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# THE DANGERS OF DOING JOURNALISM IN TAMAULIPAS

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Harassment, violence or death: the challenges of covering organized crime and corruption in northeastern Mexico

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# The research project

- Addresses the hazards of doing journalism in Tamaulipas
- The approaches employed are those of the violence against reporters who cover crime, corruption and local stories
- The challenges journalists face to adapt to new ways of doing their work
- Evidence is presented through cases collected during the winter of 2024, through ethnographic methods

# Tamaulipas facts

- Has a position to play a key role in drug trafficking and human smuggling
- More border crossings into the United States than any other Mexican state (18)
- 3 of the 10 busiest Border Crossings in USA (Laredo, Hidalgo, Brownsville)



# The drug cartels influence

- The Cartel del Golfo (CDG), funded in Matamoros, controls criminal economies since the 1930s
- Capture and killing of leaders/feuds with the Zetas changed the cartels dynamics
- Instability has become cyclical, which lead up to more violence

# Criminal Dynamics in Mexico's Northern Tamaulipas State

Sitting along the US-Mexico border, Tamaulipas has been home to two of Mexico's largest criminal groups: the Gulf Cartel and Zetas. Both have fragmented into hyper-local and hyper-violent criminal factions as another major group, the CJNG, may be moving in.

## GULF CARTEL SPLINTER GROUPS

- Orange flag: Ciclones / Escorpiones
- Purple flag: Metros
- Blue flag: Panteras
- Red flag: Rojos

## ZETAS SPLINTER GROUPS

- Black flag: Zetas Viejas Escuela (Old School Zetas)
- Blue flag: Cartel del Noreste (Northeast Cartel)

## CJNG

- Green flag: Jalisco Cartel New Generation (Cártel Jalisco Nueva Generación - CJNG)

This map aims to show the presence of criminal groups in Tamaulipas' urban centers. It is not a complete map of the state's complex organized crime dynamics.





**AL ROJO  
VIVO»**



TELEMUNDO



•LaJornada

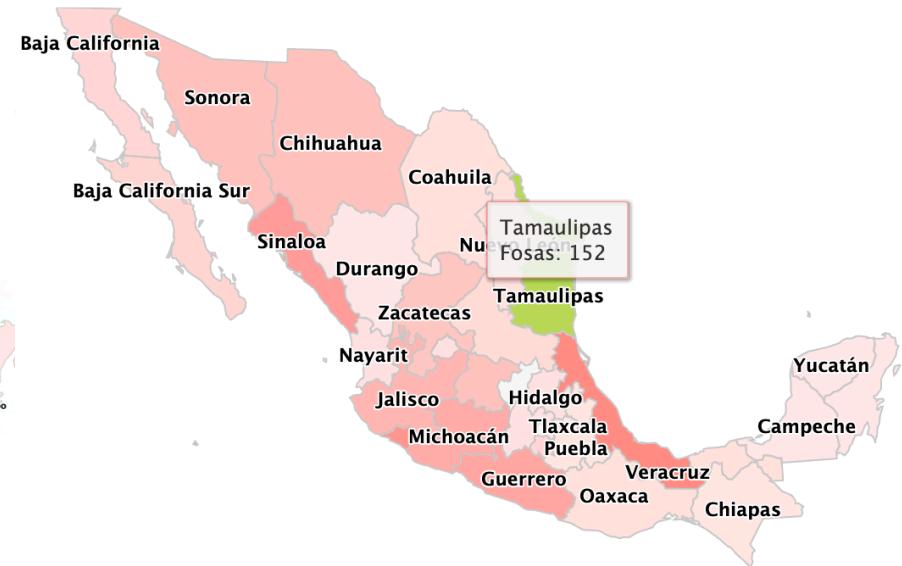




## Fosas clandestinas halladas en México

Periodo: 01 de diciembre de 2018 al 30 de abril de 2023

Rango: 01/12/2018 a 30/04/2023





# Impact of the violence on journalism

- 162 journalists have been killed in Mexico from 2000 to 2023 (0 in USA)
- 2022 was the deadliest year for journalists in Mexico, with 13 killings.
- Tamaulipas is the second Mexican state with the most journalists killed (16)

Source: <https://articulo19.org/periodistasasesinados/>

# Causes of violence against journalists

- 70's: Threats came from political and union power and local bosses.
- 80's: Organized crime joined the harassment of media/journalists.
- 90's/2000's: Tamaulipas was catalogued as the main zone of silence in Mexico.

