

Criminal tax

 <https://doi.org/10.56238/sevened2024.007-086>

J. Isabel García Requenes¹

ABSTRACT

After the easy and rapid production of synthetic drugs increased and some U.S. states legalized marijuana use, drug trafficking ceased to be the main source of income for criminal organizations in Mexico. This business began to become unsustainable for the Mexican cartels, which soon led them to venture into a more lucrative business.

Organized crime has diversified its criminal activities, mainly through extortion through the collection of *derecho de piso* or "criminal tax" from all types of businesses.

In this way, criminal groups have found in extortion not only a way to regulate everything that can produce capital, but also to recover the profits that the decline in the trafficking of plant-based drugs left them after the increase in the consumption and trafficking of synthetic drugs.

Criminal groups go to businesses and establishments to demand, under threats, that the owners pay a certain amount of money periodically. The goal is to offer "protection" from the threat of harming the business or the person who owns the establishment. The extortionist presents himself as "the protector", while the criminal can use violence if the fee is not paid.

"For criminals, there is no longer any formal or informal activity, line of business or business that they do not extort, in addition to also controlling entire markets in the country for products such as chicken, tortillas, eggs, construction materials and many other activities that can no longer operate calmly and legally if they do not pay fees and taxes to criminals. And those who refuse to pay outright are murdered, see their businesses burn down or, the bravest, prefer to close their family businesses, companies or grape harvests, so as not to have to pay taxes to organized crime, in addition to those they already pay to the government." (García Soto, 2024) In Mexico, organized crime has determined that anyone who produces something, sells anything or trades any type of goods and services, can be charged extortion amounts ranging from 50,000 to 1 million pesos per month, no matter if they are a street vendor, a small family business, or a small family business. a medium-sized company or even a large supermarket chain.

It is suspected that most of the intentional homicides registered in the country are linked to the collection of floor fees in bars, grocery stores, street vendors, cattle ranchers, farmers, transporters, butchers, gas stations and bakeries.

Mexicans are paying double taxation: on the one hand, that of governments, and on the other, that of organized crime.

At least five different fees charged by organized crime have been identified: *derecho de piso*, *derecho de transit*, extortion telefónica, extortion on the highway and family security. As a result, extortion has become their main source of financing.

The crime of extortion has high levels of black figures, that is, it is not reported to state prosecutors' offices or prosecutors' offices due to the victims' fear of reprisals from criminals dedicated to extortion in the country in different modalities.

Keywords: Extortion, Floor Rights, Criminal Tax, Organized Crime, Black Figure.

¹ Doctor in Teaching Methodology
Autonomous University of Zacatecas
E-mail: jigr1965@hotmail.com



INTRODUCTION

One of the most common extortion crimes in Mexico is the cobro de piso, known as derecho de piso, which is an "illegal tax" that is charged by organized crime to tenants, affecting thousands of businesses and companies in the country.

The National Institute of Criminal Sciences (INACIPE) defines extortion as a high-impact crime that consists of a person, association or for-profit organization, which through deception, threats and/or violence, forces any other person to give, do or not do something in order to damage their property and emotional sphere.

"There are two general types of extortion. The direct one, where the person or persons who extort money interact in a personal way, going to the home, school, work or business of the victim or the victim or businesses and the indirect (virtual) one that is committed through means of communication such as cell phones or social networks. In the latter, there is no direct (personal) contact between victim and aggressor." (INACIPE, 2020)

Article 390 of the Federal Penal Code (2023) defines extortion as a high-impact crime as follows:

"Anyone who, without right, compels another to give, do, refrain from doing or tolerate something, in order to obtain a gain for himself or for another or causing someone a pecuniary damage, shall be punished with imprisonment of two to eight years and a fine of forty to one hundred and sixty days."

It also states that the penalties will increase to a greater extent if it is carried out by a criminal association, a public servant, former public servant, member or former member of a police corporation or the Armed Forces.

