

Report on the situation of environmental human rights defenders, individuals and communities, in Mexico, 2021



REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS, INDIVIDUALS AND COMMUNITIES, IN MEXICO, 2021

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Diseño: otromexico, sc

First edition, 2022

Publication mediated by Centro Mexicano de Derecho Ambiental A.C.

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CEMDA thanks all the persons, collectives, and organizations that shared information for use in this report.

Mexico City, March 2022.

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1. INTRODUCTION

C entro Mexicano de Derecho Ambiental, A.C. (CEMDA) presents its ninth report on the situation of defenders of environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, in Mexico, in the face of violence perpetrated against them by reason of their work.

Two thousand twenty-one was an important year for defense of the environment, marked by the entry into force of the *Regional Agreement on Access to Information, Public Participation and Justice in Environmental Matters in Latin America and the Caribbean,* better known as the Escazú Agreement, on April 22, International Mother Earth Day. This international instrument considered "pioneering,"¹ being the first of its kind to contain specific provisions for the protection of environmental defenders, represented an opportunity to combat a present dynamic that has made environmental defense a high-risk activity.

Also, it was the second year in which individuals, peoples, collectives, and communities continued to face the COVID-19 pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus, which impacted their internal organizational dynamics, links with other organizations, articulation among movements, and -regrettably- the loss of defenders' lives.

At Conference of Parties (COP) 26 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), held in Glasgow, Scotland, the young and brave indigenous activist, Txai Surui, reaffirmed what defenders of the environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, have been saying again and again: caring for the planet and its peoples cannot wait any longer. "It is not 2030 or 2050, it is now. Indigenous peoples are on the front line of the climate emergency, and we should be at the center of the decisions made..."², Surui stated. The fact of the matter is, as shown in this report and in previous reports, so-called development projects, whether massive or on smaller scale, and their effects, including human rights violations, are part of a system that produces structural violence, under a legal framework that legitimizes violence to exploit individuals, peoples, and nature.

In 2021, we observed with concern the multiplication of development projects and the erosion of the conditions under which defenders of the environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, operate. We saw how the Mexican government did not waiver in promoting its flagship projects without listening to reason, recurring to longstanding, illegal strategies like criminalization and stigmatization.

We have also witnessed new forms, such as the issuance, last November, of the *Resolution instructing* the agencies and entities of the Federal Public Administration to take the actions indicated in relation to the projects and works of the Mexican Government considered matters of public interest and national security,³ which, on the one hand, constituted a de jure negation of the rights of indigenous peoples and similar communities to

³ Centro Mexicano de Derecho Ambiental, Posicionamiento en torno al Acuerdo sobre obras y proyectos considerados de interés público y seguridad nacional, November 24, 2021, available at: https://www.cemda. org.mx/posicionamiento-en-torno-al-acuerdo-sobre-obras-y-proyectos-considerados-de-interes-publico-y-seguridad-nacional/



¹ News UN (2021). "El pionero Acuerdo Escazú, protector de los defensores del medio ambiente, entra en vigor el Día de la Madre Tierro" available at: https://news.un.org/es/story/2021/04/1491182 ² El País, La joven que desquició a Bolsonaro por su discurso en la Cumbre del Clima, 10 de November de 2021, available at: https://elpais.com/clima-y-medio-ambiente/2021-11-11/de-representar-abrasil-en-la-cumbre-del-clima-a-recibir-threats-por-las-criticas-de-bolsonaro.html

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territory and autonomy, and on the other stripped away the reason for being and practical value of a highly important series of institutions created to guarantee the rights of information and participation, such as the Environmental Impact Assessment.

The year 2021 was paradoxical; the entry into force of the Escazú Agreement raised hopes that it could be an emblematic year in the progressive advancement of protection for the rights of defenders of the environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities.

Sadly, it ended up being a year of long shadows, many of them created by the party primarily responsible for combating them: the Mexican state. This new context forces us to ask the Mexican authorities: What measures will be taken in 2022 to guarantee defenders' right to a safe and supportive climate for their work?

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In 2021, we observed with concern the multiplication of development projects and the erosion of the conditions under which defenders of the environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, operate The situation of defenders of the environment, land, and territory in our country does not escape international observation due to its severity, which was placed in evidence by the organization Global Witness. In 2020, that organization ranked Mexico as the country with the second highest number of environmental defenders murdered in the world.⁴ For its part, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), through its rapporteurships, has expressed its concern on the issue and even offered the Mexican state technical assistance to address the situation, without having received any response from the government to date.⁵

Against this backdrop, this report, like our prior reports, seeks to shed light on the problems of structural violence defenders of human rights to environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, face in Mexico, through monitoring, reporting, and analysis of aggressions perpetrated against them by reason of their work. In so doing, we will present information on general statistics on such aggressions, which, regrettably, are not encouraging.

Our investigative work includes a special section on lethal aggressions against defenders and a brief approach to the work the defenders targeted engaged in. Then, we analyze the distribution of aggressions by state, who was targeted, in other words indigenous persons, members of civil society organizations, women defenders, or persons with specific activities.

The analysis includes the sectors of economic or state activities associated with aggressions and the ways violence is perpetrated against defenders. This year in particular, it is CEMDA's intention to place emphasis on two forms of aggression which have ongoing impact, since their effects are constantly updated. We are referring to criminalization and

⁴ Global Witness, Annual Report Última línea de defensa. Las industrias que causan la crisis climática y los ataques contra personas defensoras de la tierra y el medio ambiente, September 2021, page 14, available at: https://www.globalwitness.org/es/last-line-defence-es/

⁵ Public hearing of the 180th period of sessions of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, "Protection of the human rights of defenders and communicators in Mexico" available at: https://www.youtube. com/watch?v=Wchwxr0D37M&t=4298s





disappearance, to which we devote a specific section due to their growth and reporting in the year documented.

From CEMIDA, we hope that journalists, members of civil society organizations, members of academia, and society at large will benefit from the information presented herein, which is a mere sampling of the reality many defenders of environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, in Mexico face.

Also, we hope that this report sends a message to decision makers and authorities involved with the issues, to whom the recommendations in this report are directed, because their role is essential in the creation, promotion, and transformation of public policy seeking to create a safe environment for defenders.

In this climate of grave risk for environmental defense in Mexico, the report seeks to echo the voices demanding justice for the victims of aggressions perpetrated in the past and protection for those who continue to resist in the face of the destruction caused by so-called *development projects.*⁶ From CEMDA, we will continue our efforts of documentation and reporting, to contribute to the joint construction of solutions that guarantee the human rights of those who resist and defend our natural heritage.



2. METHODOLOGY

As mentioned before, this report, in its 2021 edition, contains information on aggressions committed against defenders of environment, land and territory, personas and communities, in Mexico.

Throughout our analysis, the terms *event[s] of aggression* and *aggressions* are used discretely, given that different forms of aggression may occur within the same event. Thus, for example, in an event of aggression, with a specific place and date, threats, physical aggression, and arbitrary detention may occur simultaneously or consecutively. Making this distinction helps to identify information on events of aggression, and on the other hand to analyze aggressions more accurately.

The report's study period is from January 1 through December 31, 2021. It is important to mention that we also consider aggressions with ongoing effects that produce an impact on the environmental defender targeted, the impact of which was reported in the period documented; examples of such aggressions include criminalization, disappearance, and probable forced disappearance.

For the purposes of this report defender of environment, land, and territory is identified as a subject that, individually, collectively, in a group or through an organization, promotes, procures, or defends the exercise of environmental human rights to land and territory, regardless of personal or social recognition of their efforts in defense of environment, land, and territory⁷. In accordance with the criteria of research, documentation, and reporting followed by CEMDA since the year 2012, our efforts of monitoring, reporting, analysis, and publication of information are based on the following sources of information:

- Print and digital journalism from more than two hundred local, state, national, and international media outlets.
- Interviews with government authorities, written and audible, published by media outlets.
- Advisory service offered by CEMDA as an organization specialized in defense of the human right to healthy environment, land, and territory.
- National government platforms (National Platform for Access to Information and Platform of the National Search Commission).
- Information from local and international civil society organizations that accompany and monitor aggressions committed against defenders of environment, land and territory, individuals and communities.
- Interviews and testimonials given by environmental defenders who experience aggression.
- Information published by international human rights organizations.

⁷ Cfr. With the concepts of the Law for the Protection of Defenders and Journalists, Article 2; and UN, Report by the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, A/73/215, July 23, 2018, par. 15, at https://www.refworld.org.es/pdfid/5bd1fc6e4.pdf



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The figures presented in this report should be read in the Mexican context, marked by a severe crisis of human rights, the imposition of large-scale development projects, and growing impunity

Also, the data presented in this report should be read in the Mexican context, in the midst of a severe crisis in matters of human rights, the imposition of large-scale development projects, and aggravated impunity.⁸ This context favors a lack of reporting of crimes and human rights violations committed against environmental defenders and increases the institutional debt to the victims. In addition, perpetration of aggressions by government agents and the justified fear of reprisals for reporting them increase the number of aggressions condemned to oblivion. We estimate that these obstacles lead to a considerable number of aggressions that are difficult or, at times, impossible to document, which contributes to underreporting.

Consequently, the data offered in this report are a minimum floor of information on violence exercised in the study period. The resulting overview should be understood as a partial assessment of the violence and impunity environmental defenders in Mexico face.

Finally, it is important to mention that the length of this report, unlike previous editions, is the product of a process of consolidating the methodology used, and as a result it represents the culmination of a specific methodology of documentation initiated in the year 2012. We are deeply grateful to everyone who has accompanied us in this learning process, in hopes that the next steps will be strong and solid to accomplish the goals of defense we have set together.

⁸ Cruz Patricia, Cavallaro James, and Anaya Alejandro (Coord.), La impunidad activa en Méxica. Cómo entender y enfrentar las violaciones masivas a los derechos humanos, ITESO Universidad Jesuita de Guadalajara, University Network for Human Rights, Guadalajara, Mexico, 2021, page 7, at https://rei.iteso.mx/bitstream/handle/11117/7444/La%20impunidad%20activa%20PDF.pdf?sequence=16isAllowed=y



3. AGGRESSIONS AGAINST ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENDERS IN MEXICO, IN 2021

T his chapter presents the findings documented by CEMDA in the study period from January 1 through December 31, 2021. Thus, in the year examined, we identified -at least- 108 events of aggression in which around 238 aggressions⁹ were perpetrated against defenders of environment, land, and territory in Mexico. This represents a 66.15% increase in the number of events of aggression and a 164.44% increase in the number of aggressions over the figures reported in the year 2020.

3.1 TYPE OF AGGRESSION

Based on our findings, 2021 was the most violent year for defense of the natural heritage in Mexico in terms of total aggressions perpetrated against environmental defenders since CEMDA started publishing this report.¹⁰

The graph below shows the frequency of different types of aggressions identified in the year 2021. We see that the most common form of aggression is intimidation with 65 reports (27.31%), followed by harassment with 36 reports (15.13%), threats with 31 reports (13.03%), physical aggression with 24 reports (10.08%), **homicide with 22 reports** (9.24%), disappearance with 8 reports (3.36%), and stigmatization with 7 aggressions reported (2.94%), while arbitrary detention and undue use

of force accounted for 6 documented cases (2.52%), respectively. Finally, another 3 cases were documented involving illegal detention and **3 cases** of probable extrajudicial execution (1.26%).

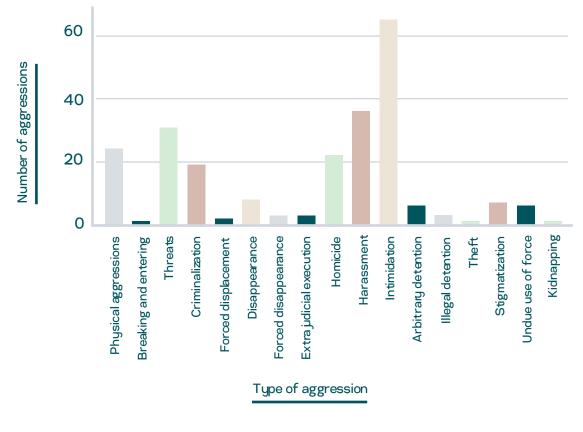
	Year	Events of aggression	Lethal aggressions
1	2014	78	4
2	2015	107	11
3	2016	85	1
4	2017	53	29
5	2018	49	21
6	2019	39	15
7	2020	65	18
8	2021	108	25

Graph 1. Comparative table of events of aggression and lethal aggressions: 2014 – 2020.

⁹ Law for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders and Journalists, Article 2, Aggression: harm to physical and/or psychological integrity, threats, harassment, or intimidation which Human Rights Defenders and Journalists suffer due to their activities, available at: https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/LPPDDHP_200521.pdf

¹⁰ Cfr. Centro Mexicano de Derecho Ambiental, Annual reports on the situation of environmental human rights defenders in Mexico, 2014 - 2020, available at: https://www.cemda.org.mx/publicaciones-y-es-tudios-del-cemda/





Graph 2. Types of aggression perpetrated.

3.1.1. Lethal aggressions

Por For the third consecutive year, we observed an increase in the number of environmental defenders killed, depriving them of the chance to fight for the protection of the natural heritage. Thus, in 2021, CEMDA documented at least 25 cases of defenders of environment, land, and territory who were victims of lethal aggression.¹¹ This figure represents a 39% increase over the year 2020, when killings of at least 18 defenders were reported.¹²

Of the 25 total cases reported, 22 were killings, with multiple aggressors, most of them unidentified, whereas 3 cases involved probable extrajudicial executions, in which elements were identified to assume the probable involvement of state agents.

Thus, 2021 was the year with the second highest number of lethal aggressions since CEMDA started investigating such cases, behind only the 29 defenders murdered in 2017, bringing the total to at least 58 environmental defenders murdered to date under the current federal administration.

It bears noting that, as of the date of publication of this report, we have no knowledge of any legal proceeding that has resulted in legal consequences

" Lethal aggression: Aggression that ends the life of one or more environmental defender(s). Homicide and murder -indistinctly - and extrajudicial execution are classified as lethal aggressions

¹² It bears noting that, in this investigation period, unlike the aggressions documented in 2020, we identified the probable commission of at least 3 cases of probable forced disappearance, and 3 reports of probable extrajudicial executions.



for violence suffered; in other words, the victims are left without seeing the guarantees of their rights to truth, justice, or compensation fulfilled.

From CEMDA, we add our voice to those demanding truth and justice for environmental defenders, women and men, who were unjustly murdered for engaging in defense efforts with their communities in 2021. In the following lines, we share part of their stories of struggle.