Source: "Tamaulipas, the construction of silence." -Martha Olivia López Medellín- CPJ 2014





# Violence against journalists (2010-2020)

- Narcos started using more violent tactics to get their point/message across
- Express kidnappings, beatings, stabbings, assault and death threats
- Attacks to newspapers/radio stations/tv stations
- Use of grenades, firearms and car bombs



- Acepta el gobernador que “en algunas zonas” su administración ya fue rebasada por el crimen

## Zetas, posibles culpables de explosiones de dos coches bomba en Tamaulipas

- Los estallidos, en instalaciones de Televisa y Tránsito de Ciudad Victoria; no hay heridos



Trabajadores de Televisa en Ciudad Victoria informaron que la explosión del coche bomba cimbró las casas en varias cuadras a la redonda. Las fuerzas policíacas cerraron las calles para evitar el paso de vecinos. Foto Reuters

### DE LA REDACCIÓN

Periódico La Jornada  
Sábado 28 de agosto de 2010, p. 11

**Ciudad Victoria, Tamps., 27 de agosto.** La capital de Tamaulipas vivió hoy horas de tensión y zozobra. En los primeros minutos de este viernes estallaron dos coches bomba frente a las instalaciones de Televisa, en la colonia Sosa y de la Dirección de Tránsito

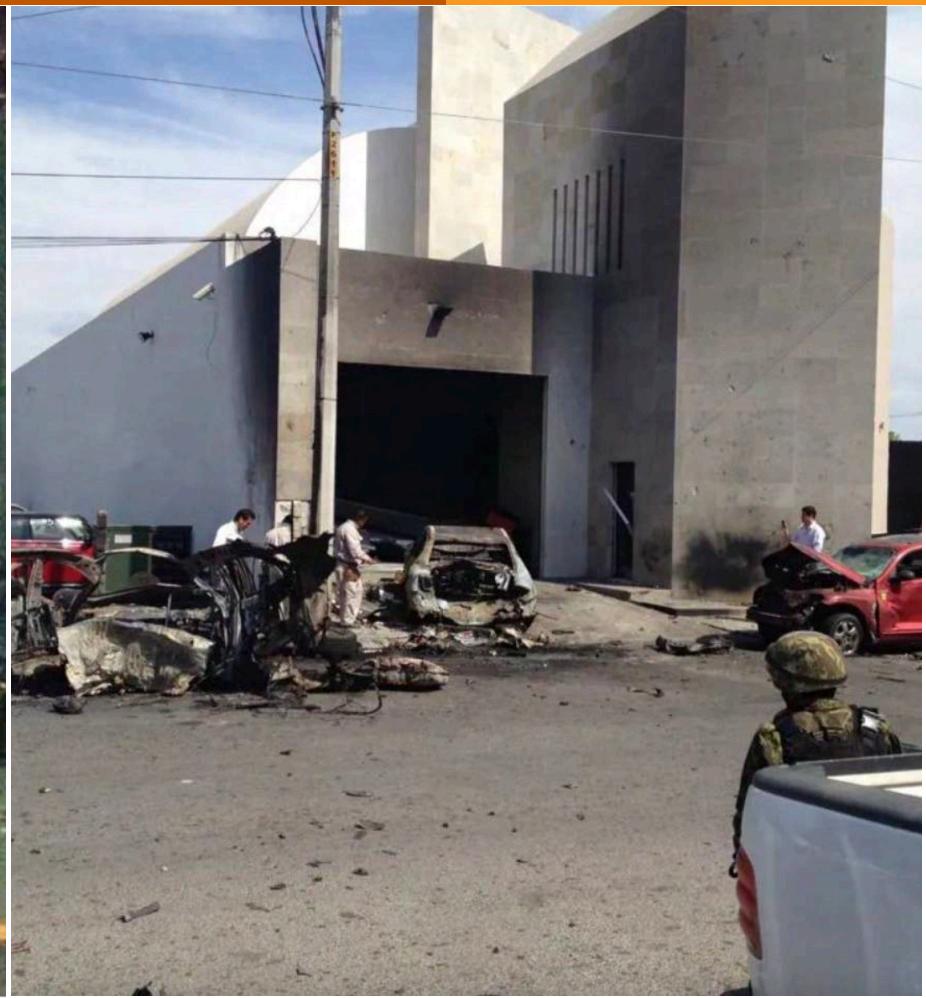
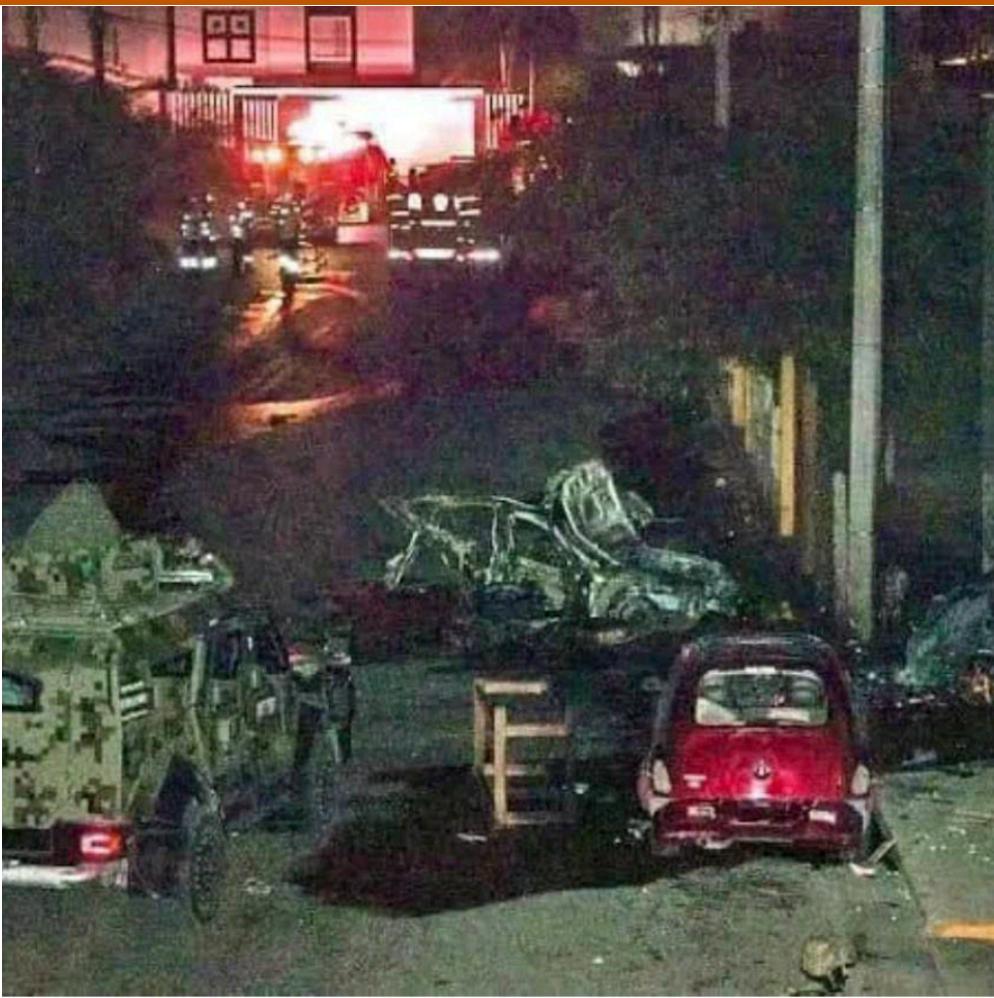
El cártel de *Los Zetas* es el posible responsable de hacer estallar los dos autos bomba en instalaciones de Televisa y de la Dirección de Tránsito Municipal en Ciudad Victoria, de acuerdo con información obtenida de funcionarios que participan en el gabinete de seguridad nacional.

