees of freedom problem" and lack of representativeness (George & Bennet, 2005; 22-33).

1.3 Previous research

Previous research about the drug war is crucial for this study, in order to be able to understand all the aspects of this issue. There are many different papers about this subject, depending on the main focus of the study. Here, two books and an article, have been chosen. …

Many official documents and researcher focus mainly on the effect of drug war from the perspective of the state, forgetting about the impact of this issue on individuals. That is why human security aspect, that includes different types of security, such as personal and political security, is important to discuss.

Jacobsson, a researcher in the area of the U.S and drug policies, mentions the problem with drugs and cartels in his War, drugs and media- Arenas of conflict, from 2003. US Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) claims that the economic cost of drugs for the society is about 168 billion dollars. That includes health care, crime and criminal justice system. Since 1990 the drug use in the US is increasing slowly, but has decreased in comparison to the 70s and 80s (Jacobsson, 2003:69).
Jacobsson explains the drug trend with help of different analytical models, that take into account the drug use and different anti-drug policies. The results show that with the introduction of new domestic laws the use of drugs is slowly decreasing. At the same time there is no big relation between the enforcement of new laws and crime with drugs as background. The research has shown as well that the price of drugs, such as cocaine or heroin, has decreased in the 90s (Jacobsson, 2003:71). Jacobssons research is an important addition to the studies about the drug use and different policies and their effect on the drug trends.

Another interesting work is Tokatlian’s, a director of the department of political science and international studies at the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella in Buenos Aires, chapter about Colombia, from Rojas book *Elusive Peace*. He takes up the issue of Plan Colombia. It is a security assistance plan that the US started in 2000 for Colombia. It involved 7.5 billion dollars and was divided into three parts (Tokatlian, 2005:57).

The first one was about ‘offering a carrot’, which means that the US wanted to strengthen the contact between people and institutions. The second one was about security and antinarcotic assistance, including benefits for the Colombian army and police. Third part consisted of support to improve social conditions. The current US government argued that Europe is not doing enough to help countries like Colombia, and that is why they needed to interfere to push the development forward (Tokatlian, 2005:58). His chapter is an interesting explanation of how the U.S are dealing with the drug problem and what kind of measures they take to help other countries.

Nicole Mcgee, from Portland State University, argues in her article that Mexico was invisible in the cocaine trade until 1990s. It was Colombian cartels, the Cali and Medellín, that were the most powerful in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1984 the U.S stopped the drug trafficking through Florida, where all the drugs where shipped from Colombia. Drug smuggling started to enter into the Mexico, to transport it further to the U.S. when the Colombian drug organizations started to lose power, because of the reinforcement for the Colombian government from the United States, Mexican cartels, such as Sinaloa and Tijuana, began to rise (Mcgee, 2013).

In the 1994 the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was introduced. Import tariffs and quotas has been cancelled and it made it possible for Mexico enter on the market, with the U.S and Canada. It led to many changes in economic policies. One of them was the importation
of maize from the U.S, what started to slowly kill the Mexican market. It is seen as one of the reason to the cartels growth. Around 14 percent of the farms became nonviable and people lost their jobs and turned to the illegal trade, for example drug trade. The Mexican government was not prepared for the changes and did not do enough to prevent it. The Institutional Revolutionary Party that was governing in Mexico for over 70 years permitted the cartels to increase their power (Mcgee, 2013).

1.4 Selection of case

The selection of the case is very important and requires a full consideration of the information that is needed for the analysis. The number of the cases is limited in this Bachelor thesis to make it possible to have a deep understanding of the issue. Since it is a case study, it is enough to include only one case, as in this example Mexico (Goodrick, 2014).

Mexico has been chosen as a country for the analysis of antidrug policies and the aspect of human security principles. There are many countries in South and Central Amerika that are involved in the war on drugs. The area that was mainly affected was the Caribbean region, which is called the ‘transit zone’, by the US government. This term means that the drugs pass from the production zone to the consumption zone through this region (Beruff & Cordero, 2005: 303). At the same time the countries in the Caribbean has no bigger importance on the international level and have not managed to set up any further strategies to fight the cartels. This is the reason why Mexico has been chosen as a case for this study. Since late 90s the countries in Central America has been more and more affected by the influence of the cartels, because the drug transport is easy to make on land. That is why many cartels have chosen to go through these countries instead of trying in the Caribbean area. Mexico is the border to the U.S that is connecting these two worlds with drugs (Freeman & Sierra, 2005: 263).

1.5 Delimitations

The main limitation of this work is the possibility to access all relevant and available sources. To find all data is time consuming and to limit the selection of needed information can be problematic as well. Since there is a limit of time it is hard to make a comparative case study including all possible important issues in the question of drug war. It is needed to do a few delimitations, in order to make it possible to find some valuable conclusions. That is why only
one country, Mexico, has been chosen for this research.

