

Period surveyed July 31, 2020 – August 1st, 2021

MEXICO: AN ENORMOUS DEBT WITH FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Executive Summary

In terms of freedom of expression, Mexico ranks 16th among the 22 countries in the Americas under review by the Chapultepec Index study. The nation displays a total score of 49.21 points out of a total of 100. During the period surveyed, covering between July 31, 2020 and August 1st, 2021, violence against journalists exacerbated, this led the perception that there is an unfavorable climate for the exercise of freedom of expression in the country. Like previous years, from the Executive, Legislative and Judicial environments, the Mexican Government institutions moderately influence over the promotion of actions intended to improve and strengthen the legal frameworks, public policies, and the general conditions that allow citizens to fully exercise their right to information and express their ideas and opinions. However, the high crime rates in the country continue to undermine the exercise of journalism and some actions by the Executive show a negative impact over the exercise of freedom of expression by journalists and other relevant political actors.

Introduction

This release includes information related to the realms analyzed by the Chapultepec Index: Freedom of expression and access to information, the exercise of journalism and situations of violence against journalists, and direct or indirect control by government agencies over national media. Some general context information corresponding to the period covered by the report is presented as follows:

The year 2021 was marked by the health and economic crisis resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. This year, the crisis began to recede and, by the end of the first semester, the 13 million jobs lost in 2020 had been recovered almost entirely. However, more than half of them belong to the informal labor sector according to data from the National Self-Employment and Employment Survey (Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo) carried out by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, INEGI) (INEGI, 2021a).

In the political field, on June 6, 2021, the largest national mid-term elections were held, resulting in the rearrangement of the political forces in the Federal Congress. "Morena", the party of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, lost its supermajority in the House of Representatives, but preserved the absolute majority. This allows him to get approval for the budgets for the second half of the six-year term, but forces him to negotiate with other allies and opposition parties to gain support for constitutional amendments. On the other hand, Morena won 11 of the 15 state governorships that were up for grabs this year in the country (Núñez 2021a and 2021b).

In addition to the uncertainty caused by the pandemic and the climate of political commotion associated with the electoral period, crime rates, the killing of journalists, and the high percentages of impunity continue being issues of a context that, directly and indirectly, impact negatively over the exercise of freedom of expression by Mexican newspersons. The government has done little to improve the regulatory frameworks, public policies, and the general conditions that allow prompt access to justice, the protection and guarantee of the right to information, and the freedom of expression of the general public, and journalists, in particular.

Results Analysis

It is estimated that freedom of expression and the press can be partially exercised in Mexico according to the Chapultepec Index's annual evaluation. The country ranked 16th out of the 22 countries in the Americas that were reviewed, with 49.21 points out of a total of 100. The worst evaluated item was Violence and Impunity, yet, it can be considered that there is a mildly favorable climate for the exercise of freedom of expression in the country. The data underscores that some actions and omissions by entities part of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial environments exert negative effects on the full exercise of freedom of expression and other rights such as freedom of the press and information.

Executive Environment

With an average score of 3.20 out of 10 points, the experts inquired agree that the degree of influence of the executive environment in situations unfavorable to freedom of expression is moderate. Of the three branches of the government, this is the worst rated in the realms reviewed by the Chapultepec Index: Realm A: Citizens Free to Express Themselves, 3.36 points; realm B: Exercise of Journalism, 3.43 points; realm C: Violence and Impunity, 4.71; and realm D: Control over the Media, 1.29 points, the last being the only aspect for which the unfavorable influence is regarded as mild.

The results corresponding to realms A and B regarding freedom of expression and the exercise of journalism are mainly due to the fact that, during his morning press conferences, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador discredits and stigmatizes the media, journalists, politicians, and other civil society stakeholders who openly criticize the government's decisions or take it to task for its omissions. He calls them "conservatives", "puppets", "hypocrites" and "two-face" (Ureste, 2021). The organization Article 19 (2021a, p. 44) has reported that press conferences, "as opposed to improving the exercise of the collective right to inform and receive information", have become platforms to "teach a lesson" to journalists, media, and other critical individuals, as President's slurs result in targeting and personalized attacks in social media against newspersons by president's supporters.

