# A Sub National Analysis of Homicides and Disappearances in Mexico

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**About this Publication:**

The goal of this paper is to determine if the recent drop of homicides in Mexico is real or not. This is determined by comparing data of homicides and disappearances in Mexico from 2007 to 2014 on a national, state, and municipal level. The paper presents analyses of homicides and disappearances in Mexico as a whole, *Juarez, Tijuana,* as well as a case study of homicides and disappearances in *Estado de Mexico* and *Tamaulipas*. The analyses of this paper were conducted utilizing primary sources of homicide and disappearance data. This report concludes that homicides have decreased on a national scale. But the national trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico are not representative of sub national trends.

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## INTRODUCTION

Between 2007 and 2014 138,589 people were murdered in Mexico (SNSP). Homicides in Mexico steadily increased from 2007 to 2011, but have decreased since then on a national scale. However, aggregate homicide data does not illustrate if homicides have actually decreased because tens of thousands of people in Mexico have disappeared since 2007 and are feared dead. Comparing aggregate and disaggregate homicide data to aggregate and disaggregate data of disappeared persons illustrates if and where more people are disappearing than are being murdered. This paper compares trends of aggregate and disaggregate homicide data to aggregate and disaggregate data of disappeared persons to determine if the decrease of homicides in Mexico is real and where the national trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico are not representative of sub national trends. Essentially, there has been a real drop of homicides in Mexico on a national scale. Yet, homicides have not decreased due to large amounts of disappeared persons in the municipalities of Tijuana, Matamoros, Reynosa, Tampico, Victoria, Nuevo Laredo, and the state of Tamaulipas. Additionally, homicides have been significantly increasing since 2007 in the state of Mexico (Edomex) for reasons outside the scope of this paper.

## STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF HOMICIDE DATA

*Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía* (INEGI), the main federal statistical and census agency, compiles and reports data of intentional and unintentional homicide in Mexico. INEGI generates data of intentional and unintentional homicide in Mexico by collecting all death certificates issued by each coroner's office in Mexico and used to generate data of deaths "where the cause of death was unnatural, such as cases of gunshot wounds, stabbings, lacerations, asphyxiation, etc" (Heinle, Molzahn, and Shirk 42-43). INEGI only publishes data of combined intentional (murder) and unintentional homicide (manslaughter) illustrating the trend of overall homicides in Mexico. By combining intentional and unintentional homicide, INEGI data makes it impossible to understand whether increases of INEGI homicides are due to more murders or car accidents. The best

feature of INEGI data is that it can be disaggregated from national and state levels to the municipal level. INEGI does not indicate if the homicides it reports are related to organized crime or drug trafficking (OCG-style homicides). Unfortunately, INEGI data for 2014 was unavailable at the time this paper was completed. Regardless of the combination of strengths and limitations, INEGI is considered by Justice in Mexico as "the most consistent, complete, and reliable source of information in Mexico" (Heinle, Molzahn, and Shirk 43).

"The homicide data from *Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública* (SNSP) is compiled from cases involving homicide that are identified by law enforcement" (Heinle, Molzahn, and Shirk 43). Unlike INEGI, SNSP publishes data of intentional homicides, unintentional homicides, and overall homicides. Also, the data is available at the national, state, and municipal level. However, municipal level homicide data from SNSP is only available from 2011 to 2015. Though SNSP municipal level data from 2011 to 2014 is provided for each state and municipality, the analysis of homicides and disappearances for each state and municipality was done using INEGI municipal level data because it is more complete. Fortunately, Justice in Mexico (JIM) re-reported Municipal level intentional homicide data from SNSP for Juarez and Tijuana. Unfortunately, SNSP is the only official source for data on national, state, and municipal level intentional homicides.

There is no single known agency of the government of Mexico (GOM) that is actively tracking OCG-style homicides, and any data from the GOM has been released sporadically. Available SNSP data of OCG-style homicides only covers those that occurred from December 1, 2006 through September 2011 (Heinle, Molzahn, and Shirk 44). Therefore, all national and state figures of SNSP OCG-style homicides after the year 2010 are estimates generated by Justice in Mexico. Unfortunately, there is no municipal level SNSP OCG-style homicide data available. Also, SNSP data on OCG-style homicides does not guarantee a connection rather it implies a connection to organized crime. The GOM attempted to make a connection by examining characteristic signs of possible organized crime involvement in a homicide. Signs indicative of DTO and OCG involvement in a homicide include . . .

> "use of high-caliber or automatic firearms, signs of torture, decapitated or dismembered body, the body was wrapped in blankets, the person was taped or gagged, killed at a specific location or in a vehicle, killed by OCG within a penitentiary, carrying an illegal weapon, was transporting drugs, had been abducted, was ambushed or chased, narco-message found near body, or the victim was under investigation for organized crime activities" (Molzahn, Ferreira, and Shirk 11).

However, there is also too little transparency on how data is collected because the underlying information of SNSP homicide data is treated as classified (Gallagher 2015). Lastly, the GOM cannot quantify the number of OCG-style homicides because over 80% of homicides in Mexico aren't investigated (Gallagher 2015).

At the state level, *Milenio* staff compare official figures of OCG-style homicide data to data compiled and reported by newspapers such as *Express* in Nuevo Leon (Cubero). Whichever figure is higher is what *Milenio* publishes at the state level. At the national

level, *Milenio* in D.F. compares OCG-style homicide data from various "databases, NGO's, blogs, newspapers, violence monitors, and *Milenio* state bureau offices to come up with the most accurate estimate of OCG-style homicides in Mexico on a monthly basis" (Hernández 2015). In other words, *Milenio* outsources data generation of OCG-style homicides in Mexico. However, *Milenio* also has a company specific criteria used by their staff to determine if a homicide bears signs of OCG involvement. According to Milenio . . .

> "an OCG-style homicide involves use of high-caliber or automatic firearms, the victim was tortured, decapitated or dismembered body, the victim was wrapped in a blanket, presence of illegal weapon or drugs at the scene of the homicide, the victim had been abducted, narco-message found near body, or there are official documents indicating the victim was involved in organized crime" (Cubero 2015).

*Milenio* state bureau offices possess municipal level OCG-style homicide data but unfortunately would not grant access to their databases for this paper. Luckily, JIM re-reported *Milenion's* municipal level OCG-style homicide data but only for the municipalities of Juarez and Tijuana. Therefore, it is not possible to provide an analysis of OCG-style homicides in Matamoros, Nuevo Laredo, Reynosa, Tampico, and Victoria.

**STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF DISAPPEARANCE DATA**

The *Registro Nacional de Datos de Personas Extraviadas o Desaparecidas* (RNPED) is the federal database of missing and disappeared persons that is under the control of the *Secretaria de Gobernación* (Ministry of the Interior) of Mexico but is maintained by SNSP (Gallagher 2015). Data of missing and disappeared persons for RNPED are generated by allocating *denuncias* (complaint) of missing and disappeared persons in Mexico that are submitted to the *Ministerio Publicos* (Public Prosecutors) of each *Procuraduria General de Justicia* (state Attorney General) (Gallagher 2015). However, the mechanism used by SNSP for acquiring the *denuncias* of missing and disappeared persons is unknown (Gallagher 2015). It is also unknown how or why the *denuncias* of missing and disappeared persons are refined (Gallagher 2015).

RNPED does not indicate which cases are cases of *personas extraviados* (missing persons) or *personas desaparecidos* (disappeared persons). Nor does it indicate which disappeared or missing persons cases may be voluntary or involuntary. However . . .

> "the Law of the RNPED makes a distinction between a missing and disappeared person. A missing person is defined as a person who by circumstances beyond their control does not know or remember their personal data, identity and residence. A disappeared person is defined as a person who, based on reliable information from relatives or people linked to the person, have been reported missing in accordance with domestic law, which may be related to an international or non-international armed conflict, a situation of violence or unrest, internal, natural disaster or any situation that may require the intervention of a competent public authority" (Martell, *El Pais de los Desaparecidos*).

Because the RNPED database does not disaggregate missing and disappeared persons, this paper assumes that all RNPED cases are cases of disappeared persons that may be dead.

Data of disappearances have significant gaps of information partly because states do not have a method of collecting details related to disappeared persons such as, when or where they were last seen, occupation, employer, or known enemies (Gallagher 2015). The RNPED database has 28 cases without a location of where the person disappeared, 761 cases without a date of disappearance, 2,669 cases without a nationality, 2,855 cases without an age, and about 10,000 cases do not have the height of the disappeared (RNPED). Many other cases do not specify the state where the person disappeared but may have the municipality of where they disappeared or vice versa. It also unknown when the RNPED database is updated. Oddly enough, the RNPED dataset does indicate whether the disappeared person is male or female. Also, the process of declaring someone as missing or disappeared starts at the MP, which is a part of the state Attorney General. SNSP ends up with the state level data of disappeared persons, which they refine and add to the RNPED database. But it is unknown how SNSP acquires the state level data and how or why it is refined. These limitations raise serious doubts of the reliability of RNPED data. Not to mention there is no agency in Mexico that knows the real number of persons that have disappeared in Mexico (Gallagher 2015).