The second delimitation is to look only at the principles of human security. There are different components and approaches that can be used, but the principles are the most important and relevant ones.

1.6 Structure of thesis

The introduction of this thesis was presented in chapter one, together with the description of the research question and previous research of this subject. Chapter two is to give an understanding about the research method, which is a case study. Chapter three is where the theoretical framework is going to be presented, where the human security aspect is explained. Chapter four presents the results of the research, about the drug policies and the principles of human security. Chapter five will include conclusions about the policies, the aspect of human security and the methodology.
2. Methodological framework

2.1 Research Methodology

This research is a discussion about antidrug policies in Mexico and whether the Mexican government has taken the principles of Human Security into account. In order to gain this form of knowledge, the research will combine with a suitable theoretical framework. The research will be done as a case study. It will make it possible to provide a good understanding of the subject, as well as taking into account all valuable aspects of this issue. Case studies concern individuals, personal or collective phenomenon (Eckstein, 2000:119).

Furthermore, the methodology selected for this research, case study, is a research method that makes it possible to provide a deep examination of a concrete case. A case can be defined as ‘a phenomenon for which we report and interpret only a single measure on any pertinent variable’ (Eckstein, 2000:124). Case study can take various forms with focus on different things. These are number of cases, in how detailed the study is going to be, the size of the case, the context of the case and restrictions of the research (Gomm, 2000:4).

This type of research is made over time and with a purpose of emphasize understanding of different contexts. It can be selected in cases where it is needed to comprehend and explain the subject more briefly. It requires the specific description of the case, or cases, at the beginning of the study and made correct questions that we help to build the analytical framework. Case studies can include both qualitative and quantitative data. In this case only the qualitative study is going to be made. The analysis of documents, observations and statistics provides an extra understanding of all the aspects of the issue. The selection of data for case studies requires analytical work and certain amount of information. This research method is time and resources-intensive (Goodrick, 2014).

Case study is suitable to use in different circumstances. For example, when ‘how’ questions are asked, when more than one intervention or implementation has been used and when the brief understanding of the context is needed. In this Bachelor thesis the research question is about the implementation of human security principles in the antidrug policies. In this type of research questions, it is required to analyse and interpret all aspects that are included in the research question (Goodrick, 2014). The main advantage of the case study is that it provides a full
understanding and concrete descriptions and knowledge about the analysed case (Gomm, 2000:7).

There are four important key factors that have to be taken in account in the case study. These are the research problem, case selection, inferential aspirations and theorizing. The method has to be chosen adequately to the research problem, case selection will determine the results, the study should not go too far (Landman, 2003:238).

Case study method faces three important obstacles in order to make a reliable analysis. The first one is the number of the variables. It can occur that they are too many comparing to the amount of the units, countries. That can lead to not relevant results. The second one is the problem with the balance of the concepts and indicators. The third problem is the possible omission of the key variables that can also change the results (Landman, 2003:40).

The problem with too many variables is common for many researches. It can be difficult to delimit it correctly and adequately to the subject. The variables that are going to be used in this work are the antidrug policies and different aspects of human security, to get a broader understanding on the impact on people in Mexico. Another thing that needs to be considered in this research is the omission of some key aspects that can be determining for this case.

An important strength of this research method is the inclusion of all important and relevant factors. Since the study is only made on one country it is easier to focus on more aspects at the same time. This type of studies may not lead to generalized conclusions, but on the other hand it makes it possible to find more concrete answers (Landman, 2003:228).

From the methodological point of view, the biggest weakness in this type of study is the selection of the countries-cases. To make the research more concrete and focused on a few variables Mexico has been chosen, as a country with connections to US and with the highest rate of drug-related violence (Landman, 2003:230).

2.2 Research design

The research of this thesis is going to be done on a domestic level, which includes the antidrug policies of Mexico. The domestic level of analysis includes aspects such as political parties,
political institutions and governments. That is why it is adequate to do this research in that way, where the main focus in on the government’s policies (World Politics Blog, 2011).

Qualitative method is helpful with an analysis of few countries, as in this case where only one country is chosen for the case study. In this research a macro qualitative method is going to be used (Landman, 2003:19). A qualitative method allows the research to concentrate on unique factors of this special case and at the same time makes it possible to see the aspect from many different angles. This type of research requires a concrete selection of the units of the analysis (Landman, 2003:79). The distinction between case study methods depends on the level of abstraction and the scope of countries under the study. Since this research is only concerning one country, it means that less amount of aspects can be taken in the analysis (Landman, 2003:24).