Adding to the above, on June 30, 2021, the weekly segment "Who is Who in Lies" ("Quién es quien en las mentiras") was included in presidential press conferences. During this segment, press releases, opinion columns, and messages posted in social media criticizing the government are exposed and disqualified. Such action triggered the publication of a joint press release comprising 20 local and international organizations – among them, the Inter American Press Association (Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, IAPA), and the Inter-American

Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) – warning that this sort of practices represent a new "offensive by the president on his strategy for confrontation and search for enemies". It also warns that it threatens "freedom of the press, media plurality" and "critical and informed public debate" (Marcial, 2021; Infobae, 2021).

Several journalists and activists have pointed out that the aforementioned segment is a mistake because it manipulates public opinion, criticizes, and labels as lies both, news from the media and columnists' opinions (De La Rosa, 2021). The slurs and stigmatization against government critics displays little tolerance to criticism and exerts negative effects against the exercise of journalism.

The public policy implemented by previous administrations on the discretionary allocation of budgets for official advertising – overlooking clear rules and criteria – continues to be in effect. The reduction of 80% of spending in this area is positive; but its discretional allocation produces its "concentration" in a "few media outlets". Of the 457 outlets that received resources for official advertising in 2020, only 10 received more than 52% of the budget, with Televisa, TV Azteca and *La Jornada* newspaper taking the first three top places in the list. Less than half of the public money for that sector went to 447 media outlets, "which translates into an inequitable and unequal distribution" Fundar (2021). In addition, as IAPA pointed out, last year, the allocation of government advertising has also shown trends toward benefiting media organizations aligned with the government's agenda.

The lowest score obtained by the Executive environment is in realm C, on violence and impunity; with 4.71 points, the influence of this environment is deemed strong in situations unfavorable to freedom of expression. The Executive has not contributed to improving the Mechanism for the Protection of Human Rights Advocates and Journalists (Mecanismo de Protección para Personas Defensoras de Derechos Humanos y Periodistas), which reports to the Secretariat for Home Affairs (Secretaría de Gobernación, SEGOB). Responsiveness from the Special Prosecutor's Office on Crimes against Freedom of Expression (Fiscalía Especial para la Atención de Delitos cometidos contra la Libertad de Expresión, FEADLE), and from the Attorney General's Office (Fiscalía General de la República, FGR), have not improved either as they do not diligently investigate the murders of journalists and other crimes against the journalists' duties. This keeps the level of impunity at 98%, according to the organization Article 19 (2021a). In this area, the judicial environment is not exempted from responsibility, as mentioned below.

Finally, citizens' right to be better informed has been impaired because no effective actions have been taken to resolve the labor conflict of Notimex, the Mexican Government news agency, where a group of workers decided to go on strike in June 2020. In October 2020, Article 19, in association with media monitoring initiative, SignaLab, from the Institute of Technology and Higher Education of the West (Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente, ITESO), and Aristegui Noticias, revealed that the director of Notimex, journalist Sanjuana Martínez, had used material, human, and financial resources to attack journalists and former contributors for the government agency whom she accuses of corruption. The workers filed formal complaints at the Secretariat of the Civil Service (Secretaría de la Función Pública) against Martínez and other directors for abuse of authority and workplace harassment (La Jornada, 2021; ARTÍCULO 19, 2020). The conflict continues upon closing of this report.

Legislative Environment

With an overall average of 1.68 points, the results indicate that the influence of the legislative environment over situations unfavorable to freedom of expression is small, as it can be noticed that, at Federal Congress level, there was only one action that had an impact over issues of freedom of expression and the right to information. At local legislative level, two new draft bills that could encourage the exercise of freedom of expression and journalism were introduced.

At federal level, on November 26, 2020, the House of Representatives approved a ruling that repealed the Law on Printing Offenses (Ley sobre Delitos de Imprenta), in force since 1917. However, the legislative process to complete its repeal is still underway, since the Senate was shifted to work on the new legal framework that will regulate Articles 6 and 7 of the Mexican Constitution. Based on that abolished law, officials as well as political stakeholders from the private sector have censored some publications by journalists and academics, and even have filed lawsuits for "moral damage" against Carmen Aristegui, in 2014, and Sergio Aguayo, in 2017. Upon closing of this report, the introduction and discussion of a draft bill was still pending. It is hoped that the rights to freedom of expression and information, right to rebut, and other rights consolidating the public debate of ideas will be recognized and expanded.