OAXACA

Oaxaca is first on the list of states with the most lethal attacks in Mexico.

In the state, a total of 8 defenders were killed in 2021, of whom 2 were victims of probable extrajudicial executions. The state has seen considerable spike in aggressions, after recording 2 murder victims in 2020,¹³ which represents a 300% increase. the events to which this affirmation refers are described below.

Paso de la Reina is a community of Chatina, Mixtec, and Afro-Mexican inhabitants which, for decades and through organization for the defense of its land, territory, and natural heritage, has resisted the construction of a hydroelectric station in the Rio Verde basin. The environmental conflict produced by this massive infrastructure project has become the context for several lethal aggressions:

Fidel Heras Cruz served as chairman of the Commissariat of his native Paso de la Reina Ejido, in addition to being an active member of the Council of Peoples United for the Defense of the



Ilustration: Servicios para una Educación Alternativa A. C. EDUCA

Rio Verde (Copudever), a defense organization opposing the construction of hydroelectric projects.¹⁴ He had previously received threats for his work in defense of the Rio Verde, and on January 21 Fidel received an "anonymous" message with death threats and discovered a suspicious vehicle with two passengers near his home.¹⁵

Fidel was killed in La Esperanza, Santiago Jamiltepec municipality, on January 23, 2021, by unidentified persons who shot him in his car.¹⁶

Raymundo Robles Riano was a hardworking peasant, involved in community activities and concerned for the wellbeing of the residents of Paso de la Reina. He participated frequently in the school and health administration of his community and served as a community police officer.¹⁷

¹⁷ Educa Oaxaca. (2021). "Raymundo Robles Riaño, guardión de los semillos en Paso de la Reyna, "available at: https://www.educaoaxaca.org/raymundo-robles-riano-guardian-de-las-semillas-enpaso-de-la-reyna/



¹³ Centro Mexicano de Derecho Ambiental, A.C. (CEMDA), Report on the situation of environmental human rights defenders in Mexico, 2020, April 2021, p. 20, available at: https://www.cemda.org.mx/publicaciones-y-estudios-del-cemda/report-sobre-la-situacion-de-las-personas-defensores-de-los-derechos-humanos-ambientales-en-mexico-2020/ ¹⁴ Front Line Defenders, *Fidel Heras Cruz*, available at: https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/es/profile/fidel-heras-cruz

¹⁵ OMCT World Organisation Against Torture, Intervenciones urgentes. México: Asesinato de Fidel Heras Cruz, January 27, 2021, available at: https://www.omct.org/es/recursos/llamamientos-urgentes/m%C3%A9xico-asesinato-de-fidel-heras-cruz.

¹⁶ Mongabay, Fidel Heros: el campesino mexicono que dejó su milpa poro defender los ríos y fue asesinodo, February 2, 2021, available at: https://es.mongabay.com/2021/02/fidel-heras-el-campesino-mexicano-que-dejo-su-milpa-para-defender-los-rios-y-fue-asesinado/



Ilustration: Servicios para una Educación Alternativa A. C. EDUCA





Ilustration: Servicios para una Educación Alternativa A. C. EDUCA

Noe Robles Cruz was an altruistic member of his community, and in addition to his efforts in defense of the Rio Verde, he always made time for activities to benefit his community like gathering firewood and helping perform maintenance on motorcycles for fellow inhabitants of Paso de la Reina.¹⁸

Gerardo Mendoza Reyes, of only 19 years of age, was a young defender concerned for nature and the Rio Verde. Concerned for collective wellbeing, he served as an alternate police officer in Paso de la Reina.¹⁹

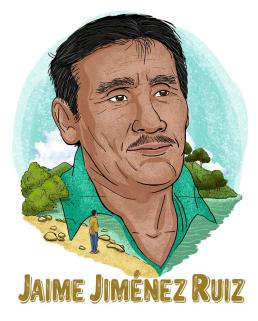
The three Rio Verde defenders were murdered in the night of March 14 and the early hours of March 15, while participating in the celebrations of Thanksgiving for the Rio Verde, as alternate police officers.²⁰ The defenders were found dead together in Barrio Chico, Paso de la Reina, Oaxaca, with gunshot wounds

¹⁹ Educa Oaxaca. (2021). "Noé Robles Cruz, campesino y podre amoroso de Paso de la Reyna," available at: https://www.educaoaxaca.org/noe-robles-cruz-campesino-y-padre-amoroso-de-paso-de-la
¹⁹ Educa Oaxaca. (2021). "Gerardo Mendoza Reyes, joven respetuoso y trabajador en Paso de la Reyna," available at: https://www.educaoaxaca.org/gerardo-mendoza-reyes-joven-respetuoso-y-trabajador-en-paso-de-la-reyna/

20 Educa Oaxaca. (2021). "Noé Robles Cruz, campesino y padre amoroso de Paso de la Reyna," available at : https://www.educaoaxaca.org/noe-robles-cruz-campesino-y-padre-amoroso-de-paso-de-paso-de-la



and with no means of identifying their assailants.²¹ Raymundo, Noe, and Gerardo were killed on duty protecting their community.²²



Ilustration: Desinformémonos

Jaime Jimenez Ruiz, member of Paso de la Reina Ejido and an active member of the Council of Peoples United for the Defense of the Rio Verde (Copudever).²³ As a defender of the Rio Verde, he shared his experiences in national and regional forums on defense.²⁴ As a member of the community, he worked in farming and cattle ranching and contributed to communal activities in Paso de la Reina. Jaime was murdered on March 28, 2021, just two days after the attacks on Thanksgiving for the Rio Verde, on the road from Santiago Jamiltepec to Paso de la Reina.²⁵ The entire Paso de la Reina community, including the friends and families of Fidel, Raymundo, Noe, Gerardo, and Jaime, continue to experience the fear instilled in them by the loss of their defenders, and to demand information on their murders, identification and punishment of their killers to see justice done and compensation for the victims.²⁶ More than a year after the five defenders were killed, the attacks that devastated Paso de la Reina remain unpunished.²⁷

Manuel Cartas Perez was a member of the State Committee of the Popular Revolutionary Front (FPR), an environmental defense organization that advocated for the defense of land and territory in Huatulco against encroachment by tourist development projects.²⁸ Manuel Cartas was murdered September 3, 2021, in a shooting attack by unidentified persons riding motorcycles, at a warehouse in Huatulco's workshops area, in the presence of his employees.²⁹



Manuel Cartas Pérez/Photography: Diálogos Oaxaca

²⁹ El Imparcial, Oaxaca, Asesinan a líder del FPR en Huatulco, September 4, 2021, available at: https://imparcialoaxaca.mx/policiaca/565385/asesinan-a-lider-del-fpr-en-huatulco/



²¹ CIO Información, Ejecutan a tres hombres durante una fiesta en Santiago Jamiltepec, Oaxaca, March 16, 2021, available at: https://cioinformation.com/ejecutan-a-tres-hombres-durante-una-fiesta-en-santiago-jamiltepec-oaxaca/

²² International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), México: justicia para la comunidad de Paso de la Reina, April 23, 2021, available at: https://www.fidh.org/es/region/americas/mexico/mexico-justicia-para-la-comunidad-paso-de-la-reyna
²³ National Center for Social Communication (CENCOS), Jaime Jiménez Rui, defensor del Río Verde asesinado en Paso de la Reina, October 27, 2021, available at: http://cencos.com.mx/2021/10/jaime-jimenez-

ruiz-defensor-del-rio-verde-asesinado-en-paso-de-la-reyna/
²⁴ Educa Oaxaca. (2021) "Jaime Jiménez Rui, defensor del Rio Verde asesinado en Paso de la Reina," available at: https://www.educaoaxaca.org/jaime-jimenez-ruiz-defensor-del-rio-verde-y-ejida-

tario-de-paso-de-la-reyna/.

²⁵ El País, Asesinado un ambientalista que se oponía a la construcción de una hidroeléctrica en Oaxaca, April 1, 2021, available at: https://elpais.com/mexico/2021-04-01/asesinado-un-ambientalista-que-se-oponia-a-la-construccion-de-una-hidroelectrica-en-oaxaca.html

²⁶ Desreportmonos, Seis meses de exigir justicia para Paso de la Reina en Oaxaca, July 28, 2021, available at : https://desreportmonos.org/seis-meses-de-exigir-justicia-para-paso-de-la-reynaen-oaxaca/

²⁷ Paso de la Reina, Un año exigiendo justicia para Fidel Heras Cruz, defensor comunitario de Paso de la Reina, January 22, 2022, available at : http://pasodelareina.org/2022/01/27/un-ano-exigiendo-justicia-para-fidel-heras-cruz-defensor-comunitario-de-paso-de-la-reyna-video/

²⁸ La Jornada, Matan a Manuel Cartos, dirigente del FPR en Oaxoca, September 4, 2021, available at: https://www.jornada.com.mx/notas/2021/09/04/estados/matan-a-manuel-cartas-dirigente-del-fpr-en-oaxaca/



San Esteban Atatlahuca/Photography: Moshéh Bautista



San Esteban Atatlahuca/Photography: Migava

Jacinto Hernandez Quiroz belonged to the community of Guerrero Grande, which has historically defended its forests against illegal logging. On October 1, 2021, an armed group, purportedly commanded by municipal authorities from San Esteban Atatlahuca, entered the locality known as Yucunue to burn its residents' homes.

The same day, Jacinto Hernandez Quiroz disappeared. He was found dead, with gunshot wounds, on October 3, 2021, at the locality Yu Kunu, in the community of Guerrero Grande.³⁰

Isiodoro Hernandez, native and resident of the community of Mier y Teran, San Esteban Atatlahuca Municipality. Killed in the context of attacks perpetrated October 21 to 23, 2021, against the communities of Ndoyonoyuji, Guerrero Grande, and Mier y Teran.

The aggressions committed against the community of defenders were carried out by a group of persons purportedly commanded by municipal authorities. In the attacks, the assailants fired on and burned several homes in the forest-defending communities, causing the forced displacement of hundreds of people,³¹ the disappearance of at least 5, and the murder of Isiodoro Hernandez, who was identified October 26, 2021, by the Oaxaca State Attorney General's Office.³²

The cases of Isiodoro and Jacinto, as members of the forest-defending community of San Esteban Atatlahuaca, Oaxaca, are 2 of 3 cases reported as probable extrajudicial executions in 2021.³³

GUERRERO

Guerrero is the state with the second highest number of lethal aggressions, a distinction it shares with Sonora, reporting a total of at least 4 defenders murdered in the year.

Based on the information obtained by CEMDA, the context of violence against environmental human rights defenders in the state is the product of multiple factors, notable among which are the proliferation of various armed groups, slow response by state and federal law enforcement,³⁴and

³⁰ Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. (December 22, 2021). "Preventive Measure No. 1050–21. Families from Mixtec indigenous communities of Guerrero Grande and Ndoyonuyuji et al., available at: http://www.oas.org/es/IACHR/decisiones/mc/2021/res_105–21_mc_1050–21_mx_es.pdf

^a Itsmopress, Por defender nuestro bosque, nos desplazan y queman, denuncian guardianas del bosque en Atlatahuca, Oaxaca, November 7, 2021, available at: http://www.istmopress.com.mx/oaxaca/por-defender-nuestro-bosque-nos-desplazan-y-queman-denuncian-guardianes-del-bosque-en-atatlahuca-oaxaca/ ^a libidem

³³ As of the time of publication of this report, forensic studies to confirm the identity of human remains found in the aforementioned communities, as well as the total number of victims, and consequently the totality of the aggressions perpetrated, remain pending. See El Universal, Localizan restos humanos en Atatlahuca, en la Mixteca de Oaxaca, tras búsqueda de desaparecidos, January 14, 2022, available at: https://oaxaca.eluniversal.com.mx/municipalities/localizan-restos-humanos-en-atatlahuca-en-la-mixteca-de-oaxaca-tras-busqueda-de

³⁴ Tlachinollan Mountain Center for Human Rights, La ausencia del Estado de Derecho, January 31, 2022, available at: https://www.tlachinollan.org/la-ausencia-del-estado-de-derecho/

the Mexican government's failure to fulfil its obligations in the areas of prevention; protection; and, when appropriate, investigation, punishment, and compensation in cases of aggression perpetrated against environmental defenders, individuals and communities.

The reality described, framed by various extractive projects such as mining concessions, logging on forest lands, and the conflict created by the La Parota Dam, has driven an increase in the number of aggressions perpetrated, and by extension in the risk for defenders of natural heritage in Guerrero.³⁵

Isaias Elacio Palma, 75 years of age, was a founding member of Consejo de Ejidos y Comunidades Opositoras a la Presa la Parota (CECOP) and the community police force of the Regional Coordinating Office of Communal Authorities (CRAC-PC). The defender of the Papagayo River was murdered March 15, 2021, in Cacahuatepec, Guerrero, in a direct shooting. Isaias had previously suffered the loss of his son, Eusebio Elacio, an environmental defender killed in 2018³⁶.



Demonstration against La Parota Dam/ Photography: Diego Simón Sánchez – Cuartoscuro

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The night of April 3, 2021, while traveling with his two sons to Cienega de Puerto Alegre, Carlos was kidnapped by unidentified aggressors



San Miguel Totolapan/Photography: Enciclopedia Guerrerense

Carlos Marques Oyorzabal was an active and supportive member of his community, Las Conchitas. Carlos was a peasant farmer concerned with the environment who served as Ejido Commissioner and member of the community police formed by area towns to protect their forest lands from clandestine logging. The night of April 3, 2021, while traveling with his two sons³⁷ to Cienega de Puerto Alegre, he was kidnapped by unidentified aggressors. He was subjected to physical and psychological torture and his family was ordered to pay a ransom for his release; notwithstanding, the defender was found dead, dismembered and with signs of torture, on April 4, 2021³⁸.

³⁸ La Jornada, Asesinan y mutilan en Guerrero al ecologista Carlos Marques Oyorzábal, April 4, 2021, available at: https://www.jornada.com.mx/notas/2021/04/04/estados/asesinan-en-guerrero-al-campesino-ecologista-carlos-marques-oyorzabal/.



³⁵ It is important to clarify that 2 of the 4 environmental defenders murdered in Guerrero were engaged in defense activities against the La Parota Dam project in Cacahuatepec, on the Papagayo River.