The research will include analysis of various texts and books about the Mexico drug war in specific. It will also take in account an analysis of the national statistics from Mexico, regarding different antidrug policies and different aspects of human security. This analysis is required to provide a brief understanding of this issue, by using available and reliable sources. The biggest benefit of using the qualitative method is that the meaning of the whole text is included, which can be forgotten in the quantitative research. It makes it possible to bring all the key aspects of the subject (Esaiasson, 2012:237).

2.3 Material

The material that is relevant for analysis of this issue will be chosen from the specific sources about security questions in Mexico, from official websites with data and information and surveys done there. Example of useful and relevant source is the American barometer, where the official statistics from Latin America are summarized, about different sectors such as security or economy. Another important source are the official documents from UN, about Human Security and Human Rights. The study will cover the period from year 2004 until 2010.

In order to avoid one-sided views, the sources are going to be analysed in three different languages, well known for me. In many cases there are lacks of information in English or Swedish when it comes to countries like Mexico or Colombia, where the level of English might not be good enough. Many sources are written in the original language, which is Spanish, which
enables a more concrete view of all angles of the issue. Since the level of Spanish of the writer is very good, it would diversify more the study of drug trafficking and provide the results with deeper findings from the original sources.

2.4 Reliability and validity

Validity means that we measure what is relevant for the context. It is important to strive after a high validity in every research. It is about using the right information in the right time. The concept of validity can be defined in three ways: a consistency between theoretical definition and operational indicator and absence of systematic errors, these two are construct validity. The third one is about measuring what we claim to measure, which is the results validity. It is very important to remember that a good construct validity with high reliability is providing good results validity (Esaiasson, 2012: 63).

The concept of reliability is often used in different research methods. It is about obtaining the same results in repeated tests, but it doesn’t mean that the results are valid only because of the reliability. High reliability thus means the absence of systemic and random errors in the research (Esaiasson, 2012: 70). There is also a distinction between internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to valid conclusions of descriptive or explanatory nature in the basis of the limited analytical units that have been chosen for the research. External validity, on the other hand, refers to the possibilities to generalize both descriptive and explanatory conclusions from the selected units, that has been explored to some kind of larger and more relevant population or cases (Esaiasson, 2012:64).

Since the qualitative study could give many different outcomes, which means that the reliability may not be a useful indicator. That is why the main focus of this research is to achieve a high results validity, which means to be able to prove that the research is measuring what was claimed to measure. At the same time, the internal validity is included in the concern about validity. Information needed for this research is gathered from reliable sources and official websites, such as The United Nations reports and statistics. The fact that the study includes only one case is strengthening the validity, since the marginal for the errors is very low. However, it limits the possibility of generalization, or the external validity. Consequently, it is important to mention, that this research does not give a high level of generalization of the results (Esaiasson, 2012:58).
3. Theoretical framework

“...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment.” – The Commission on Human Security


Human security is a new way to see on both security and development at the same time. It concerns the security of individuals and communities, not only states on international level. The debate on human security is relatively new in political science. It became important after the United Nations Development Programme published their report in 1994. It connected the interstate relations with social, political and economic policies (Richmond, 2005:27). The UN argued that the concept of security has been wrongly interpreted by only including the territory of the states (Kaldor, 2007:182).

The roots of human security lay in political liberalism, where the freedom of individuals is above all and should be guaranteed by the state, international actors, etc. It is seen as ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’. It includes both positive and negative freedom (Richmond, 2005:29). Security is a very broad concept. The fundamentals of it are questions about who or what are the objects of different types of security and if it concerns individuals, groups, states or the whole world. Nowadays the most valuable concept includes both traditional and new aspects of security. It provides a deeper understanding of conflicts, etc. (Richmond, 2005:28).

The Commission on Human Security (CHS) has declared a new paradigm of security that is related to two sets of dynamics: first, human security is required because of the old and new security threats, such as climate change or international terrorism, and second, it is required as an approach that gives new opportunities to accoutrement such problems with the strategies that include the aspects of human rights, development and national security (United Nations-Human Security Unit, 2009). The CHS defines human security as a fundamental protection of freedoms, that are the basis for our lives. That refers to protection from critical and pervasive threats. It can include creating political, social, economic and military systems that will provide safety for the people (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

The idea of human security has developed in two different directions. The first one is the way that for example the Canadian government has taken. It is to adopt the rules and establish them. It has been summarized in the Human Security Report from 2005. The main focus of this
approach is the security of individuals (Kaldor, 2007:183). The second one is the approach taken by UNPD, which is pointing the importance of development and strategies. In real life the balance of them both is required for a well-functioning society (Kaldor, 2007:183). The most popular approach of human security is the one taken by UNPD, based on development. Welfare is seen in this model as a basis for security, individuals are in the centre and press on the importance of prevention, instead of military conflict. That is why human security is a very useful approach to handle humanitarian interventions and state building (Richmond, 2005:28).