It is believed that the number of people that have disappeared in Mexico reported by RNPED is inaccurate and that the most reliable number is lower. According to Sandra Ley, Mexico's Attorney General's Office (PGR) purged the RNPED data base by comparing RNPED cases to cases of disappeared persons reported to local *Ministerio Publicos* (MP) and quantified that at least 22,322 people disappeared in Mexico from December of 2006 to July of 2014 (Ley, *Desapariciones y Protesta*). However, the most reliable number; 22,322, is not representative of the extent to which the crisis of disappearances has reached because no single agency is tasked with quantifying the number of disappeared persons that have been found.

On August 8, 2014, the PGR issued a press release claiming that when it had purged the RNPED database it had located 13,444 missing persons of which 12,821 were found alive (Benítez Tiburcio 6). However, the GOM has never provided detailed data on disappeared persons that are located alive or dead. In fact, some of the resolved cases of disappearance are false positives, such as a child being reported missing by their parents for several hours when in fact the child was playing soccer with friends (Gallagher 2015). The GOM quantifying the number of missing persons found alive would improve the accuracy of data of disappeared persons.

No agency in Mexico is tasked with quantifying the number of Central American foreign migrants that disappear in Mexico. Though, *Movimiento Migrante Mesoamericano*, a Central-American non-profit that advocates for migrant rights in North America, claims that 70,000 to 120,000 Central American foreign migrants disappeared in Mexico between 2006 and 2012 ("Comunicado De La X Caravana"). Unfortunately, *Movimiento Migrante Mesoamericano* does not provide a dataset of Central American foreign migrants they believe have disappeared in Mexico nor do they indicate how they quantified their claim. The GOM cannot quantify the number of disappeared Central American foreign migrants partly because of difficulties families of Central American foreign migrants face when a foreign migrant disappears in Mexico. If a Central American foreign migrant disappears in Mexico, someone has to go to Mexico and submit a

*denuncio* to the MP, state Attorney General (PGJ), or PGR. If a family does not know where their relative went missing the only option for them is to submit a *denuncio* to the PGR. However, a trip to Mexico can be too costly for poor families of Central American foreign migrants and cannot advocate for an investigation into the disappearance of their relative.

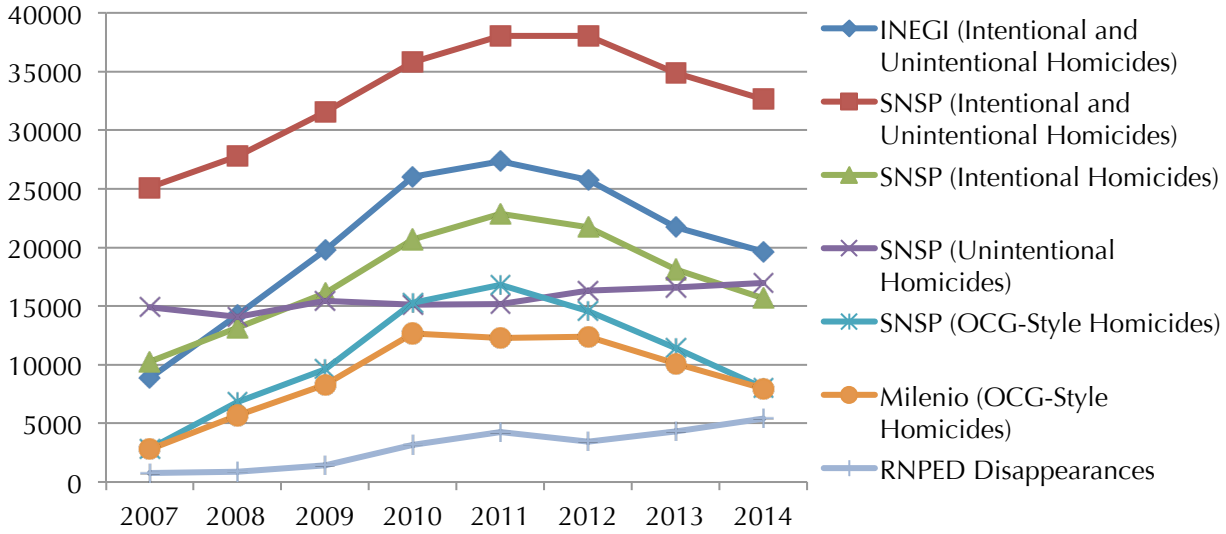
No agency is tasked with quantifying the number or creating a database of unclaimed bodies in Mexico (Gallagher 2015). However, municipal and states coroners do have databases of unclaimed bodies that are available only to those who hold an *Oficio* (Magalon 2015). Also, the number of unclaimed could be generated by INEGI because each unclaimed body in Mexico is issued a death certificate by state coroners (Magalon 2015). Again, INEGI generates homicide data using death certificates issued by each *Servicio Medico Forense* (state coroner's office) in Mexico. Quantifying the number of unclaimed bodies is significant because these could be disappeared persons. An accurate database of unclaimed bodies could help to purge the RNPED database.

Despite the limitations of INEGI, SNSP, *Milenio*, and RNPED data, it is necessary to graph and compare these datasets to reveal areas of Mexico that deviate from the national trends of homicides and disappearances and in which the GOM should draft and implement policies that address and abate homicides and disappearances.

**NATIONAL TRENDS OF HOMICIDES AND DISAPPEARANCE IN MEXICO**

The recent drop of national homicides in Mexico is real because, with the exception of SNSP Unintentional Homicides, there have been significant consecutive decreases of all homicides since 2011. Also, the level of disappearances between 2007 and 2014 were too low or stable to offset the decrease of national homicides in Mexico (see Figure 1). The annual average decrease from 2011 to 2014 for each homicide data source are as follows: INEGI 2,562, SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides 1,803, SNSP Intentional Homicides 2,401, SNSP OCG-Style Homicides 2,933, *Milenio* 1,430 (see Table 2). Disappearances were at their peak in 2014 and have increased significantly since 2007; in 2007 there were 761 disappearances and in 2014 there were 5,418 (see Table 1). However, the increase in disappearances is not enough to offset the drop of all homicides because disappearances in Tijuana have increased by an annual average of 389 disappearances from 2011 to 2014 (see Table 2). If all the victims of disappearance were reclassified as dead and combined with the SNSP Intentional Homicides line graph or the INEGI Total Homicides line graph, there would still be significant consecutive decreases of homicides for the last 3 years. Therefore, on a national scale, the recent drop in homicides in Mexico is real. However, comparing data of homicides and disappeared persons for Juarez, Tijuana, Edomex, Tamaulipas, Matamoros, Reynosa, Nuevo Laredo, Tamipco, and Victoria reveals that national trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico are not always representative of sub national trends.

**Figure 1: National Trends of All Homicides and Disappearances in Mexico From 2007 to 2014**




Source: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

**Table 1: Figures of All Homicides and Disappearances in Mexico From 2007 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | SNSP OCG-Style Homicides | Milenio OCG-Style Homicides | RNPED Disappearances |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 8860 | 25133 | 10253 | 14880 | 2826 | 2773 | 761 |
| 2008 | 14254 | 27759 | 13155 | 14067 | 6837 | 5661 | 870 |
| 2009 | 19783 | 31546 | 16118 | 15428 | 9614 | 8281 | 1409 |
| 2010 | 26035 | 35794 | 20680 | 15113 | 15273 | 12658 | 3184 |
| 2011 | 27354 | 38041 | 22852 | 15185 | 16800 | 12284 | 4250 |
| 2012 | 25749 | 38024 | 21736 | 16324 | 14600 | 12390 | 3428 |
| 2013 | 21749 | 34903 | 18146 | 16572 | 11400 | 10095 | 4292 |
| 2014 | 19669 | 32631 | 15649 | 16978 | 8000 | 7993 | 5418 |
| Total | 163453 | 263831 | 138589 | 124547 | 85350 | 72135 | 23612 |

Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED
Note: Red numbers are an estimate by Justice in Mexico

**Table 2: Year to Year Changes and Annual Averages of All Homicides and Disappearances in Mexico From 2011 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | SNSP OCG-Style Homicides | Milenio OCG-Style Homicides | RNPED Disappearances |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2012 | 1605 | 17 | 1116 | 1139 | 2200 | 106 | 822 |
| 2013 | 4000 | 3121 | 3590 | 248 | 3200 | 2295 | 864 |
| 2014 | 2080 | 2272 | 2497 | 406 | 3400 | 2102 | 1126 |
| 3 yr avg. | 2562 | 1803 | 2401 | 598 | 2933 | 1430 | 389 |

Note: Black figures are decreases and red figures are increases.
Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED

**Equation 1: Year to Year Changes and Annual Averages of Homicide and Disappearances**

| | |
|---|---|
| X= HOMICIDE OR DISAPPEARANCE DATA OF YEAR 1 | |
| Y= HOMICIDE OR DISAPPEARANCE DATA OF YEAR 2 | |
| D=DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YEAR 1 DATA AND YEAR 2 DATA | |
| Example calculation of a year to year change | |
| X=INEGI DATA OF 2010 (3,743) | |
| Y=INEGI DATA OF 2011 (2,269) | |
| SOLVE FOR D | |
| 3,743 - 2,269 = 1,474 | |
| D=1,474 | |
| | |
| Example equation for calculating annual average increase or decrease of homicides and disappearances | |
| D1=2010-2011 | [(D1+D2+D3)/3] OR [(D2+D3+D4)/3]=3 YEAR AVERAGE |
| D2=2011-2012 | [(D1+D2+D3+D4)/4]=4 YEAR AVERAGE |
| D3=2012-2013 | |
| D4=2013-2014 | |