³⁶ Tlachinollan Mountain Center for Human Rights; Jose Maria Morelos y Pavon Regional Center for Defense of Human Rights; Collective Against Torture and Impunity, "Boletin de prensa: A 19 dias de la desaparición de Vicente Suastegui Muñoz." Red TDT, August 24, 2021, available at: https://redtdt.org.mx/boletin-de-prensa-de-la-red-guerrerense-de-organismos-civiles-de-derechos-humanos/.

³⁷ This event of aggression underscores the impacts caused to children: sons, daughters, friends, and community members of the defenders attacked. The violent environment in which defense of natural heritage is exercised in Mexico impacts children in many ways, not only through direct physical, psychological, or social harm but also by destroying their natural environment, affecting present and future environmental services. See Reforma, Denuncia amenazas familia de ambientalista asesinado, April 6, 2021, available at: https://www.reforma.com/aplicacionesibre/preacceso/articulo/default.aspx?__rval=1&urredirect=https://www.reforma.com/denuncia-amenazas-familia-de-ambientalista-asesinado/ar2158117?referer=--7d616165662f3a3a662623b727a7a7279703b767a783a-



Marco Antonio Arcos/ Photography: Desinformémonos

Marco Antonio Arcos, defender of the forest in Sierra de Chilpancingo, Guerrero. Marco Antonio served as ejido commissioner in his community, Jaleaca de Catalan, where he worked to advance collective wellbeing through activism. He was murdered Friday, May 21, 2021, in Chilpancingo,³⁹ by a group of armed men who assaulted him with firearms shooting him several times.⁴⁰

Ramiro Ventura Apolonio, ejido member and defender of water against the La Parota Dam project on the Papagayo River, and a member of Consejo de Ejidos y Comunidades Opositoras a la Presa La Parota (CECOP), of the Cacahuatepec Community Police, and the Regional Coordinating Office of Communal Authorities (CRAC-PC).

He was murdered August 3, 2021, on his way home, in Apanhuac, Acapulco;⁴¹ witnesses stated that two unidentified men opened fire on him. CECOP spokesman Marco Antonio Suastegui publicly denounced his killing, naming members of organized crime as probable perpetrators.⁴²



Demonstration against La Parota Dam/ Photography: Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Montaña - Tlachinollan

SONORA

This state shares second place in reports of lethal aggressions, with reports of at least 4 environmental defenders murdered in the year 2021. It is important to note that this figure contrasts alarmingly with the zero cases reported in 2020.

In this context, it is noteworthy that a large percentage of attacks have been perpetrated against indigenous defenders belonging to the Yaqui Nation, with 2 of 4 lethal aggressions having targeted members of that indigenous group.

Jose de Jesus Robledo Cruz was chairman of the Commissariat of El Bajio Ejido, Caborca Municipality, Sonora.

Defender and member of El Bajio Ejido, affected by the Penmont mining company, he was a member of Red Mexicana de Afectados por la Minería (REMA), resisting the extraction of minerals in their territory.⁴³ He was found dead on April 30 in Puerto Penasco, Sonora.

⁴² Sur Acapulco, Ejecutan en Apanhuac a comunitario de la CRAC y del Cecop, informa Suástegui, August 5, 2021, available at: https://suracapulco.mx/impreso/4/ejecutan-en-apanhuac-a-comunitario-de-lacrac-y-del-cecop-informa-suastegui/



³⁹ National Commission for Human Rights (CNDH), Press release DGC/141/2021, May 23, 2021, available at: https://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/default/files/documentos/2021-05/COM_2021_141.pdf
⁴⁰ La Jornada, Asesinan al ecologista Marco Antonio Arcos en Guerrero, May 23, 2021, available at: https://www.jornada.com.mx/notas/2021/05/23/estados/asesinan-al-ecologista-marco-antonio-arcos-en-guerrero/

⁴¹ Reforma, Ejecutan en Apanhuac a comunitario de la CRAC y del Cecop, informa Suástegui, August 5, 2021, available at : https://suracapulco.mx/impreso/4/ejecutan-en-apanhuac-a-comunitario-de-la-cracy-del-cecop-informa-suastegui/

In over 18 years as a defender, Jose de Jesus was the victim of aggressions including disappearance, threats, harassment, and physical aggression.⁴⁴



El Bajío, Sonora/Photography: Pie de página

66

Tomas disappeared May 27, 2021, while out walking near his home; his family reported his disappearance to the authorities when he failed to return home



Photography: Ejido El Bajío

Maria de Jesus Gomez Vega, an environmental defender and ejido member from Puerto Penasco, Sonora⁴⁵. Maria started work as a defender in response to environmental damage and land appropriation caused by the Penmont mining company's operations in her territory. She was found dead April 30, 2021, with her husband, defender Jose de Jesus Robledo; the couple were identified as the leaders of communal defense in El Bajio Ejido.⁴⁶



Luis Urbano Domínguez Mendoza/Photography: Paradigma

Luis Urbano Dominguez Mendoza, 35 years of age, leader and defender of the biocultural heritage of the Yaqui Nation against various massive infrastructure projects implemented in their territory. Born in Loma de Guamuchil, he was an active in defense of environment, water, and territory starting in the year 2012⁴⁷. He was murdered June 8, 2021, by unidentified assailants carrying firearms, as he as leaving an ATM in downtown Cajeme.

⁴⁷ La Jornada, Asesinan a Luis Urbano, yaqui defensor del agua en Sonora, June 12, 2021, available at: https://jornada.com.mx/2021/06/12/estados/025n2est?partner=rss



⁴³ Mexican Network of Persons Affected by Mining (REMA), REMA Press Release, "Asesinan a integrantes de REMA en Sonora," May 4, 2021, available at: http://www.remamx.org/2021/05/comunicado-rema-asesinan-a-integrantes-de-la-rema-en-sonora/

⁴⁴ Pie de pagina, Asesinan a ex comisario ejidal de El Bajío, Sonora. Se opuso a minera Penmont y había sufrido amenazas, May 1, 2021, available at:

https://piedepagina.mx/asesinan-a-ex-comisario-ejidal-de-el-bajio-sonora-se-opuso-a-minera-penmont-y-habia-sufrido-amenazas/?fbclid=lwAR1D1-z-ZUfLTQiY18sR2jeGy9yrPmxBXt4OdeqA8CaRn-QbkrxsLBu3Jj8.

⁴⁵ INFOBAE, Asesinan a Jesús Robledo y María de Jesús Gómez Vega, líderes ejidales en Sonora, May 4, 2021, available at: https://www.infobae.com/america/mexico/2021/05/04/asesinaron-a-jesus-robledo-cruz-y-maria-jesus-gomez-vega-ambientalistas-opositores-a-la-minera-penmont-en-sonora/

⁴⁵ E jido El Bajio, Denunciamos el asesinato de nuestro compañero Jose de Jesús Robledo Cruz y su esposa María de Jesús López Vega, May 2, 2021, available at: https://ejidoelbajio.mx/2021/05/02/denunciamos-el-asesinato-de-nuestro-companero-jose-de-jesus-robledo-cruz-y-su-esposa-maria-de-jesus-gomez-vega/

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Tomas Rojo Valencia, 54 years of age, Yaqui defender of water and territory, committed to his community and the defense of his people's biocultural heritage.⁴⁸ He was one of the leading opponents of the Independencia Water Pipeline project, begun during the administration of former governor Guillermo Padres Elias (2009-2015), for which reason he had been a victim of intimidation and harassment for several years prior.⁴⁹ Tomas disappeared May 27, 2021, while out walking near



Tomás Rojo Valencia/Photography: Paradigma

his home; his family reported his disappearance to the authorities when he failed to return home. Two weeks after his disappearance, on June 17, 2021, the Yaqui defender was found dead at a clandestine burial site in the locality of Vicam, Guaymas.⁵⁰

MORELOS

In the state of Morelos murders of at least 3 environmental defenders were identified.⁵¹

Among environmental issues in Morelos related to aggressions documented by CEMDA, we identified: clandestine logging in the Chichinautzin Biological Corridor;⁵² pollution in the Cuernavaca Ravines;⁵³ lack of an adequate waste management plan; poor air quality and critical water shortages, problems which have been aggravated by massive infrastructure projects like Integral Morelos, Esperanza Gold in Temixco Municipality, and the enlargement of the La Pera-Cuautla highway in Tepoztlan.



Photography: Parque Nacional Lagunas de Zempoala

48 Aristegui Noticias, Tomás Rojo, el yaqui que con su palabra derrotó a la muerte, July 12, 2021, available at: https://aristeguinoticias.com/1207/mexico/tomas-rojo-el-yaqui-que-con-su-palabra-derroto-a-la-muerte/ 🤲 La Jornada, Dan el último adiós a Tomás Rojo, lider yaqui secuestrado y asesinado," July 11, 2021, available at: https://www.jornada.com.mx/notas/2021/07/11/estados/dan-el-ultimo-adios mas-rojo-lider-yaqui-secuestrado-y-asesinado/

⁵² Aristegui Noticias, Comuneros de Cuernavaca construyen calles dentro del Corredor Biológico Chichinautzin, July 18, 2021, available at: https://aristeguinoticias.com/1807/mexico/comunero-de-cuer-navaca-construyen-calles-dentro-del-corredor-biologico-chichinautzin/

🕫 Diario de Morelos, Del Cronista: Realidad de las Barrancas de Cuernavaca, Julu 25, 2021, available at : https://www.diariodemorelos.com/noticias/del-cronista-realidad-de-las-barrancas-de-cuernavaca



⁵⁰ Animal Político, Restos hallados en una fosa son del líder yaqui Tomás Rojo, confirma Fiscalía de Sonora, June 22, 2021, available at: https://www.animalpolitico.com/2021/06/tomas-rojo-lider-yaqui-hallan-restos-fosa-sonora/ and Sonora State Attorney General's Office, Twitter (official), Press Release, June 21, 2021, available at: https://twitter.com/fgjesonora/status/1407142655402905603?ref_src=tws rc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1407142655402905603%7Ctwgr%5E%7Ctwcon%5Es1_6ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.animalpolitico.com%2F2021%2F06%2Ftomas-rojo-lider-yaqui-hallan-restos-fosa-sonora%2F

⁵¹ These lethal attacks are added to those reported in previous years, including the cases of Samir Flores Soberanes (2019) and Isaac Medardo Herrera Aviles (2020).

Jose de Jesus Sanchez Garcia worked in defense of forest lands at Lagunas de Zempoala Park, in his capacity as a park guard in that protected area. A week after he was reported missing, Jose was found dead on March 23, 2021. Workers at the national park had denounced conditions of inadequate security to protect the forest.⁵⁴

Rodrigo Morales Vazquez was an environmental activist concerned for his community and waste management in Cuernavaca, Morelos. A defender of water and the Chichihuatzin Biological Corridor against pollution of its groundwater, Rodrigo created a waste collection center in Cuernavaca, which provided jobs for members of his community.⁵⁵

He opposed the reopening of the Loma de Mejia landfill, operated by the companies Trideza and KS. Rodrigo was shot to death on September 2, 2021, in Cuernavaca.

Previously. in 2008, he had been the victim of illegal detention and physical aggression, also in reprisal for his work in environmental defense.⁵⁶



Alejandro García Zagal/Photography: La Izquierda Diario

Alejandro Garcia Zagal, known to family and friends as El Chepe. Alejandro was a defender of water, photographer, and social activist, who advocated for protection and the right to water for the residents of Cuernavaca.

He was shot to death September 7, 2021, by unidentified assailants at his home in Cuernavaca.⁵⁷ Previously, in 2020, Alejandro had survived an attempted murder by shooting.⁵⁸

CHIAPAS



Rodrigo Morales Vázquez/ Photography: La Izquierda Diario



Simón Pedro Pérez López/Ilustration: Servicios para una Educación Alternativa A. C. EDUCA

⁵⁴ La Izquierda Diario, Defensores Ambientalistas. Encuentran sin vida a ambientalista de Lagunas de Zempoala, March 23, 2021, available at: https://www.laizquierdadiario.mx/Encuentran-sin-vida-a-ambientalista-de-Lagunas-de-Zempoala

⁵⁷ Office in Mexico of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN-HR), La ONU-DH condena los asesinatos de los defensores de derechos humanos Rodrigo Morales Vázquez y Alejandro García Zagal, September 13, 2021, available at: https://hchr.org.mx/comunicados/la-onu-dh-condena-los-asesinatos-de-los-defensores-de-derechos-humanos-rodrigo-morales-vazquez-y-alejandro-garcia-zagal/. ⁵⁸ INFOBAE, Asesinaron a "El Chepo", activista que protestaba por el alto precio del agua en Cuernavaca, September 8, 2021, available at: https://www.infobae.com/america/mexico/2021/09/08/asesinaron-a-elchepe-activista-que-protestaba-por-el-alto-precio-del-agua-en-cuernavaca/



⁵⁵ Aristegui Noticias, Asesinan a balazos en Morelos a ambientalista y opositor del relleno sanitario de Loma de Mejia, September 4, 2021, available at: https://aristeguinoticias.com/0409/mexico/asesinan-a-balazos-en-morelos-a-ambientalista-y-opositor-del-relleno-sanitario-de-loma-de-mejia/.

⁵⁶ Animal Político, Asesinan en Cuernavaca al activista y ambientalista Rodrigo Morales Vázquez, September 4, 2021, available at: https://www.animalpolitico.com/2021/09/asesinan-cuernavaca-activista-rodrigo-morales-vazquez/

Simon Pedro Perez Lopez, 35 years of age, was a member of the civil society organization Las Abejas de Acteal, which aided the victims of the Acteal massacre in their demands for truth and justice, and engaged in activism against forced displacements, militarization, insecurity, and imposition of massive infrastructure projects in indigenous territories of Chiapas. Simon Pedro was murdered in his community, in Pantelho, on July 5, 2021, when he was with his son.⁵⁹ Days before his killing, the defender had denounced the climate of aggression his community was suffering at the hands of organized crime.⁶⁰

COLIMA

David Diaz Valdez was a social activist and defender against environmental damage caused by a thermoelectric station in Manzanillo, Colima⁶¹.

He was a victim of criminalization in September 2020, when he was detained and imprisoned at the Chandiablo Correctional Facility in Colima in retaliation for his environmental defense work.



David Díaz Valdez/Photography: Plumas Atómicas

In February 2021, he expressed fear for his life and held different state authorities responsible for his safety.⁶²

On June 21, 2021, David was released from prison and just eleven days later, on July 2, 2021, he was killed by multiple bullet wounds in an attack by unidentified assailants.⁶³ His son accused the government of the crime: "They ordered his killing; they knew my father supported vulnerable people and since they couldn't silence him, they murdered him."⁶⁴

HIDALGO

Leobardo Hernandez Regino, 29 years of age, was a defender and member of the indigenous community Xuchitlan de las Flores, San Salvador, Hidalgo. He participated in demonstrations outside the Hidalgo Statehouse in Pachuca in support of demands for the community's right to water, installation of solar panels, and construction of public works of sewerage and wastewater treatment.