"In addition, the public servant or former public servant and the member or former member of any police force shall be dismissed from public employment, office or commission and, in the case of a member of the Armed Forces in a situation of retirement, reserve or active duty, the definitive discharge from the institution to which he or she belongs, as well as the disqualification from holding public office or commission for one to five years." (Federal Police, 2018)

This means that forcing a person to cover a fee with threats is extortion, and this is what is known as floor collection.

Over the years, this form of extortion has increased considerably, whereby business owners of all types are required to pay a fee illegally, under threat and extortion. The modus operandi of criminal groups is that armed men leave a message in businesses to establish contact with owners and let them know the fee they will have to pay for the right to a flat.



"The right of ownership occurs when criminals or criminal groups show up at businesses to demand that the owners of the place pay a certain amount of money from time to time in exchange for protection both for the owner who is being extorted and for the establishment.

The floor charge is then an offer of protection against a threat of harm to the owner or the business. In this modality, the extortionist can use violence if the collection fee is not paid, through homicide, kidnapping or burning of the business.

The collection of flats is then characterized by establishing an unequal exchange relationship between a victim and a perpetrator, since the extortionist receives a fee in exchange for protecting the victim and this protection is imposed.

When extortion occurs only once: one person tricks or threatens another person to make the victim, the victim, pay an amount and the affected person receives nothing in return. Even an extortionist may have little ability to carry out a threat, but uses the violent context to his advantage, this is the case of telephone extortion, e.g.

On the other hand, in cases of flat collection, the victim and the perpetrator have an ongoing tax relationship: the offender collects a fee every week or month and makes visits to his "client" to collect; Sometimes the rules change and the quota goes up or its periodicity is shortened, among other things." (Martínez Trujillo, 2021)

Since statistical records of the incidence of the crime of extortion in Mexico have been available, a clear upward trend can be observed despite its annual fluctuations.

According to data from the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), in 2021 829 thousand extortion crimes were registered in businesses, of which 44.8% correspond to the collection of flats.

Although there is no exact figure, according to some merchants who have been victims of floor or floor rights, the amount to be paid for this extortion ranges from \$500 to \$5,000 per week.

"Right now, an average of 500 pesos per week is being charged for the floor (...). That is to say, a small medium-sized business would be paying between 2,000 pesos per month, which means giving them 25% of the profits earned." (Pardo, 2023)

A merchant or businessman may refuse to pay and run the risk of the threat becoming a reality, but in a context of high violence and uncertainty it is a scenario that few would choose.

Another alternative would be to go out of business, move, or become an employee. This choice can be made by businesses of a certain size and line of business, especially those that are in a position to move their company from one place to another, despite the fact that this change is imposed.

Of course, the aggressor could follow his victim anywhere to make good on his threat. However, it would be very costly, particularly because it would have to carry out violence in a



territory where it does not necessarily have the conditions to do so, such as support from local criminal networks or public authorities.

Organized crime groups have now arrived at the supermarket stores of the four largest chains established in several states of the Mexican Republic, to request the payment of up to 1 million pesos per month for the collection of the *derecho de piso*, with the threat that if they do not do so, they will not be able to pay the property. The manager and the store will pay the consequences.

Chain stores have begun to be extorted and threatened by criminal cells, some belonging to drug cartels and others created by armed common criminals posing as members of a criminal organization, who show up to demand the monthly payment of certain amounts of money in exchange for not kidnapping or murdering supermarket managers.

"It is known that at least two of the strongest chains, one national and the other foreign, already report in their internal reports the presence of the collection of floor rights in several cities of the Republic." (García Soto, 2024)

The collection of the floor illegally constitutes a fixed tax, since the extortionist, supposedly from organized crime, charges a variable rate or economic quota, generating a tax system parallel to that of the government, which has already been accepted even by large companies, with the aim that their products reach their destination without suffering possible theft. that their establishments or vehicles are not set on fire or that an attempt is made on the life of any of their employees.