At local level, in April 2021, the Congress of the State of Mexico, the state with the most media and journalists after Mexico City, passed the Law for the Comprehensive Protection of Journalists and Human Rights Advocates of the State of Mexico (Ley para la Protección Integral de Periodistas y Personas Defensoras de los Derechos Humanos del Estado de México). This statute recognizes that the exercise of journalism must be protected by the authorities representing the state and its municipalities. It also creates the Mechanism for the Comprehensive Protection of Journalists and Human Rights Advocates (Mecanismo de Protección Integral de Periodistas y Personas Defensoras de los Derechos Humanos) in the state, indicating that said mechanism must seek coordination with its counterparts at federal and municipal levels to guarantee the life and personal safety of persons at risk as result of their work as journalists or human rights advocates (Victoria, 2021).

The new law also creates the Specialized Prosecutor's Office for Crimes against Freedom of Expression, Journalists, and Human Rights Advocates (Fiscalía Especializada para la Atención de los Delitos cometidos contra la Libertad de Expresión, Periodistas y Personas Defensoras de Derechos Humanos) in the State of Mexico, and makes amendments to the Criminal Code of the State of Mexico (Código Penal del Estado de México) in relation to crimes against freedom of expression, for which it sets forth 15-25-year prison terms for anyone who murders a journalist or a human rights advocate. It also penalizes attacks against journalists by public servants with prison terms ranging from two to nine years and the prohibition from working in public service for 9 years. Some journalists consider that the new legal framework will allow investigating and punishing actions by individuals who attack journalists or attempt to restrict their freedom of expression (Hernández, 2021a; Victoria, 2021).

In December 2020, the Law on Professional Secrecy and Conscience Provision for the Exercise of Journalism in Mexico City (Ley del Secreto Profesional y Cláusula de Conciencia para el Ejercicio Periodístico de la Ciudad de México) entered into force in Mexico City. The law establishes that the media are required to publish a code of ethics that includes principles of social responsibility, public participation, and plurality of ideas. Moreover, its Article 6

establishes the conscience provision which states that journalists and other collaborators to media outlets may refuse to prepare or author news pieces contrary to their ideological, ethical, or conscience principles. It also requires that the media establish a consensual editorial code of practice, which seeks that the press in Mexico City defines and makes editorial policies transparent (Hernández, 2020).

Journalists and experts consulted by the IAPA regard as mild the influence levels of the legislative environment over situations unfavorable to freedom of expression. For realm A, Citizens Free to Express Themselves, it scored 2.57 points, while in the other three realms the scores show a slight influence. In realm B, Exercise of Journalism, it attained 1.43 points; in realm C, Violence and Impunity, the score is 1.81; and in Realm D, Control over the Media, it attained 1.29 points.

There is lack of greater commitment by the institutional stakeholders in the legislative environment at federal and state levels, as no concrete actions are being encouraged to improve the situation of freedom of expression and the right to information in the country. The poor results in the administration of justice and the high levels of impunity prevail. Therefore, it can be concluded that omission and indifference have prevailed in this environment.

Judicial Environment

With respect to the judicial environment, the experts inquired notice the level of influence on situations unfavorable to freedom of expression being mild or low, giving an overall score of 1.78 out of 10 points. Among the four realms reviewed, realm A regarding actions encouraging a well-informed society and the exercise of freedom of expression, is believed to have been the realm with low impact during the period reviewed as it reached 2.46 points, the highest score; while in realm B, regarding the exercise of journalism, it scored 1.71 points; in realm C, violence and impunity, 23.24 points were assigned; and finally in realm D, assessing the extent of influence on control over the media, it scored 0.71 points.

In the judicial environment, several concrete actions specifically pertaining to realms B and C stand out. On the one hand, on June 15, 2021, a federal judge in the State of Chihuahua issued a conviction sentence against Hugo Amed Schultz Alcaraz, former mayor of the township of Chinipas in Chihuahua, for his involvement in the murder of Mexican journalist Miroslava Breach Velducea, on March 23, 2017. The former public official admitted his involvement in the crime and negotiated the reduction of his sentence to eight years in prison after he was arrested in December 2020.