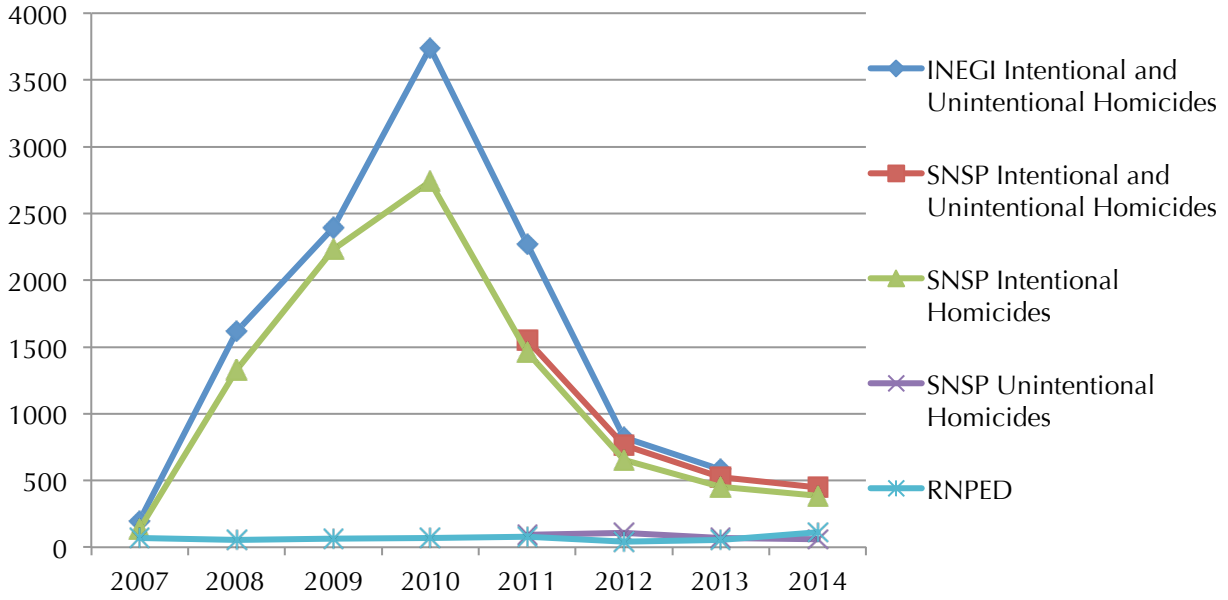
## MUNICIPAL TRENDS OF HOMICIDES AND DISAPPEARANCES: JUAREZ AND TIJUANA

Juarez and Tijuana have been synonymous with war zone levels of violence since the GOM started its Drug War in 2006. For several years, Juarez and Tijuana were considered two of the most violent cities in the world. In recent years, INEGI, SNSP, and *Milenio* have documented decreases of homicides in both municipalities. Comparing data of homicides and disappeared persons, however, reveals that only Juarez has seen a decrease of homicides.

The recent drop in homicides in Juarez appears to be real because all homicides have significantly decreased since 2010 while there have been few cases of disappeared persons (see Figure 2). INEGI homicides in Juarez peaked in 2010 with 3,743 but dropped to 580 homicides in 2013 (see table 3). INEGI homicides in Juarez decreased by an annual average of 1,054 homicides from 2011 to 2013 (see Table 4). In 2011, INEGI homicides in Juarez decreased by 1,484 making it the year with the steepest drop of INEGI homicides (see Table 4). SNSP intentional homicides in Juarez peaked in 2010 with 2,738

but have dropped to 388 in 2014 (see Table 3). SNSP Intentional Homicides in Juarez decreased by an annual average of 588 homicides from 2011 to 2014 (see Table 4). The steepest decrease of SNSP intentional homicides was during 2011 which dropped by 1,278 intentional homicides (see Table 4). Also, disappearances in Juarez increased by an annual average of 47 disappearances from 2011 to 2014 (see Table 4). Considering that all homicides in Juarez have been significantly decreasing since 2010 and very few people have disappeared in Juarez since 2007, the recent drop of homicides in Juarez is real. However, the same cannot be concluded in Tijuana.

**Figure 2: Trends of Homicides and Disappearances in Juarez From 2007 to 2014**




Source: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

**Table 3: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Juarez From 2007 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 199 | N/A | 136 | N/A | 69 |
| 2008 | 1,619 | N/A | 1332 | N/A | 55 |
| 2009 | 2,395 | N/A | 2230 | N/A | 63 |
| 2010 | 3743 | N/A | 2738 | N/A | 67 |
| 2011 | 2269 | 1552 | 1460 | 92 | 77 |
| 2012 | 824 | 765 | 656 | 109 | 42 |
| 2013 | 580 | 524 | 453 | 71 | 54 |
| 2014 | N/A | 448 | 388 | 60 | 114 |
| Total | 11629 | 3289 | 9393 | 332 | 541 |

Source: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

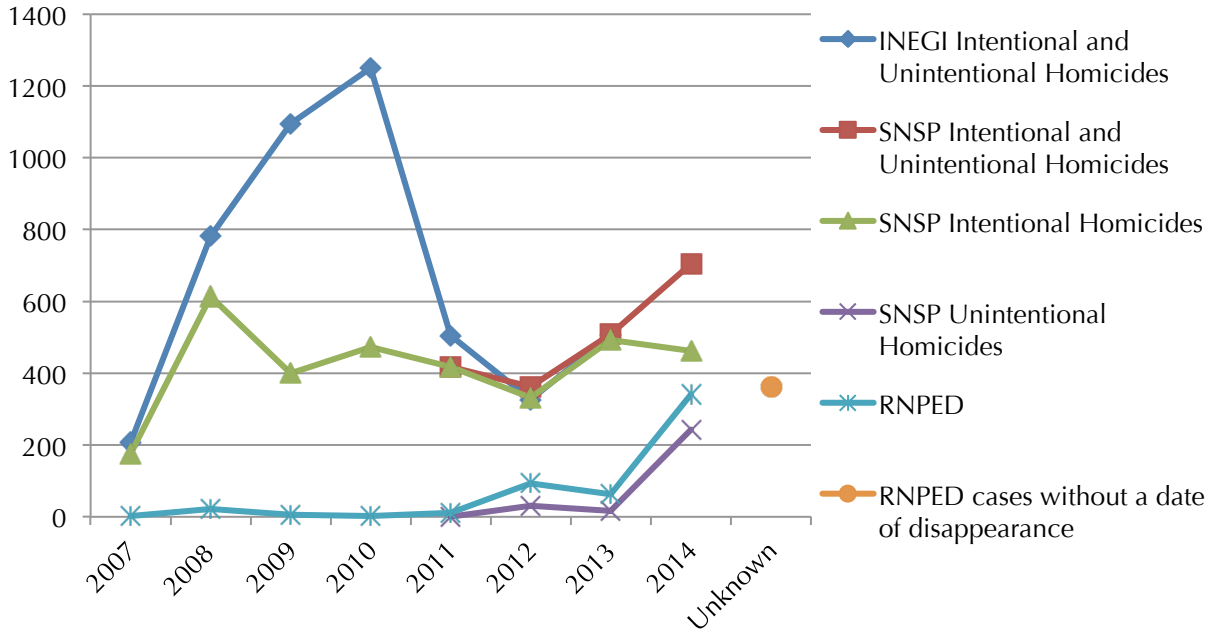
**Table 4: Year to Year Changes and Annual Averages of All Homicides and Disappearances in Juarez From 2011 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2011 | 1474 | N/A | 1278 | N/A | 10 |
| 2012 | 1445 | 787 | 804 | 17 | 35 |
| 2013 | 244 | 241 | 203 | 38 | 12 |
| 2014 | N/A | 76 | 65 | 11 | 60 |
| Annual Average | 1054 (3 yr avg.) | 368 (3 yr avg.) | 588 | 11 (3 yr avg.) | 47 (4 yr avg.) |

Note: Black figures are decreases and red figures are increases.
Source: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

Regardless of a decrease of INEGI homicides, Tijuana has not seen a real drop of homicides because there has not been significant consecutive decreases of SNSP intentional homicides, there has been an increase of disappearances in Tijuana, and a significant number of cases of disappeared persons in Tijuana lack crucial details (see Figure 3). INEGI reported that homicides in Tijuana dropped from 1,257 in 2010 to 525 in 2013 (see Table 5). INEGI homicides in Tijuana decreased by an annual average of 248 homicides from 2011 to 2013 (see Table 6). However, the INEGI graph should be viewed with caution because it is unknown whether the drop of INEGI homicide data resulted from decreases of intentional homicide or unintentional homicide. SNSP data shows that levels of intentional homicides have remained virtually unchanged since 2010. There were 614 intentional homicides in Tijuana in 2008 but dropped the following year to 399 (see Table 5). From 2010 to 2014, however, intentional homicides in Tijuana have not exceeded 492 or fallen below 332 (see Table 5). The annual average decrease of intentional homicides in Tijuana from 2011 to 2014 is 3 homicides (see Table 6). Disappearances in Tijuana were very low for several years, but increased from 11 in 2011 to 340 in 2014 (see Table 5). The average annual increase of disappearances in Tijuana from 2011 to 2014 is 44 disappearances (see table 6). There are also 363 cases of disappeared persons in Tijuana without a date of when the person disappeared (see Table 5). 363 is a number large enough to cause a significant change to the RNPED line graph in figure 2; especially if those 363 cases occurred in one, two, or three years (see Figure 3). Further research is required to verify whether the drop of INEGI homicides in Tijuana resulted from decreases of intentional homicide or unintentional homicide in order to form a solid conclusion.