There are different ways in which human security idea could profit the aspect of development. First of all, human security's objective is to provide elemental conditions for the development. These are physical safety, rule of law and sustainable institutions. Second, human security involves human development. And third, it puts more focus on the needs of individuals than on economy and states. Summarizing, human security approach intent is to protect people and their needs and values (Kaldor, 2007:197).

Human security connects all the human elements of the security and rights. It puts the individual in the centre and provides a brief understanding of the threats to human security. Depending on the seven different types of human security, there are diverse types of human security threats. Personal security, economic security, food security, health security, environment security, community security and political security are the seven mentioned types (United Nations-Human Security Unit, 2009).

Two important aspects for achieving Human Security are protection and empowerment. CHS defines protection as “strategies, set up by states, international agencies, NGOs and the private sector, [to] shield people from menaces”. That refers to the protection of the people from critical situations. States have the primary obligation to secure such protection, but also non-governmental actors, private sector and regional organizations. Empowerment, on the other hand, is defined by CHS as “strategies [that] enable people to develop them resilience to difficult situations”. It means that individuals and states have the capability to act and use their potential to find the ways and solutions for the conflicts (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

Human security policies are seen by many researcher as a complement to state security. It is because the world is not only about the military crisis any more. Human security tasks, such as
hunger or people migration are increasing in the political sphere. In the past, the question of security was about foreign affairs, and development was separated from that. Today, it is not convenient for us to see on those issues separately, because they have a strong connection and interaction with each other (Kaldor, 2007:196).

Human security highlights the connection between threats and responses to them. All threats are interconnected, which means that one can lead to another and can spread to bigger areas, for example from one country to another or even have an international effect (United Nations-Human Security Unit, 2009). Crime, insecurity and violence are the biggest threats for the social and economic development. Insecurity leads to isolation of people and groups as well as to increased corruption. Lack of trust in institutions and economic opportunities can affect social cohesion (Richmond, 2005:185).

Human security has been adopted in the recent years as one of the most popular doctrines to guide foreign policies. The big debate about human security today is concerning the question on how far the states and organizations could go to introduce this aspect in their policies. Many researchers and politicians argue that the future of human security lays in the UN hands and their reforms. (Richmond, 2005:35).

Human security consists of five principles. These are people-centered, multi-sectoral, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented. Every principle goes together with approaches about how to achieve the security.

3.1 People-centered principle

People-centered principle places the individual in the centre. The focus is on different threats to the survival and the vulnerabilities and capacities of the affected people or communities. The causes of the problem are analysed using the ‘degree of cause’. The approach of this principle considers the role of the individuals and communities in the process of achieving security. It determines the insecurities to find all possible resources and mechanisms that fit to the problem, to further develop strategies based on the needed capacities (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009). Policies made with the people-centred principle should include political, economic, social, military, cultural and environmental goals to give people peace and development (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).
3.2 Multi-sectoral principle

The principle concerns all possible insecurities, related to economic, food, health, personal, environmental, community and political security. It focuses on all possible threats in all dimensions, starting on the local level. The approach of the multi-sectoral principle concentrates on dialogue among the key actors from all the sectors that are included in the issue, and also to ensure cooperation between all the participators (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

Main threats to these types of security are poverty, hunger, diseases, pollution, crime, violence, identity based tensions and human rights abuses. Moreover, the aspect of human security highlights the connection of both threats and responses to them. One threat can lead to another, as in a domino effect, and small threats within a little area can spread to an international level and affect global security (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009). The interdependence has a huge effect on the policy-making, thus the threats to human security cannot be resolved with alone responses. That is why human security involves comprehensive approach as well, that stress the importance for cooperation and multisectorality to find a way to deal with human security. A multi-sectoral agenda includes: the aspect of development and human welfare, a practical framework for both positive and negative outcomes of interventions, integrated solutions from the fields of human rights and security and also helps to share knowledge and ensure policy coherence across all the fields and areas (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

3.3 Comprehensive principle

The principle focuses on the need for cooperation and responses from all sectors together, to deal with security and development issues. It identifies the lack of policies in the involved sectors, by doing a broad analysis to understand the issue briefly. The approach is considering the seven components of human security and does not consider the analysis of all actors and parts relevant for the issue (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

Comprehensive responses, together with multi-sectoral, are needed to be able to fully understand how a single threat can affect our universal freedoms and independence. The solutions made with these principles show more improvements in the daily lives of the people (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).
3.4 Context-specific principle

Threats to the human security vary a lot between countries and areas. They depend on different factors and circumstances. As a universal and flexible approach, human security implements a powerful framework that makes it possible to see the specific case with all angles and possible outcomes. Its focus lays on processes and needs of the people, enables the improvement of more adequate solutions defining changes of the security issues on the international, regional and domestic levels (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