Now "criminal organizations collect their own taxes and, with the terror of guns and violence, their effectiveness in collecting and collecting is even better and more effective than that of the SAT,² which also has its methods of coercion, but they do not compare to the cruelty and fear that armed criminals instill. And from that, Mexicans are paying double taxation: on the one hand, the federal government and the state and municipal governments bleed us with taxes that are not necessarily reflected or rewarded in the terrible services we receive, starting with the lack of security, continuing with the inefficient health system and ending with the terrible urban services provided by the different levels of government." (García Soto, 2024)

"Extortion is carried out with total impunity; It is an illegal and immoral tax that charges for the right to work and funds the criminal gangs that plague 75 percent of the national territory." (Di Costanzo, 2024)

In most businesses, all merchandise has a price with a fee included, imposed each month by a member of the criminal group that dominates the area in exchange for protection.

"According to the Laboratory of Analysis, Commerce and Business of the UNAM, the fees charged by Organized Crime to tenants, producers, farmers, and the entire chain of suppliers and marketers of products already have an important impact on inflation, we have the case of lemons or

² Tax Administration System



avocados in Michoacán, so the right of floor can affect inflation by up to 2 or 3 percentage points." (Di Costanzo, 2024)

"During the government of Andrés Manuel López Obrador, violence has stagnated at historically high levels and, in addition, the country has experienced a severe epidemic of face-to-face extortion (colloquially known as the "collection of the derecho de piso"). According to official figures, which must be taken with a grain of salt, since the black figure³ in this crime is 98%, extortion grew 45% during the first five years of this administration. The alarming rise in extortion has gone hand in hand with an astonishing territorial expansion of organized crime; an expansion that has not only had a devastating effect on a large number of local economies, but has also begun to undermine the health of Mexico's main institutional creature of the last half-century: the democratic regime." (Guerrero Gutiérrez, 2024)

According to intelligence and security experts, reporting is not easy. This is due in part to the collusion of certain elements within justice institutions with criminal groups, as it generates in victims fear of reporting the possibility of reprisals.

Reporting can be counterproductive, futile, or dangerous. Collecting a flat is a crime that involves a long-term relationship and a complaint can cause the extortionist to increase the level of violence to impose their protection. That is, the criminal, the only real provider of protection, can retaliate against his protégé because he dared to denounce.

Nationwide, the black figure in the case of extortion is 97.4%, according to the National Survey of Victimization and Perception of Public Security (ENVIPE). (INEGI, 2023)

The black figure can be close to 99%, a microuniverse of crimes is reported in relation to what really exists. People, on the one hand, do not report because they know that there is no capacity for investigation and fear inhibits them from reporting; At the same time, more and more people are doing this because the risk is very low.

In addition, there is a 99.8% impunity rate for the crime of extortion. (Findings, 2022)

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this research is to raise awareness of how organized crime has diversified its illicit activities, including extortion of companies through the collection of floor or criminal tax, what is their modus operandi and what proposals have been made in Mexico to combat them.

³ According to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI, 2022), the black figure represents all "criminal acts that are not reported to the Public Prosecutor's Office or that are not the subject of a prior investigation and therefore do not appear in any statistics." With the new criminal justice system, crimes for which an investigation file has not been opened are added to the definition of a black number.



This work is justified because in our country it is a latent issue that deserves an exhaustive and in-depth investigation, since the consequences are very serious, especially the resurgence in violence, the increase in insecurity and the loss of confidence of investors to establish their companies that generate jobs.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The main sources of information for this research are documents such as codes in force in Mexico, reports, reports, interviews, executive summaries, books and magazines that talk about the different forms of extortion, national and local newspapers that on numerous occasions and very frequently present articles denouncing this type of crime, as well as official websites such as INEGI,⁴ ENVIPE,⁵ ANPEC,⁶ SESNSP⁷, as well as studies that experts have carried out on the subject.