**Figure 3: Trends of INEGI Homicides, SNSP Intentional Homicides, and Disappearances in Tijuana From 2007 to 2014**




Source: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

**Table 5: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Tijuana From 2007 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED | RNPED cases without a date of disappearance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 207 | N/A | 176 | N/A | 3 | |
| 2008 | 782 | N/A | 614 | N/A | 22 | |
| 2009 | 1,094 | N/A | 399 | N/A | 5 | |
| 2010 | 1,250 | N/A | 472 | N/A | 2 | |
| 2011 | 504 | 418 | 418 | 0 | 11 | |
| 2012 | 326 | 362 | 332 | 30 | 93 | |
| 2013 | 506 | 508 | 492 | 16 | 63 | |
| 2014 | N/A | 704 | 462 | 242 | 340 | |
| Unknown | | | | | | 363 |
| Total | 4669 | 1992 | 3365 | 288 | 539 | |

Source: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

**Table 6: Year to Year Changes and Annual Averages of All Homicides and Disappearances in Tijuana From 2011 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2011 | 746 | N/A | 54 | N/A | 9 |
| 2012 | 178 | 56 | 86 | 30 | 82 |
| 2013 | 180 | 146 | 160 | 14 | 30 |
| 2014 | N/A | 196 | 30 | 226 | 277 |
| Annual Average | 248 (3 yr avg.) | 95 (3 yr avg.) | 3 (4 yr avg.) | 81 (3 yr avg.) | 44 (4 yr avg.) |

Source: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED
Note: Black figures are decreases and red figures are increases.

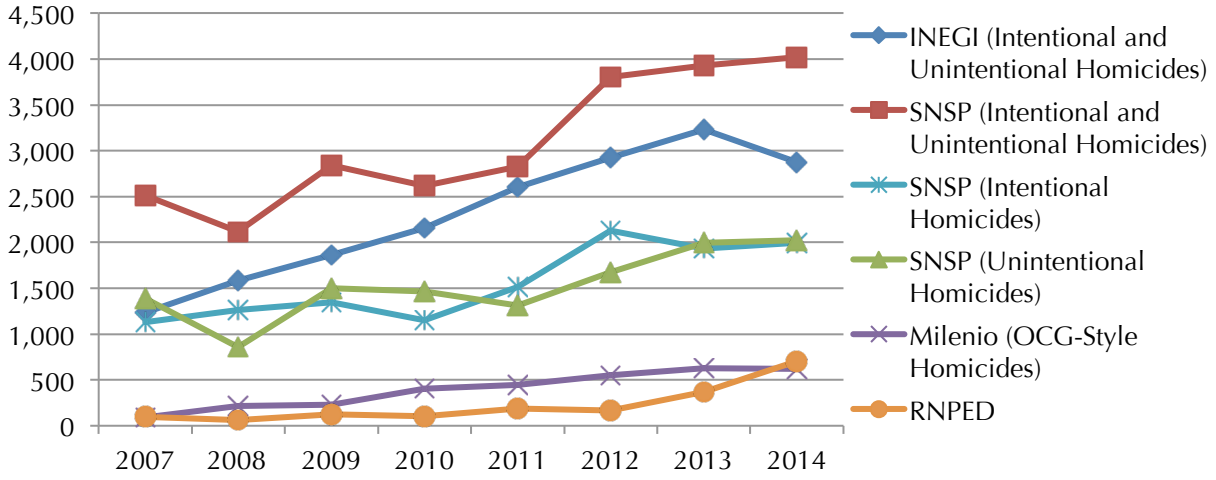
Clearly, national trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico are not always representative of sub national trends of homicides and disappearances and is especially apparent when comparing state level data of homicides and disappearances in Edomex and Tamaulipas.

## A CASE STUDY OF HOMICIDES AND DISAPPEARANCES IN EDOMEX AND TAMAULIPAS

Upon researching data on homicides and disappearances in Mexico, it became apparent that Edomex and Tamaulipas have trends of violence that are radically different from the national trends of violence in Mexico. In Edomex, OCG's are not responsible for the increases of homicides from 2007 to 2014. On the other hand, civil society in Tamaulipas and its five major municipalities have been dealing with a clandestine criminal phenomenon that undermines all types of homicide data for Tamaulipas. However, this case study will primarily focus on Tamaulipas and its five major municipalities because of the bizarre nature of homicides and disappearances in those areas.

Homicide trends for Edomex deviate entirely from national trends of homicides in Mexico. Homicides in Edomex have not abated, rather, increased every year since 2007 (see figure 4). INEGI homicides increased from 1,235 in 2007 to 2,879 in 2014 (see Table 7). INEGI homicides peaked in 2013 at 3,233 (see Table 7). The average annual increase of INEGI homicides from 2008 to 2014 for Edomex is 235 (see Table 8). SNSP intentional homicides increased from 1,127 in 2007 to 1,994 in 2014 (see Table 7). SNSP intentional homicides peaked in 2012 at 2,130 (see table 7). The average annual increase of SNSP intentional homicides in Edomex from 2008 to 2014 is 124 (see Table 8). Interestingly, SNSP unintentional homicides have also increased from 2007 to 2014 (See Figure 4). The average annual increase of SNSP unintentional homicides in Edomex from 2007 to 2014 is 91 (see Table 8). Though INEGI homicides fell from 3,233 in 2013 to 2,879 in 2014 and SNSP homicides fell from 2,130 in 2012 to 1,994 in 2014, these drops are not significant because disappearances nearly doubled from 366 in 2013 to 703 in 2014 (see Table 7). Therefore, Edomex has seen significant consecutive increases of homicides from 2007 to 2014. Oddly, OCG's are not responsible for the increases of homicides in Edomex.

**Figure 4: Trends of INEGI Homicides, SNSP Intentional Homicides, and Disappearances in Edomex From 2007 to 2014**




Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED

**Table 7: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Edomex From 2007 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | Milenio OCG-Style Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 1,235 | 2514 | 1,127 | 1387 | 91 | 96 |
| 2008 | 1,582 | 2118 | 1,261 | 857 | 213 | 60 |
| 2009 | 1,861 | 2842 | 1,345 | 1497 | 227 | 125 |
| 2010 | 2,158 | 2616 | 1,153 | 1463 | 404 | 101 |
| 2011 | 2,607 | 2825 | 1,512 | 1313 | 448 | 189 |
| 2012 | 2,926 | 3804 | 2,130 | 1674 | 552 | 169 |
| 2013 | 3,233 | 3931 | 1,932 | 1999 | 625 | 366 |
| 2014 | 2,879 | 4020 | 1,994 | 2026 | 623 | 703 |
| Total | 18,481 | 24,670 | 12,454 | 12,216 | 3,183 | 1,809 |

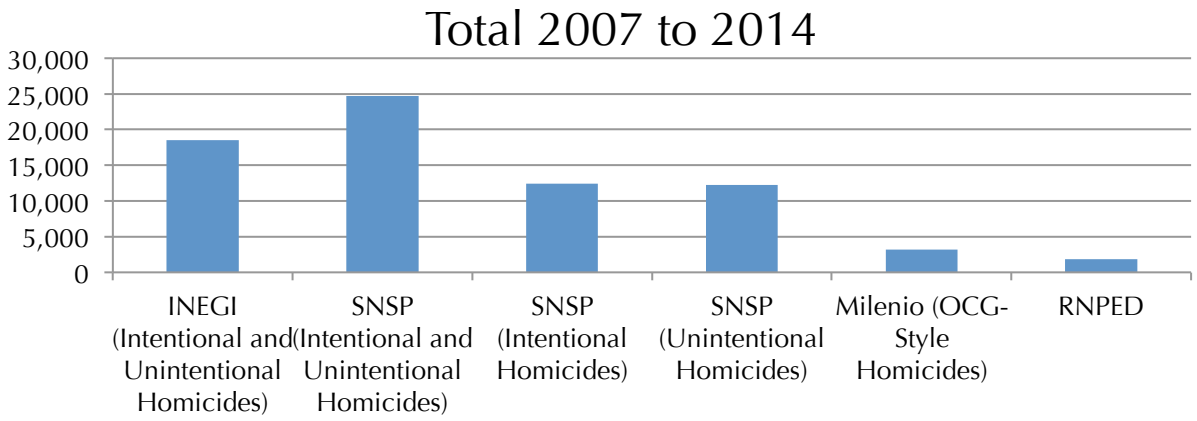
Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED

**Table 8: Year to Year Changes and Annual Averages of All Homicides and Disappearances in Tijuana From 2008 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | Milenio OCG-Style Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2008 | 347 | 396 | 134 | 530 | 122 | 36 |
| 2009 | 279 | 724 | 84 | 640 | 14 | 65 |
| 2010 | 297 | 226 | 192 | 34 | 177 | 24 |
| 2011 | 449 | 209 | 359 | 150 | 44 | 88 |
| 2012 | 319 | 979 | 618 | 361 | 104 | 20 |
| 2013 | 307 | 127 | 198 | 325 | 73 | 197 |
| 2014 | 354 | 89 | 62 | 27 | 2 | 337 |
| 7 yr avg. | 235 | 215 | 124 | 91 | 76 | 87 |

Note: Black figures are decreases and red figures are increases.
Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED

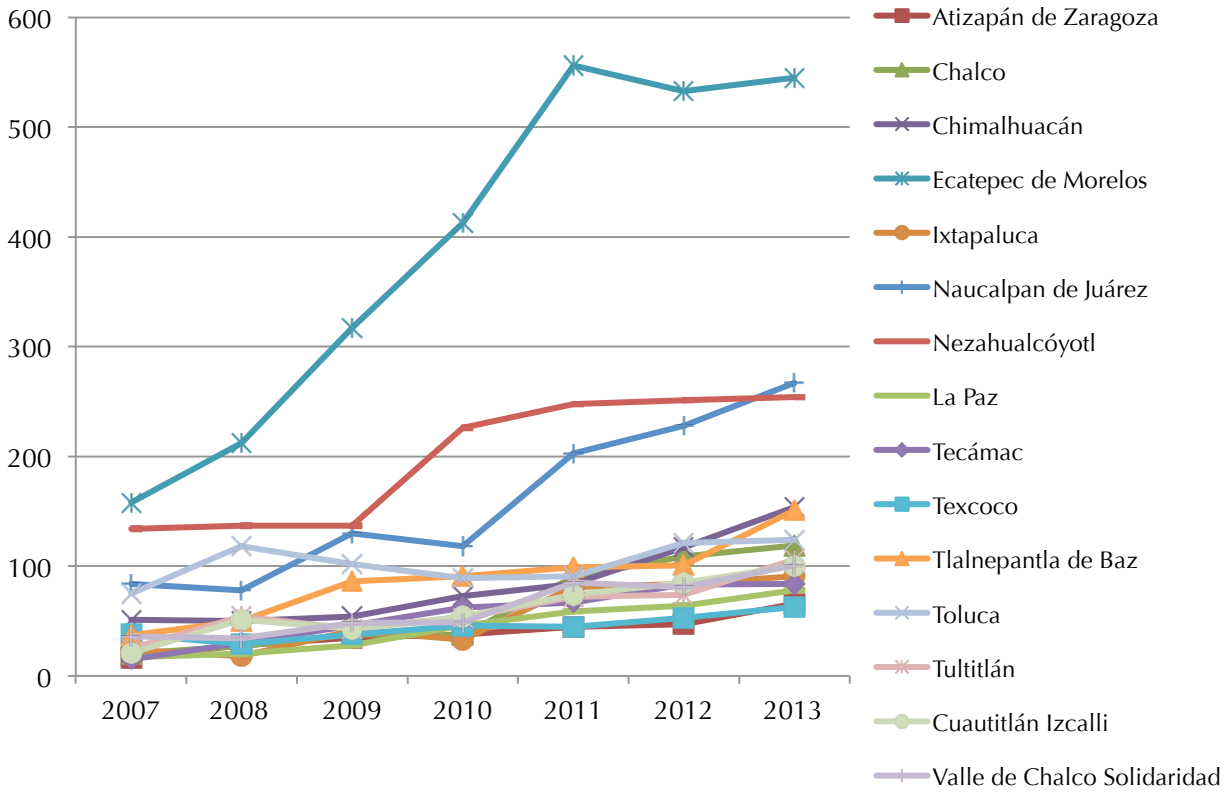
**Figure 5: Proportions of Homicides and Disappearances in Edomex From 2007 to 2014**




OCG-style homicides in Edomex make up a very small share of all homicides in Edomex (see figure 5). According to *Milenio*, the total number of OCG-style homicides in Edomex from 2007 to 2014 is 3,183 (see Table 7). The number of INEGI homicides and SNSP Intentional homicides in Edomex from 2007 to 2014 are 18,481 and 12,454 (see Table 7). *Milenio* OCG-style homicides in Edomex have been relatively stable and increased minimally from 2007 to 2014 and increased by an annual average of 76 from 2008 to 2014 (See figure and Table 8). Therefore, civil society, not OCG's, appears to be responsible for the increases of INEGI and SNSP homicides in Edomex. However, civil society appears to have become increasingly violent in only 15 out of the 125 municipalities of Edomex (see Figure 6). These municipalities are *Atizapán de Zaragoza, Chalco, Chimalhuacán, Ecatepec de Morelos, Ixtapaluca, La Paz, Naucalpan de Juárez, Nezahualcóyotl, Tecámac, Texcoco, Tlalnepantla de Baz, Toluca, Tultitlán, Cuautitlán Izcalli,* and *Valle de Chalco Solidaridad* (Top 15). As a matter of fact, the Top 15 municipalities account for 10,535 (68%) out of the 15,602 INEGI homicides that occurred

in Edomex from 2007 to 2013 (see Table 9). The remaining 110 municipalities of Edomex have experienced either low stagnant levels of INEGI homicides or minimal increases that pale in comparison to the Top 15 and account for 5,067 (32%) of INEGI homicides that occurred in Edomex from 2007 to 2013 (INEGI). Like national trends, state level trends of homicides and disappearances in Edomex are not representative of all municipal level trends. In order to form a solid conclusion, further research is required to determine what the underlying factors are that contribute to the increases of homicides in Edomex and the Top 15 municipalities. In contrast to the blatant escalation of homicides in Edomex, it is suspected that nearly half of all homicides in Tamaulipas are committed in a clandestine manner; rendering all homicide data for Tamaulipas and its' five major municipalities unreliable.

**Figure 6: Trends of INEGI Homicides in The "Top 15" Municipalities Edomex From 2007 to 2013**




Source: INEGI

**Table 9: Figures of INEGI homicides in The "Top 15" Municipalities Edomex From 2007 to 2013**

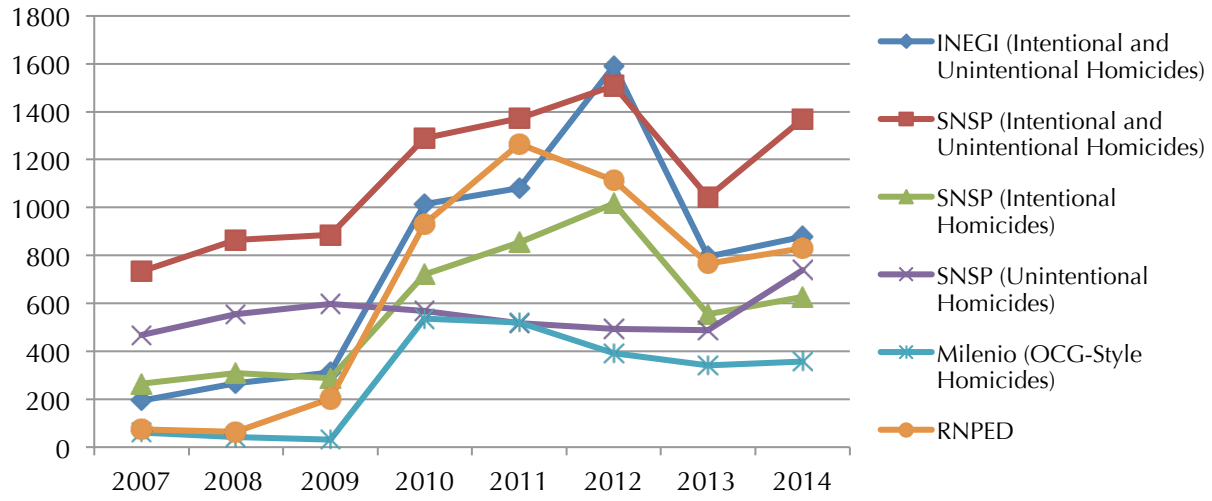
| Year | Atizapán de Zaragoza | Chalco | Chimalhuacán | Ecatepec de Morelos | Ixtapaluca | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 17 | 20 | 51 | 158 | 24 | |
| 2008 | 28 | 27 | 50 | 212 | 18 | |
| 2009 | 35 | 38 | 54 | 317 | 41 | |
| 2010 | 38 | 37 | 73 | 413 | 33 | |
| 2011 | 45 | 90 | 84 | 556 | 81 | |
| 2012 | 47 | 109 | 117 | 533 | 84 | |
| 2013 | 66 | 119 | 154 | 545 | 91 | |
| Total | 276 | 440 | 583 | 2,734 | 372 | |
| Year | Naucalpan de Juárez | Nezahualcóyotl | La Paz | Tecámac | Texcoco | Tlalnepantla de Baz |
| 2007 | 84 | 134 | 17 | 15 | 38 | 37 |
| 2008 | 78 | 137 | 20 | 30 | 29 | 50 |
| 2009 | 130 | 137 | 28 | 46 | 38 | 86 |
| 2010 | 118 | 226 | 46 | 62 | 46 | 91 |
| 2011 | 203 | 248 | 59 | 67 | 45 | 99 |
| 2012 | 228 | 251 | 64 | 83 | 53 | 101 |
| 2013 | 267 | 254 | 78 | 84 | 63 | 151 |
| Total | 1,108 | 1,387 | 312 | 387 | 312 | 615 |
| Year | Toluca | Tultitlán | Cuautitlán Izcalli | Valle de Chalco Solidaridad | Top 15 | Edomex |
| 2007 | 75 | 25 | 21 | 36 | 752 | 1,243 |
| 2008 | 118 | 54 | 51 | 34 | 936 | 1,579 |
| 2009 | 102 | 43 | 43 | 48 | 1,186 | 1,864 |
| 2010 | 89 | 53 | 54 | 49 | 1,428 | 2,114 |
| 2011 | 91 | 72 | 74 | 85 | 1,899 | 2,627 |
| 2012 | 121 | 74 | 85 | 81 | 2,031 | 2,900 |
| 2013 | 124 | 106 | 100 | 101 | 2,303 | 3,311 |
| Total | 720 | 427 | 428 | 434 | 10,535 | 15,638 |