La PGR empezó una averiguación previa por violación a la Ley Federal

## Estalla coche frente a Policía de Cd. Victoria



Alrededor de las 15:00 horas de hoy, una nueva tragedia se registró en el estado de Tamaulipas, ya que un coche bomba explotó en Ciudad Victoria.





Explota coche bomba en Periódico Expreso

- No hay muertos, sólo daños materiales
- Área de talleres afectada
- Se va la luz en algunas calles



# The official response

- Local and federal authorities are often slow to respond.
- Fail to apply best practices to evidence gathering.
- Appear to prioritize presenting suspects ASAP, rather than conducting a thorough investigation.

Source: "In 2022, journalist killings continue unabated in Mexico amid a climate of impunity." - CPJ

# What's most discouraging for journalists?

- Citizens don't acknowledge the risk they assume to cover drug-trafficking stories.
- Society don't trust them/they consider media to be another political institution.
- Journalists branded as sellouts

Source: "They don't trust us; they don't care if we're attacked: Trust and risk perception in Mexican journalism." / Communication & Society, 32(1), 147-160. <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.37820>

# When violence threatens democracy

- Violence against journalists violates freedom of expression and citizens' right to information
- Consolidates zones of silence/Journalists cannot inform about problems of the community
- Represents profound risks for the democratic life of Mexico and the region, which includes Texas.