Leobardo Hernández Regino/Photography: David Vargas Araujo

23

⁵⁹ The murder of defender Simon Pedro in the presence of his son is another case where children suffer multiple effects due to aggression against an environmental defender; in the case in question, his father.

⁶⁰ Sociedad Civil Las Abejas de Acteal, Website, Denunciamos el cobarde asesinato de nuestro compañero y hermano Simón Pedro Pérez López, available at: http://acteal.blogspot.com/2021/07/denunciamos-el-cobarde-asesinato-de.html.

^a El Economista, Termoeléctrica de Manzanillo, el anafre de Colima, June 7, 2020, available at: https://www.eleconomista.com.mx/empresas/Termoelectrica-de-Manzanillo-el-anafre-de-Colima-20200627-0004.html.

⁶² The state authorities named by defender David Diaz were: the current governor of Colima, the Colima State Attorney General, and members of the Colima Public Prosecutor's Office and Judiciary handling his case. See Proceso, Activista preso responsabiliza al Gobernador de Colima de lo que pueda ocurrirle en el penal, February 16, 2021, available at: https://www.proceso.com.mx/nacional/2021/2/16/activista-preso-responsabiliza-al-gobernador-de-colima-de-lo-que-pueda-ocurrirle-en-el-penal-258430.html

⁶³ National Commission on Human Rights (CNDH), Press release DGC/179/2021. CNDH deplora el homicidio del defensor del medio ambiente David Díaz Valdez, July 3, 2021, available at: https://www.cndh.org.mx/ sites/default/files/documentos/2021-07/COM_2021_179.pdf.

⁶⁴ La Jornada, Matan a David Díaz, opositor a termoeléctrica en Colima, June 4, 2021, available at: https://www.jornada.com.mx/notas/2021/07/04/estados/matan-a-david-diaz-opositor-a-termoelectrica-en-colima/.

On June 1, 2021, as members of the community were engaged in acts of protest, riot police and state police officers attacked the demonstrators launching gas grenades, one of which struck the defender, causing him serious injuries.⁶⁵ After fifteen days in hospital, Leobardo succumbed to head trauma and died.⁶⁶

JALISCO

Jose Santos Isaac Chavez, 42 years of age, was a native of the village of Telcruz, in the Manantlan Mountains. Jose Santos was an active and supportive member of Ayotitlan Ejido, Jalisco.

He denounced environmental damage caused by the Pena Colorada mining project and advocated for the defense of communal lands. At the time of his murder he was a candidate for Ejido Commissioner of Ayotitlan, maintaining his positions on issues of environmental defense and opposition to the mining company. His family reported that, in the early hours of April 3, 2021, a group of armed persons appeared at the defender's home, claiming *to come from the Attorney General's Office* and demanded to speak with him.⁶⁷ Notwithstanding, in Jose Santos's absence, the alleged state agents harassed and threatened his wife and children to force him to appear (he was sleeping away from home due to prior threats).⁶⁸ The aggressors took Jose, handcuffed an in his own vehicle. On April 4, 2021, the defender was found dead in his automobile in Ayotitlan, Jalisco.⁶⁹

VERACRUZ

Miguel Vazquez Martinez, defender of water and guardian of the Bobos River, was the founder of the Alliance of Communities and Organizations for the Defense of the Bobos-Nautla River and Tecolutla, which defends bodies of water in the area of Tlapacoyan, Veracruz, against hydroelectric, mining, and fracking projects.⁷⁰ He was kidnapped on November 20, 2020, and



José Santos Isaac Chávez/ Photography: David Vargas Araujo



Miguel Vazquez Martinez/Photography: Tercera Vía

⁷⁰ Veracruz Environmental Information and Action Network, Alliance of Communities and Organizations in Defense of the Rio Bobos-Nautla River and Tecolutla, website, available at: https://www.lavida.org.mx/node/277



⁶⁵ Servicios para una Educación Alternativa A.C. EDUCA, Represión contra otomíes en Pachuca, Hidalgo, deja un herido grave y un detenido, June 2, 2021, available at: https://www.educaoaxaca.org/represion-contra-otomies-en-pachuca-hidalgo-deja-un-herido-grave-y-un-detenido/

⁶⁶ La Silla Rota, Caso Xuchitlán: enfrentamientos, bloqueos y la muerte de Leobardo, June 22, 2021, available at: https://hidalgo.lasillarota.com/estados/caso-xuchitlan-enfrentamientos-bloqueos-y-la-muerte-de-leobardo/531947.

^{er} Pie de Pagina, Tras probable ejecución extrajudicial de opositor a mina Peña Colorada, exigen que Federación investigue, April 12, 2021, available at: https://piedepagina.mx/tras-probable-ejecucion-extrajudicial-de-opositor-a-mina-pena-colorada-exigen-que-federacion-investigue/

⁶⁹ This is the third event of aggression where aggressions against children were identified, specifically against family members of the victim of a probable extrajudicial execution. Also, the lethal attack against Jose Santos is the third case of three attacks classified as probable extrajudicial executions due to the identification of evidence pointing to the probable involvement of Mexican state agents.
⁶⁹ La Jornada, Se recrudece violencia en Ayotitlán tras muerte de aspirante a comisariado ejidal, April 10, 2021, available at: https://www.jornada.com.mx/notas/2021/04/10/estados/se-recrudece-vi-

¹² La Jornada, Se recrudece violencia en Ayotitian tras muerte de aspirante a comisoridade gidal, April 10, 2021, available at: https://www.jornada.com.mx/notas/2021/04/10/estados/se-recrudece-violencia-en-ayotitlan-tras-muerte-de-aspirante-a-comisario-ejidal/

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his family was ordered to pay a sum of money in exchange for his release. On February 13, 2021, more than one hundred days after his kidnapping, his body was found at a clandestine burial site in the community of La Banda, in Tlapacoyan.⁷¹ His family, friends, and fellow members of his organization denounced omissions in the investigation conducted by the Veracruz State Attorney General's office several times.⁷²

ZACATECAS

Jose Ascension Carillo Vazquez, known as Don Chon, was a defender of water, land, and territory against the extractive activities of the Penasquito mining company, an affiliate of Newmont, in his community of Mazapil. The defender disappeared and a week later was found dead.⁷³ Jose Ascencion was identified on June 6, 2021, alongside eight other individuals; his body showed signs of physical aggression and bullet wounds. In the year 2020, the defender had received several threats, in response to which he had requested protection from the National Commission on Human Rights; however, his requests were unanswered.⁷⁴



José Ascensión Carillo Vázquez/Photography: Servicios para una Educación Alternativa A. C. EDUCA



Servicios para una Educación Alternativa A.C. Educa, Justicia para Miguel Vázquez Martínez, guardián de los ríos de Veracruz, February 15, 2021, available at: https://www.educaoaxaca.org/justicia-para-miguel-vazquez-martinez-guardian-de-los-rios-en-veracruz/

Infobae, Quién fue Miguel Vázquez Martínez, activista ambiental asesinado y localizado en fosa clandestina de Veracruz, February 15, 2021, available at: https://www.infobae.com/america/mexico/2021/02/15/ quien-fue-miguel-vazquez-martinez-activista-ambiental-asesinado-y-localizado-en-fosa-clandestina-de-veracruz/.

Servicios para una Educación Alternativa A.C. Educa, Asesinan a José Ascención Carrillo Vásquez, defensor que encabezó movilizaciones contra minera Peñasquito en Zacatecas, June 11, 2021, available at: https://www.educaoaxaca.org/asesinan-a-jose-ascension-carrillo-vazquez-defensor-que-encabezo-movilizaciones-contra-minera-penasquito-en-zacatecas/

Business & Human Rights, Mexico, Defensor del territorio contra actividades de la minera Peñasquito, filial de Newmont, es asesinado, June 9, 2021, available at: https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/m%C3%A9xico-defensor-del-territorio-contra-actividades-de-la-minera-pe%C3%B1asquito-filial-de-newmont-es-asesinado/



3.1.2. Criminalization and Disappearance. Aggressions that are prolonged over time.

3.1.2.1. Criminalization

The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) defines criminalization as a phenomenon where, through the misuse of criminal law, the State's punitive power is manipulated by State and non-State actors in order to control, punish, or hinder their advocacy work, thereby preventing the legitimate exercise of their right to defend human rights.⁷⁵ An example of this kind of aggression is charging defenders with crimes they did not commit, subjecting defenders to unfounded prosecution, application of preventive measures to keep defenders in prison for the duration of illegitimate prosecution, and even judgments that force them to serve illegitimate sentences.

Due to their characteristics, these kinds of aggressions have prolonged effects on defenders' lives, and their duration depends on how long the judicial proceedings, sentence, or accusation presented in each specific case lasts. This form of aggression requires a level of complicity on the part of State jurisdictional authorities and its impact is felt not only by the direct victim but by their family and the community to which the defender belongs. Also, it can place an emotional and financial strain on their activity in defense of rights.

Thus, in the year 2021, 19 cases of criminalization against environmental defenders were reported, compared with 9 reported in 2020, which represented a 111% increase. In these aggressions, state prosecutors play a crucial role, by expediting

investigations against defenders, at the behest of companies or government agents who see the defense of environmental rights as a hindrance to their interests. Likewise, the data gathered in the study period confirms that the judiciary, through local and federal courts, are used to validate such investigations, and with them the acts of criminalization perpetrated.

Some of these cases of criminalization even began in 2020 but continued in the year 2021.⁷⁶

3.1.2.2. Disappearance

In Mexico, the human rights crisis also manifests in the disappearance of persons, and among such cases the disappearance of environmental human rights defenders.

An important element in imputing responsibility for this crime, and grave human rights violation, is the perpetrator. Thus, if the aggression is found to involve authorization, participation, support, or acquiescence of a state agent, the disappearance will be classified as a forced disappearance, whereas if it is committed by non-state agents it will be listed as a disappearance or disappearance⁷⁷ by non-state agents.⁷⁸

The lack of information regarding the whereabouts and conditions of the missing person constitutes a grave human rights violation, which is understood as continuing from the time of disappearance until the person is located. Thus, the impact on the victims' dignity is manifest in three dimensions, first against the person targeted by the aggression, then against their family, and last against the society to

⁷⁹ Inter-American Human Rights Court, Velásquez Rodríguez vs. Honduras, Legal merits, Sentence of July 29, 1988, Series C, Number 4, par. 161.



⁷⁵Co Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Criminalization of human rights defenders, December 31, 2015, page 18, available at: http://www.oas.org/es/IACHR/reports/pdfs/criminalizacion2016.pdf ⁷⁶ An example of this type of aggression and its effects involved defender David Diaz Valdez, See Animal Político, Asesinan al activista medioambiental David Diaz Valdez; tenía 11 días de haber salido de prisión, July 4, 2021, available at: https://www.animalpolitico.com/2021/07/asesinan-activista-medioambiental-david-diaz-valdez/

⁷⁷ Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearance of Persons, Article II: For the purposes of this Convention, forced disappearance is considered to be the act of depriving a person or persons of his or their freedom, in whatever way, perpetrated by agents of the state or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support, or acquiescence of the state, followed by an absence of information or a refusal to acknowledge that deprivation of freedom or to give information on the whereabouts of that person, thereby impeding his or her recourse to the applicable legal remedies and procedural guarantees, available at: http://www.oas.org/es/IACHR/mandato/Basicos/disappearance.asp#:~:text=Para%20los%20efcctos%20de%20la,seguida%20de%20la%20fata%20de

⁷⁸ General Law in Matters of Forced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance committed by non-government parties and the National System to Search for Persons, Article 34. Whosoever deprives a person of their liberty for the purpose of concealing the victim or their fate or whereabouts incurs in the crime of disappearance committed by non-government persons, available at: https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/LGMDFP_200521.pdf

which they belong.⁷⁹ Consequently, disappearance and forced disappearance have a permanent nature and entail multiple offenses, with effects against a diversity of victims continuing until the victim's whereabouts are known.⁸⁰

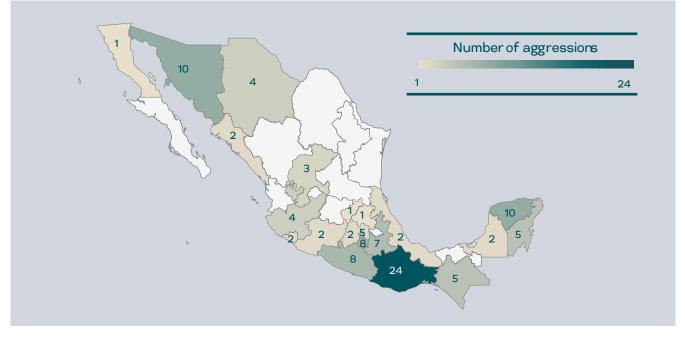
The documentation compiled in our investigation allows us to identify 2021 as the year with the most cases of disappearance and probable forced disappearance in the last four years of investigations, given that, in 2018 no cases were reported, in 2019 one missing defender was reported, and in 2020 2 cases of disappearance were documented. In the year 2021, 8 events of aggression related to disappearance of defenders were documented, with a total of 14 victims,⁸¹ while in at least 3 events of aggression sufficient evidence was found to assume forced disappearance of 6 environmental defenders.

3.2. CASES BY STATE

Events of aggression documented in the year 2021 modified the list of states with the highest concentration of aggressions against environmental defenders. In 2020, the list was headed by Chiapas with 8 events of aggression perpetrated; however, in 2021 Oaxaca had the highest number of events of aggressions with a total of 24 (21.82%), and at least 60 different aggressions were perpetrated in those events.

Thus, events of aggression documented by CEM-DA were distributed across Mexican territory as follows:

The municipalities where the highest numbers of aggressions occurred, whether by number of victims or by concentration of events of aggression, were:



Graph 4. Cases reported by state.

⁸⁰ Idem, par. 155 to 157.