Source: INEGI

INEGI homicides and SNSP intentional homicides in Tamaulipas have been decreasing since 2012 and 2011 (see Figure 7). INEGI and SNSP intentional homicides peaked in 2012 at 1,557 and 1,016 but dropped to 878 and 628 in 2014 (see Table 10). Disappearances have decreased from a high of 1,264 in 2011 to 830 in 2014 (see Table 10). However, the drop of homicides in Tamaulipas is not real because the amount of disappearances in that state renders all its homicide data invalid and unreliable. From 2007 to 2014, 5,244 people disappeared in Tamaulipas; making it the state with the most disappearances in Mexico (see Table 10). For that same period, there were 6,150 and 4,636 INEGI and SNSP homicides (see Table 10). Oddly, Tamaulipas has over twice as many disappearances as OCG-style homicides reported by *Milenio* (see Table 10). Also, the patterns of the RNPED, INEGI, and SNSP line graphs are very similar. If the 5,244 people who disappeared in Tamaulipas between 2007 and 2014 are in fact dead, then available homicide data for Tamaulipas only reports about half of all homicides in Tamaulipas. No other state in Mexico is dealing with such an eerie phenomenon. Which

is also evident in Matamoros, Nuevo Laredo, Reynosa, Tampico, and Victoria where 75% of disappearances occurred from 2007 to 2014 and 56% of INEGI homicides in Tamaulipas occurred 2007 to 2013.

**Figure 7: Trends of INEGI Homicides, SNSP Intentional Homicides, and Disappearances in Tamaulipas From 2007 to 2014**




Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED

**Table 10: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Edomex From 2007 to 2014**

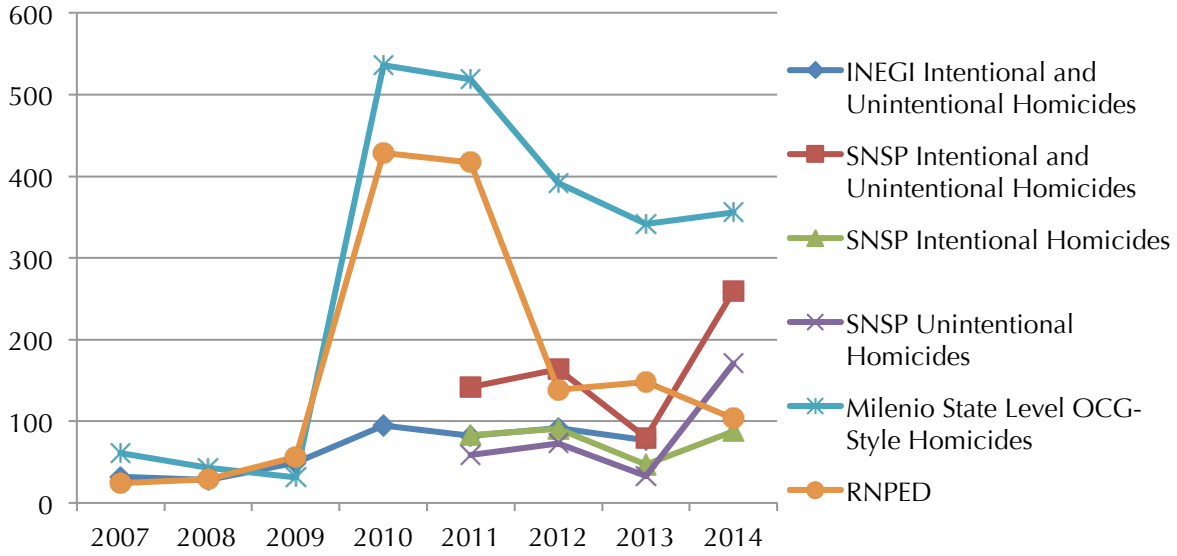
| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | Milenio State Level OCG-Style Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **2007** | 194 | 733 | 265 | 468 | 61 | 73 |
| **2008** | 266 | 864 | 308 | 556 | 43 | 64 |
| **2009** | 311 | 885 | 288 | 597 | 31 | 202 |
| **2010** | 1015 | 1288 | 721 | 567 | 536 | 931 |
| **2011** | 1,081 | 1372 | 855 | 517 | 519 | 1264 |
| **2012** | 1,590 | 1509 | 1,016 | 493 | 392 | 1114 |
| **2013** | 796 | 1043 | 555 | 488 | 342 | 766 |
| **2014** | 878 | 1368 | 628 | 740 | 356 | 830 |
| **Total** | 6131 | 9062 | 4636 | 4426 | 2280 | 5244 |

Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED

Because homicides in Matamoros are suspiciously low compared to the amount of disappearances in this municipality, homicide data for Matamoros is not representative of its homicide trends. In Matamoros, there were 455 INEGI homicides from 2007 to 2013 and 1,345 people disappeared from 2007 to 2014 (see Table 11). In other words, 9% of homicides that occurred in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2013 occurred in Matamoros while 26% of persons who have disappeared in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2014 disappeared in Matamoros (INEGI, RNPED). If Matamoros were a state, it would rank 8th among the

states with most disappearances (RNPED). Also, disappearances in Matamoros appear to be linked to state level OCG-style homicides for Tamaulipas because they increase and decrease in tandem with *Milenio* OCG-style homicides (see Figure 8). Yet, INEGI homicides in Matamoros have been low and stable since 2007 (see Figure 8 and Table 11). Considering the likely possibility that disappeared persons are dead, the low percentage of homicides compared to the high percentage of disappearances, and the similar patterns of the RNPED and *Milenio* graphs in Figure 8, homicide data for Matamoros is not representative of the real trends of homicides in this municipality. The real trend of homicides in Matamoros is anything but low and stable.

**Figure 8: Trends of INEGI Homicides and Disappearances in Matamoros From 2007 to 2014**




Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED

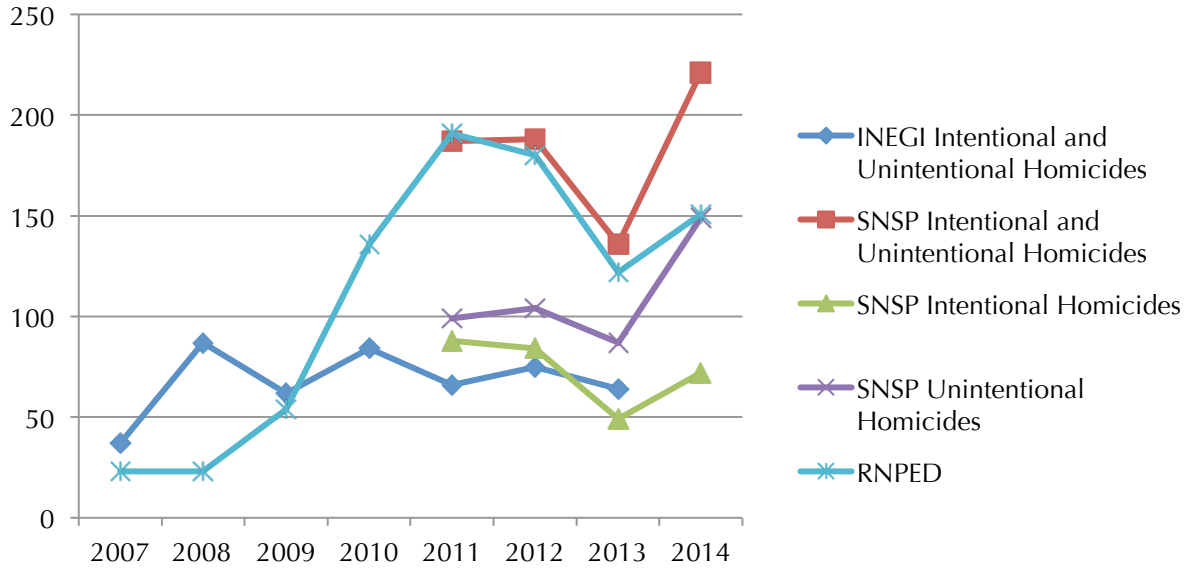
**Table 11: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Matamoros From 2007 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | Milenio State Level OCG-Style Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 32 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 61 | 24 |
| 2008 | 28 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 43 | 29 |
| 2009 | 49 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 31 | 56 |
| 2010 | 95 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 536 | 429 |
| 2011 | 82 | 142 | 83 | 59 | 519 | 417 |
| 2012 | 92 | 164 | 91 | 73 | 392 | 139 |
| 2013 | 77 | 80 | 47 | 33 | 342 | 148 |
| 2014 | N/A | 259 | 88 | 171 | 356 | 103 |
| Total | 455 | 645 | 309 | 336 | 2280 | 1345 |

Sources: INEGI, SNSP, Milenio, and RNPED

Homicide data for Reynosa is not representative of homicides trends in this municipality because there are nearly twice as many disappearances in Reynosa than there are homicides (see Figure 9). In Reynosa 880 people disappeared from 2007 to 2014 and there were 475 INEGI homicides from 2007 to 2013 (see Table 12). Homicides in Reynosa make up 9% of homicides in Tamaulipas while disappearances in Reynosa make up 17% of disappearances in Tamaulipas (INEGI, RNPED). If Reynosa were a state it would rank 12th among states with the most disappearances (RNPD). Also, disappearances have been significantly higher than INEGI homicides since 2009 (see Figure 9). INEGI homicides in Reynosa decreased by an annual average of 6 homicides from 2007 to 2013 while disappearances in Reynosa increased by an annual average of 32 disappearances from 2007 to 2014 (see Table 13). Due to the amount and increase of disappearances since 2007, homicide data for Reynosa is not representative of homicide trends in this municipality.