Source: "They don't trust us; they don't care if we're attacked": Trust and risk perception in Mexican journalism. *Communication & Society*, 32(1), 147-160. <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.37820>

# Research Project Mellon Fellowship

- How are journalists in Tamaulipas doing their work?
- What are some of the challenges they face?
- Have they received help from the government and what does that mean?

# The research project

- Used data from in-depth qualitative interviews with 15 individuals
- 10 journalists, 2 college professors, 2 government officials and 1 activist
- 6 men and 4 women, ages 45-65, middle class, from Tamaulipas

# The findings

- Journalists apply self-censorship, self-care and resilience
- Prefer to rely often on press releases, press conferences and transparency tools
- Work in units to protect themselves: detrimental to independent journalism

# The findings

- Newspapers have stopped publishing stories about violence
- Websites often stay away from beats that could be dangerous
- Editors talk to the competition before they publish a story

# The findings

- Some journalists have opted out of their profession because it's too risky/stressful
- Teachers/government officials/political parties/private sector
- Have decided to open YouTube channels or work for national/international media

# The findings

- Journalists distrust government officials and institutions/avoid asking them for help
- Some have concerns about what they share with other colleagues
- Explore moving out of state and pursue a less stressful job

# The Government response

- Created workshops and conferences for journalists
- Protection Mechanism for Human Rights Defenders and Journalists
- Open Door Policy that would gain back trust

# What's next for journalism?

- “New generations want to be influencers and care a lot about engagement.”
- “Media would need to adapt to new generations or they would become obsolete.”

Mauricio Z., newspaper editor/blogger in Ciudad Victoria

# What's next for journalism?

- “Only a few newspapers would survive and the rest would become websites.”
- “Newsrooms would become irrelevant.”

Pedro G., newspaper editor in Tamaulipas

# What's next for journalism?

- Investigative journalism would only be possible in collaboration with national/international outlets
- Local TV stations would become irrelevant/ mostly cover national issues
- Radio stations would stick mostly to music programming/content

# What's next for journalism?

- “We don’t wanna leave our state and our city, the narcos should not win and take control of the state.”

Marco E., website editor in Tamaulipas

# What's next for journalism?

- “It’s gonna take a lot of creativity, sacrifice and commitment to keep doing our job.”

Maria J., multimedia journalist, Tamaulipas

# What's next for journalism?

- “I’m not a hero and I put my family first even though I love journalism.”

Marco V., newspaper columnist in Tamaulipas

# What needs to change?

- “Changing course will require enormous effort in tandem with the will of all sectors of society.”
- The government should fully fund laws that provide protections for journalists.

Source: “Surviving Mexico: Resistance and Resilience among Journalists in the Twenty-First Century.” /Celeste González de Bustamante and Jeannine E. Relly.

# The core values of journalism

- “Addressing problems is important, but equally crucial is showcasing existing solutions
- It demonstrates people’s awareness and active efforts to fix the issues (local, national or international)
- Provides inspiration and tools for young readers who may feel the world is doomed.”

Juliette Gerbais, project assistant European Journalism Centre

# The core values of journalism

- “The primary goal of solutions journalism is not to make people feel good, although it’s great impact when that happens: Its goal is to inform people better.”

Nina Fasiaux Director, Partnerships & Fellowships, Solutions Journalism Network

# The victims in Tamaulipas

- Luis Cruz Martínez (Reynosa, February 2000)
- Pablo Pineda Gaucín (Matamoros, April 2000)
- Saúl Martínez (Matamoros, March 2001)
- Félix Fernández (Miguel Alemán, January 2002)
- Roberto Mora (Nuevo Laredo, March 2004)
- Francisco Arratia (Matamoros, August 2004)
- Dolores García (Nuevo Laredo, April 2005)
- Ramiro Téllez (Nuevo Laredo, March 2006)
- Francisco Ortiz (Camargo, February 2008)
- Jorge Rábago Valdés (Reynosa, March 2010)
- Alberto Guajardo (Matamoros, November 2010)
- Elizabeth Macías (Nuevo Laredo, September 2011)
- Mario Chávez (Ciudad Victoria, June 2013)
- Carlos Domínguez (Nuevo Laredo, January 2018)
- Héctor González Antonio (Ciudad Victoria, May 2018)
- Antonio de la Cruz (Ciudad Victoria, June 2022)



Héctor González Antonio



Antonio de la Cruz Martínez



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# QUESTIONS?

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