Therefore, this work is considered to be documentary and descriptive.

RESULTS

"The crime of extortion affects more and more Mexicans. In the last four years of the administration of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, this crime, associated with the collection of flats and payment of fees to organized crime, reached a victim rate of 7.67 per 100,000 inhabitants nationwide.

The figure represents an increase of 50 percent, compared to the last four years of Enrique Peña's administration (2015-2018), which closed with a rate of 5.1, according to the Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System (SESNSP).

During the last two years, 2022 and 2023, the highest peaks of extortion victims were reported, with 8.36 and 8.48, respectively." (Railing, 2024)

Ramón Castro Castro, bishop of Cuernavaca, Morelos, revealed that the municipality of Cuautla is being subdued by criminal gangs that collect floor fees from tortilla shops, hamburger stands and sugarcane companies in the area.

The extortion of the tortillerías is 50,000 pesos at the entrance and 10,000 pesos per month, and the stall that sells hamburgers is charged the right to rent.

One of the main drivers of criminal violence in Mexico is the trafficking of synthetic drugs such as methamphetamine and fentanyl, but other criminal economies also play a significant role.

⁴ National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics.

⁵ National Survey of Victimization and Perception of Public Security.

⁶ National Alliance of Small Merchants.

⁷ Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System.



"Extortion and drug dealing have grown rapidly in recent years, with an upsurge in violence due to disputes between groups dedicated to micro-trafficking and control of local plazas, while extortionists and kidnappers legitimize their threats through violence and murder.

The growth of these criminal economies occurred in response to the collapse of others. Mexico's marijuana economy experienced a substantial contraction following the legalization of weed in several U.S. states, forcing criminal organizations that traditionally trafficked the alkaloid to diversify their criminal portfolios in search of new revenue.

The existence of a criminal economy in one area can lead to the proliferation of others.

In Guanajuato, "huachicoleo" (or gasoline theft) gave rise to multiple criminal groups, such as the Santa Rosa de Lima Cartel. But from the beginning, the huachicolero groups have ventured into other crimes to diversify their portfolio. Guanajuato is now the most active local drug market in the country." (Doherty, 2023)

Zacatecas is the eighth state in Mexico with a territory almost the size of Jalisco and larger than Michoacán, it has only one and a half million inhabitants, settled in 58 municipalities, each with a municipal seat and an endless number of small and medium-sized ranches, except for the large cities such as Zacatecas, Fresnillo, Guadalupe and Jerez that are at the center of the highway networks of strategic relevance to bring drugs to the border north, especially to Texas.

Major cities have become dangerous territories competed by crime, difficult to control due to their size, as they are strategically crucial where different organized crime groups coexist and compete, including the Sinaloa Cartel (CS) and the Jalisco New Generation Cartel (CJNG).

"The cartels that are fighting for Zacatecas have a meticulous control of the territory. Everything that happens is recorded by falcons or checked by checkpoints." (Aguilar Camín, 2023)

In Zacatecas there are two authorities: the formal one of the government and the real one of organized crime.

The cartels don't make a living from drug trafficking, but from extorting society.

"Fresnillo, which is at the heart of this war, reported in 2022 the closure of 1,600 medium and small businesses – out of a total of almost 4,000 – abandoned by their owners with losses of about 10,000 jobs, due to the extortion pressures they faced." (Lomnitz, 2023)

Two out of every five businesses closed in that city, with tortilla shops, bakeries, taquerias and grocery stores being the most affected, that is: "small businesses, which are usually required to pay fees of between 10,000 thousand and 20,000 pesos per month." (Martinez, 2023)

In the municipality of Sombrerete, a city of 20,000 people controlled by the Sinaloa cartel, only the cartel can sell cigarettes or beer; bean producers must pay 1,000 pesos per ton; cattle buyers, 400 pesos per animal.