The principle acknowledges that security is a very broad concept and that is why advanced solutions are needed. The analysis should incorporate all needed contexts and indicators of the local information. Also the gaps in the existing security policies are important to look after, in order to be able to change them. The approach of this principle requires a deep analysis of the situation and focus on the concrete needs of the affected people. Should lead to adequate solutions, including local, national, regional and global dimensions (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

3.5 Prevention-oriented principle

Focus of this principle lays in protection and empowerment, to find the roots and causes of insecurities. Prevention is as important as the responses of the people. The approach of this principle is about identifying the risks and the causes of the problem. The solution should be protection and empowerment framework (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

Implementing preventive strategies can have a huge impact on the result of a conflict. The tools to prevent conflicts include early warning mechanisms, diplomatic missions, targeted sanctions and peacekeeping operations. The education of people has a main role in preventing process. Basic education for all the inhabitants is fundamental for the future of the country (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

3.6 Operationalising the theoretical framework

Operationalization is central for empirical studies. It is a development of making indicators of the theoretical framework (Esaiasson, 2012: 55-57). The chosen indicators will result in clearly
structured analysis of this case. The research will include five indicators, that are the five principles of human security, people-centered, multi-sectoral, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented. The Mexico’s government strategies and policies to fight the drug cartels will be analysed in connection with these principles, in order to see in what extent, the Mexican government has taken them into account and how does the drug war affect people.
4. Results

4.1 Background

A short background about Mexico and its political situation can be helpful for the readers to understand the complexity of drug war and its outcomes.

There are approximately 120 million people living in Mexico. Only in 2007 and 2008 more than eight thousand were killed in relation to drug conflicts, including over 500 police officers. The deadliest week, according to Mexico’s daily Reforma, was the end of August 2008 when 167 people were murdered. 2008 was also a year when several government officials were killed by the drug cartels, including the chief of federal police Edgar M. Gomez, and Aristeo Gomez Martinez, who was in charge of the personal security of president Calderon (Gereben, 2009).

Felipe Calderon won the presidential elections in 2006. He made the fight against the cartels to his priority. He claimed that drugs are the main threat to the country and the cartels must disappear. The army and new laws were his arms to fight the drug kings. He introduced arresting of traffickers, check points in the different parts of the country, burning fields of marijuana and opium and control of the shipments along the whole coast of Mexico (Beittel, 2009).

According to the federal statistics of Mexico, the number of kidnappings increased with 35 percent only at the turn of 2007 and 2008. The expended actions of cartels can be due to the fact that they got more access to weapons, mostly exported from the U.S, and protection from former special forces, for example the Zetas, that was before Mexican military operation force. Luis Astorga, a drug trafficking expert at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, argued in 2007 that the cartels are ongoing a transformation and becoming more like organized terror groups, not only drug dealers any more (Gereben, 2009).

Corruption is also a huge problem in Mexico, especially when it comes to the war on drugs with the cartels. The large sums of cash smuggled to Mexico from drug sales in the U.S are often used to corrupt Mexican law enforcement. The Mexican police has been corrupted on all possible levels and that led to presidents Calderon decision to believe in the military instead, and give them power to fight the cartels in order to avoid more corruption. In November 2008 at least 35 officials and agents were fired or arrested for disclosure of key information about
drug activities. Also, at the same time, two former officers of Interpol in Mexico were find to have cooperated with Sinaloa Cartel (Gereben, 2009).

The major criminal organizations that are ruling the market of drugs today are: Sinaloa Federation and Cartel, Gulf Cartel, Beltran Leyva Organization, Tijuana Cartel, Juarez Cartel, Loz Zetas. These are only the most known and most aggressive ones (Beittel, 2009).

4.2 Implementation of Human Security Approaches in Mexico

To be able to govern a country in consideration of human security principles it is needed to put human security aspects on the top of the agenda, respect human rights and humanitarian law, make efforts to end the conflict, people’s safety should be assured by different policies and conditions for democratic governance should be created (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

According to Commission on Human Security there are five approaches that are fundamental for the protection of people. These are: placing the aspect of human security on top of the political agenda, focusing on humanitarian actions, respecting human rights, fighting violence and crimes and preventing conflicts (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

Human Security can be seen as a complement to state security in four ways. Its main focus lays on individuals, more than the state, it includes new threats that have not been taken into account before, such as drug related violence, the number of actors is expended and the fact that human security is not only about protection but also about prevention (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

To make a strategy or a policy is a complicated task. In order to protect human rights and human security an analysis of multi-sectorality could be rewarding. The analysis concerns the aspects of area, resources and monitoring. The most important point is to remember that an intervention in a certain area can affect other areas in a negative way and that previous research about the situation could be an advantage for decision making process. The biggest challenge of implementing this approach is avoidance of bigger conflict between the involved actors (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).
In order to implement a complete human security strategy there are five steps to follow. First, and very important, to make a full analysis of the situation. Next step is to make a map of all possible needs and capacities to later go further to building strategies. Step 4 and 5 are an implementation and the outcome of introduced human security approach (United Nations-Human Security Unit, 2009).