^{er} It is important to note that 10 of the 14 defenders who were victims of disappearance belonged to the Yaqui Nation. In this context of violence and disappearance, 7 of 10 Yaqui defenders belong to the Yaqui community of Loma de Bácum and have been missing since July 14, 2021. As of the publication of this report, the defenders have not yet been fully identified, in a climate of continuing lack of protection and guarantees of the rights ti truth and justice for their families and community. See Indigenous Peoples Rights International, México: palabras de la vocera de las familias de 7 personas desaparecidas en la Tribu Yaqui en conferencia de prensa en la Guardia Tradicional de Loma de Bácum, cuyo territorio tradicional se ubica en el estado de Sonora, al noreste de México. October 28, 2021, available at: https://jrights.org/es/noticias-g-eventos/eventos-ipri/ palabras-de-la-vocera-de-las-familias-de-7-personas-desaparecidas-en-la-tribu-yaqui-en-conferencia-de-prensa-en-la-guardia-tradicional-de-loma-de-bacum



State	Events of aggression
Oaxaca	24
Yucatan	10
Sonora	10
Guerrero	8
Morelos	8
Puebla	7
Chiapas	5
Mexico City	5
Quintana Roo	5
Chichuahua	4
Jalisco	4
Zacatecas	3
Campeche	2
Colima	2
State of Mexico	2
Michoacan	2
Sinaloa	2
Veracruz	2
Baja California	1
Hidalgo	1
Queretaro	1

Graph 5. Table of figures: events of aggression by state.

San Esteban Atatlahuca, Oaxaca, where at least 7 different types of aggression were documented on October 21 to 23 against entire communities, who have historically engaged in the defense of their forest lands.⁸² As of this writing, the number of victims is still not accurately known pending the results of forensic examinations to identify both burnt human remains⁸³ and the number of persons displaced.⁸⁴ The aggressions documented are: probable forced disappearance, physical aggression, harassment, intimidation, forced displacement, and probable extrajudicial executions. Later, a second event of aggression was documented in December, consisting of acts of stigmatization and perpetrated by municipal authorities.⁸⁵

In **Santiago Jamiltepec**, Oaxaca, 4 events of aggression were reported, all related to the dispute caused by the installation of a hydroelectric station that would affect the Rio Verde and the communities that depend on it for their livelihood.⁸⁶ It is important to emphasize that, within the 4 total events of aggression reported, we identified 5 lethal aggressions against environmental defenders from the locality of Paso de la Reina.⁸⁷

In the municipality of **Cajeme, Sonora,** 4 events of aggression were documented, of which 3 were perpetrated against members of the Yaqui Nation. The risk Yaqui environmental defenders face is shaped by a territory facing an onslaught of extractive activities, the development of the Independencia Water Pipeline, the Aguaprieta Gas Pipeline, and the entry of organized crime groups. These circumstances contrast with the objectives and commitments agreed

⁶⁷ The environmental defenders and protectors of natural heritage from Rio Verde killed were Fidel Heras Cruz, Raymundo Robles Riano, Noe Robles Cruz, Gerardo Mendoza Reyes, and Jaime Jimenez Ruiz. Plan of Justice for the Yaqui People, Federal Government, available at: http://www.inpi.gob.mx/gobmx-2021/Plan-de-Justicia-del-Pueblo-Yaqui.pdf



²² See, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Provisional Measure No. 1050–21. Families from Mixtec indigenous communities in Guerrero Grande and Ndoyonuyuji et al., pps. 2–4, December 22, 2021, available at: http://www.oas.org/es/IACHR/decisiones/mc/2021/res_1050–21_mc_1050–21_mx_es.pdf

⁸³ El Universal, Identifican restos localizados por Fiscalia de Oaxaca en Atatlahuca; victima desaparecio hace 3 meses, 18 de January de 2021, available at: https://oaxaca.eluniversal.com.mx/sociedad/identifican-restos-localizados-por-fiscalia-de-oaxaca-en-atatlahuca-victima-desaparecio.

⁶⁴ According to the request for provisional measures submitted to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the event of aggression reported caused the displacement of approximately 300 families from the affected communities in San Esteban Atatlahuca, Daxaca. See Proceso, IACHR pide al Government de Daxaca proteger comunidades indigenas de Guerrero Grande y Ndoyonuyij, December 28, 2021, available at: https:// www.proceso.com.mx/nacional/estados/2021/12/28/IACHR-pide-al-government-de-oaxaca-proteger-communities-indigenous-de-guerrero-grande-ndoyonuyuji-278232.html ⁶⁴ Aristegui Noticias, La activista Irma Galindo no esta desaparecida, es protagonismo, dice edil de Atatlahuca/ 09 de December de 2021, available at: https://aristeguinoticias.com/0912/mexico/la-activista-irma-galindo-no-esta-desaparecida-es-protagonismo-dice-edil-de-atatlahuca/

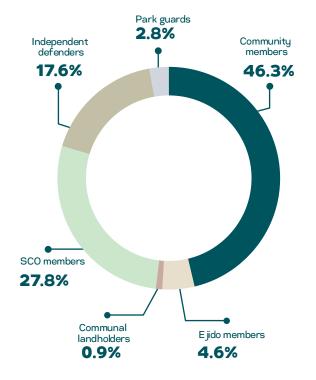
⁸⁶ Somos el medio, Asesinan a Jaime Jiménez Ruiz, defensor ambiental en Oaxaca, March 29, 2021, available at: https://www.somoselmedio.com/2021/03/29/asesinan-a-jaime-jimenez-ruiz-defensor-ambiental-en-oaxaca/.

to by the present federal administration in the *Plan of Justice for the Yaqui People⁸⁸* and increased militarization in the region,⁸⁹ where aggressions against its indigenous people have not fallen.⁹⁰

3.3. VICTIMS

The data obtained in the year 2021 evidence a diversification of how and against whom violence is exercised in Mexico.

As shown in Graph 6, the following paragraphs present specific data related to environmental defenders identified as victims in the cases documented.



Graph 6. Aggressions identified by type of victim.

3.3.1. Aggressions against community members

Based on the data collected in 2021, aggressions against community members⁹¹ account for the largest group of victims targeted with 50 events of aggression reported, equal to 46.3% of the total. Moreover, it is necessary to emphasize that, among our findings for 2021, we identified 2 types of aggressions against communities: the first involve repeated aggressions in the community, but targeting specific individuals, as seen in Paso de la Reina, Oaxaca,⁹² where there were 3 events of aggression in the same community and on different dates, as a result of which 5 community representatives or officials were killed.

The other form involved aggressions perpetrated directly against a defending community at large, as seen in communities like Coyuca de Catalan, Guerrero,⁹³ and San Esteban Atatlahuca, Oaxaca. In these defender communities, armed groups entered the territory with assault weapons and committed acts of aggression. Thus, to cite only one example, acts reported in San Esteban Atatlahuca included physical aggression, burning of homes, gunfire, and harassment, acts which forced victims to leave the community for a safer place.

3.3.2. Aggressions against civil society organizations

Aggressions against de civil society organizations represent the second largest group of victims with 30 events of aggression, accounting for 27.8% of total

⁴⁸ Plan of Justice for the Yaqui People, Federal Government, available at: http://www.inpi.gob.mx/gobmx-2021/Plan-de-Justicia-del-Pueblo-Yaqui.pdf

⁶⁹ Government of Mexico, Official Website, National Guard, Press Release 164/National, La Guardia Nacional inaugura instalaciones en Pitiquito, Sonora para proteger a las familias de la región, July 3, 2021, available at: https://www.gob.mx/guardianacional/prensa/la-guardia-nacional-inaugura-instalaciones-en-pitiquito-sonora-para-proteger-a-las-familias-de-la-region?idiom=es ⁹⁰ Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, YouTube Channel, Justicia al pueblo yaqui. Petición de perdón por agravios a los pueblos originarios, [Video archive], YouTube, September 28, 2021, available at: https://

⁵³ See Servicios para una educación alternativa A.C. EDUCA, Defensores del bosque en Ejido Guajes de Ayala, atacados por pistoleros, piden ayuda, "[Video Archive], June 9, 2021, available at: https://www. educaoaxaca.org/defensores-del-bosque-en-ejido-guajes-de-ayala-atacados-por-pistoleros-mujeres-piden-ayuda-video/ and Quadratin, Guerrero, Pobladores vigilan armados bosques de Coyuca de Catalán por tala ilegal, Facebook (website), February 8, 2021, available at: https://www.facebook.com/Quadrat%C3%ADn-Guerrero-599453256787735/videos/pobladores-vigilanarmados-bosques-de-coyuca-de-catal%C3%AIn-por-tala-ilegal/4327386310609119/



www.youtube.com/watch?v=aE7_i_UA5x4. ¹⁹ This category refers to events of aggression, and by extension types of aggression, committed against persons belonging to communities, whether indigenous, peasants, or defenders, that are affected by an environmental dispute and do not pertain to any other specific kind of organization, such as members of civil society organizations, ejidos, or communal landholders.

²² CAPUDVER, 13 años defendiendo el río, el agua y el territorio, Oaxaca, 2021, available at: https://www.educaoaxaca.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Final-COPUDVER-13-an%CC%83os-defendiendo-el-ri%CC%81o-el-agua-y-el-territorio.pdf.

cases of aggression. In this context, stigmatization, consisting of statements defaming their activities, constitutes one of the most recurrent forms of aggression against members of civil society organizations.⁹⁴

3.3.3. Aggressions against independent environmental defenders

On the other hand, the collected data shows that events of aggressions against independent defenders represent 17.6%, with a total of 19 events in 2021.

Understanding such events of aggression as a form of attack on defenders who may belong to a community or be part of a civil society organization, the attack directly targets the defender without –apparently-having any intention to cause direct harm to the community or organization, in other words an aggression seeking to cause focalized harm to a person and their defense activities, even if the consequences extend to their community or organization.

3.3.4. Aggressions against ejido members, communal landholders, and park guards environmental defenders

Aggressions against ejido members or representatives are fourth on the list, with a total of 5 events of aggression reported, which represents 4.6% of total cases.

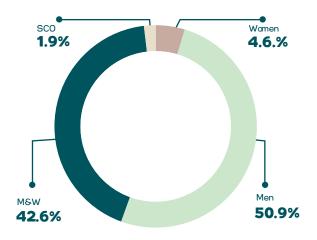
Aggressions committed against communal landholders accounted for the lowest number of events of aggressions, with only 1 case reported, equal to 0.9%.⁹⁵

Finally, aggressions perpetrated against park guards comprised 3 cases, which represents 2.8% of the total.

3.3.5. Aggressions against women y men environmental defenders

Next, classifying events of aggression by gender, and dividing those first against women, then against men, and with a third category for events of aggression targeting men and women jointly, the data obtained for 2021 show the following:⁹⁶

- Events of aggression committed against women environmental defenders numbered 5, equal to 4.63%;
- Events of aggression targeting men defenders numbered 55, equal to 50.9%.
- A total of 46 events of aggression were reported against men and women environmental defenders jointly, equal to 42.6%.



Graph 7. Aggressions by victim's gender.

In this context, we found that the forms of aggression most commonly perpetrated against **women defenders** are: harassment and intimidation (with 2 Aggressions reported respectively), followed by

⁹⁶ It is important to consider that, of 108 total events of aggression documented in the period investigated, in only 2 cases it was not possible to classify the aggressions perpetrated based on gender because they involved aggressions against civil society organizations.



⁹⁴ Again, cases of stigmatization perpetrated by authorities acting on behalf of the federal executive were reported. Rhetoric stigmatizing environmental defense has included disqualifying environmental defense efforts adjectives, and slurs such as "pseudo environmentalists" and "amparo cartel," among others.

⁹⁵ Image 99, Salvador Pinal Meléndez, opositor al Corredor Interoceánico del Istmo de Tehuantepec, October 29, 2021, available at: https://www.imagen99.mx/salvador-pinal-melendez-opositor-al-corredor-interoceanico-del-istmo-de-tehuantepec/

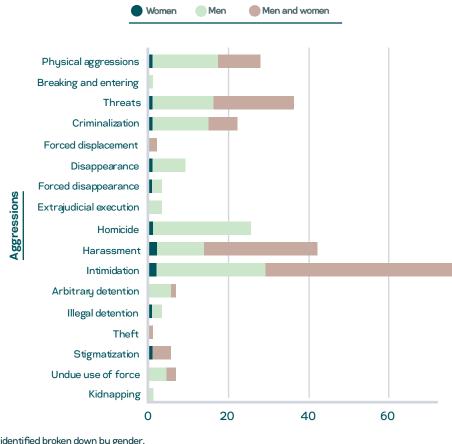
physical aggression, threats, criminalization, disappearance, probable forced disappearance, murder, illegal detention, and stigmatization with one case reported each.⁹⁷

In this context, we documented a single case of probable forced disappearance against a woman environmental defender, Irma Galindo Barrios, a forest guardian in San Esteban Atatlahuca, Oaxaca, who opposes deforestation and whose whereabouts have been unknown since October 27.⁹⁸

Aggressions committed against **men defenders** are: intimidation with 23 reports, homicide with 21, physical aggression with 14, threats 13, criminaliza-

tion 12, harassment 10, disappearance 7, arbitrary detention with 5 aggressions reported, undue use of force 4, probable extrajudicial execution with 3, illegal detention and probable forced disappearance 2, and kidnapping and breaking and entering with one reported aggression each.

Finally, the category of **women and men** jointly shows that the most common aggressions are: intimidation with 40 aggressions documented, harassment with 24, threats 17 and physical aggression 9, criminalization 6, stigmatization 4, forced displacement and undue use of force with 2 cases reported each, robbery, and one case of probable arbitrary detention.



Graph 8. Aggressions identified broken down by gender.

⁹⁸ This case is part of a broader ongoing socioenvironmental dispute in the Municipality of San Esteban Atatlahuca, Oaxaca. See El País, Desaparecida Irma Galindo Barrios, la voz contra la deforestación en la mixteca oaxaqueña, November 11, 2021, available at: https://elpais.com/mexico/2021-11-12/desaparecida-irma-galindo-barrios-la-voz-contra-la-deforestacion-en-la-mixteca-oaxaquena.html



⁹⁷ The aggressions reported refer to the type of aggression documented, not the number of victims reported in each aggression. For more information on the relationship between events of aggression, types of aggression(s), and numbers of victims, see the Annex to this report.

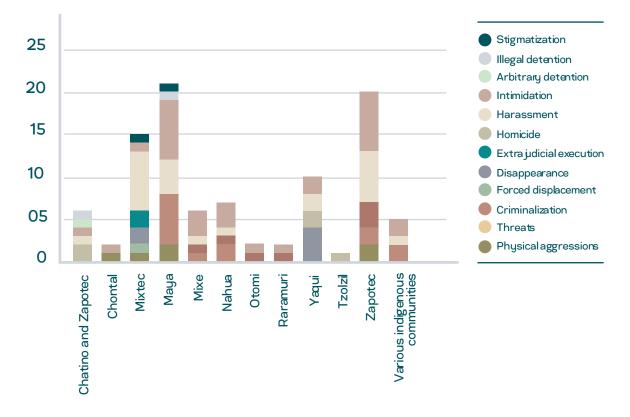
In this sense, it is pertinent to underscore the differentiated impacts identified in the practice of environmental defense among women defenders,⁹⁹ which, in the context of the pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus, apply equally.