On the other hand, on Thursday, June 17, 2021, the FGR succeeded in getting a federal judge to sentence Juan Francisco Picos, a.k.a "El Quillo", to 32 years. "El Quillo", a hitman from the Sinaloa Cartel, was charged for being a co-perpetrator in the assassination of journalist Javier Valdez on May 15, 2017. This sentence adds to that of March 2020 against Heriberto Picos, sentenced to 14 years and 8 months for the same crime. During the trial, the FEADLE and the FGR were able to prove that the homicide was related to Valdez's professional occupation (Forbes, 2021a).

Although both convictions can be regarded as positive in a country where impunity related to the assassination of journalists reaches 98%, other events point out that conspiracy

and corruption prevail in the judicial environment. Proof of this was the injunction ordered by the Third District Court in the State of Quintana Roo in favor of businessman Kamel Nacif Borge, to defeat an ongoing arrest warrant for the crime of torture committed against journalist Lydia Cacho Ribeiro in 2005.

Another relevant development occurred on September 8, 2021, prior to the completion of this report. The First Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation (Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación, SCJN) unanimously approved the project that granted injunction to Article 19 and ruled the General Law on Communication (Ley General de Comunicación Social) unconstitutional, approved by the Federal Congress in April 2018. This, despite the fact that many civil society groups, gathered around the "Medios Libres" (Free Media) partnership, warned that it infringed the Constitution and that it "legalized wrongful practices" regarding the allocation of government advertising.

Finally, in terms of impunity, according to data from the Global Impunity Index 2020 (GII 2020), Mexico appears in the 60th place among 69 countries reviewed. The index specifically assesses the structure of systems of justice and their ability to guarantee access to justice. Mexico's index reached 49.67 points: 10 points higher than the global average of 39.9 points. Some of the findings in the report indicate that, in Mexico, "not enough capacities are being generated" to guarantee security and access to justice for the majority of Mexicans and, on the other hand, the existing capacities "are functioning poorly" or inappropriately, which results in "new cycles of impunity" (Le Clercq, 2021).

Realm A

Journalists and experts on freedom of expression who were surveyed allocated this realm 11.57 points out of 23. This indicates that experts consider that the actions by the Mexican Government have been insufficient to consolidate the mechanisms, public policies, and legal framework that guarantee its citizens access to plural and timely information on public issues relevant to their community life.

In the sub-realms Information Flow and Freedom of Expression, it can be perceived that inability to connect and access Internet in the country remains a pending task. Although Internet access has been considered a human right by the UN since 2011, neither the Executive nor the Legislative have encouraged decisive measures to improve their performance in this regard.

Although President López Obrador promised in 2019 that he would connect all towns in the country through Internet by deploying 50,000 kilometers of fiber optic owned by the Federal Electricity Commission (Comisión Federal de Electricidad, CFE) and its subsidiary CFE Telecomunicaciones e Internet para Todos (CFE-TIT), he has postponed his proposed goal three times. Some specialists have pointed out that the president's promise is to provide infrastructure to ensure total Internet coverage in the country, which does not guarantee that service providers may be willing to invest in areas with low density of population (Forbes, 2020; Gutiérrez, 2021; El CEO, 2021).

On another issue associated to information flow and citizens' right to information, throughout 2020 and until June 11, 2021, the Mexican government held daily evening press conferences to inform on the status of the COVID-19 pandemic, and to guide the people on the

measures they should take to fight the virus. These conferences, presented by officials of the Ministry of Health, provided technical and scientific information through broadcasts retransmitted by dozens of Mexican media outlets. However, as audience interest waned, and health issues started being politicized, the government cancelled these press conferences, thus indirectly affecting citizens' rights to access official information on the pandemic through easily accessible media like television, at a moment when the vaccination plan is still underway.

Finally, this realm indicates that misinformation also affects negatively citizens' right to access reliable information on political and health issues during the pandemic in Mexico. It is noteworthy that, according to Reuters' Digital News Report on Mexico carried out by Gutiérrez-Rentería (2021), the political polarization between the government and opposition groups reduced citizens' trust in the media and official sources. Sixty-nine percent of Mexicans said they had seen false or misleading information about the coronavirus, and 52% about politics. In both issues, Mexico was the only country that worsened its score compared to other nations in the region.

Realm B

In this realm on actions intended to guarantee respect for the professional exercise of journalism, the experts allocated the Mexican Government 6.86 points out of a total of 10.