The UN Security Council has developed the understating of security by introducing new values to it, such as the connection between security and children, women, refugees and diseases. Four main themes have been pointed out as crucial for progress. These are the protection of civilians in conflicts, focus on women and children, special care of children taking part in armed conflicts and prevention of upcoming conflicts (Commission on Human Security, 2003). A very important Human Security principle, that involves these new values is People-centered principle, which main focus is the individuals and communities. Calderon’s administration has started an open war with the cartels, by increasing the number of police officers and soldiers and concentrating on the leaders of the cartels. His strategy does not include social or cultural protection for the civilians, that suffer not only from the part of the cartels, but also because of violent military actions (Gereben, 2009).

In the last twenty years DTOs from Mexico, Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations, has increased their violent actions on civilian population. That includes kidnapping and human trafficking. The cartels conflicts have become a battle that affects individual lives of common people and a direct war with the police and military. U.S Joint Forces Command released in 2008 a report arguing that Mexico’s government could be in danger of losing control over the country because of the constant assaults by criminal gangs and cartels. However, Hillary Clinton, after her visit in Mexico in 2009, claimed that the country was making a huge progress against the drug cartels and stressed that she strongly believes that the Mexican government will be able to control the situation and end the ongoing drug war (Gereben, 2009).

The United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) argues that crime rates across the border is slowly decreasing since 2004. But it is only in the cities in the U.S. The city of Juárez, in Mexico, has begun to be one of the most violent cities in the whole world. It could be compared to the violence rate in Afghanistan. Killing, kidnapping and theft have been an everyday problem (Beittel, 2009).
Another increasing problem in Mexico in the last ten years has been kidnapping. Only in 2008 over one thousand people were kidnapped, but according to the human rights report on Mexico, from the U.S State Department, the actual number of disappeared people is much higher. Many of the victims were killed or never returned home (Gereben, 2009). The violence has not only been towards the members of different cartels but also high level officials and middle-class people. Moreover, it has been seen that the areas of battles and conflicts are spreading. Both inter-cartel conflicts, between and among members of different DTOs, and intra-cartel conflicts, inside the same DTO, have increased in the 2000s. Violence is not only used for the control of the territory but first of all to scare the police and common people. Scaring the law enforcement forces has shown that the drug cartels may get easier access to their areas and tracks, without any disturbance from the government (Gereben, 2009).

4.2.1 The administration of Felipe Calderon

Felipe Calderon started his presidency in 2006 and made the fight against the cartels, crime, corruption and reforms in security aspect as main focus for his administration period. However, there was a huge need of completely new strategy, which has never been properly done. There was a lack of definition and description of new security threats, possible ways of fighting them and prioritizing. Calderon did change the previous National Development Plan, but without any further part for human security aspects (Gereben, 2009). There was still a huge need of a broader analysis of the drug problem in each area of the country, together with its impact on the society. The Context-specific principle is therefore still not developed or included in the Mexican policy. The needs of people involved in this conflict are not taken into account as they should, in order to provide a full Human Security politics and protection for the civilians (Gereben, 2009).

Calderon’s plan was some large-scale operations in different parts of the country at the same time. The results of his decision have been mixed. Drug-related violence expanded after 2006. More than 10,000 organized crime related murders every year since 2006. It is due to the increasing control by the army of the areas where the drug dealers used to operate. It has driven the cartels to new areas where they continued to fight for the power (Beittel, 2009). In May 2009 in Michoacan, the government of Mexico made the biggest arrest of the history of Mexico
of politicians and senior officials. It was an anti-drug operation where in total 28 mayors and other officials were detained for connections to the drug cartels (Gereben, 2009).

Military forces have always been involved in the fight against the cartels but it was Calderon’s administration that put most trust in them and chose to enlist around 40,000 troops to fight the drug war. However, it raised concern on the international level, about the actual actions of military forces. Mexico’s National Human Rights Commission released a report in 2008 with about 900 cases of complaints against the actions of military in Mexico (Gereben, 2009).