Organized crime runs local prostitution, stealing trailers on the highway, and forcing farmers to sell their produce within their municipality to collect for transactions.

In many municipalities, organized crime charges for the patron saint festivities of towns and parishes, where they have a monopoly on the sale of beer.

Everyone knows that if they don't pay, they will be raped, kidnapped or killed.

The social presence of crime has become normalized. "They don't take care of themselves anymore, they don't cover their faces, we all know who they are." (Lomnitz, 2023)

The crime of collecting flats and extortion ranked third in recurrence nationwide and although it is not a new crime, it has spread in at least 23 of the country's 32 entities, according to the Victimization Survey (ENVIPE-2023).

"The states where businesses pay the highest fees are: Guerrero: 50 thousand pesos; Aguascalientes: from 1,000 to 50,000 pesos; Mexico City: from 300 to 25 thousand pesos; Chihuahua: from 15 to 20 thousand pesos; Jalisco from 3,000 to 20,000 pesos and Tabasco: from 500 to 20,000 pesos.

On the other hand, the states with the greatest impact on their sales are: Chihuahua from 70 to 80%; Guanajuato from 50 to 60%; Morelos and Chiapas 50%; Puebla and Tlaxcala from 30 to 50%; Guerrero and Mexico City: from 10 to 40%; Oaxaca: 33%; Jalisco: 25%; Tabasco and Zacatecas: 10 to 20%." (Di Costanzo, 2024)

DISCUSSION

"The National Alliance of Small Merchants (ANPEC) reports that organized crime extortion against small, medium and large businesses represents at least 20 percent of their profits, since in many cases they reach 50,000 pesos per month and in many cases represent the disappearance or bankruptcy of the establishments." (Di Costanzo, 2024)

The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime (GI-TOC) ranks Mexico as the world leader in "Criminal Markets" out of a list of 193 countries in crimes such as human trafficking, financial fraud, piracy trade, drug sales and floor collection.

This organization exposes the reach that criminal groups have in Latin America's second-largest economy, with a worrying upward trend in Mexico.

In this index, Mexico leads the list, followed by Burma, Iran, Nigeria and Colombia. It also reveals the penetration of organized crime into economies, highlighting the high incidence of illegal charges for protection, human trafficking, trade in synthetic drugs, cocaine, heroin and cannabis (marijuana).

"Mexican criminal groups rely heavily on extortion as a source of income, targeting individuals as well as small, medium, and large businesses. The rate of extortion has increased



substantially in some Mexican states, while in others it has decreased. Extortion can also involve private citizens, who falsely claim to belong to criminal groups in order to obtain small extortion payments. Territorial extortion, known as "cobro de piso," has become a low-cost source of income for criminal groups. The food industry has become an increasingly frequent target, leading to food crises and supply chain disruptions. Extortion continues to be a major problem in almost all Mexican cities, with municipalities in the states of Michoacán, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Morelos, Nuevo Laredo and Mexico with the highest rates." (GI-TOC, 2023)

Organized crime in Mexico has taken over brands, products, and goods. This phenomenon distorts the market and generates control of territory throughout the country and corrupts state institutions through bribery and intimidation.

Organized crime is no longer only dedicated to drug trafficking, but has expanded its activities to illegal businesses, such as extortion, the collection of flats also called "criminal tax", oil theft, human trafficking, kidnapping, with which they obtain billions of dollars a year. Criminal cells also have legal businesses, although the vast majority have been acquired the hard way, or work with criminals in money laundering.

This would not be possible without the complicity of people from the business, financial or government sectors.

Mexican cartels foment violence across the country, using a variety of firearms, including military-grade weapons, leading to brutal clashes with rival cartels for territorial control and different state public security institutions.