The gender roles socially assigned to women, which include caregiving and others related to private life, have restricted their range of options to engage in environmental defense efforts.¹⁰⁰ In this context, the impacts felt among indigenous women and girls further restrict opportunities for the defense of the biocultural heritage, in a context made uniquely adverse by forces of structural inequality, institutional violence, and generalized discrimination.¹⁰¹

3.3.7. Aggressions against indigenous persons or communities

In 2021, of 108 documented events of aggression, 40 targeted indigenous persons or communities, which represents 36.4% of attacks reported in the year. Thus, of the 238 aggressions reported, 98 were committed against indigenous persons or communities, which represents 41.2% of the total documented aggressions.

Notably, the most afflicted were Mayan and Zapotec communities, reporting 21 aggressions each. For Mayan communities, intimidation, threats, and harassment represent the leading forms of aggression perpetrated with 7, 6, and 4



Graph 9. Aggressions identified by cultural identity.

⁹⁹ See Centro Mexicano de Derecho Ambiental, Informe sobre la situación de las personas defensoras de los derechos humanos ambientales en México, 2020, Defender el medio ambiente en tiempos de Covid–19, 2020, page 14, available at: https://www.cemda.org.mx/publicaciones-y-estudios-del-cemda/informe-sobre-la-situacion-de-las-personas-defensoras-de-los-derechos-humanos-ambientales en México, 2020, Defender el medio ambiente en tiempos de Covid–19, 2020, page 14, available at: https://www.cemda.org.mx/publicaciones-y-estudios-del-cemda/informe-sobre-la-situacion-de-las-personas-defensoras-de-los-derechos-humanos-ambientales en México, 2020, Defender el medio ambiente en tiempos de Covid–19, 2020, page 14, available at: https://www.cemda.org.mx/publicaciones-y-estudios-del-cemda/informe-sobre-la-situacion-de-las-personas-defensoras-de-los-derechos-humanos-ambientales en México, 2020, page 14, available at: https://www.cemda.org.mx/publicaciones-y-estudios-del-cemda/informe-sobre-la-situacion-de-las-personas-defensoras-de-los-derechos-humanos-ambientales en México, 2020, page 14, available at: https://www.cemda.org.mx/publicaciones-y-estudios-del-cemda/informe-sobre-la-situacion-de-las-personas-defensoras-de-los-derechos-humanos-ambientales en Mexico, 2020, page 14, av

¹⁰⁰ See Inter-American Commission on Women, Organization of American States, Covid-19 en la vida de las mujeres. Razones para reconocer los impactos diferenciados, 2020, pps. 13 – 17, available at: http://www.oas.org/es/cim/docs/ArgumentarioCOVID19-ES.pdf and Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Resolution 1/2020, Pandemic and Human Rights in the Americas, April 10, 2020, pps. 7, 17, available at: http://www.oas.org/es/IACHR/decisiones/pdf/Resolucion-1-20-es.pdf

¹⁰¹ UN Women, UNESCO México, Mujeres indígenas en contexto Covid-19, ¿Cómo les impacta?, 2020, https://mexico.unwomen.org/es/digiteca/publicaciones/2020-nuevo/mayo-2020/mujeres-in-digenas#:~:text=En%20el%20caso%20de%20las,agravan%20ante%20desastres%20y%20emergencias.



AGGRESSIONS AGAINST ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENDERS IN MEXICO, IN 2021

cases reported, respectively. Zapotec communities reported that intimidation, harassment, and criminalization were the most common forms of aggression, with de 7, 6, and 3 cases, respectively.

Finally, Mixtec and Yaqui communities appear in second and third place, respectively, with 15 and 10 aggressions reported in each community. Among defenders belonging to Mixtec communities, harassment was identified as the most common form of aggression with 7 cases reported, followed by reports of 2 probable extrajudicial executions and disappearances, respectively,¹⁰² whereas for Yaqui communities the most common forms of aggression were disappearance with 4 cases and murder, intimidation, and harassment, each with 2 cases reported.¹⁰³

3.4. SECTORS

Rising numbers of events of aggression and aggressions perpetrated against environmental defenders in Mexico in 2021 also saw shifts in the sectors where the aggressions committed were concentrated. Thus, in 2021 the sector with the largest number of aggressions was **mining** with 19 events of aggression, equal to 17.6% of the total documented. This figure contrasts with 7.7% of aggressions (5 cases) reported in the year 2020.

Water¹⁰⁴ was identified as the second leading sector with 18 events of aggression reported, equal to 16.7% of the total documented.

Electricity¹⁰⁵ was third with 17 events of aggression reported, equal to 15.7% of the total.¹⁰⁶

The sector **means of communication**¹⁰⁷ was fourth with 14 events of aggression, equal to 13%.

The **forest sector** was fifth with 12 events, equal to 11.1% of the total.

Next, tourism¹⁰⁸ reported 10 events of aggression, equal to 9.3%, while the **urban development**¹⁰⁹ sector reported 8 cases, or 7.4% of the total.



103 Following the methodology of this section (explained in Note 97), it is noteworthy that, in 4 reports relating to events of aggression classified as disappearance, a total of 14 defenders were identified as missing. 104 Projects developed in the water sector are a water pipeline, water supply management works, water impoundment works.

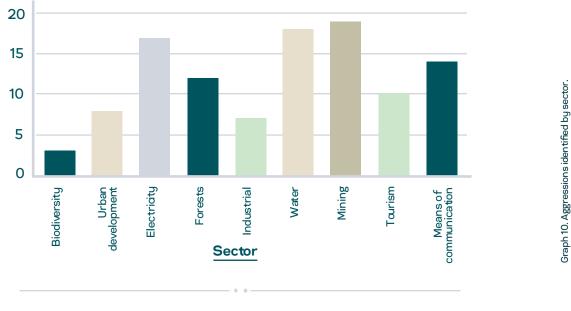
106 Projects developed in the electricity sector are hydroelectric and thermoelectric stations, wind farms, and power transmission/ regulation facilities.

10e In the year 2020, 4 events of aggression (6.2%) were reported in the electricity sector, while the water sector accounted for 4.6% of the total de events of aggression reported.

¹⁰⁷ Projects developed in the sector means of communication are highways, highway overpass, and railways.

¹⁰⁸ Projects developed in the tourism sector are: vacation complex, hotel project, amusement parks.

109 Projects developed in the urban development sector are: commercial construction, urban traffic infrastructure, waste management, urban sewage treatment.





As regards the **industrial sector**, 7 events of aggression were documented, equal to 6.5% of cases.

In last place, the sector **biodiversity** added 3 events, representing 2.8% of the total.

In this context, the main findings regarding aggressions perpetrated in each sector identified were as follows:

- Electricity was identified as the most lethal sector, with a total of 8 killings, followed by the forest sector with 5 lethal aggressions, of which 2 were probable extrajudicial executions.
- The water and mining sectors reported a total of 4 lethal aggressions, identifying one probable extrajudicial execution in the mining sector.
- The water sector accounted for the highest number of disappearances with 5 cases reported,¹¹⁰ whereas two of three cases of probable forced disappearance were perpetrated in the forest sector, with 5 defenders identified as victims. In the mining sector, one defender was reported as the victim of probable forced disappearance.
- The forest sector had the highest number of physical aggressions, with a total of 7 cases reported.
- Finally, the water sector reported 5 cases of criminalization, concentrating the highest figure in that category in 2021.

Thus, in relation to aggressions perpetrated in each of the sectors documented, the following findings:

In the case of the **water sector**, the most common aggressions were intimidation, followed by crimi-

66 Electricity was identified as the most lethal sector, with a total of 8 killings

nalization and disappearance and, in third place, harassment and homicide. As regards the **mining sector**, intimidation was reported as the most common form of aggression, followed by harassment and threats.

In the **electricity sector**, intimidation topped the list of aggressions, with homicide in second place, followed by threats. In the **sector construction of means of communication**, the most frequently reported were intimidation, physical aggression, and threats, followed by harassment.

As regards the **forest sector**, the most common form of aggression was physical aggression, followed by intimidation, with harassment in third place. In the **p**, the most common cases reported involved intimidation, followed by harassment and criminalization.

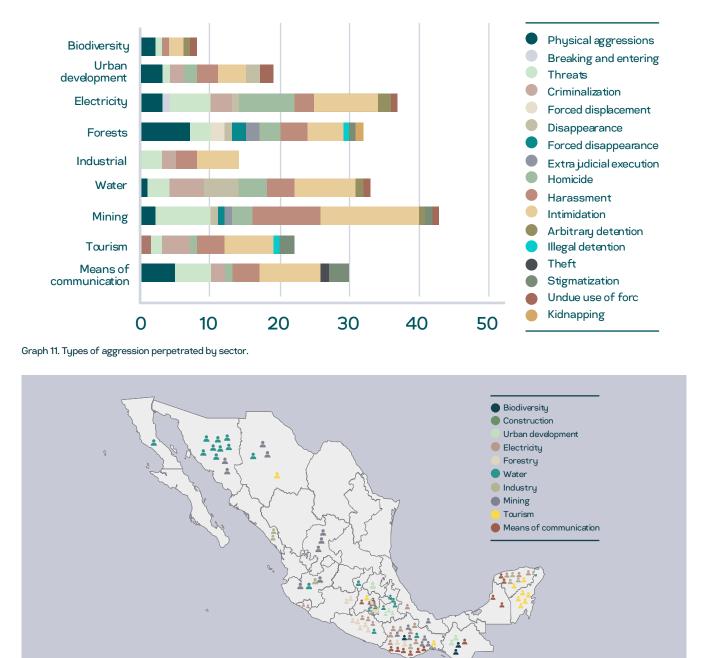
For the **urban development sector**, intimidation topped the list, with physical aggression and harassment in second place, followed by undue use of force, criminalization, arbitrary detention, and homicide. For the **industrial sector**, again the most common form of aggression was intimidation, followed by threats and harassment, with criminalization third.

Finally, in the **biodiversity sector**, the most frequent aggressions were intimidation and physical aggression, followed by threats, harassment, arbitrary detention, and undue use of force in second place.

¹¹⁰ These 5 events of aggression left at least 11 defenders reported as victims of disappearance, of whom 10 aerw members of the Yaqui Nation.



The map below shows the distribution of 108 total events of aggression documented, divided by sector in relation to their concentration by state. This breakdown confirms a clear concentration of aggressions perpetrated in each sector, in relation to the regions that currently concentrate development projects, framing the climate of risk for persons engaging in environmental defense in Mexico.¹¹¹



Graph 12. Map of distribution of events of aggression by sector.

¹¹ The To mention only a few of the massive infrastructure projects developed in regions identified as concentrating the most aggressions by sector, noteworthy examples include: in Southeast Mexico, land reordering projects currently under construction include the Maya train line and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec Interoceanic Corridor; in Central Mexico there are hydroelectric projects and the Morelos Integral Project; in Northern Mexico there are mining concessions, as well as the Independencia Water Pipeline and the Aguaprieta Gas Pipeline. *Cfr.* Cartocrítica, Research, maps, and data for civil society, Environment, available at: https:// cartocrítica.org.mx/category/medio-amblente-2/



3.5 TYPE OF AGENT OF AGGRESSION

The graph "Aggressions by type of aggressor"¹¹² shows the type of aggression committed by each type of probable aggressor in the year 2021. Thus, the recurrence of agents of aggression based on their involvement in the events of aggression reported is as follows:

I. **Unidentified:** 42 events of aggression reported;

II. **Federal government:** 16 events of aggression reported;

III. Government and company¹¹³: 11 events of aggression documented;

IV. State government: 10 events of aggression;

V. **Organized crime**¹¹⁴: 9 events of aggression reported;

VI. **Private companies**: 6 events of aggression reported;

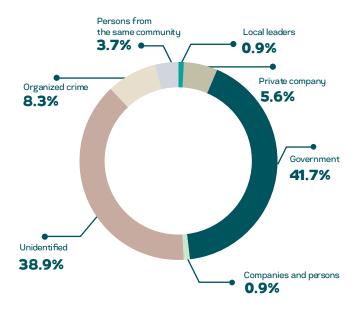
VII. **Municipal government**: 5 events of aggression reported;

VIII. **Persons from the same community:** 4 events of aggression reported;

IX. **Government and organized crime:** 3 events of aggression reported;

X. Local leaders; companies; and persons from the same community: 1 event of aggression reported, respectively. In this order of ideas, it is important to note that the government in *general*, including the three branches and cases where it acts jointly with another agent of aggression,¹¹⁵ is the first aggressor of highest incidence, taking part in 45 of the 108 events of aggressions documented in 2021.

In other words, the Mexican government had probable involvement in at least 41.7% of the total aggressions reported, marking its second consecutive year as the agent with highest involvement in the perpetration of aggressions committed in 2021.



Graph 13. Agents of aggression based on involvement.

Another notable aspect is that in 2021 12 events of aggression were identified in which defenders named as likely suspects persons with tied to criminal groups. We can say that in the year 2021, organized crime or was an actor in the context pf violence that threatened environmental defense activities.

- ¹¹⁴ This category includes aggressions committed by a government official in complicity with organized crime.
- ¹¹⁵ This figure includes presumed involvement of probable state agents in the following categories: Federal government; State government; Municipal government; Government and company; and Government and organized crime.



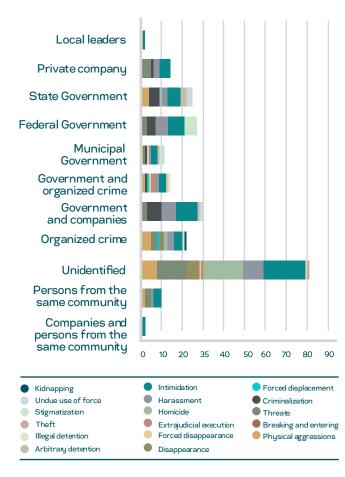
¹¹² Based on the methodology, it is noteworthy that the categories used for agents de la aggression identified are taken from information provided by the different sources of information consulted in preparing this report. Thus, the ten categories used should be read as probable agents of aggression, in the understanding that by constitutional mandate, investigation and proper identification are the responsibility of the proper authorities of the Mexican State.