Human security’s concern in Mexico includes increased corruption, crime and drug gangs. According to study made by ICESI in 2008, Insituto Ciudadano de Estudios Sobre la Inseguridad, 71 percent of the participating people don’t feel safe in their homes or cities where they live (Gereben, 2009). Mary Kaldor, director of the Civil Society and Human Security Research Unit at London School of economics, argues that the military forces are abusing their power and instead of protecting people and the law, they are only trying to fight the enemy. The government is not focusing on the protection of the civilians, but on the war with the cartels. In order to make a proper Human Security strategy it is important to take into account the Multi-Sectoral Principle that includes all seven types of security and responses to possible threats. It is clear that Calderon’s administration does not focus enough on threats like hunger, poverty or personal insecurity. There is also any structure of either positive or negative outcomes of his military actions (Beittel, 2009).

The lack of security structure and shifting responsibilities shows that there is no advanced comprehensive security strategy in Mexico. Military has more power in fighting the drug cartels and crimes than the government and the police. The military is seen to be less corrupt but at the same time it has shown to be more aggressive and have act on their own on several occasions. There is no cooperation between forces in Mexico and this makes it more difficult to achieve positive results on the national level (Gereben, 2009).

As mentioned before, there are seven components of Human Security Comprehensive Principle. These are personal security, economic security, food security, health security, environment security, community security and political security. Each of them requires a special and adjusted strategy to enhance protection. To achieve economic security for example, the basic incomes and both private and public employment sector have to be established. In order to do that the
given country or region needs to have financial reserves and diversified agriculture and economy (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009). According to National Institute of Statistics and Geography in Mexico the unemployment rate in 2006 was 3.2 percent, while in 2010 5.5 percent. This may show that the economic situation in the country is at a very good level, but corruption is still an ongoing problem that needs to be fixed (National Institute of Statistics and Geography in Mexico, 2016).

Another important component is personal security. Well-functioning rule of law and enforced protection of human rights are crucial to obtain it. Adaptive strategies are a good way to make it possible, which in Mexico’s case is a problematic issue due to the fact that there is a constant lack of governmental strategies, that include human security aspect (Gereben, 2009).

4.2.2 Mexican police forces

When it comes to comparison of policing effort in Mexico and neighbouring countries, it is actually on a similar level. In 2008 Mexico had 370 police officers per 100 thousand people, in the U.S was it 225 officers and in Panama 384. Despite the fact that the policing effort is comparable to the other countries the results are not satisfying. One of the problems within the police are the differences between salaries. Officers in capital earn more money than those that work on the outsides. Those working in the rural areas earn even less. This leads to corruption and ineffectiveness (Gereben, 2009).

John P. Walters, former director of the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (2001-2009), argues that raised violence of the cartels could be a sign that they are trying new measures because of shrinkage of their area and power. The continual battle to control drug trafficking routes between the DTOs and security forces is the main risk of conflict. The cartels use their money from drug sales not only to buy weapons but also to corrupt public officials to be able to secure their tracks (Gereben, 2009).

Confidence in Mexican security has always been low, but trust in the police forces is extremely low. According to Transparencia Mexicana, which is part of Transparency International, 80 percent of the Mexican population considers police corrupt, while military is having most trust of all institutions. National Corruption Index, another survey from Transparencia, showed that
in 2007 around ten percent of all agreements were done demanding some form of bribe (Gereben, 2009).

As mentioned before, Mexico is one of the countries with the highest level of corrupted officials and police officers. That is why people and president Calderon gave more trust to the military. The fight against the cartels was completely handed over to the military of Mexico. It is a proof of lack of a comprehensive security strategy in the country, where there is an enormous absence of responsibility division (Gereben, 2009).

President Calderon introduced a public security reform proposing higher salaries and more training, based on U.S model, for the police officers. A new police academy has also been opened, promoting international techniques and development, to try to change the mentality and skills of the Mexican police force. More than one thousand men become new police officers and the plan was to open more identical academies at the municipal level (Gereben, 2009).

Another succeeded institution created by Calderon’s administration is National Assessment and Reliability Control Centre with the purpose to supervise every worker of the police institution and make sure them fit the new model of the police. In 2008 all police and federal forces were united into a single entity (Gereben, 2009). This shows that Mexico is on a good way to implement a Prevention-oriented principle in countries policy, by opening new police schools and by sharing international methods and knowledge. It is also required to put more effort on education about drugs form the very beginning and on early warning mechanisms that could prevent future conflicts (Gereben, 2009).

The interesting issue here is that one could think that Mexico’s population could be against the government strategies, because of the possible violation of human rights. But according to Pew Research Centre, in 2008, 80 percent of people in Mexico support the policies against the cartels. Calderón’s military strategy, even if it is drastic, is giving positive results (Beittel, 2009).
5. Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to analyse the drug war in Mexico between 2004-2010 with focus on Human Security principles. In what extent, if at all, have the Mexican government implemented these principles in antidrug policies. The method that has been used for this research is a case study. It has been chosen to be able to concentrate only on one country and all possible aspects of given issue. That allows the reader to have a deep understanding of all included factors.