"Weapons for organized crime come to Mexico mainly from the United States, because between 70% and 90% of the guns that appeared at crime scenes in the country were manufactured in the United States. Drug cartels get guns in Texas and Arizona and smuggle them across the border." (Pacheco Ortiz, 2024)

CONCLUSION

"The federal government has allowed the crime of extortion to grow due to the lack of a clear strategy to combat it, deficiencies in management and investigation, and lack of support for the states." (Railing, 2024)

It has resorted to militarization to combat organized crime, but with little success. His efforts to combat corruption and organized crime have been symbolic.

Corruption and complicity between criminal groups and State agents exacerbate impunity for criminals, and State efforts to combat crime and violence throughout the country have been unsuccessful.



The rate of homicides, kidnappings, human trafficking and enforced disappearances remains high and cases of femicide, extortion against merchants with the collection of flats, violence against journalists, among other crimes, have increased.

Political violence has also become prevalent, with criminal groups threatening and assassinating political candidates.

The criminal economy has an impact on the political structure. In Mexico, it has been established that drug trafficking groups have financed political campaigns and it is often referred to as a "narco-state." It is argued that illicit networks have reconfigured political institutions. (Garay Salamanca, 2012)

In Mexico, this situation has become a great challenge for the State, since various cartels have financed political campaigns and would have political control of some City Councils.

President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, elected in 2018, strongly denounced the "mafia of power."

Everywhere, the link between the illicit economy and political structures is evident in the financing of electoral campaigns. Some studies carried out by former Directors of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) of Mexico, such as Luis Ugalde, are very significant (Ugalde, 2012). Today, illicit financing is considered to far outweigh legal financing.

The current government won the election on an anti-corruption campaign, but has since consolidated power, reducing the transparency and accountability of the state.

Although laws and policies are intended to curb corruption, criminality and impunity persist and the enforcement of federal transparency legislation persists.

Mexico is riddled with corruption embedded in the state, with officials at various levels facilitating organized criminal activities, such as drug trafficking, oil theft (huachicol) and extortion.

Not only does this complicity funnel substantial amounts of illicit proceeds to high-ranking officials, but it also weakens law enforcement agencies, hampering the country's fight against organized crime.

There are also reports that suggest corrupt practices remain within the federal institutions charged with combating organized crime. However, corruption at the local level, such as that between state and municipal officials, remains a more significant concern, due to the lower financial cost of collusion with low-level officials and their deeper knowledge of the territories they govern.

Organized crime has managed to exert remarkable influence on Mexico's democratic process, allegedly doing everything possible to ensure the election and/or re-election of key political allies, including the assassination of politicians perceived as threats.

In view of the increase in cases and victims of extortion in the country, the Federal Executive presented to the Chamber of Deputies a bill to consider the crime of extortion a serious crime,



because currently the legislation does not contemplate it, and there is the problem throughout the country that, sometimes, When an extortionist is arrested by the police, he or she is immediately released.

One recommendation would be to address the problem of organized crime strategically and attack the finances of criminal groups. Well, only in this way can illicit activities be stopped, since by leaving them without money they would not be able to pay hitmen or illegal goods, although in Mexico it is not yet done, although criminals are arrested, as they do not touch their financial structure, they are simply replaced by others to continue operating.

It is also recommended to dilute the links between crime and corruption.

In order to have greater transparency regarding the security situation in the country, it is proposed to promote citizen reporting through campaigns and to increase the channels for reporting and improve accompaniment for vulnerable people, since the low percentage of complaints and the high percentage of impunity show that the justice system is not functioning properly.

"Reporting is only part of the solution if it meets two conditions. First, it has to immediately trigger an alternative offer of protection that allows the victim to dispense with the 'original' offer, the criminal one. That is, if the police have the capacity to provide protection from extortion and other threats, the complaint becomes the demand for "protection that relieves."