During the period covered by this study, journalists' working conditions were mainly affected by three factors: First, the health risk conditions stemming from the circumstances during a year marked by the COVID-19 pandemic. Most reporters had to adapt and face the risks that involved taking to the streets and other public spaces to cover and keep people informed. Since the pandemic began and until the beginning of September 2021, 120 journalists have died, according to data from the Press Emblem Campaign (PEC) published by *El Universal* newspaper (2021).

Secondly, the economic crisis resulting from the pandemic and the decrease of revenue generated by the media from advertising exacerbated the crisis of news organizations, leading to dozens of journalists being dismissed or their salaries being cut. According to anonymous statements published by Deutsche Welle (2021), journalists' salaries recovered in some cases throughout 2021; most of them had their workload doubled or their full pay was contingent on requirements regarding reporting to office for work, otherwise a percentage of their monthly salary would continue to be deducted.

Third and last, the political-electoral context meant greater risks when covering political campaigns.

The precarious conditions and absence of protection suffered by journalists are historical in Mexico. However, the financial crisis in the media has deepened because – in many cases – their survival is subject to the advertising contracts they secure from the public sector, being the federal government one of its major clients. Due to the austerity measures implemented since 2019 and the drop in resources allocated to government advertising, a number of media outlets have reduced their workplaces to keep operating.

Realm C

Violence and the killing of journalists and newspersons continued and worsened. Conditions for their protection have not improved and the government has not promoted actions to reduce levels of impunity. Due to the above, this realm was assessed with 11.35 out of 42 points. In the sub-realm related to the protection of journalists, a score of 2.86 out of 5 was allocated, while regarding prosecution of individuals who attack journalists, the score was 2.43 out of 7.5. Meanwhile, the actions against impunity obtained 3.07 points out of 8.5. Finally, the sub-realm that reviews the influence of the three environments to end violence against journalists was assigned 2.99 points out of 21.

Between August 2020 and July 2021, twelve journalists were murdered in different locations in Mexico. Ricardo Domínguez López, Benjamín Morales Hernández, and Jesús Alfonso Piñuelas, in Sonora; Abraham Mendoza, in Michoacán; Saúl Tijerina Rentería, in Coahuila; Gustavo Sánchez Cabrera, in Oaxaca; Jaime Daniel Castaño, in Zacatecas; Israel Vázquez, in Guanajuato; Arturo Alba Medina, in Chihuahua; Julio Valdivia Rodríguez, in Veracruz; Pablo Morrugares, in Guerrero; and Felipe Enrique García García, in the State of Mexico.

Since between May and July 2021 six journalists were murdered in Mexico, the country was once again rated as the most dangerous to exercise journalism in the Americas, according to the organization Reporters Without Borders (Reporters sans frontières, RSF). In March 2021, journalists Jorge Molontzín Central and Pablo Felipe Romero Chávez were reported missing in Sonora. Both work for local media outlets.

The most dangerous state in the country for the exercise of journalism during the period studied was Sonora. Three journalists were murdered and two more disappeared in that region. However, according to Article 19 (2021b), violence against the press is generalized since, during the first semester of 2021, 362 attacks against media and journalists went on record in practically all states, being Mexico City, with 64 attacks, the location with the highest number of aggressions against journalists. Tamaulipas and Quintana Roo, with 23 reported attacks, ranked second and third respectively, while Puebla, with 22; and Guerrero, with 21, also topped the list.

Article 19 (2021b) underscores that threats against the media and journalists were primarily perpetrated by Government agents, essentially by municipal and government law enforcement, who committed 134 attacks, 37.33% of the total number. It also states that the electoral atmosphere increased the risk for journalists' coverage; in fact, 56 attacks were committed by members of political parties. It also underscores the "sustained increase" of attacks against the press on the Internet, in the form of cyber-attacks against the media and through smear and intimidation campaigns against journalists. Also, the organization documented that 120 attacks were directed against female journalists.

In addition to the attacks suffered by press workers, at the end of 2020, the SEGOB acknowledged that 396 journalists had been displaced from their hometowns after receiving death threats (Animal Político, 2020).

According to information from the SEGOB on this matter, from the start of the administration of Andrés Manuel López Obrador in December 2018 until July 2021, 68 activists and 21 journalists have been murdered, out of those, seven newspersons and two human rights

advocates were benefited by the Law for the Protection for Human Rights Advocates and Journalists (Aristegui Noticias, 2021).