¹³ This category includes aggressions committed by a state agent from any branch of government, acting jointly with a private company.

The most common type of aggression, committed by **unidentified aggressors**, is intimidation (20 reports of aggression), followed by homicide (19 reports) and threats (14 reports).

The form of aggression perpetrated most commonly by presumed **government agents**, **jointly with a private company** is intimidation (19 reports), followed by harassment and criminalization with (7 reports respectively), and in last place threats and undue use of force (2 reports).

The most common form of aggression committed by presumed members of the **federal government** is intimidation (8 reports), followed



Graph 14. Aggressions identified by agent.

by harassment and stigmatization (6 reports each) and criminalization (4 reports). **Government at the state level** most often recurs to intimidation (6 reports), criminalization (5 reports), and physical violence against defenders (4 reports); also, reporting of at least one homicide perpetrated by state agents is noteworthy in this context.¹¹⁶

Government and organized crime, acting jointly, most commonly committed the following types of aggression: intimidation (3 reports) and probable extrajudicial execution, physical aggression, and harassment (2 reports, respectively).

On the other hand, presumed members of **organized crime** groups committed acts of physical aggression (5 reports), intimidation (4 reports), harassment and threats (3 reports respectively), and finally homicides and disappearances (2 reports).

Finally, the **Municipal government**, as presumed aggressor, incurred in acts of intimidation (3 reports), followed by physical aggression, criminalization, threats, probable forced disappearance, harassment, arbitrary detention, stigmatization, and undue use of force, with at least 1 report.

These figures evidence the various manifestations in which violence is exercised against defenders of environment, land, and territory in Mexico.

Thus, in addition to presenting the numbers on aggressions perpetrated, this report helps form an overview of who exercises violence -in many cases guaranteeing impunity- against persons who struggle to preserve and protect the natural heritage.

¹⁶ This is the case of the event of aggression that occurred outside the Hidalgo Statehouse in Pachuca, on June 1, 2021, where riot police incurred in excessive use of force against a group of defenders who were demanding their right to water and public works of severage and wastewater treatment.



3.5.1. Involvement of agents of aggression by state

In another order of ideas, the data obtained on perpetrating agents by degree of involvement by state is noteworthy. Thus, in the year 2021 participation of each agent of aggression in the events documented occurred as follows:

I. Oaxaca has the highest number of events of aggression perpetrated by *unidentified* agents (11 reports).

II. For presumed involvement of state agents, in the three branches of government, our findings were as follows:

A. Oaxaca reported the highest number of events of aggression committed by presumed agents of the federal government (5);

B. Puebla and Mexico City had the highest numbers of aggressions by

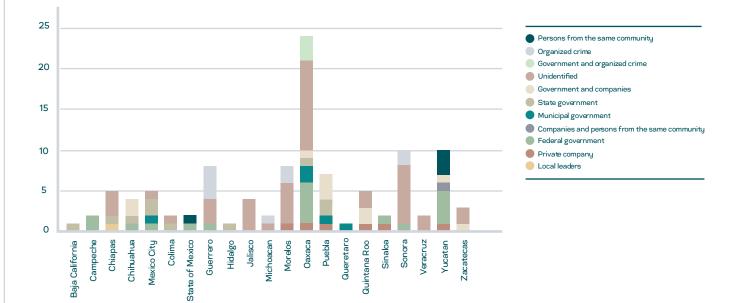
presumed members of state government (2 each); and

C. Oaxaca reported the highest number of cases related to presumed municipal government agents (2).

III. Finally, Guerrero reported the highest number of events perpetrated by presumed *members of organized crime* (4).

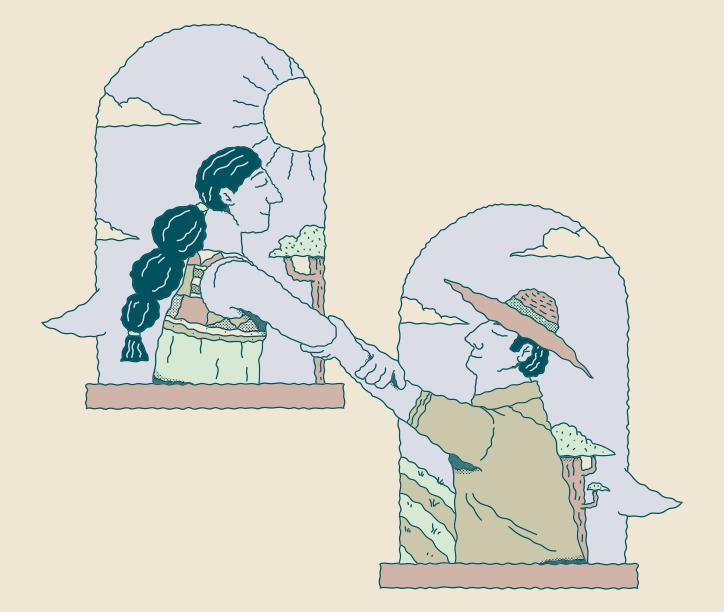
The findings presented herein evidence the severity of the situation environmental defenders face in Mexico: Aggressions perpetrated by those who have a constitutional obligation to guarantee a safe environment for environmental defense, probable state collusion with members of organized crime and private companies, and a large percentage of unidentified aggressors.

Thus, the context described favors the violation of the rights of communities in Mexican territory, and an increase in aggressions committed against defenders of the country's natural heritage.



Graph 15. Agents of aggression by state.





4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The first months of 2021 saw news of environment defenders murdered, raising alarms on a growing tendency of violence exercised against defenders, both individuals and communities. Regrettably, the tendency was confirmed, as 2021 proved the second most violent year for defenders since 2012 (when CEMDA started documenting aggressions), and therefore the most violent year of the current federal administration.

The increase in violence translates into an increase of aggressions in general, having counted **108 events of aggression** and **238 aggressions for this year**, figures which represent almost a 70% increase in the number of events of aggression and a more than 160% increase in the number of aggressions over the year 2020. The same occurred with lethal aggressions, which also increased, with **25 defenders of environment, land, and territory murdered**, a figure that represents an increase of almost 80% over the year 2020, when at least 18 defenders were reported murdered.

In 2021, the most common aggressions were intimidation, harassment, threats, and lethal aggressions (homicides and probable extrajudicial executions), in that order. Notwithstanding, other serious aggressions were also reported, such as disappearances, as well as probable forced disappearances and probable extrajudicial executions, acts which constitute, in addition to crimes, serious human rights violations. Also, we observed an increase in the use of criminalization as an option employed frequently against defenders of the environment. The states that concentrated the highest numbers of events of aggression were Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Sonora, while the states reporting the highest numbers of lethal aggressions were Oaxaca, Sonora, and Guerrero. We find that Sonora and Oaxaca share the top spot in indices of violence against environmental defenders. In that regard, the situation of the Yaqui Nation in Sonora, who are in resistance against water and gas pipelines, is noteworthy, as are aggressions reported against Mixtec indigenous communities in Guerrero Grande and Ndoyunuyuji, who defend their forests, and against Chatina, Mixtec and Afro-Mexican communities in resistance against a hydroelectric project in Paso de la Reina.

The foregoing is related to the fact that many aggressions were committed against members of indigenous peoples and communities. Based on the data in this report, approximately 4 of every 10 events of aggression and aggressions in general targeted them.

The sectors associated with the highest numbers of events of aggression were mining, water, and electricity, whereas the majority of lethal attacks are related to the electricity sector.

Regarding responsibility for aggressions, we recognize the complications inherent in ascertaining the identity of the person or persons who directly commit aggressions. Notwithstanding, with the data obtained, we find that, in approximately 4 of every 10 aggressions, the government is named as responsible, whether at the municipal, state, or federal level, and acting jointly with other actors,



such as private companies or organized crime. While this information is not new, having appeared in prior reports, the fact that government authorities are named as perpetrators of such acts does not cease to be cause for concern.

At CEMDA, it is our view that the alarming situation described in this report has a multifactorial origin. Factors include the present model of development, which gives extractive activities precedence over the ways of life of individuals, peoples, and communities, producing processes of legitimate resistance for the protection of their territory, natural resources, and in general their ways of life. These issues are also related to the exercise of structural violence, environmental racism, and historic discrimination toward indigenous communities and peoples which has not ceased and the perpetuation of which is also reflected in this report.

In addition, based on the information collected and the work undertaken by CEMDA over several years, we propose different hypotheses on additional factors that contribute to the state of affairs we have described:

First, actions on environmental issues that are not executed legally; are not culturally appropriate;

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In 2021, we counted 108 events and 238 aggressions, numbers that represent increases of almost 70% and 160%, respectively, from the previous year do not respect the rights to information, participation, or autonomy; and, in general do not adhere to the highest standards on matters of human rights, which impacts people's ways of life and heightens social conflict. An example is the presidential resolution of November 22, 2021, defining projects and works of the Mexican government as matters of public interest and national security and strategic priorities for national development.

Second, a judiciary that has been slow and remiss in resolving socioenvironmental conflicts -that have been brought before the courts – in accordance with the highest standards in matters of human rights, and in practice serves to validate acts of criminalization by forcing defenders to face illegitimate criminal prosecutions or expediting spurious criminal investigations.

Third, prosecutors who are remiss in fulfilling their obligation to investigate acts of violence like threats, injuries, and illegal detentions, among others, and do not intervene opportunely to prevent more serious or lethal aggressions. Also, they fail to investigate or respond when aggressions have occurred, leaving them without a meaningful state response or consequences. In contrast, they do pursue actions seeking to investigate and criminalize defenders, thereby placing themselves at the service of the state and/or companies.

Fourth, mechanisms to protect defenders who have been unable to respond to situations of violence individuals and communities who engage in defense of environment, land, and territory face. The figure of 25 defenders murdered alone underscores the extent to which such mechanisms, whose stated intent is to protect them, are failing.

Like every year, with this report, CEMDA seeks to raise awareness as an act of public communication as part of our ongoing efforts to contribute to the search for explanations of the growing violence against environmental defenders and as a step



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toward reflecting on possible ways to address the issue. The existence of a safe space for defenders of environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, remains the ultimate goal, which -in our view- cannot be achieved by addressing only one aspect of the situation or reinforcing the work of one institution in particular, but requires an effort on several fronts.

Thus, with the aim of contributing to the joint construction of solutions that meet threats to the biocultural heritage and defense of environmental human rights, from CEMDA we reiterate and propose the following **recommendations**:

1. To all branches of government:

a. Effectively implement the Escazú Agreement to guarantee a safe environment for defenders of environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities.

b. Immediately cease stigmatization toward defenders of environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities.

c. Publicly recognize the work of defenders of environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, and publicly denounce the attacks they experience.

2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, through the Under-Ministry of Human Rights:

a. Accept the technical support offered by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in the public hearing held in the 180th period of session held in July 2021, and the proposed roundtables.

3. Agencies and entities of the state related to the implementation of development projects (Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, National Water Commission, Federal Environmental Protection Agency, National Commission for Protected Natural Areas, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Ministry of Energy, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Communications and Transport, Ministry of Tourism, National Fund for Promotion of Tourism, Ministry of National Defense):

a. Suspend development projects in which there are founded reasons to suspect the commission of any form of aggression against women, men, and communities defending the environment, until the state has fulfilled its obligations in the areas of investigation, eventual sanctions, and compensation for the violence perpetrated.

b. Implement the legal figure of enquiries on socioenvironmental disputes, whereby investigations can be pursued on acts of aggression with consequences for the implementation or operation of an y project that affects the environment.

c. Design, implement, and supervise mechanisms that guarantee the effective exercise of the human right to consent and consultation, the construction and implementation of which depends on the self-determination and autonomy of indigenous peoples and comparable communities.

4. Mechanism for the Protection of Defenders and Journalists of the Ministry of the Interior:

a. Conduct an ex officio diagnosis of socio-environmental disputes that result in any form of aggression, as a means of identifying the need to provide individual and collective protective measures that address each specific situation and are culturally appropriate.



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We recommend ensuring that, in cases of aggressions that constitute criminal offenses, work in defense of environment be included as a line of investigation

5. General and state law enforcement:

a. Investigate, with due diligence, aggressions committed against environmental defenders, men, women y communities, that may constitute criminal offenses.

b. Guarantee that, in case of aggressions found to constitute crimes, the defense efforts of defenders of environment, tierra, and territory are included as a line of investigation.

c. Have disaggregated information on reports and investigations related to defenders of the environment, land, and territory.

6. National and State Human Rights Commissions:

a. Initiate ex officio complaints and conduct investigations related to human rights violations of defenders of environment, land, and territory, individuals and communities, and in relation to development projects related to such aggressions.

b. Reinforce the system for issuance of preventive measures for defenders of environment, land, territory, individuals and communities, so that they are rapid, agile, and effective.

7. Federal and State Executive Victim Service Commissions:

a. Provide accessible, quality, culturally appropriate legal advice tailored to the context of aggressions against defenders of environment, land, and territory, when such aggressions may constitute crimes or human rights violations.

b. Provide aid resources in a timely, rapid, and effective manner based on the immediate and eventual needs of environmental defenders who are victims of aggression. Provisional and subsequent aid measures should be culturally appropriate, with a gender perspective and differentiated approach, considering the specific context of victims.

8. Federal and State Judiciary:

a. Resolve cases involving issues related to development projects and environment under the highest standards of human rights, including matters related to the Resolution instructing the agencies and entities of the Federal Public Administration to take the actions indicated in relation to the projects and works of the Mexican Government considered matters of public interest and national security of November 22, 2021.

b. Fulfil the role of containing arbitrary and indiscriminate use of the punitive power of the state.

As a final note, we want to extend a special acknowledgement to all the persons, organizations, collectives, and communities who, day to day, devote their time, work, and effort to the cause of protecting our planet, our common home, placing their lives and safety at risk, who represent the vanguard of struggle, resistance, and hope for CEMDA.