Human Security is taking more space in international politics every year. It is now a part of guidance to establish foreign policies and international development. The strongest side of Human Security aspect is the fact that it focuses on individuals and welfare of people. It is fundamental to national security and complements state security and human rights. It makes it the most complete approach to achieve peace and progress. It is also important to mention that Human Security focuses on threats in a multi-dimensional and comprehensive way, taking into account the possible outcomes and prevention of future conflicts and threats. It highlights the current needs of people affected by the conflict and enhances the development and a dynamic framework. This brings the collaboration at the local, national and international levels (United Nations- Human Security Unit, 2009).

The UN provides also some crucial advices on how to prevent the use of drugs. Reduction of drug use in the world could facilitate enormously the war against drug cartels. According to UN it is crucial to provide people with information about drugs, its effects on our bodies and legal risks of using drugs. Knowledge is the leading way to success and to a safe world without drugs. Mexican government has to implement the Prevention-oriented principle to their agenda to make sure that the fight against drugs and cartels will give any results in the future (UN General Assembly, 2016).

Mexico has not had any comprehensive security strategy since year 2000, when president Fox started his mandate. When Calderón won elections in 2006 his strategy was even less comprehensive. There is a continual security instability in Mexico and it is military that fights the drug cartels, without any cooperation established with the police forces (Gereben, 2009). Calderón made the war against organized crime the cornerstone of his agenda since it was the main threat to national security. Drug and arms trafficking, smuggling and corruption are all
part of organized crime in Mexico. The main goal of Calderon’s policy was to focus on heads of criminal groups. In 2008 the strategy was strengthened to not only concentrate on patrolling certain areas but to start a direct fight against the leaders of the cartels (Gereben, 2009).

The U.S State Department presented in 2008 *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report* sustaining Calderon’s drug war strategy. According to this report only in 2007, Calderon’s administration has managed to make a huge progress in the drug war. Calderon’s first antidrug operation was in December 2006 in Michoacan, in South Mexico. It was the state that was most hit by organized drug violence in 2006. More than 50 people were killed that year. Calderon sent 40,000 troops, including armed and aircraft forces, to Michoacan (Gereben, 2009).

Today the future of drug war against the cartels looks much more positive than it was in the beginning of 2000s. In April this year the United Nations General Assembly made a statement about how the organization can improve its strategy and help countries to fight the drug leaders. First of all, they agreed and recognized the fact that the drug war is affecting human security and well-being of millions of people. Recognition of the problem is the first step to make a change and fight it. The UN proposed as well a comprehensive and balanced approach with focus on individuals, families and societies as a whole. The Commission on Narcotic Drugs is going to be in charge for drug control matters together with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UN General Assembly, 2016).

Mexico has since year 2000 made a huge change in the fight against the drug cartels. Between 2000 and 2006 more than 80 thousand people were arrested, relating to organized drug crimes and trafficking. But it was Calderon who managed to take the fight to another level. Only from December 2006 and August 2007 Mexican authorities and forces arrested around 10 thousand people related to cartels. Thus the strategies are working and there is some progress in fighting the cartels, the inhabitants cannot still feel safe. The aggressive policy has led to many misunderstandings and the abuse of power of the military forces (Gereben, 2009).

Five fundamental approaches named by Commission on Human Security are placing the aspect of human security on top of the political agenda, focusing on humanitarian actions, respecting human rights, fighting violence and crimes and preventing conflicts. In Mexico’s case it is clear that not all of them have been taken into account. The government has been focusing on fighting violence and crimes but has not given enough attention to human rights and prevention of future
conflicts. Many of succeeded military operations have also led to unfair treatment of civilians and there is still lack of education from the very beginning, in order to increase people’s knowledge about drugs and violence (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

Achieving security and balance in Mexico requires both efforts from government, people and international actors, such as UN and other countries involved in drug problems. One interesting issue that could be a subject for further research is the role of the U.S in the drug war in Mexico. It’s impact on the relation with cartels and drug dealers as well as U.S governments policies that could help Mexico to establish peace and security for the people. U.S has an important part in Mexico’s drug war, not only for being its economical partner, but also because it is where the highest number of drugs sells. U.S government has always focused on short-term solutions, but the scale of the conflict requires long-term plans to make it possible to stabilize the area (3P Human Security, 2011).

The UN Security Council has pointed out four new themes that have to be achieved. These are the protection of civilians in conflicts, focus on women and children, special care of children taking part in armed conflicts and prevention of upcoming conflicts. There is still not enough focus on civilians in Mexico, during military operations against the cartels. The challenge of coming years will be to put these norms and ideas in concrete laws and actions at all levels, to improve the protection of human security (Commission on Human Security, 2003).
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