By the end of July 2021, the federal mechanism for the protection of journalists and human rights advocates benefited 1,478 people, among those, 481 were journalists. Other "factors of impunity" on the violence against journalism are the prevailing nonexistent coordination between the Executive Commission on Victims (Comisión Ejecutiva de Atención a Víctimas) and the FEADLE, the lack of human resources to follow up on investigations of the attacks against freedom of expression, and the killing of journalists. For 2021, the FEADLE has planned to operate solely on 15 million pesos while having only 22 prosecutors and 15 investigation police officers to address this serious problem (Hernández, 2021b).

Realm D

In this area, Mexico was rated with 19.43 points out of a total of 25. When assessing the sub-realm of direct control over the media, the experts allocated 14.57 out of 19 points. In the area of indirect control, they gave a rating of 4.86 out of a possible 6 points.

Another remarkable action in the legislative environment that violates freedom of expression, Mexicans privacy, and indirectly impacts negatively over control and surveillance of digital communication platforms used by citizens, relates to the amendments approved in April 2021 to the Federal Telecommunications and Broadcasting Law (Ley Federal de Telecomunicaciones y Radiodifusión, LFTR). This resulted in the creation of the National Registry of Mobile Phone Users (Padrón Nacional de Usuarios de Telefonía Móvil, PANAUT). This program seeks to require that mobile phone users join a mandatory registration of SIM cards and their biometric data, which implies a risk to their security as it aims at exerting control and surveillance over users. Therefore, this measure has been regarded as a violation of human rights by the UN (Cortés, 2021).

This action, along with publicly available evidence that, in 2019 and 2020, the FGR acquired and used a program developed by Neolinx – a company located in Mexico that allegedly was one of the main providers of cyber espionage during the administration of Enrique Peña Nieto - to massively monitor Internet users, prompted the organization Freedom House to place Mexico as a country with a "partly free" online environment in its 2021 annual report. The study mentions that the PANAUT and the use of other digital media surveillance tools – by both federal government agencies and some local governments – have "heightened potential for self-censorship and politicized content removals" in the digital environment. (R3D, 2021).

Conclusions

The evaluation by experts and journalists over freedom of expression, the review carried out by the Chapultepec Index, and the context information presented and documented in this report show that the institutions of the executive, legislative and judicial environments still pose enormous challenges and pending tasks to guarantee the full exercise of freedom of expression and access to information by citizens. The administrative entities of the Mexican Government, as a whole, have not undertaken concrete and coordinated actions to guarantee security and

protection to journalists and reporters during professional practice, and whose work is essential to strengthen democratic standards in Mexico.

Specific data on threats, attacks and violent deaths of journalists have once again placed Mexico as one of the most dangerous countries in the world for the exercise of journalism. However, officials act slowly, or in some cases fail to act effectively on this issues. The mechanism in charge of offering protection to reporters at risk still does not provide the desired results.

In the executive environment, it has been notorious that the morning press conferences of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador have a negative influence due to stigmatization and discrediting of journalists and other individuals critical of the government, affecting, and in some cases, directly restricting the full exercise of freedom of expression of those who dissent from the president's policies and ideas. Since freedom of expression is linked to the exercise of other rights such as access to information and the voicing of opinions in the public forum, any action that inhibits its full exercise should be viewed with concern.

In the legislative environment, the passing of some local statutes stands out as they seek to increase protection for journalists at risk. Nevertheless, at the federal level, the discussion and enactment of the Law on Printing Offenses and the introduction of a new draft General Law on Communication in the Senate are still pending issues.

In the judicial environment, several reports underscore that the Mexican justice system still functions selectively and slowly, since high levels of impunity prevail and investigations stagnate in cases related to the murder of journalists and human rights advocates.

In terms of freedom of expression, the Mexican Government has an enormous debt with society in general, and with the press in particular, since it is evident that the actions taken by the three branches of the government have been insufficient and, in some cases, inappropriate. From the IAPA, we stress on the need to act decisively and show genuine political will to promote regulatory and institutional changes that ensure a cease of the attacks against journalists and freedom of expression in Mexico, as they should also promote and consolidate public policies that guarantee security to all citizens, especially those whose main labor is to deliver news to society.

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