**Figure 9: Trends of Homicides and Disappearances in Reynosa From 2007 to 2014**




Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

**Table 12: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Reynosa From 2007 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 37 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 23 |
| 2008 | 87 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 23 |
| 2009 | 62 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 54 |
| 2010 | 84 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 136 |
| 2011 | 66 | 187 | 88 | 99 | 191 |
| 2012 | 75 | 188 | 84 | 104 | 180 |
| 2013 | 64 | 136 | 49 | 87 | 122 |
| 2014 | N/A | 221 | 72 | 149 | 151 |
| Total | 475 | 732 | 293 | 439 | 880 |

Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

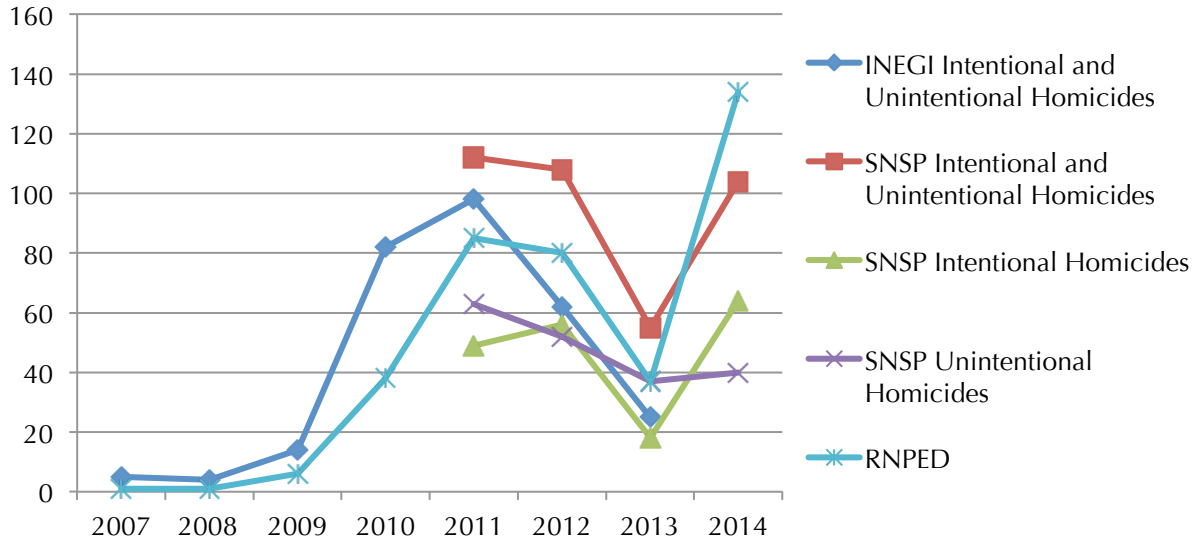
**Table 13: Year to Year Changes and Annual Averages of All Homicides and Disappearances in Reynosa From 2009 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2009 | 25 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 31 |
| 2010 | 22 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 82 |
| 2011 | 18 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 55 |
| 2012 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 11 |
| 2013 | 11 | 52 | 35 | 17 | 58 |
| 2014 | N/A | 85 | 23 | 62 | 29 |
| Annual Average | 5 (4 yr avg.) | 11 (3 yr avg.) | 5 (3 yr avg.) | 17 (3 yr avg.) | 21 (3 yr avg.) |

Note: Black figures are decreases and red figures are increases.
Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

The drop of homicides in Tampico from 2011 to 2013 is not real because of the overall amount and recent spike of disappearances (see Figure 10). Also, INEGI homicide data for Tampico does not represent the real trend of homicides because of the amount of disappearances in this municipality. INEGI reported 290 homicides in Tampico from 2007 to 2013 while RNPED reported 382 disappearances in Tampico from 2007 to 2014 (see Table 14). Disappearances increased from 37 in 2013 to 134 in 2014 (see Table 14). Disappearances in Tampico increased by an annual average of 26 disappearances from 2010 to 2014 (see Table 15). INEGI homicides in Tampico increased by an annual average of 3 homicides from 2010 to 2013 (see Table 15). Though the recent drop of homicides in Tampico is not real, it cannot be confirmed until municipal level INEGI homicide data for 2014 becomes available.

**Figure 10: Trends of INEGI Homicides and Disappearances in Tampico From 2007 to 2014**




Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

**Table 14: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Tampico From 2007 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 5 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 1 |
| 2008 | 4 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 1 |
| 2009 | 14 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 6 |
| 2010 | 82 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 38 |
| 2011 | 98 | 112 | 49 | 63 | 85 |
| 2012 | 62 | 108 | 56 | 52 | 80 |
| 2013 | 25 | 55 | 18 | 37 | 37 |
| 2014 | N/A | 104 | 64 | 40 | 134 |
| Total | 290 | 379 | 187 | 192 | 382 |

Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

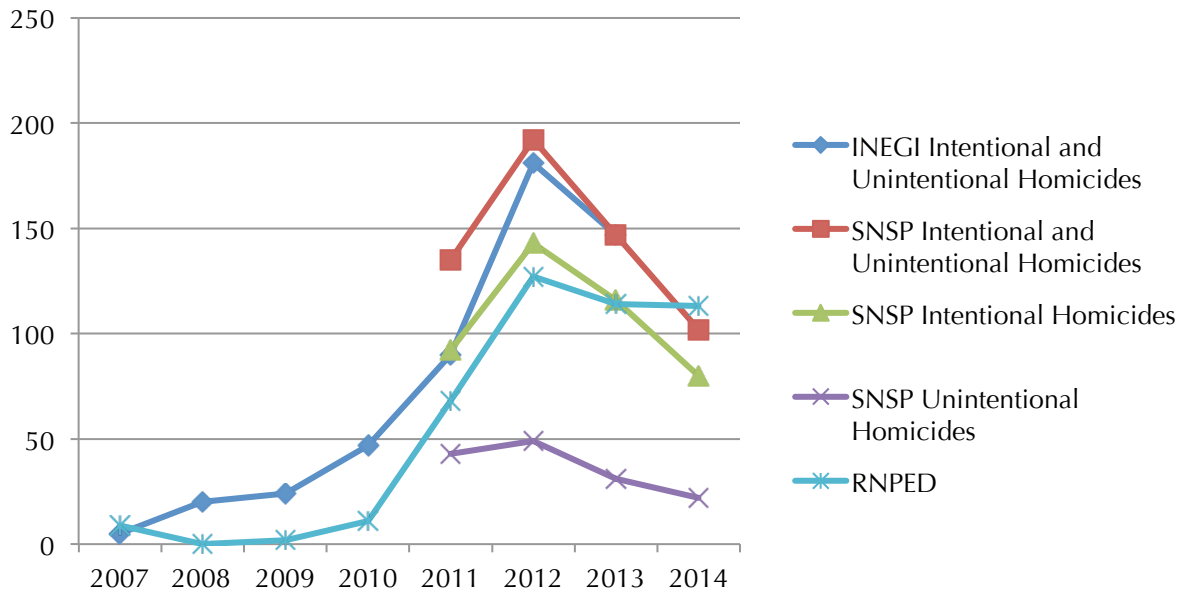
**Table 15: Year to Year Changes and Annual Averages of All Homicides and Disappearances in Tampico From 2010 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2010 | 68 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 32 |
| 2011 | 16 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 47 |
| 2012 | 36 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 5 |
| 2013 | 37 | 53 | 38 | 15 | 43 |
| 2014 | N/A | 49 | 46 | 3 | 97 |
| Annual Average | 3 (4 yr avg.) | 3 (3 yr avg.) | 5 (3 yr avg.) | 8 (3 yr avg.) | 26 (5 yr avg.) |

Note: Black figures are decreases and red figures are increases.
Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

Although Victoria is one of two municipalities where less people disappeared than were murdered from 2007 to 2014, there has not been a real drop of homicides because of too many disappearances (see Figure 11). Homicides dropped from 181 in 2012 to 147 in 2013 (see Table 16). Disappearances decreased from 127 in 2012 to 113 in 2014 (see Table 16). However, the decrease of disappearance is not steep enough for there to have been a real drop of homicides. Also, the INEGI homicide data is unreliable because too many people have disappeared in Victoria. INEGI reports that from 2007 to 2013 514 homicides occurred in Victoria (see Table 16). From 2007 to 2014, RNPED reported 435 disappearances in Victoria (see Table 16). Again, there has not been a real drop of homicides in Victoria because there has not been a steep enough decrease of disappearances. Though this cannot be confirmed until municipal level INEGI homicide data for 2014 becomes available. Nuevo Laredo is the one major municipality of Tamaulipas with homicide and disappearance data that deviate from the other major municipalities of Tamaulipas.