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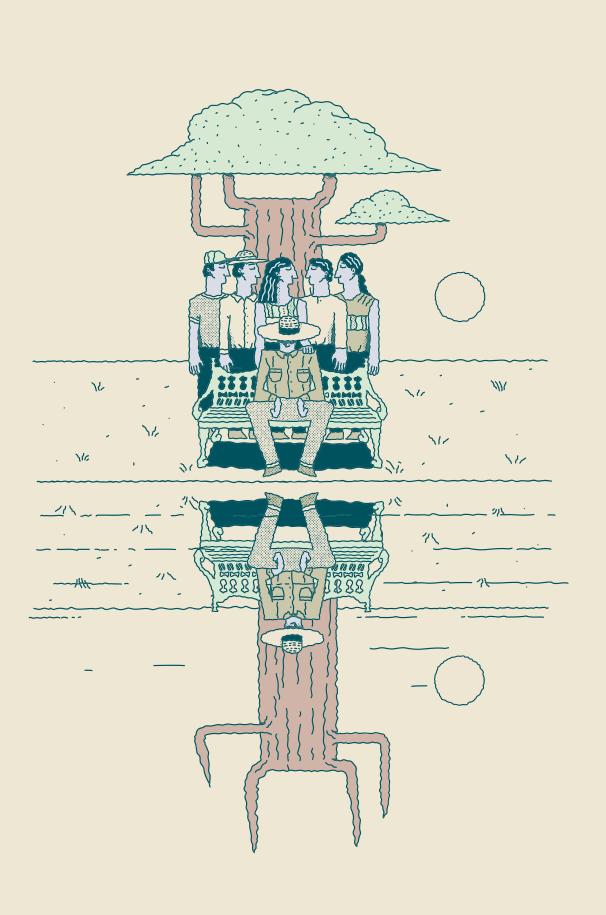
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ANNEX

S	State	Municipality	Date	Victim	Gender	Cultural identity	Sector	Aggressions	Aggressor
	Оахаса	Villa Sola de Vega	January	Community members	Men and women	Non-indigenous	Mining	Threats and intimidation	Municipal government
	Oaxaca	Santiago Jamiltepec	January	CSO member	Man	Non-indigenous	Electricity	Threats and intimidation	Not identified
	Oaxaca	Santiago Jamiltepec	January	CSO member	Man	Non-indigenous	Electricity	Homicide	Not identified
	Yucatán	ļ	February	CSO member	Men and women	Not applicable	Tourism	Stigmatization	Federal government
	Yucatán	1	February	CSO member	Men and women	Indigenous community	Tourism	Stigmatization	Federal government
	Оахаса	San Pablo Cuatro Venados	February	Community members	Men and women	Indigenous community	Mining	Harassment and intimidation	Not identified
	Veracruz	Tlapacoyan	February	Community members	Man	Non-indigenous	Electricity	Homicide	Not identified
	Oaxaca	Juchitán	February	CSO member	Man	Indigenous community	Electricity	Physical aggression, threats, criminalization, intimidation and undue use of force	Government and company
	Colima	Manzanillo	February	Independent def.	Man	Non-indigenous	Electricity	Criminalization and intimidation	State government
	Morelos	Cuernavaca	February	Community members	Men and women	Non-indigenous	Electricity	Criminalization	Private company

Federal government	Not identified	Organized crime	Not identified	Not identified	Not identified	Not identified	Government and company	Not identified	Private company	Not identified	Organized crime	Not identified
Criminalization and intimidation	Harassment and intimidation	Physical aggression, threats, harassment and intimidation	Homicide	Homicide	Physical aggression, disappearance	Physical aggression, intimidation and theft	Threats and intimidation	Homicide	Threats and intimidation	Homicide	Physical aggression, homicide and kidnapping	Physical aggression, threats, forced disappearance
Industrial	Mining	Forests	Water	Electricity	Forests	Means of communication	Water	Forests	Industrial	Electricity	Forests	Mining
Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous
Man	Men and women	Men and women	Man	Man	Man	Men and women	Men and women	Man	Man	Man	Man	Man
CSO member	Community members	Community members	CSO member	CSO member	Park guards	Community members	Community members	Park guards	CSO member	Independent def.	Ejido members	Community members
February	February	February	March	March	March	March	March	March	March	March	April	April
Topolobampo	Actopan	Coyuca de Catalan	Cacahuatepec	Santiago Jamiltepec	Huitzilac	Xochimilco	Juan C. Bonilla	Huitzilac	Topolobampo	Santiago Jamiltepec	San Miguel Totolapan	Cuautitlan de García Barragán
Sinaloa	Veracruz	Guerrero	Guerrero	Oaxaca	Morelos	Mexico City	Puebla	Morelos	Sinaloa	Oaxaca	Guerrero	Jalisco
Ħ	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23



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Not identified	Not identified	Government and company	Not identified	Not identified	Municipal government	Federal government	Not identified	Government and company	Government and company	Government and company	Not identified	Not identified
Extra judicial execution	Intimidation	Criminalization and intimidation	Threats, homicide and intimidation	Disappearance	Criminalization and intimidation	Stigmatization	Homicide	Harassment, intimidation and arbitrary detention	Harassment and intimidation	Harassment, intimidation and undue use of force	Disappearance	Disappearance
Mining	Industrial	Tourism	Mining	Water	Water	Mining	Forests	Mining	Industrial	Mining	Water	Mining
Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Not applicable	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous
Man	Men and women	Man	Men and women	Man	Men and women	Men and women	Man	Man	Men and women	Men and women	Man	Man
Community members	CSO member	CSO member	Independent def. and e jido members	Community members	Independent def.	CSO member	Independent def.	E jido members	Community members	Ejido members	Community members	Community members
April	April	April	April	Мау	May	May	Мау	May	Мау	May	May	May
Cuautitlan de García Barragán	El Salto, Juanacatlan, Puente Grande, Tololotlán	Benito Juarez	Puerto Peñasco	Guaymas	Amealco	Mexico City	Chilpancingo	Valle de Zaragoza	Homun	Valle de Zaragoza	Guaymas	Mazapil
Jalisco	Jalisco	Quintana Roo	Sonora	Sonora	Queretaro	Mexico City	Guerrero	Chihuahua	Yucatan	Chihuahua	Sonora	Zacatecas
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	ઝ	32	33	34	35	36



Government and company	State government	Organized crime	Not identified	Not identified	Not identified	Not identified	Federal government	Not identified	Private company	Not identified	State government	Not identified
Criminalization, harassment and intimidation	Physical aggression, homicide, arbitrary detention and undue use of force	Physical aggression, threats, forced displacement, har assment and intimidation	Physical aggression, threats, homicide	Homicide	Homicide	Disappearance	Criminalization, harassment	Harassment and intimidation	Threats and intimidation	Homicide	Criminalization, harassment and intimidation	Homicide
Tourism	Urban developmer t	Forests	Mining	Water	Water	Water	Industrial	Water	Tourism	Electricity	Water	Means of communication
Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community
Men and women	Man	Men and women	Man	Man	Man	Woman	Man	Men and women	Man	Man	Men and women	Man
Community members	Independent def.	Community members	Community members	Community members	Community members	Community members	Community members	Community members	CSO member	Independent def.	CSO member	CSO member
June	June	June	June	June	June	June	June	July	July	ylın	ylın	yluly
Cuautitlan Izacalli	Pachuca	Coyuca de Catalan	Mazapil	Cajeme	Guaymas	Empalme	San Blas Atempa	Cajeme	Benito Juarez	Manzanillo	Mexicali	Simojovel
State of Mexico	Hidalgo	Guerrero	Zacatecas	Sonora	Sonora	Sonora	Oaxaca	Sonora	Quintana Roo	Colima	Ba ja California	Chiapas
37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49



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State government	Federal government	Federal government	Not identified	Company and persons from the same community	Federal government	State government	Federal government	Government and organized crime	Private company	Federal government	State government	Organized crime
Harassment and intimidation	Harassment, intimidation and illegal detention	Breaking and entering, threats and intimidation	Disappearance	Threats and intimidation	Criminalization	Physical aggression	Harassment and intimidation	Harassment, intimidation and arbitrary detention	Threats, harassment and intimidation	Harassment and intimidation	Arbitrary detention	Threats and intimidation
Mining	Mining	Electricity	Water	Industrial	Water	Means of communication	Mining	Water	Industrial	Mining	Construction	Mining
Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous
Men and women	Men and women	Man	Man	Men and women	Man	Men and women	Men and women	Man	Men and women	Men and women	Man	Men and women
Community members	Community members	CSO member	Community members	Community members	Independent def.	CSO member	Community members	CSO member	Community members	Community members	CSO member	Community members
hInc	ylılı	yılıy	July	yılıy	yılıy	ylıl	yılıy	yını	yılıy	yılıy	ĥnſ	Aug
San Pablo Cuatro Venados	Loma de Bacum	Acapulco	Loma de Bacúm	Kinchil, Celestun, Maxcanú	Chihuahua	Alvaro Obregón	San Pablo Cuatro Venados	Huatulco	San Fernando, Kinchil y Celestun	Cuilapam de Guerrero,	Alcaldia Benito Juarez	San Agustin Tetlama
Oaxaca	Sonora	Guerrero	Sonora	Yucatan	Chihuahua	Mexico City	Оахаса	Oaxaca	Yucatan	Oaxaca	Mexico City	Morelos
50	5	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62

Organized crime	Not identified	Persons from the same community	State government	Government and company	Federal government	Not identified	Not identified	Not identified	Not identified	Not identified	Persons from the same community	Not identified
Homicide	Physical aggression, disappearance	Threats and intimidation	Criminalization and intimidation	Criminalization	Stigmatization	Homicide	Homicide	Threats, harassment and intimidation	Threats, homicide and intimidation	Physical aggression and intimidation	Threats and intimidation	Harassment and intimidation
Electricity	Electricity	Electricity	Water	Urban development	Means of communication	Urban development	Tourism	Biodiversity	Water	Biodiversity	Electricity	Tourism
Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Not applicable	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous
Man	Man	Men and women	Men and women	Man		Man	Man	Men and women	Man	Man	Man	Men and women
Community members	Community members	CSO member	Community members	CSO member	CSO member	Independent def.	Independent def.	Community members	Independent def.	Independent def.	Ejido members	CSO member
Aug	Aug	Aug	Aug	Sep	Sep	Sep	Sep	Sep	Sep	Sep	Sep	Sep
Acapulco	Tlapa de Comonfort	Juan C. Bonilla	Loma de Bacum	Santa Clara Ocoyucan	Merida	Cuernavaca	Santa Maria Huatulco		Cuernavaca	San Pedro Huamelula	Muna	Benito Juarez
Guerrero	Guerrero	Yucatan	Puebla	Puebla	Yucatan	Morelos	Oaxaca	Chiapas	Morelos	Оахаса	Yucatan	Quintana Roo
63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75





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Government and organized crime	Not identified	Persons from the same community	Not identified	Not identified	Federal government	State government	Not identified	Federal government	Not identified	Government and company	State government	Government and organized crime
Physical aggression, criminalization and intimidation	Threats and intimidation	Physical aggression, harassment and intimidation	Physical aggression, threats, harassment and intimidation	Threats, harassment and intimidation	Threats, harassment and intimidation	Criminalization and intimidation	Harassment and intimidation	Criminalization and intimidation	Threats and intimidation	Criminalization, harassment and intimidation	Criminalization, harassment and intimidation	Physical aggression, forced disappearance, extrajudicial execution, harassment and intimidation
Means of communication	Means of communication	Electricity	Means of communication	Means of communication	Means of communication	Tourism	Urban development	Means of communication	Mining	Tourism	Water	Forests
Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community
Man	Men and women	Man	Man	Man	Men and women	Man	Men and women	Men and women	Men and women	Man	Man	Men and women
Community member(s)	E jido members	Community members	Community members	Community members	Community members	Community members	Independent def.	Community members	CSO member	CSO member	CSO member	Community members
Sep	Sep	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct
Santo Domingo Tehuantepec	San Juan Guichicovi	Muna	Matias Romero Avendano	Matias Romero Avendano	Candelaria	Bocoyna y Urique	San Critóbal de las Casas	San Juan Guichicovi	Magdalena Ocotlan y Monte del Toro	Benito Juarez	Juan C. Bonilla	San Esteban Atatlahuca
Oaxaca	Oaxaca	Yucatan	Oaxaca	Oaxaca	Campeche	Chihuahua	Chiapas	Oaxaca	Oaxaca	Quintana Roo	Puebla	Oaxaca
76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88



Federal government	Municipal government	Private company	Organized crime	Not identified	Federal government	Municipal government	Not identified	Caciques	Not identified	Federal government	State government	Organized crime
Intimidation and stigmatization	Forced disappearance	Threats, harassment and intimidation	Physical aggression, harassment and intimidation	Threats, harassment and intimidation	Stigmatization	Physical aggression, forced displacement, har assment, intimidation, arbitrary detention and undue use of force	Threats and intimidation	Physical aggression and intimidation	Threats and intimidation	Harassment and intimidation	Physical aggression, arbitrary detention and undue use of force	Physical aggression and illegal detention
Means of communication	Forests	Electricity	Forests	Mining	Means of communication	Water	Water	Urban development	Forests	Means of communication	Biodiversity	Forests
Not applicable	Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Not applicable	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Indigenous community	Not applicable	Non-indigenous
	Woman	Men and women	Men and women	Man	Men and wome	Men and women	Men and women	Men and women	Hombre	Men and women	Man	Man
CSO member	Independent def.	Community members	Park guards	Independent def.	CSO member	Community members	Community members	Independent def.	Community members	Community members	CSO member	Community members
Oct	Oct	Oct	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov	Dec	Dec
liįudX		Union Hidalgo	Coa jomulco, Morelos y San Miguel Topilejo, Mexico City	Temixco	Merida	Puebla	Tonala	San Cristobal de las Casas	Madero	Istmo de Tehuantepec	San Cristobal de las Casas	Madero
Campeche	Mexico City	Oaxaca	Morelos	Morelos	Yucatán	Puebla	Jalisco	Chiapas	Michoacan	Oaxaca	Chiapas	Michoacan
89	06	6	92	63	94	95	96	97	86	66	100	101





Not identified	Municipal government	Government and company	Private company	Persons from the same community	Government and company	Not identified
Disappearance	Stigmatization	Criminalization, harassment and intimidation	Threats, harassment and intimidation	Physical aggression, threats and intimidation	Criminalization, harassment and intimidation	Physical aggression, threats, harassment, intimidation and illegal detention
Forests	Forests	Mining	Urban development	Means of communication	Urban development	Tourism
Indigenous community	Indigenous community	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous	Non-indigenous
Man	Woman	Man	Men and women	Men and women	Woman	Woman
CSO member	Independent def.	Independent def.	Community members	Community members	CSO member	CSO member
Dec	Dec	Dec	Dec	Dec	Dec	Dec
Chilapa de Alvarez	San Esteban Atatlahuca	Mazapil	Santa Clara Ocoyucan	Atenco	Santa Clara Ocoyucan	Cozumel
Guerrero	Оахаса	Zacatecas	Puebla	State of Mexico	Puebla	Quintana Roo
102	103	104	105	106	107	108