Second, the complaint has to trigger an investigation and eventually a judicial process that guarantees the reparation of the damage for the victim and the neutralization of these violent actors. According to ENVIPE (2022), considering only the extortion cases that have an investigation folder (i.e., 2.6%), we know that in 60% of the cases nothing has happened; In 26% cases, the investigation is ongoing, 0.3% recovered their assets and only 1% have repaired the damage. In short, as long as the prosecutors' offices do not assume their role, there is no point in the population taking the risk of denouncing." (Le Cour Grandmaison, 2022)

Organized crime in the Mexican economy is a challenge that requires comprehensive solutions and the collaboration of all sectors of society.

If the offender goes directly to the business to request payment in exchange for not harming the property or family, the following recommendations should be followed:

Do not immediately give in to demands and remain calm; not to express a direct refusal to the offender; ask for a deadline to get the requested money, which will allow you to analyze the scenario and request help from the authorities of the State Prosecutor's Office, where specialized personnel will attend to the case and report any intimidation, threats and collection of economic fees.



REFERENCES

1. Aguilar Camín, H. (13 de junio de 2023). Zacatecas: cara a cara con los verdugos. Ciudad de México. Milenio.
2. Baranda, A. (11 de marzo de 2024). Crece 50% la extorsión. Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación. Dirección General de Comunicación Social. Ocho Columnas. Reforma.
3. Código Penal Federal (CPF). Artículo 390. 08 de mayo de 2023 (México).
4. Cour Grandmaison, R. et al. (22 de septiembre de 2022). La extorsión empresarial: un delito invisible... hasta que estalla. México Evalúa.
5. Di Costanzo, M. (23 de enero de 2024). El cobro de derecho de piso como mecanismo de fondeo del crimen organizado. México. López-Dóriga Digital.
6. Doherty, S. (31 de mayo de 2023). Las 3 conclusiones del Índice de Paz México de 2023. InSight Crime.
7. Garay Salamanca, L. (2012). “Narcotráfico, corrupción y Estados”. Debate. (México).
8. García Soto, S. (28 de marzo de 2024). Narco impune y desbordado: extorsionan a supermercados. México. El Universal.
9. Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime (GI-TOC). (2023). Índice Global de Crimen Organizado. México.
10. Guerrero Gutiérrez, E. (2024). Hacia un Tratado de Seguridad para América del Norte. México. Revista Nexos, núm. 554.
11. Hallazgos 2022. Seguimiento y evaluación de la justicia penal en México. México Evalúa.
12. INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE CIENCIAS PENALES (INACIPE). (2020). La Extorsión en México. México. Recuperado el 04 de abril de 2024, de https://www.inacipe.gob.mx/assets/docs/investigacion/opinion/extorsion_final.pdf
13. INEGI (2023). Encuesta Nacional de Victimización y Percepción sobre Seguridad Pública (ENVIPE).
14. Lomnitz, C. (01 de junio de 2023). Zacatecas: La zona del silencio. Revista Nexos.
15. Martínez, J. (04 de marzo de 2023). Reportan cierre de mil 600 empresas en Fresnillo por inseguridad y extorsiones. Milenio.
16. Martínez Trujillo, M. T. (13 diciembre de 2021). Extorsión y cobro de piso: la protección que inquieta. México. Nexos.
17. Morán Breña, C. (24 de diciembre de 2023). El crimen organizado pone precio a la agricultura mexicana. México. El País.
18. Pacheco Ortiz, M. (02 de febrero de 2024). México, líder mundial de “Mercados Criminales”. Diario de Yucatán.



19. Pardo, E. (13 de abril de 2023). Cobro de piso, el “impuesto” ilegal de la delincuencia de México. México. Fuerza Informativa Azteca.
20. Policía Federal. (2018). LA EXTORSIÓN. México. Recuperado el 07 de abril de 2024, de https://www.gob.mx/cms/uploads/attachment/file/388352/QUE_ES_LA_EXTORSI_N.pdf
21. Ugalde, L. (2012). Por una democracia eficaz. México. Aguilar.