**Figure 11: Trends of INEGI Homicides and Disappearances in Victoria From 2007 to 2014**




Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

**Table 16: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Victoria From 2007 to 2014**

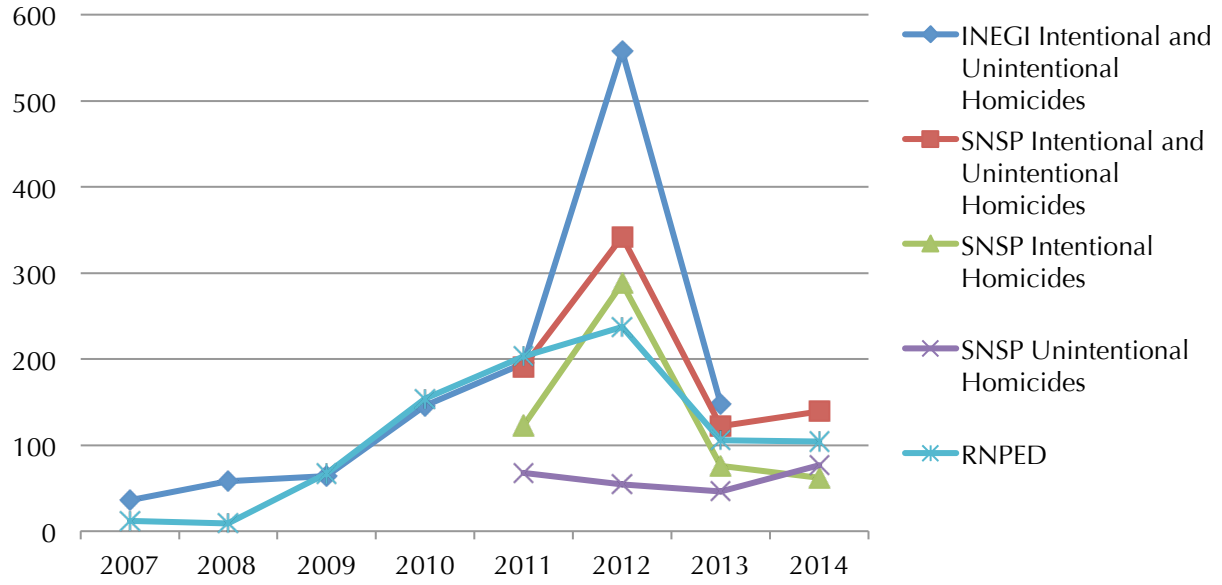
| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 5 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 9 |
| 2008 | 20 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 0 |
| 2009 | 24 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 2 |
| 2010 | 47 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 11 |
| 2011 | 90 | 135 | 92 | 43 | 68 |
| 2012 | 181 | 192 | 143 | 49 | 127 |
| 2013 | 147 | 147 | 116 | 31 | 114 |
| 2014 | N/A | 102 | 80 | 22 | 113 |
| Total | 514 | 576 | 431 | 145 | 444 |

Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

Nuevo Laredo is the only major municipality of Tamaulipas where there appears to have been a real recent drop of homicides (see Figure 12). Homicides in Nuevo Laredo decreased from a peak of 558 in 2012 to 148 in 2013 (see Table 17). Disappearances in Nuevo Laredo decreased from a peak of 237 in 2012 to 104 in 2014 (see Table 17). However, there are still a very large number of disappearances compared to homicides in Nuevo Laredo. For Nuevo Laredo, INEGI reported 1,205 homicides from 2007 to 2013 and RNPED reported 892 disappearances from 2007 to 2014 (see Table 17). If Nuevo Laredo was a state, it would rank 11th among states with the most disappearances in

Mexico (RNPED). The INEGI homicide data for Nuevo Laredo should be viewed with caution because the amount of disappearances is large enough to raise doubt over the reliability of INEGI homicide data for Nuevo Laredo. The drop of homicides and disappearances are large enough to conclude that there has been a real drop of homicides but it cannot be confirmed until INEGI municipal level homicide data for 2014 becomes available.

**Figure 12: Trends of INEGI Homicides and Disappearances in Nuevo Laredo From 2007 to 2014**




Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

**Table 17: Figures of Homicides and Disappearances in Nuevo Laredo From 2007 to 2014**

| Year | INEGI Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional and Unintentional Homicides | SNSP Intentional Homicides | SNSP Unintentional Homicides | RNPED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 36 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 12 |
| 2008 | 58 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 9 |
| 2009 | 64 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 67 |
| 2010 | 146 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 154 |
| 2011 | 195 | 191 | 123 | 68 | 203 |
| 2012 | 558 | 342 | 288 | 54 | 237 |
| 2013 | 148 | 122 | 76 | 46 | 106 |
| 2014 | N/A | 139 | 62 | 77 | 104 |
| Total | 1205 | 794 | 549 | 245 | 892 |

Sources: INEGI, SNSP, and RNPED

The large amount of disappearances in Tamaulipas and its five major municipalities render all homicide data for these areas unreliable. Due to the dearth of reliable data of homicides and disappearances, it is too difficult to make a definitive conclusion regarding

the nature of the trends of homicides and disappearances in the five major municipalities, as well as the state, of Tamaulipas. Also, homicide data for Tamaulipas is not representative of the real homicide trends for these areas. This is also apparent for 14 out the 43 municipalities in Tamaulipas; though with lesser amounts of homicides and disappearances. The municipalities of *Abasolo, Aldama, Altamira, Camargo, Ciudad Madero, Guerrero, Jiménez, El Mante, Mier, Miguel Alemán, Padilla, Río Bravo, Soto la Marina,* and *Valle Hermoso* account for 1,235 (24%) of INEGI homicides in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2013 and 1,003 (19%) of disappearances in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2014 (INEGI, RNPED). These 14 municipalities combined with the five major municipalities account for 4,174 (80%) of INEGI homicides in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2013 and 4,946 (94%) of disappearances in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2014 (INEGI, RNPED). The remaining 21 municipalities in Tamaulipas deviate from state level trends because they have seen real drops of homicides and disappearances but account for 1,071 (20%) of INEGI homicides in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2013 and 214 (4%) of disappearances in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2014 (INEGI, RNPED). Just as national trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico are not always representative of sub national trends, state level trends of homicides and disappearances are not always representative of municipal level trends. Ultimately, the data of homicides and disappearances in Tamaulipas, Matamoros, Reynosa, Tampico, and Victoria deviate entirely from the national trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico.

**CONCLUSION**

Although Mexico as a whole has seen a real drop of homicides, national trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico are not representative of sub national trends of homicides and disappearances. For example, Tijuana, Edomex, Tamaulipas, Matamoros, Reynosa, Tampico, and Victoria have trends of homicides and disappearances that deviate from national trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico. Similar to national trends not being representative of sub national trends, state level trends are also not representative of municipal level trends. For example, 110 out of the 125 municipalities in Edomex account for 32% of INEGI homicides that occurred in this state from 2007 to 2013. Additionally, 21 out the 43 municipalities of Tamaulipas account for 20% of the INEGI homicides that occurred in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2013 and 4% of disappearances that occurred in Tamaulipas from 2007 to 2014 (INEGI, RNPED). Further research is required in order to understand why there are so many disappearances in Tamaulipas, why the overwhelming majority of disappearances in Tamaulipas are concentrated in its five major municipalities, why Edomex has seen increases of homicides since 2007, and why more than half of homicides in Edomex are concentrated in 15 municipalities. Further research of these phenomena may help the GOM draft policies that abate homicides and disappearances in Edomex, Tamaulipas, and other entities in Mexico. Lastly, because of the many limitations of the data of homicides and disappearances in Mexico, data and trends of homicides and disappearances in Mexico are not reliable. Several recommendations are outlined below to improve the accuracy of homicide and disappearance data.

**RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOM**

- Task an agency to track and quantify the number of disappeared foreign migrants in Mexico; it may be helpful to coordinate with the Catholic Church's network of *Albergues* in Mexico in order to accomplish this task.
- Task an agency to track, quantify, and create a database of unclaimed bodies in Mexico.
- Task an agency to track and quantify the daily, weekly, monthly, and annual fluctuations of disappearances in Mexico.
- Task an agency to track and quantify the number of disappeared persons that are found alive and dead.
- Establish a uniform method of collecting details related to disappeared persons.
- RNPED should disaggregate missing persons from disappeared persons on the RNPED database.
- INEGI should disaggregate intentional and unintentional homicides.
- SNSP should release its municipal level data of intentional and unintentional homicides from before 2011.
- Task an agency to track and quantify the number of OCG-style homicides; the data should be made available at the national, state, and municipal level.

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